

THESIS

FROM RAW-BARBARIAN TO MISS BEAUTY QUEEN: INDIGENEITY, IDENTITY AND THE
PERCEPTION OF BEAUTY IN TAIWAN

Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

FROM RAW-BARBARIAN TO MISS BEAUTY QUEEN: INDIGENEITY, IDENTITY AND THE PERCEPTION OF BEAUTY IN TAIWAN

Using an auto-ethnographical method and sharing my own experience growing up in Taipei, Taiwan, this thesis discusses the association between Taiwanese indigeneity and the perception of beauty in contemporary Taiwan. For the purpose of this study, this thesis references the theory of beauty and indigenous studies to explore the affectability regarding the colonial history of Taiwan, body images, international influence, the eliminatory elements of colonial structures, and the modern pastiche of Taiwanese aesthetic. Furthermore, this thesis analyzes Chinese-settler colonial influence in Taiwan by discussing the media's impact and the artistic innovations in the biggest city, Taipei. Two major conclusions are drawn: first, Taiwanese indigeneity, infused in contemporary art, counteracts the forces of Chinese orthodoxy, international influence, and Taiwanese modern aesthetics. Second, Taiwanese indigenous characteristics often contain pastiche of Taiwanese aesthetics, a fixed beauty standard, which consists of various elements such as Chinese elegance/nostalgia, modern comfort/convenience, and the indigenous acceptance/sublimation.

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

It is said that the Taiwanese indigenous people are excluded from the present-day Taiwanese society by the way they are conceptualized.¹ Kuan-Ting Tang (2008) indicates that the majority population in Taiwan holds a considerable bias toward Taiwanese indigenous people through textbooks in the primary and secondary education system.² Wen-Ding Huang (2008), who studies Taiwanese indigenous students' cultural and linguistic identities,³ finds that Mandarin helps indigenous students build their confidence in Chinese-cultural identity. By contrast, they utilize their traditional tribal language informally as a tool to have fun and make jokes within their communities.

This dual cultural identity, however, presents a significant disadvantage to indigenous students. Other studies on Taiwanese indigenous people's identity point out a range of issues, including women's trauma,⁴ tribal memories,⁵ ecological conflicts,⁶ entrepreneurial learning,⁷ and the representation of indigenous women in pop music.⁸

¹ (Liou 2012). "Understanding the Concept of Social Exclusion in a Taiwanese Context-The Analysis of Public Focus Groups." *Soochow Journal of Social Work* 23:47-80.

² (Tan 2008). "The Twisted Others: A Review of Biases against Aborigines in Taiwan's Textbooks." *Curriculum & Instruction Quarterly* 11 (4):27-50.

³ (Huang 2008). "Cultural Differences and Cultural Identification-The Construction of Linguistic Identities among the Amis Students in Two Primary Schools." *Curriculum & Instruction Quarterly* 11 (4):51-74.

⁴ (Chien and Lai 2009). "Life Writing & Representations of Arts in the Works of Taiwanese Aboriginal Women A-Wu and Ebu." *Bulletin of The Department of Ethnology* 28:101-130.

⁵ (Huang 2006). "Modernity and Taiwan Aboriginal Literature." *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly* 35 (5):81-122.

⁶ (Lo 2010). "Cultural Identity, Ecological Conflict and Ethnic Relations: Discourse on the Traditional Territory by the Amis of Tolan." *Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology* 72:1-33.

As a Taiwanese indigenous person, I have observed and experienced an acute sense of negative self-image in others and myself. Research has shown that Taiwanese indigenous people's self-identification strongly corresponds to different stages of colonization through the following periods of external influence and dominance: Dutch (from 1624), Spanish (from 1626), Chinese of the Ming Dynasty (from 1661), Chinese of the Qing Dynasty (from 1683), Japanese (from 1891), and Chinese of the Republic of China (from 1945). Although the contemporary Taiwanese media often claim that the colonization effects of Taiwanese indigenous people have greatly diminished, they still pervade the society through micro-scale oppressions.

While the government purports that Taiwan has become more open and diverse, the society has not fully acknowledged that the Taiwanese indigenous people deserve genuine respect. While it is true that the government has provided some nominal benefits to indigenous people in the form of educational subsidies and entrepreneurial funds, the colonizing oppression toward Taiwanese indigenous people continues and leads to a form of alienation based on a confluence of social ascriptions.

The socially embedded ideas regarding the indigenous population reflect stereotypes associated with their perceived inferiority, laziness, hopelessness, exoticism, and otherness in Chinese dominant society. These social ascriptions have resulted in negative self-perceptions among the indigenous people for decades. One important factor that contributes to the negative self-perception is rooted in the majority's uniform sense of beauty in the current society regarding judging people by their appearance.

⁷ (Simon 2004). "Learning and Narratives of Identity-Aboriginal Entrepreneurs in Taiwan." *Taiwan Journal of Anthropology* 2 (1):93-11.

⁸ (Sun 2013). "A Mountain Love Song between Cross Cultural Couples: A Study of the Origin and Imagined Identity of The Maiden of Malan." *Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore* 181:265-319.

For instance, regarding greetings, traditionally Taiwanese greeted with phrases such as “你吃飽了沒 (ni chi bao le mei) [Have you eaten yet?]” or “你好嗎 (ni hao ma) [How are you doing?].” Nowadays, greetings like the following, translated from Mandarin to English, “You are getting thinner/slimmer/lighter-skinned,” are mostly accompanied by a tone of envy, jealousy or admiration. On the other hand, greetings like “You’re getting bigger/fatter/darker-skinned” are likely to be emanated from pity, disgust, or an implication of “What has happened to you?” While it is true that a great amount of research speaks to the colonizing oppression toward Taiwanese indigenous people, I often wonder if one might be able to draw different conclusions.

In order to further explore my curiosity, this thesis first begins with the colonial history of Taiwan in chapter one in order to contextualize the complexity of indigeneity. How and when did the society begin to produce and perpetuate negative, often inhumane, social ascriptions about the Taiwanese indigenous people? The Taiwanese indigenous people have been differentiated since their first encounter with Chinese immigrants during the 16th century;⁹ however, Japan’s colonial classificatory scheme formally stigmatized the indigenous persons by grouping them in the national census into the following categories: savage, raw potato, raw barbarian, and cooked barbarian.¹⁰ These classifications initiated the process of differentiation or discrimination in official capacity toward the Taiwanese indigenous people. Although the current society has abandoned these explicitly derogatory terms, the implicit references to these categories in various contexts still attest to their importance in society’s collective imagination.

⁹ (Chou 2007). "Ming Conceptions of Taiwan-From Silhouettes to Islands." *Historical Inquiry* 40:93-148.

¹⁰ (Huang and Liu 2015): "Discrimination and Incorporation of Taiwanese Indigenous Austronesian Peoples."

Second, to explore my research purpose, I strive to find the connections between the majority's beauty standard and the social ascriptions toward the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Regarding the beauty standard in contemporary Taiwan, this study traces the Chinese-dominant culture throughout history and contemporary culture particularly from Korea, Japan, and the U.S.A.

Lastly, utilizing reflexive introspection, I seek to discover and problematize the binary identity between the oppressor and the oppressed. Toward this end, I will use my experience of living in the big city in order to disentangle how Taiwan's modernity has produced social ascriptions pertaining to the indigenous populations. By answering these research questions, I hope to fulfil the main purpose of my thesis: While the colonizing oppression toward Taiwanese indigenous people has not disappeared, there is something more to it than just calling us "the oppressed."

Theoretical Frameworks

I incorporate three theoretical frameworks to discuss three main areas that revolve around Taiwan's indigeneity, Taiwanese aesthetic identity, and the perception of beauty in Taiwan. First, Rey Chow's "Where Have All the Natives Gone?"¹¹ serves as a starting point of my introspection about Taiwan's indigeneity and the Taiwanese indigenous' identity. Chow believes that the attrition of the natives is largely due to westernized scholarly works having implemented a "defiled image" and an "indifferent gaze"¹² regarding the indigenous; however, the natives have not disappeared because they are not living in those documents.

¹¹ (Chow 1993). "Where Have All the Natives Gone?"

¹² Ibid., 54.

Secondly, I reference theories from Patrick Wolfe¹³ and Sarah Ahmed¹⁴ in order to discuss a settler-colonial framework by which the indigenous render an affective intimacy to a colonial force. Wolfe's theory in his "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" discusses how a settler colonial structure (e.g., the U.S. and the Australian governments) can eliminate different indigeneity. Sara Ahmed in her article, "Happy Object," argues that the desires of happiness can objectify us. Also, cultures, tastes, circumstances, politics, etc. can positively and negatively structure people's good or bad feelings. I use these ideas above to argue that the body-images of Taiwanese indigenous people reveal the emotional relationship between themselves and the eliminatory elements of Chinese settler colonialism.

This relationship also connects the colonial history and the indigenous identification to Taiwan's openness to cultural diversity, which is problematically theorized by the majority. Thirdly, in chapters two and chapter three, I use the theory of beauty based on the discussions from sociology, feminism, and psychology to explain how a ubiquitous ideology obscures the indigeneity in Taiwan.

I consider the statements from Pierre Bourdieu¹⁵ and Paul DiMaggio¹⁶ as one similar group of theory to indicate the importance of a ruling class's taste in a society.

¹³ (Wolfe 2006). "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (4):387-409.

¹⁴ (Ahmed 2010). "Happy Objects." In *The Affect Theory Reader*, edited by Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth. Duke University Press.

¹⁵ (Bourdieu 1984): *Distinction*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (Bourdieu 2001): "The Forms of Capital." In *The Sociology of Economic Life*, 96-111. Bourdieu believes that the taste of a ruling class legitimizes the taste of a society. This legitimization also has been effected by many forms of capital: economic, social, and culture.

¹⁶ (DiMaggio 1987). "Classification in Art." DiMaggio divides artistic classification systems into various groups and believes that these systems in a social structure shape a society's dynamics of classification in aesthetics.

I then refer to Giseline Kuipers's observation¹⁷ to associate a ruling class's taste with individual's aesthetics. Kuiper's article also utilizes the notion of emerging cultural capital for me to integrate media scholars' critiques with sociologists' arguments regarding international aesthetic capital.

The notion of beauty in feminists' discussions overall includes associations among "cultural body standards,"¹⁸ "objectification of body consciousness,"¹⁹ and "internalization of cultural standards and body shame."²⁰

Bartky (1997) argues that the choice of being "feminine" empowers cultural body standards to shape women's identities. Spitzack (1990) believes that according to feminist theories, a woman's consciousness about her body is constructed by how she is looked at as an object. McKinley & Hyde employ Bartky and Spitzack's (1996) claims to explain a woman's body shame according to the internalization of cultural standards, and say:

Cultural body standards provide the idea to which a woman compares herself when she watches her body. Internalization of cultural body standards makes it appear as though these standards come from within the individual woman and makes the achievement of these standards appear to be a personal choice rather than a product of social pressure.

In chapter three, I use Susan Bordo's *Unbearable Weight*²¹ to discuss how the notion of beauty not only influences females but also males. Feminists' discussions in beauty offer specific ranges to seek hegemonic and homogeneous attributes in both genders.

¹⁷ (Kuipers 2015). "Beauty and Distinction? The Evaluation of Appearance and Cultural Capital in Five European Countries." *Poetics* 53:38-51.

¹⁸ (Bartky 1997). "Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power." In *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*, edited by Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby, 61-86.

¹⁹ (Spitzack 1990). *Confessing Excess: Women and the Politics of Body Reduction*.

²⁰ (McKinley and Hyde 1996). "The Objectified Body Consciousness Scale: Development and Validation."

Also, using this—Bordo believes that femininity is a cultural artifact—I first scaffold an explanation for the stereotypes of the indigenous performance regarding beauty standard in Taiwan; then, to complete my thesis's purpose, I later seek another explanation differing from the feminist perspective.

The theory of beauty mentioned in psychology encircles the discussions of objectification theory²² and various mental risks such as eating disorders, anxiety, and body-image subjectivity.²³

Brown, Cash, Mikulka (1990) found that body images can be affected by physical appearance and the perceptual experience of one's body, which is reinforced by the attitudinal modality in a society. Calogero (2004) concludes that the findings in her research support the concept that objectification theory's idea concerning the internalized male gaze can negatively impact women's concerns of their appearance.

This causes women's body shame and social physique anxiety. Research has revealed how self-objectification has conspicuously bonded with women's negative emotional experiences leading to eating disorders in cases in which they cannot escape cultures that sexually objectify the female (Calogero, Davis, and Thompson 2005).

²¹ (Bordo 1993). *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

²² (Fredrickson and Roberts 1997). "Objectification theory." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 21:173-206.

²³ (Brown, Cash, and Mikulka 1990): "Attitudinal Body-Image Assessment: Factor Analysis of the Body-Self Relations Questionnaire." (Calogero, Davis, and Thompson 2005): "The Role of Self-Objectification in the Experience of Women with Eating Disorders." (Calogero 2004): "A Test of Objectification Theory: The Effect of the Male Gaze on Appearance Concerns in College Women."

Methodology and Ethical Consideration

In chapter one, I use archival research to discuss the history of colonization in Taiwan. In discussing this history, I attempt to layout Chinese cultural norms as a foundation to explore the beginning of Taiwanese indigenous people's skewed image in the society.

Also, I discuss how other influential cultures have greatly affected Taiwan's image of indigenous peoples. In chapter two, I also employ archival research to demonstrate how current Taiwanese society's fixed sense of beauty is related to Taiwan's history discussed in chapter one. Moreover, I explore how current Taiwanese people are obsessed with beauty talk due to its culture and cultures of other countries (Korea, Japan, and the U.S.A.). I use news, stories, articles, media resources, etc. to elaborate upon the beauty standard stemming from the majority's aesthetics in Taiwan.

In addition, I reference these data to describe the antithesis of beauty in contemporary Taiwan—the images of Taiwanese indigenous people. In chapter three, I use an auto-ethnographical method to represent my Taiwanese indigenous identity and my encounter with the Chinese settler colonial structure. My story exemplifies the impact on Taiwanese indigenous peoples regarding Taiwan's beauty standard.

I consider this a personal story of an insider. I am convinced that an auto-ethnographical method empowers one's voice. I hope that the depth of a personal sharing will contribute to this thesis; however, I am also aware of the danger this method might bring by "revisiting the pain," which April Chatham-Carpenter clearly mentions:

Writing about your experiences is so tied to your life course that you have to be in a certain space to feel comfortable to write. Auto-ethnographers have to be willing to do the hard work of feeling the pain and learning through the process of writing, approaching auto-ethnography not as a project to be completed, but as a continuous learning

experience.... Revisiting the pain is necessary in many types of auto-ethnographies, when recounting traumatic events,.... However, without authors re-telling the process they went through in their writing, potential effects of such writing for auto-ethnographers is not always clear.²⁴

As an ethical consideration, aligning Chatham-Carpenter's revisiting her "anorexia" with my personal experience, I should remember her kind reminder that this method is worthwhile but also risky. Therefore, there should be appropriate messages revealed regarding the auto-ethnographical information.

²⁴ (Chatham-Carpenter 2010), 9-10. "'Do Thyself No Harm': Protecting Ourselves as Autoethnographers."

CHAPTER ONE

Most of the time, the Atayal discovered new areas while they [we] were out hunting for animals in the mountains. Often they [we] were forced to go far away from their [our] villages for days in order to find prey; thus, they [we] often encountered raw lands that were not peopled. When the Atayal preferred a new area, their [our] first priority was to ensure whether the area they [we] had just found was occupied or not. They [we] would position themselves [ourselves] in a high place such as a mountain plateau or a big tree wherein they [we] could have a better view to investigate whether there were inhabitants, often indicated by smoke, in the area. The smoke was often a symbol of a claim on the land.

- ***A Story of the Atayal Expansion and Claiming of Lands (1)***²⁵

Colonial History of Taiwan

Indigeneity in Taiwan has been complicated by their encounters with the Chinese, Spanish, and Dutch during the 16th and 17th centuries, respectively. Peter Kang (2005)²⁶ demonstrates that a few ancient Chinese historical classics, such as *Shang Shu*²⁷ and the *Book of Sui*,²⁸ mention Taiwan and Taiwanese indigenous people for the first time.

During the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), Taiwan had become the hub of pirates (mostly from China and Japan) and black markets due to the *Haijin*, or Maritime Prohibition, which began in 1371. The Ming Dynasty often cooperated with Taiwanese indigenous people in order to capture pirates and criminals involved in the black market, while some Taiwanese indigenous people colluded with pirates and criminals for private gain.

²⁵ (Nokan and Yu 2002). Trans., Yen-Po Lin, 2016.

²⁶ (Kang 2005), 37. *The History of Formosan Aborigines-Policy Formation I*. Nantou, Taiwan, Republic of China: Taiwan Historica.

²⁷ According to "Chinese Text Project (<http://ctext.org/>)," *Shang Shu* (Kong 476 BC), written in the late 2nd century BC, is one of the five classics of ancient Chinese literature, served as the foundation of Chinese politics and philosophy with ancient China's rhetorical prose over 2,000 years.

²⁸ According to "ChinaKnowledge.de - An Encyclopedia on Chinese History, Literature and Art (<http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Historiography/ershiwushi.html>)," the *Book of Sui* (Wei 636), is the official history of the Sui dynasty of China (581-618).

On the west coast of Taiwan, Chinese fishermen's business expansion prompted the first encounter between the Han Chinese and the Taiwanese indigenous people. During this time, the Dutch and the Spanish also made their colonial inroads.

Kang (2005) appropriately describes the seemingly constant occupation of Taiwan by outsiders at various times:

Before the United East Indian Company [Vereenighde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC] established a factory on the southwestern coast in 1624, itinerant Chinese traders from the southeastern coast of China had penetrated into most of the aboriginal villages on the plains areas. The Spanish occupied the North in 1626 and launched religious conversion on the local aborigines until the Dutch ousted them from the island in 1642.²⁹

According to Campbell (1903), all the while, on the brink of the conflict between Japan and the VOC, which resulted from fighting for the official rights to collect tax from Taiwanese people and to claim territory, the Dutch at first argued that Taiwan was not subject to Japan but belonged to the Chinese Emperor of the late Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).

Upon losing a war in the Pescadores Islands, Ming China subsequently ceded Taiwan to the VOC in a treaty agreement.³⁰ While Kang (2005) emphasizes the interaction between Taiwanese indigenous people with the Dutch, Spanish, Chinese, and Japanese, he neglects an important point that the colonial Dutch seized Taiwan from China in 1624. Though providing few details, Kang illustrates that the VOC eventually initiated the first militant force against the Taiwanese indigenous people's resistance. Some scholars contend, however, that the VOC's encroachment in Taiwan was benign intent since it was mostly political and economic attempt.

²⁹ (Kang 2005), iv.

³⁰ Wm. Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1903), 36. Quoted in (Ang 2008), 16. Kaim Ang, "King of Taiwan in Sincan-Disputes over Taiwan's Sovereign Rights in 17th Century." *Taiwan Historical Research* 15 (2):1-36.

Kang still considers this as an attempt of reinforcing the VOC's colonial expansion in saying:

The Dutch later consolidated their colonial administration on the island of Taiwan and brought up numerous policies, including village assembly, village heads, household census, annual tribute and village leasing, toward the aborigines. The Zheng Family took over Taiwan from the hands of the Dutch in 1662 and subsequently ruled the aborigines until the rival Qing empire defeated the short-lived kingdom in 1683.³¹

Historians define the Zheng Family as either Ming loyalists or pirates and opportunists.

During the Ming Dynasty, they had associated with pirates and gangs and had enforced maritime taxes on fishermen in Taiwan; this tax also was unconventionally accepted by some corrupt Ming officials because of the Zheng Family's militant influence and threats.

Kang encapsulates the following history between the Zheng Family, the Ming Dynasty of China, Taiwan, and the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty of China:

In 1664, After the Qing Manchu—established from the northeast of China—overthrew the Ming Dynasty, the Ming general Teybingh Sjautoo Teysiangkon Koxin whose troops were loyal to the Ming government, enlisted approximately 25,000 soldiers then retreated to Taiwan as a base for rebuilding the Ming Dynasty. Upon entry onto Taiwan, they ambushed the VOC which was established as a colonial outpost in southeast Taiwan, defeating the VOC. Since the Zheng Family was the most formidable force of those still loyal to the Ming Dynasty, they had begun governing Taiwan beginning in 1661. Soon after, the VOC altered its policy and made a treaty with the newly-established Qing Dynasty of China; then it was able to reestablish influence in northern Taiwan due to the Qing's assistance. However, the VOC eventually withdrew its outpost from Taiwan due to its worsening fiscal stability. Thus, the Zheng Family had owned their Zheng Dynasty in Taiwan for 21 years until they succumbed to the Qing China's consolidating militant troops.³²

During the late 19th century, countries around the globe glorified their desires to colonize.

Japan and Qing China warred with one another as they sought to expand their influence in Korea.

³¹ (Kang 2005), iv. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

³² Ibid., 269. Tran., Hsiao-Ching Lin and Matt Hehn, 2016.

Following the Meiji Restoration, Japan defeated the Qing Dynasty troops in the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894, and upon announcing that Korea was independent and allowed to shed its tributary status from China, the Qing rulers also ceded Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands to Japan in the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, which started Japan's 50-year colonization of Taiwan.

Within two decades, the Republic of China, led by the *Kuomintang* (the Chinese National Party—founded by Sun Yat-sen), ended China's 4000-year imperial rule in 1911. While the mainland China initiated its first Chinese constitutional republic from 1912-1949, it also participated in World War II as an Allied force.

In 1945, Japan surrendered and accepted the disposition of the Potsdam Declaration and the Cairo Declaration, renouncing its claim to Taiwan.

After Japan had relinquished ownership of Taiwan, a common belief held that Taiwan would be returned to the Republic of China per documents signed by President Franklin Roosevelt of the United States, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of the United Kingdom, and the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek of the Republic of China in the Cairo Declaration.

However, this view holds little legitimacy regarding Taiwan's sovereignty. Later on, at the end of the Chinese Civil War (1949), the *Kuomintang* (Chinese National Party) lost the mainland China to the Communist Party and moved the government of the Republic of China (ROC) to Taipei, Taiwan, devising plans to retake the mainland in the then-near-future; whereas, the Communist party later became the ruling government in mainland China, establishing the People's Republic of China (PRC).

Identification for Taiwanese Indigenous People

According to Chen-hua Wen (2007), during the Qing Dynasty of China (1616-1911), China's first policy toward the Taiwanese indigenous people was segregation.³³ The Qing Dynasty separated the Taiwanese indigenous community from where the Han Chinese resided and revealed little desire to govern Taiwanese indigenous people because Qing considered them "raw-barbarians." During Qianlong Emperor's rule (1711-1799), a royal court official named Biliang Liu categorized Taiwanese indigenous people into three major categories. They include: "shou fan [cooked-barbarians]," "guihua sheng fan [civilizable raw-barbarians]," and "sheng fan [raw-barbarians]."

Unlike the raw-barbarians, cooked-barbarians were subject to the Qing governance; civilizable raw-barbarians were not governed by the Qing, with measurably little relationship with China, but offered tribute to the Qing government; raw-barbarians neither submitted nor offered tribute, and they appeared, in the eyes of Liu, to be uncivilized, uneducated, and brutish.³⁴ During the fifty years of the Japanese occupation in the late 19th century, Japan also officially classified and identified Taiwanese indigenous people as "raw and cooked barbarians" in its official identification registry. Masakuni Ishimaru (2008) indicates that the Japanese imperial mind at that time considered the Taiwanese indigenous people as inherently inferior, especially in comparison to the Japanese. Moreover, it was believed that the benefits of the land outweighed concerns regarding the barbarians.³⁵

³³ (Wen 2007), 13. *The History of Formosan Aborigines-Policy Formulation II*.

³⁴ Biliang Liu, 1742. *Rehabilitation of Fujian and Taiwan gazetteer*. Quoted in (Wen 2007), 10-11.

³⁵ (Ishimaru 2008), 17. "Police Officers in Aboliginal Administration: The Japanese Period of Taiwan." PHD, Department of Political Science, National Chengchi University, Taiwan.

Su-chuan Chan (2005)³⁶ mentions that the census categories during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan divided residents into three categories: *neidi ren* or *bendao ren* (islanders), *shengfan ren* (raw-barbarian), *waiguo ren* (foreigners).³⁷ These categories were based on the race of the paternal line. The term “islanders” referred to immigrants from China’s Fujian and Guangdong provinces, other Han-Chinese from other parts of China, and cooked-barbarians. Due to their rejection of Qing authority, raw-barbarians were regarded as uneducated, uncivilized and excluded from the national identity and legal protection.³⁸

Although cooked-barbarians were considered culturally assimilated, there was still an invisible line that distinguished cooked barbarians from the Han Chinese.³⁹

Others have also studied the categories of the population census during Japanese colonization of Taiwan. Based on geographical, linguistic, and racial differences, Japan’s colonial government stratified the population into different groups, which were ordered in terms of superiority —Japanese, Han Chinese, the mixed races, cooked barbarians (later in the ROC’s governing, plains aborigines), and raw-barbarians (later, mountain aborigines).⁴⁰

³⁶ (Chan 2005), 135. "Identification and Transformation of Plain Aborigines, 1895-1960: Based on the "Racial" Classification of Household System and Census." *Taiwan Historical Research* 12 (2):121-166.

³⁷ 臨時台灣戶口調查記述報文. 明治 38 年 (*Rinji taiwan kokō chōsa kijutsu hōbun*). [*Temporal Census Report of Taiwan. 1905*]: 16, 1905. Quoted in (Chan 2005), 145.

³⁸ Changqing Jia, 台灣戶口事務提要 *Taiwan Hukou Shiwu Ti Yao* [*Brief Report of Taiwan Census Affair*]: 54, 1930. Quoted in (Chan 2005), 145-146.

³⁹ Kanori Ino, 平埔族調查旅行 (*Pingpu Zu Diaocha Luxing*) [*Travel of Pingpu Zu Study*], trans., Nanjun Yang, 67-147, 2012. Quoted in (Chan 2005), 133.

⁴⁰ (Chiu 1997), 154-156: Fred Y. L. Chiu, "Re-reading the Taiwan Studies of a Japanese Colonial Anthropology: A Proposal for Re-evaluation." *A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* 28:145-174. (Huang and Liu 2015), 4: Shu-min Huang and Shao-hua Liu, "Discrimination and Incorporation of Taiwanese Indigenous Austronesian Peoples." *Crossing Culture Conference*. (Wang 2008), 6: Mei-Hsia Wang, "The Reinvention of Ethnicity and Culture: A Comparative Study on the Atayal and the Truku in Taiwan." *Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology*. (Wu 2007), Wen-hsing Wu, 30-31: "Kyoto Imperial University and the Investigation of Taiwanese customs."

While the Qing ruler began the process of categorizing Taiwanese indigenous people, it was Japan's governance of Taiwan from 1895 to 1945 that was crucial in continuing the irreversible discriminatory ascriptions of Taiwanese indigenous people through its militant and cultural assimilation projects. After the Republic of China (ROC) took control over Taiwan in 1945, Taiwanese indigenous people were still socially stigmatized despite the fact that they immediately received citizenship. The government then employed a formalized identification card system by incorporating new race categories.⁴¹ These categories included: *Wai-sheng* [outside province], *Hakka* (descendants of the Chinese diaspora from southwest China, especially from Guangdong province), *Min-nan* (descendants of the Chinese diaspora, especially from Fujian province), Plains Aborigines (former cooked-barbarians), and Mountain Aborigines (former raw-barbarians). In 2005, however, Taiwan eliminated racial categories from the identification-card system in order to promote race neutrality and better race relations.

Taiwanese society has deep-seeded hostility and discrimination toward its indigenous people ever since they were politically branded as "barbarians" and socially excluded from Taiwan's mainstream society. Fred Y.L. Chiu (1997) ascribes Japan's effort to categorize race to its determination to mimic western nations and to its sense of superiority from the concept of sub-orientalism. This sub-orientalism of Japan consists of intra-colonialism and outer-colonialism.⁴² He explains further about Japan's policy concerning "barbarians" in Taiwan:

In April, 1899, the fourth Governor General commanded a dialectic competition, calling for an essay of "The Strategy of Ruling Taiwanese Barbarians." First, no essay was elected until the American Consul-General J. N. Davidson offered a policy by which the United States of

⁴¹ Taiwan Department of Household Registration, M.O.I. 2016. "Related Laws and Regulations." <http://www.ris.gov.tw/>.

⁴² (Chiu 1997), 150.

America understood the Native Americans, and employed upon them. The Japanese Governor General then took his advice and decided upon the primary purpose and principle of the ruling of Taiwanese indigenous people: Barbarians are the species which is genetically developed between animals and humans. They should either be assimilated by superior humans or be exterminated. Therefore, our policy toward ruling barbarians of Taiwan should focus on the potential economic benefits in this land instead of the concerns for barbarians.⁴³

Despite the elimination of the 19th century racist policies and the decrease of the connection between the North American oppression of Native Americans and Japan's ruling of Taiwanese indigenous people, the fact of the matter is that residual colonialism still hibernates in 21st-century lives, which requires a close examination.

Many have claimed that the hostility and discrimination in current Taiwanese society have greatly decreased thanks to many waves of indigenous movements during the 1980s and the reform of government policies; nonetheless, in contemporary Taiwan, the separation still continues in a different form.

An Enveloped Structure, a Drifting Boundary, and a Silhouette of the Atayal

According to Alis Nokan and Guang-Hong Yu (2002), before the Atayals (the indigenous group to which I belong) encountered Chinese culturalism and nationalism, they were in a bio-lateral society (e.g., heirs received heritages from both parents; most often from the father). Males and females both took charge of agricultural labor. Males hunted, and females weaved. Females mostly planned and inspected planting affairs; males were in charge of plowing, building fences, and slash-and-burn harvesting. Both men and women reaped the harvest. The agricultural staples were rice, corn, and potatoes.

⁴³ Fujii Shizue, *The Aborigine's Policy of Taiwan Government-General in the Period of the Japanese Dominance (1895-1915)*, PHD, 1989. Quoted in (Chiu 1997), 162. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

Either *Gaga* or *Gaya* (depending on each tribe's ancestral spirits) provided the highest morality and standards to the Atayal life, faith, societies, power-relations, etc. Atayal society was formed by a blood-relation structure and aligned with other Atayal tribes to construct a union based on reciprocity, but sometimes, involving competition. "Facial Tattoos" were granted to every adult male and female, who respectively performed a headhunting ritual as a man, and who mastered weaving skills as a woman. Without facial tattoos, one could not achieve the necessary social status required for marriage. Before marrying, one could not conduct any sexual relationships with others; otherwise, it was believed that one's facial tattoo would fade due to infection. For females, delicate, shiny, and clear facial tattoos revealed one's beauty and elegance; therefore, one was allowed to ask for more dowry. The traditional Atayal society followed the morality which, *Gaga* or *Gaya*, the original ancestor, passed on through every generation. For individuals who had yet to receive adult status (before obtaining facial tattoos), girls and boys maintain chastity and personal boundaries with others. Adults performed family and communal responsibilities ranging from protecting individual, family, and community, to sustaining collateral and corporate punishment (e.g., receiving punishment for adultery committed by other family members) and reward. One's facial tattoo not only revealed the Atayal's aesthetics, but it also gained one's affirmation of existence. Without a facial tattoo as an adult, one could bring ominous disasters to one's family and the society and be considered an outcast in the society and the afterlife, where the Atayals' spirits reunite after they die. Due to these cultural practices, traditional Atayal society implicitly united itself under the mechanism of the collateral punishment/reward, and was known for being sternly moral.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ (Nokan and Yu 2002), 6-11. *The History of Formosan Aborigines: Atayal*.

During the same period, on a continent across the Taiwan Strait, a culture and a nation was developing a distinct Chinese nationalism along with culturalism. Yun-Hong Lin (2014) indicates that with dichotomies associated with people/country, local/center, present/tradition, Chinese nationalism has enamored its people with a fictive nation (though politically tangible through the dominance of every regime).⁴⁵

Sung-Chiao Shen (2002) mentions that the history of Chinese nationalism differs from the nationalism of the epistemology of Western nationalism. Chinese nationalism inherits a concept of a “soft boundary,” which has drifted from ancient times to modern China.⁴⁶ During the alteration of each imperial dynasty, Chinese societies have been cultivated with the deep-rooted philosophical motto, “非我族類，其心必異 (Fei wo zu lei, qi xin bi yi) [Those not of the Han race are less than Han].”⁴⁷

With this, an ingrained philosophy of superiority gave birth to the Celestial Empire, which has entailed a condescending epistemology along with a Chinese-centered metaphysic.

While Shen argues that the origin of Chinese nationalism can be traced to the homogeny of the Han blood, Yun-Hong Lin (2014) believes that, compared to Japanese colonialism, the Republic of China has built a more successful cultural hegemony than Japan’s militant stratification system.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ (Lin 2014), 292. "The Ruler's Homesickness from Nowhere-Modernity, Cultural Hegemony and Chinese Nationalism in Taiwan Literature." *Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies* 18:261-303.

⁴⁶ (Shen 2002), 56. "The Development of Modern Chinese Nationalism: With a Consideration of Two Problems Concerning Nationalism." *A Journal for Philosophical Study of Public Affairs* 3:49-119.

⁴⁷ (Zuo 2013). *The Chronicle of Zuo (Chunqiu Zuo Zhuan)*. This is one of the renowned historical classics containing Chinese history during 1121-249 B.C.

⁴⁸ (Lin 2014), 268. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

Yi Lin (2011) contends that Chinese culturalism has been transmuted by “a shifting discursive repertoire,” which allows Chinese culture to be a legitimate mainstream; in other words, China is the only civilization.⁴⁹

After the ROC (Republic of China) claimed its sovereignty in Taiwan from 1949, and after the PRC (People’s Republic of China) politically legitimized its representation of the China areas through the UN’s announcement, the ROC needed something else to parallel the PRC’s nationality. Allen Chun (1994) says:

Thus, in spite of its appearance as a Confucian state, the KMT [ROC] nation-state had to be something quite other. Recourse to Confucian tradition in the post imperial period, especially in its emphasis upon filial piety, was actually an attempt to extend feelings of family solidarity to the level of that nation, which as a political entity was, on the other hand, founded upon a rationality that was by definition modern, and hence non-traditional.⁵⁰

Chun addresses the nationalized Taiwan invoked and reinvented by the ROC with political strategy and construction of knowledge on “tradition, ethnicity, ethical philosophy and moral psychology.”⁵¹ Similarly, Lin (2014) purports that the success of the ROC’s cultural hegemony resides in the imagined nationalism and the culturalism which is transformed from cultural capital.⁵² Both explanations resonate with what Chun writes:

In Taiwan, while it is difficult to find an iconic symbol to equal the stature of the Great Wall in nationalist sentiment, the KMT government, in clear contrast with the mainland, has consistently maintained its role as the guardian of traditional Chinese culture. This notion of guardianship was reflected not only in its proprietary attitude toward the possession of

⁴⁹ (Lin 2011), 211. Lin, Yi. "Culture, Power and Predicaments: Chinese Culturalism and Ethnic Boundaries." *Journal of State and Society* 10:207-238.

⁵⁰ (Chun 1994), 60-61. "From Nationalism to Nationalizing: Cultural Imagination and State Formation in Postwar Taiwan." *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 31:49-69.

⁵¹ Ibid., 54.

⁵² (Lin 2014), 298. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

various 'national treasures' (*guobao*), which included artifacts of high culture such as those belonging to the National Palace Museum, classic texts and objects of historical or archaeological antiquity, but was also reflected in its conservative attitude toward the preservation of language (against the simplification of characters) and thought and other fruits of Chinese civilization. Despite their rhetoric, these icons of identity were all rallying points for shared national sentiments. They portrayed the unique achievements of the nation (*vis-à-vis* other nations) and in the process enhanced feelings of national pride.⁵³

In his "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," Patrick Wolfe (2006) argues that the western frontier "has become coterminous with reservation boundaries" by mentioning, "With the demise of the frontier, elimination turned inwards, seeking to penetrate through the tribal surface to the individual Indian below, who was to be co-opted out of the tribe, which would be depleted accordingly, and into White society."⁵⁴

Based on Wolfe's term, "repressive authenticity,"⁵⁵ this thesis, using the lens of an uprooted Taiwanese indigenous person from one contemporary community among the 19-100 indigenous communities, Atayal, seeks to unveil the colonial structure in Taiwan as opposed to the Atayal's understanding of a "repressive authenticity." Wolfe has defined "repressive authenticity" in saying:

This logic [settler colonialism requires territory's obtaining and the maintaining] certainly requires the elimination of the owners of the territory, but not in any particular way. To this extent, it is a larger category than genocide. For instance, the style of romantic stereotyping that I have termed 'repressive authenticity,' which is a feature of settler-colonial discourse in many countries, is not genocidal in itself, though it eliminates large numbers of empirical natives from official reckoning and, as such, is often concomitant with genocidal practice.⁵⁶

⁵³ (Chun 1994), 55.

⁵⁴ (Wolfe 2006), 399.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 402.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

The ROC's imagined guardianships of Taiwan lay its foundation on this "repressive authenticity," via its national culture treasure (*guobao*) and the strategy of infiltrating its high-culture capital, the KMT penetrated the land to claim its territory along with the Chinese inheritance passed from the Qing Dynasty of China. This narrative of Chinese-ness and the various icons are formed by three goals, "separating the mainland China and Taiwan as different nations, representing the defense of Chinese's tradition, and deploying the Chinese cultural idea." Chun illustrated:

During the first twenty years following the takeover Taiwan in 1945 by the KMT government, these notions of culture as 'national treasure' and 'historical sanctity' were already obvious dimensions of government policy. This period could be called an era of 'culture reunification,' characterized by the need to reconsolidate Chinese culture by purging it of the vestiges of Japanese influence from fifty years of colonial rule and by suppressing any movements toward local Taiwanese cultural expression. The main tool of cultural reunification was to be the forced imposition of standard Mandarin as the language of everyday communication and the medium for dissemination [of] social values. A ban on colloquial Taiwanese and Japanese in all avenues of mass communication such as radio, film, television and newspapers, which were government controlled, along with the prohibition of all publications originating from Japan and mainland China, remained in effect throughout the period of martial law.⁵⁷

Thus, according to Chun, this imposition laid upon the indigenous Taiwanese population in the early 20th century, has become "a kind of colonialism which was no less 'foreign' than the Japanese interregnum that preceded it."⁵⁸

The ROC's desire to inherit the Chinese consciousness through Confucian tradition has been rampant; still, Taiwan over time requires one thing to represent "Taiwan-ness"—Taiwanese indigeneity. The ROC has created what appears to be true oxymoron: democratic totality.

⁵⁷ (Chun 1994), 55-56.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 56.

In the Atayal tradition, smoke signified ownership of the house; thus, to have a constant stream of smoke coming from one's house was a liability for the Atayal. Therefore, before the Atayal planned to take over an area, they [we] would first seek out the presence of smoke. Second, following the ridgelines or rivers, the Atayal looked for any markings indicating the area was occupied. The way to mark an area varied. For instance, the Atayal carved palm-like marks on the trunks. They [we] might mark an area by any convenient resources on hand at the time: They [we] would strap twigs with small trees shaping them into many crosses, and used the tip of each small tree to point at the area the Atayal would like to claim. Also, the Atayal would tie each bundle of thatch into the shape of a fist, then put each of them on the ridgelines every 50-100 meters away so as to make these thatches of markers easily recognizable. Another way for the Atayal to mark their territory was to stack stones along the river side. Sometimes they [we] overlapped two or three stones as marks to claim that the area was taken. Therefore, when encountering a new land, the Atayal would always first confirm whether there were marks on the land. They [we] would not lay claim to the land they [we] found if it was occupied by others.

- A Story of the Atayal Expansion and Claiming of Lands (2)⁵⁹

⁵⁹ (Nokan and Yu 2002), 22. Trans., Yen-Po Lin and Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

CHAPTER TWO

This chapter discusses how the Chinese-dominant culture throughout history has influenced the relative notion of beauty in Taiwan. Furthermore, the manner in which Taiwanese media has been affected by the beauty standard from Korea, Japan, and the U.S.A. plays a role in shaping the notion of beauty. Then, upon discussing the theory of beauty in terms of sociology, this chapter's primary purpose is to elaborate upon how Taiwanese indigeneity has been compromised under the magnanimity of Chinese culturalism and nationalism.

Us-The Atayal

Figure 1⁶⁰ roughly expresses the process and tools by which an Atayal can earn honor by undergoing a facial tattoo ritual, albeit painful and excruciating. The Japanese imperial government banned this ritual during their occupation of Taiwan.



Figure 1: Tools of Atayal's Facial Tattoos

⁶⁰ http://library.taiwanschoolnet.org/cyberfair2004/C0422420021/content/ch2_1_8.htm

As a contemporary Atayal, there is a way, shown in Figure 2,⁶¹ to pass on the Atayal pride by experiencing a pseudo-ritual facial tattoo. With this temporary mark on our faces, we let our ancestors' spiritual light shine through us during festival celebrations.



Figure 2: Atayal's Facial Tattoos in the Contemporary Atayal Experience

In Figure 3,⁶² these two are among the few Atayal going through the genuine Atayal facial tattoo ritual. This couple is dedicated to maintaining the Atayal morality in their community, even though the lack of consensual and respectful agreement in the homogenous society pervades. Their determination for maintaining Atayal heritage often stands out as a model for the contemporary Atayal; whereas, for the majority in Taiwan, their Atayal facial tattoos may appear unnecessary, flamboyant, and anachronistic.



Figure 3: Contemporary Atayal Real Facial Tattoos

⁶¹ <http://blog.udn.com/abohomeweb/1420999>

⁶² <http://blog.xuite.net/hawke043481/wretch/106539778-%E7%B4%8B%E5%9C%A8%E8%87%89%E4%B8%8A%E7%9A%84%E5%BD%A9%E8%99%B9>

Beauty and Homogeneity in Contemporary Taiwan

Researchers in sociological studies have discussed the concept of beauty through discourses on aesthetics and the production of taste. Pierre Bourdieu believes that the taste of the ruling class profoundly affects the rest of a society.⁶³ This standard of taste has been besieged by the “forms of capital:”⁶⁴ economic, social, and cultural.

After Paul DiMaggio (1987) criticizes that sociologists have failed to replace the framework of artistic production and consumption in an integrated methodology,⁶⁵ he introduces his categorization of a society’s artistic classification systems: differentiation, hierarchy, universality, and boundary strength.

Thus, DiMaggio contends that the dynamics of classification in art often flow in formal characteristics of a social structure, which consist of a series of “culture dimensions”—the organization of educational systems, and internal relations.⁶⁶

Building on Bourdieu’s famous work on different forms of capital and DiMaggio’s discussion of cultural tastes and cultural dimensions, Omar Lizardo (2006) supports that cultural tastes emanate from network relations and are tied to different densities of networks. He argues:

The empirical evidence shows that popular culture consumption has a positive effect on weak-tie ego-network density [wider social connections, e.g., international or online markets], and thus to social connections that transcend local social boundaries, but not on the number of strong ties [narrower social connection, e.g., local or high-brow stores]. The enabling effect of highbrow culture consumption, on the other hand, proves to be almost

⁶³ (Bourdieu 1984).

⁶⁴ (Bourdieu 2001). "The Forms of Capital." In *The Sociology of Economic Life*, 96-111.

⁶⁵ (DiMaggio 1987), 440.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 452.

exclusively confined to ego-networks that are richer in stronger, local ties, especially those that are characterized by intimacy and particularistic flows such as advice and emotional support.⁶⁷

All scholarships mentioned above share a similar view of how aesthetic choices and the production of taste reveal the hierarchies of a society.

Giselinde Kuipers (2015) extends the discussion of tastes and aesthetics to the field of beauty of female and male faces.⁶⁸

Kuipers examines aesthetic repertoires in lenses of cultural capital, nationality, and transnational conventions and repertoires. Chinese culturalism and nationalism have rendered Taiwan's Chinese highbrow culture a nostalgic and emotional "Chinese Orthodoxy."⁶⁹ This discourse has resulted in what Chiang and Yeh (2015) call the "Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement." They explain:

This assumption is based on the moral legacy of Confucianism as an ontological foundation, producing both an ideology of restoration and a ritual space settlement, themselves, in the end, providing a dialogue between the physical form and the initial Confucianism spirit. The monumental gateway main inscription, "the whole world as one community" at the starting point of the axis marks the entrance of the Confucian ideal of political utopia and the architectural façade of the National Palace Museum..., giving to the designer a pattern to fulfill the nostalgia of the Empire.... the palace contents, the so called "National Treasures," put forward the idea of a single national soul, making these artifacts seen as physical evidences of a single origin of the Hua-xia culture.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ (Lizardo 2006), 803. "How Cultural Tastes Shape Personal Networks." *American Sociological Review* 71 (5):778-807.

⁶⁸ (Kuipers 2015). "Beauty and Distinction? The Evaluation of Appearance and Cultural Capital in Five European Countries." *Poetics* 53:38-51.

⁶⁹ (Chiang and Yeh 2015), 40. "Construction and Deconstruction of a "Chinese Orthodoxy:" Spatial Representation of the National Palace Museum." *Journal of Building and Planning, National Taiwan University* 21:39-68.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 40.

Chiang and Yeh argue that contemporary Taiwanese aesthetics combines Chinese Orthodoxy discourse with the thriving cultural and economic capital to produce a taste of pastiche.⁷¹ Essentially, since the Republic of China's international and political alliance with the United States during WW II, Taiwan has imagined a referential middle-class, yuccie structure that propagates the taste of modernity in Taiwan.⁷²

Contemporary Taiwanese yuccie culture reveals the characteristics of "Yuccie" concerning their pursuit of volunteering self-achievement, hobbies of traveling and experiencing art, and the fashion which conveys each individual style.

In addition, the modern internationalism emanating from Korea and Japan also plays its role in shaping Taiwan's aesthetics not only due to the Chinese Orthodoxy, but also based on the powerful influence of media that serve to link people's emotions to individual, public, and national identity.

Figure 4⁷³ captures the online headlines, "Today's Pictures" in Taiwan.⁷⁴ The columns marked with red checks show how much news concerning topics of beauty is posted in one-day. These topics, translated from Chinese into English, include: 1. How to Dress When You Feel Lazy; 2. Victoria Hot Mom's Pictures are Out Now; 3. How Long Can a Woman's Leg Be—Super Model

⁷¹ Ibid., 57. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

⁷² David Infante coined the term "Yuccie" written in his article "The hipster is dead, and you might not like who comes next," retrieved from http://mashable.com/2015/06/09/post-hipster-yuccie/#jWzYd_vw0kqX, defining "Yuccie" in the following:

Yuccies. Young Urban Creatives. In a nutshell, a slice of Generation Y, borne of suburban comfort, indoctrinated with the transcendent power of education, and infected by the conviction that not only do we deserve to pursue our dreams; we should profit from them.

⁷³ <http://udn.com/news/index>. Trans., Hsia-Ching Lin, 2016.

⁷⁴ "udn.com" is one of the most influential websites posting news articles in Taiwan. It was founded in 2000 and the news articles include news from "United Daily News" and "Economy Daily News" in Taiwan, and news from "World Journal" in the North America (Wikipedia 2016b)."

K.K.'s Diary in Wearing Long Paints; 4. Olympic Badminton Court under Construction Looks like an Urn-Shelf Court; 5. Blasts Have Come for Women—Three Male Super Stars' Muscle Pictures; 6. *Please Come Back, Mister*.⁷⁵ Lee Min-jung's Closet Fashion. Other topics in Figure 4 can be categorized into the following issues: 1. Religious News—Easter in Hungary; 2. Environmental Crisis—Gas Leaking in Northern Coast of Taiwan; 3. Health Issues in Elders and Sufferers of Polio; 4. International Employment Rights.

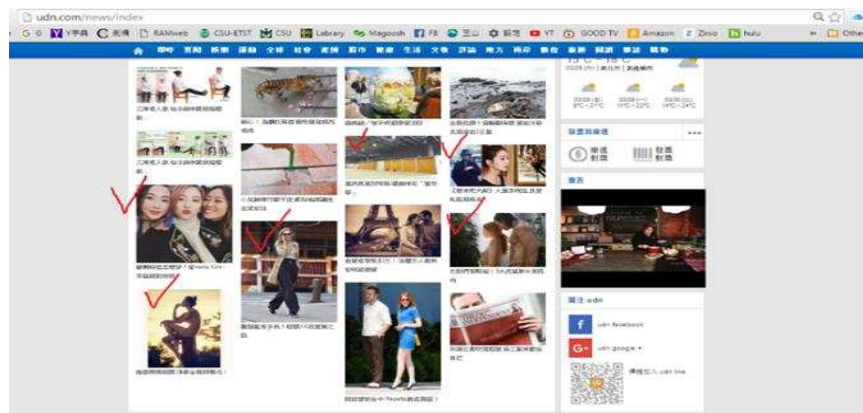


Figure 4: News in Today's UDN

In January 2016, I conducted an informal study with 70 of my Taiwanese friends on the topic of beauty talk on Facebook from 2014-2016. I observed their posts on their Facebook Timelines and categorized all of the themes into groups such as family, food, music, natural, health, marriage, learning, holidays, work, human rights, shopping, and beauty talk. Out of these 70 Facebook accounts, each author talked about relevant issues of beauty every day.

⁷⁵ *"Please Come Back, Mister"* (Hangul: 돌아와요 아저씨) is a 2016 South Korean television series starring Rain, Kim In-kwon, Kim Soo-ro, Oh Yeon-seo, Lee Min-jung, Lee Ha-nui, Choi Won-young and Yoon Park, based on a Japanese novel published in 2002, *Mr. Tsubakiyama's Seven Days* by Jirō Asada. It airs on SBS on Wednesdays and Thursdays at 21:55 for 16 episodes, beginning on 24 February 2016 (Wikipedia 2016a)."

Also, beauty talks consisted of about 18-20 percent of all the themes mentioned above. The topics concerning beauty talks were the following: exercise, diet, selfie obsession, body shame, cosmetics, aging prevention, cross-gender dressing up, fashion (e.g., clothes, hair style, life styles, travel), and minor body alterations (e.g., hair, skin, bleaching). What struck me from these data was how the images from the news are reflected in social media. Also, I was intrigued by how powerful Facebook's "comments and likes" were. These "comments and likes" were also accompanied with multimodal and multinational literacies to shape people's identities. Along with these posts on Facebook mainly from Taiwan, Korea, Japan, and the U.S., each post reinforces the ideology of beauty across the cultural landscapes of many nations. This interaction only takes a few seconds to transfer the concept of beauty; whereas a few decades ago, the dissemination of any kind need to take some months or years to procreate.

F. T. Chiu, C.C. Yang and I.L. Wu (2009) discuss how Chinese aesthetics embodied in clothing and beauty standard throughout the dynasties affect the modern-day understanding of body images in contemporary Taiwan—e.g., the predilection of a bigger size in the Tang Dynasty and the delicate-and-thin features prominent in the Ching Dynasty.⁷⁶ However, Mei-Fang Shih (2011) argues that contemporary body-image in Taiwan contains mostly other cultural elements from especially Korea, Japan, and the U.S.A. (e.g. Audrey Hepburn's elegance, *Sex and the City's* sophistication, and the dressing style in Korean and Japanese romance soap operas).⁷⁷

⁷⁶ (Chiu, Yang, and Wu 2009), 54. "Influence of Modern Aesthetic Standard on the Consensus of Body Figure."

⁷⁷ (Shih 2011), 97-100. "A Study on the Chinese Fashion Development Opportunity in Mainland China and Taiwan Media-Culture Industry."

Shih believes that the fixation of the Taiwanese majority toward Korean, Japanese and American media influence is the production of symbolic and emotional identity. I believe that Taiwan's contemporary aesthetic standard includes both influences from the Chinese elements and the international effects. While Chiu, Yang and Wu, and Shih foreground different impacts in scales of a fashion design industry and of a theatrical dancing performance, I consider both sides equally affect individuals' identities by their emotions. Qinggui Feng's view (2012) helps me to conclude how a person's identity adheres to a person's emotions:

The aesthetic value from TV episodes is embodied by the audiences' emotional experience. The audiences often project their emotion on the TV protagonist's performance as though the audiences were re-experiencing the plot; thus, they facilitate the aesthetic effect and sense an identifiable value by echoing with the media.⁷⁸

Public places provide valuable clues as to how aesthetics shape cultural identity. From studying three major traditional-to-modern dance performances in Taiwan, Ying-Ying Huang (2003) concludes that three dance choreographers' inspirations of their performances represent Taiwan's aesthetic standard—like a hodgepodge, which is mixed with the European culture, the American culture, and the Japanese culture.⁷⁹ When performances happen in public spaces, choreographers' inspirations become conduits to communicate with the audience's cultural identity. Rob Sean Wilson (1988) promotes the idea that U.S. global displacement has created a "Pacific Rim" as a framework which has produced a global-capitalism in what he called "Inter-Asia"—Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, etc.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ (Feng 2012), 32. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

⁷⁹ (Huang 2003), 55. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

⁸⁰ (Wilson 1988), 43. *Waking in Seoul*: University of Hawaii Press.

Joon K. Kim and May Fu (2008) believe that modern South Korean anxieties of developing in modernity and globalization relate to the males' sexual desire for Western women.⁸¹ These points suggest the transference of globally dominant elements of desire and taste filter through an intra-national level. Certain homogeneous characteristics were formed from these elements. "The rise of a global media culture," Kuipers argues, "has led to a profusion of images of (supposedly) beautiful people."⁸² these images in contemporary Taiwan disseminated around the globe have founded a standardized taste for the majority. Also, from either the emphasis on Wilson's inter-Asia's global capitalism or on Kim and Fu's discussion about the male's global sexual desire, this standardized taste for the majority has formed an aesthetic classification in Taiwan. These aesthetic standards encompass some common characteristics, such as urbanity, metropolitan lifestyle, middle-class sense of security, Chinese and Western classical-and-modern spatial design, and the combination of highbrow and popular culture. The production of Taiwanese yuccie culture not only represents "the importance of beauty standard as a form of capital,"⁸³ but also underscores its significance as an integral part of one's cultural and national identity.

The obsession of Taiwanese society's hourly and daily beauty talks reveals the majority's belief in Taiwanese yuccie structure. Thus, I will elaborate later in the third chapter on how this Taiwanese yuccie structure reproduces the fixed notion of beauty in a city.

⁸¹ (Kim and Fu 2008), 493. "International Women in South Korea's Sex Industry." *Asian Survey* XL VIII (3):492-513.

⁸² (Kuipers 2015), 40. "Beauty and Distinction? The Evaluation of Appearance and Cultural Capital in Five European Countries." *Poetics* 53:38-51.

⁸³ Ibid, 40.

Also, by using an auto-ethnographical method, I hope to infuse Taiwanese indigenous people's voice to uncover how this Taiwanese yuccie structure has boxed the images of Taiwanese indigenous people, and has made them become the antithesis of beauty in Taiwan.

The Antithesis of Beauty in Contemporary Taiwan

The contemporary beauty standard in Taiwan, as depicted in the photos shown in figures from five to ten below, reveals the ethos of Taiwanese yuccie culture for both genders. Figures 5 and 6 express that Taiwanese ideology of beauty or handsomeness reflects an ancient Chinese notion of associating frailty with beauty. Chiu, Yang, and Wu (2009) confirm that this idea is deeply embedded in the Chinese majority's mind from the Qing Dynasty (1616-1911).

They elaborate:

Owning thin-and-long figures embodied in long necks, narrow shoulders, small waists, tiny faces and eyes, and cherry-sized lips; and also, expressing their delicacy in their melancholy physical weakness or sickness, women can be considered beautiful.⁸⁴



Figure 5: A's most striking



Figure 6: W's Beauty

⁸⁴ (Chiu, Yang, and Wu 2009), 54. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

This philosophy indicates that women earn the distinction of being pretty from the mediocre majority, which implies the opposite such as strong, healthy, rough, and optimistic. Another Chinese adage has enhanced this thought in the Chinese language—*Dong Shi Xiao Ping* [A Jackdaw in Peacock's Feathers]:

Dong Shi Knitting Her Brows in Limitation of Xi Shi: Xi Shi was a famous beauty in ancient China. Once, suffering from heart-burn, she had to knit her eyebrows and cover her chest with both hands. The neighbors, however, commented that she looked even more beautiful that way. Among Xi Shi's fellow villagers was an ugly girl named Dong Shi. Admiring Xi Shi's beauty, she imitated her in every way. Seeing a neighbor coming her way, she would also frown and put her hands to her chest. All her neighbors tried to avoid her because, by foolishly copying Xi Shi, she looked even more ugly.⁸⁵

Figures from seven to ten demonstrate an aesthetic taste tied to cosmopolitanism and modernity. Global tourism that suggests an appreciation for modern sensibilities typifies an emergence of a new yuccie culture. In Figure 7, the Eiffel Tower in the background of the picture offers a unique pathos: a man's handsomeness or attractiveness is created through the associative process. The man in the picture ascribes his handsomeness to a "hip" destination, outside of Taiwan, famous around the globe. Not zooming in on his facial expression, the man implicitly sends a message that he is modern, cosmopolitan and desirable by presenting himself within the company of a world-renowned tourist sight.



Figure 7: Q's Handsomeness

⁸⁵ (Tan 1984), 117. *Best Chinese Idioms*. Translated by Shuhan Zhou and Bowen Tang. Edited by Situ Tan. Vol. 1. Taipei, Taiwan: SMC Publishing Inc.

Figures from eight to ten also entail yet another notion of contemporary aesthetic in Taiwan: urbanity, middle-class sense of security, and Chinese and western classical-and-modern spatial design. This contemporary aesthetic uncovers other elements of contemporary Taiwanese yuccie structure: an emerging trend based on tourism that suggests leisure, luxury and extravagance. Figure 8 signifies a pastiche of Chinese traditional elegance and capitalism's economical arrangement. With the National Chinese Opera House in the middle of the picture, and a famous business building in Taipei in the upper-right corner, this photo uses the world-renowned Japanese anime character, Doraemon, to present another layer of modern sensibility, one that appreciates tradition and accepts global culture, simultaneously.⁸⁶ Figure 9 depicts an exclusive middle-class lifestyle, which emanates the message of a bright future rooted in high-class urbanity. Figure 10 expresses that the Western fairytale vibe can be achieved and enacted in popular tourist locations in Taiwan.



Figure 8: W's Beauty

⁸⁶ While sexiness in the contemporary U.S. is a huge part of the beauty standard in the mainstream, cuteness in contemporary Taiwan is a dazzling element for people to decide what is attractive.



Figure 9: K's Beauty



Figure 10: D's Beauty and Handsomeness

If these representations embody an implicit association between modernity and desirability, then are there elements of its antithesis in contemporary Taiwan? How do these images compare to the representation of the Taiwanese?

Figure 11 is from one of the scenes of a popular comic movie in Taiwan, *David Loman* [A Retired Godfather, Da-Wei].⁸⁷ This scene captures an episode in which the protagonist, a Taiwanese godfather, David, at the center, attempts to use a camouflage to run away from a gangster pictured on the right. Using a parody to exaggerate the hilarious run-and-chase in a Taipei City street, this scene explicitly mimics the Taiwanese indigenous people to a stereotypical Native American image. Although the image is represented through the comedic genre, it intensifies the images of the indigenous people as archaic, exotic, and non-Chinese.



Figure 11: The Indigenous in the Movie

Figures from 12 to 14 demonstrate scenes from the same movie that allow characters to weave in and out between fiction and reality.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ <http://www.storm.mg/lifestyle/81878>

⁸⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pazcCjVsHUK>

Based on an actual event, the scenes depict the largest indigenous protest against the Taiwanese government's policy of dumping nuclear waste on an indigenous land. This indigenous community, the Dao, is situated on a small island (Orchid Island, 45 km square) southeast of Taiwan's main island. The Taiwan government has used the Orchid Island as the primary nuclear waste dumping ground since 1982. These pictures reflect the caricatured images of the indigenous populations in order to undermine the seriousness of the issue and to underscore the irrationality of their protest. Moreover, when the indigenous character, Dao, speaks, subtitles in Figure 14 show incoherent, random symbols. Though this protest is considered a milestone for the indigenous' identity, education, civil rights, human dignity, social justice, self-determination, etc., these images embody that the majority's images of the Taiwanese indigenous people is still immature and condescending.



Figure 12: Dao's Protest Against Nuclear Waste (1) in *David Loman*



Figure 13: Dao's Protest Against Nuclear Waste (2) in *David Loman*



Figure 14: Dao's Protest Against Nuclear Waste (3) in *David Loman*

Taiwanese Indigenous Movement sprouted from the universities in Taiwan. A group of indigenous college students in National Taiwan University formed an association; they then founded the first indigenous literature journal, *Kao Shan Qing* [High Mountain Green] on campuses in 1983. In 1984, indigenous college students, writers, and government staff founded the Minority/Indigene Committee, which was financially supported by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan.⁸⁹

After 1984, a series of movements called for recognition and respect. The most famous movements demanded the following: First, revising history textbooks' content, which depicted the Taiwanese indigenous people as butchers of heroic Chinese settlers; second, saving young indigenous girls, who were forcibly sold or kidnapped, from the sex industry in cities; lastly, demanding environmental and self-determination rights such as the Dao's Anti-Nuclear Waste Movement.

Though the Taiwanese Indigenous Movement has unchained the conscience and voice of Taiwanese indigenous people, some writers and scholars have inadvertently reinforced the tacit inferiority of the indigenous populations. Pasuya Poiconu (2008), for instance, believes that the educated and the writers were pioneers who raised deep concerns about the marginalization of the Taiwanese indigenous;⁹⁰ however, the title of his research, "Taiwan Indigenous People's Movement and Literary Enlightenment," suggests the deeply ingrained social attitudes. While the literary enlightenment could be a catalyst to stir the society's ideology, it also neglects the problems reflected in the very word, "enlightenment."

⁸⁹ Taiwanese Indigenous Movement Chronology, vol. 6:
http://www.tiprc.org.tw/ePaper/06/06_movementlist.html

⁹⁰ (Poiconu 2008), 55. "Taiwan Indigenous People's Movement and Literary Enlightenment " *Taiwan Journal of Indigenous Studies* 1 (1):39-58.

Shihui Hong (2005), for instance, notes the value of providing a voice for the indigenous without reducing their voice to simply the voice of the oppressed.⁹¹ In her famous question, “Can Subaltern Speak,” Gayatri Spivak (1998) purports that writers defining other cultures cannot avoid regulating others in a colonial way⁹²; Hong (2005) believes that a self-definition from an indigenous person could also bring a sense of colonialism. Building on this debate, Rey Chow (1993) offers an interesting insight regarding the concept of gaze in relation to the native existence. She writes:

What I am suggesting is a mode of understanding the native in which the native’s existence –i.e., an existence before becoming “native” —precedes the arrival of the colonizer. Contrary to the model of Western hegemony in which the colonizer is seen as a primary, active “gaze” subjugating the native as passive “object,” I want to argue that it is actually the colonizer who feels looked at by the native’s gaze. This gaze, which is neither a threat nor a retaliation, makes the colonizer “conscious” of himself, leading to his need to turn this gaze around and look at himself, henceforth “reflected” in the native-object.⁹³

In the book, *Civil Racism—The 1992 Los Angeles Rebellion and the Crisis of Racial Burnout*, Lynn Mie Itagaki (2016) addresses the subtlety of the media’s impact regarding Yamashita’s “collective mindlessness.”

In the novel, *Tropic of Orange*, Yamashita (1997) reminds her readers to develop a sense of media citizenship in order to distinguish the twisted representations from the media. Itagaki praises Yamashita’s view regarding the critique of the media:

Yamashita indicts her readers for not taking responsibility for such events and the narrator disavows the existence of a single author or “single imagination” in favor of the “collective mindless” of the viewing audience. The television media event manifests a collective memory, what “we all saw,” and the narrator implies that all viewers are complicit in the

⁹¹ (Hong 2005), 158. “壓迫與吶喊：都市反支配力量對原住民文學的影響 [Oppression and Scream: Reverse Negativity of the Indigenous and Their Literature].” *Chung Wai Literary Quarterly* 33 (9):143-160.

⁹² (Spivak 1988).

⁹³ (Chow 1993), 51.

novel's plot as witnesses of the events in the narrative. The viewer's very passivity supplants agency as the "collective mindlessness that propels our fascination forward."⁹⁴

While the Taiwanese media misrepresents Taiwanese indigenous people via the images of mysterious, primitive, and untamed, the viewers are practicing their collective mindlessness of reinforcing the identification of Taiwanese indigenous people, which has been formed through the colonial rulings. Under Chinese culturalism and nationalism, the media has become a crucial affective force to participate in shaping the identification of Taiwanese indigenous. This identification deepens stereotypes of the indigenous people as foreign, exotic, strange, and arcane.

Magnanimity or Elimination

In the modern-day Taiwan, the showcasing of the indigenous culture is often used to promote the country's appreciation presumably for diversity. Public spectacles, summer tribal festivals, and the Tribal Harvest Exhibitions exploit indigenous dance and art performances as the public engages in the consumption of the exotic and differentiated culture. Taiwan's promotion of its diversity by publicly putting the indigenous populations on display further supports voyeurism and exacerbates the spectator-subject divide based on the implicit messages regarding the indigeneity.

This intimacy between society and indigenous culture in contemporary Taiwan is not so much derived from a genuine appreciation for the difference but is generated from the consumptive culture of otherness. This "otherness" oozes from Chinese people's awkwardly amazed appreciation toward Taiwanese indigenous culture and is held by the Taiwanese majority who demonstrate an ambivalent attitude toward an imagined outsider.

⁹⁴ (Itagaki 2016), 215. *Civil Racism: The 1992 Los Angeles Rebellion and the Crisis of Racial Burnout*.

The Republic of China has taken over Taiwan as its bastion as the Chinese nation's “天下 *Tianxia* [Chinese centered high-brow culture—also known as the concept which states that all the Earth under Heaven belongs to the Chinese].”

Though the enveloped settler-colonial structure has been ensconced on this island, it has not eliminated the indigenous identity in a wave of ideological filtration which has washed over the island for decades.

According to Wolfe (2006),⁹⁵ the ideological assimilation is achieved through education, the media, and public perception. The Chinese settler-colonial ideological filters have been developed in Taiwanese society for years, and Yun-Hong Lin (2014) confirms that the Chinese narrative has employed Chinese cultural symbols and cultural nostalgia through literature classics.⁹⁶

The eventual settlement and control by the Republic of China after the Cultural Revolution, Taiwan began to propagate ancient Chinese history. Allen Chun (1994) describes the process:

Underlying the imagination of a cultural China as signifying nation was an appeal to sacred origins and the myth of a continuous history, as captured most powerfully in the concept of *huaxia*, *hua* here referring to a general sense of Chineseness emanating from the mythical Xia dynasty [B.C. 2207-1766]. Rooted in the sanctity of a primordial past, the legitimacy of history has often served in China to vindicate the mandate of Heaven despite the actual history of repeated dynastic upheaval, barbarian conquest and alien religious influences.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ (Wolfe 2006), 389.

⁹⁶ (Lin 2014), 292. Lin, Yun-Hong. 2014. "The Ruler's Homesickness from Nowhere-Modernity, Cultural Hegemony and Chinese Nationalism in Taiwan Literature." *Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies* 18:261-303.

⁹⁷ (Chun 1994), 55. "From Nationalism to Nationalizing: Cultural Imagination and State Formation in Postwar Taiwan."

The Confucian ideology [originating from 1121 B.C.] regarding “*ren* (仁) [people]” as well as Tang China's *hua* (華) [extravagance] during A.D. 618-907 provided a basis for developing a unified ethos based on intrinsic Chinese aesthetics. The Chinese saying, “China as an etiquette Empire, called Xia; as a civilization deserves extravagant dress code, called *hua*,” reveals the origin of Chinese ideological superiority. The development of proper role divisions based on the unity of a nation [Emperor, Officials, Father, Son] supports the presumed superiority of the Chinese philosophy and reflects the ideological rationale behind the supposed social location of conquered races or ethnicities.⁹⁸ The Chinese society’s emphasis on *guanxi* [relationship] has established a unique form of a settler-colonial structure, one that appears magnanimous but is a form of condescending sympathy. This paternalistic attitude gets expressed in diverse ways: the indigenous’ poverty, the uneducated poor, the victims of natural calamities (earthquakes and typhoons), etc. Through *guanxi* [relationship], the Chinese majority still believes that the indigenous peoples can be considered equal only if they assimilate and eliminate sufferings.

⁹⁸ The West's settler-colonial elimination has determined to create the natives to be institutional individuals like homesteaders and American citizens; whereas the East, as far as China is concerned, has utilized its Chinese charisma to fundamentally degrade any other ideologies.

CHAPTER THREE

The Beginning of Auto-ethnographical Dialogues

Growing up near modern Taipei, my parents raised me in a manner more aligned with the Chinese culture than an Atayal. In the eyes of my Atayal ancestors, I would be outcast and considered not attractive due to my lack of a facial tattoo. In my parents' eyes, I am not attractive because their beauty standard is aligned with the majority in contemporary Taiwan. When visiting my grandma in the mountains every summer, she would tell me the story of how the Atayal used a needle to embed paint into one's face. Little by little, the needle would pierce one's facial skin.

It was a painful process, but once completed, one could be considered an adult and get married. I asked my grandma why she didn't have a facial tattoo. She responded, "The Japanese government forbade it."

According to my mom's standard, I am too dark, too short, and too big-boned compared to my Chinese peers. Before she passed away from a heart attack in 2008 and before I went to college, Chinese neighbors and Chinese family friends would greet me with a compliment like, "You look so pretty, cute, and unique—like a foreign kid."

I always thought they were just patronizing me, and I chose the beauty standard my mom adhered to as a determined principle. She had always managed to maintain a weight around 88 pounds, which was another painful reminder since my weight could never drop to that level.

My mom often joked about my big hips and muscular calves compared to average Chinese girls; being a kid, I refused to wear any feminine clothes and colors that failed my expectations.

I still remember my grandma telling me stories about a strong Atayal woman who plants seeds and takes care of the harvest, her family, and the community. But, the generations between my grandmother and mother, I believe something happened that changed how I think about what is considered beautiful. I believe, principally, the onus falls upon the media, education, and public mentality. However, I also believe that the emotional and ideological filters at the individual level contribute to the erasure of indigenous traditions.

My mom, like many people in Taiwan, passed time watching TV. Because my mom suffered from kidney failure, she had to undergo dialysis three days a week for over 25 years. Thus, she spent half of her day, everyday, watching TV before she passed away. She had her own kidney removed a few years after she gave birth to me.

She told me that her kidneys failed because of malnutrition in her youth, working too much, and undernourishment due to over-dieting. As much as she loved me, she often reminded me how important it was to be thin, whiter-skinned, and feminine—this way I could marry well in the future (e.g. marrying a doctor, a lawyer, or a rich person), so she would not have to worry about me becoming as poor as she was—a way she loved me. As a teenager, I never kept nor admired any photos with my image because I did not want to see myself in the photos (I did not want the confirmation that I was darker, fatter, and uglier than others in my own eyes). Last May when I went back to Taiwan, my dad gave me a bunch of old photos of my mom.

I saw a much younger me in some of the pictures, and I was quite shocked that I was not as fat nor ugly as my mom and my memory always called me—of course, I was still darker (see Figures 15 and 16).



Figure 15: Me as a Teenager



Figure 16: Me as a Senior High

Though she never considered me as thin or pretty as Chinese girls, and though her constant comments regarding my being too fat, too dark, and too masculine had for a long time affected my self-confidence, my mom still taught me the importance of being proud to be an Atayal, so long as I was well-educated.

I am a native of Taiwan. My indigenous tribe is the Atayal tribe. We call ourselves the Atayal. My village is called Tai'an Jinshui Village in Miaoli County high in the mountains of Taiwan. However, I did not grow up in my village; I grew up in the municipal area near Taiwan's capital, Taipei. My parents both came from the same village, and they are both Atayal. They went to Taipei in their early twenties before my birth in order to make a better living. Raising me, they were determined not to move back to their village so as to provide me with a better education; though in cities, they had to face worse discrimination.

I ended up going to college at Taipei's National Taiwan Normal University, the best teachers' university in Taiwan. This began my experience of over 10 years of living in Taipei. Taipei is an international but narrow-minded city. As I mentioned in chapter two, Taipei is Taiwan's largest city, characterizing Taiwanese yuccie structure and the nation's fixed notion of beauty: the pastiche of Taiwanese aesthetic—the combination of Chinese orthodoxy, modernity, and indigenous art. These images of Taipei City, shown in Figure 17,⁹⁹ contain the optimism I imagined when deciding to go to college.



Figure 17: Taipei City Montage

I hoped that the city would offer me a forum to become a pretty, successful, modern, and knowledgeable woman. When deciding where to receive higher education, Taipei, in the eyes of most Taiwanese, is a trophy for whomever is eager for the pursuit of personal dreams in Taiwan—economic growth, national identity, cultural exploration, modern convenience, and beauty pilgrimage, etc. Taipei's Mass Rapid Transportation (MRT), shown in Figure 18,¹⁰⁰ takes you to all corners of Taipei, without relying on a car to take you around the city that measures approximately 105 square miles. Taipei's modern transportation reveals a country's dedication to reaching modernity.

⁹⁹ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Taipei_City_montage.PNG

¹⁰⁰ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Taipei_MRT_Zhongxiao_Fuxing_Station_Platform.jpg



Figure 18: Taipei's Mass Rapid Transportation

Figures 19 to 21 express how the media in a popular music video¹⁰¹ beautifies Taiwan's modernity while traveling on public transportation, thus enhancing the Taiwanese yuccie culture. In other words, the music video filmed in modern public places offers individual agency of feeling beautiful, being represented by the attractive protagonists in the video.



Figure 19

¹⁰¹ A song in the soundtrack of the 2006 Taiwanese drama, "The Hospital (The Great White Towel)." The drama's plot is based on a 2000 Chinese novel, *白色巨塔* [*The Great White Towel*], written by a Taiwanese author Wenying Hou depicting the power struggle and manipulation which the protagonist encounters as a young doctor in a hospital. The official music video of this song (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z0EprAKsxCM>), "曾經太年輕 [Too Yong]," emphasizes a complex romantic relationship with the three main protagonists in the story, and transmitting a melody about which most contemporary Chinese and Taiwanese people concern: love, beauty, and life. The lyrics (Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016):

I heard the wind bells chiming outside. The wind keeps shaking the chime.
 The wind keeps reminding me of my unsettlement. I thought I heard that you've passed by my front door.
 I keep traveling, along, and sober.
 While I cross over the borders of my past, I realize you are only one piece of the scenery.
 Once, I was too young but sincere,
 To give love though you thought this childish.
 Once, I was too young to understand, to cherish you.
 As some flowers only blossom once ever, us too.
 Once, I was too young but the tears were real.
 I still believe you're somewhere, keep going.
 Whatever regarding me follows everything concerning you.

One of the reasons the karaoke industry has emerged as a staple of Taiwanese entertainment is due to music videos' influence.



Figure 20

These embody people's emotions and desires while singing and watching stories in the videos, to some degree interpreting individuals' lives and empowering individuals to feel pretty or handsome like a star.



Figure 21

In Taipei, business buildings, residential areas, schools, public transportation lines, and industrial factories reside next to one another, creating a unique vibe that consists of a hodgepodge of modern traffic, capital competition, public aesthetic, and philosophical infusion.

Figures 22 and 23 are near my former residences.¹⁰² Residential areas usually are composed of different kinds of apartment buildings next to business areas or sometimes both areas share the same structures. The proximity of individuals' residences to business areas offers varying degrees of socio-economic status. The closer people live to business buildings, usually, the richer they are. However, this is not a fixed case. Often, this proximity only applies for residents of Taipei.

For those who are not residents of Taipei, richer people might live in the same apartments with poor people; the composition of the socio-economic statuses, personal backgrounds, national identities, educational acquisitions, etc. is greatly diversified.



Figure 22



Figure 23

¹⁰² <http://mapio.net/s/75398117/>

Figure 24 shows the Administrative Building of National Taiwan Normal University, where I earned my B.A. degree in Chinese. Most of the buildings of this university were built during Japanese rule over 120 years ago.¹⁰³ This school is now a national historical monument of the Republic of China.



Figure 24: The Façade of National Taiwan Normal University

In the university area mentioned above, there is a famous night market, shown in Figure 25, next to the façade of National Taiwan Normal University.¹⁰⁴ It is mostly composed of food/drink/snacks stands and imported clothing from the US, Japan, and Korea. Fashion trends in night markets of Taipei usually are an index of Taiwan's contemporary beauty standard regarding clothes, cosmetics, body-size standards, etc.



Figure 25

¹⁰³<https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:%E8%87%BA%E5%B8%AB%E5%A4%A7%E8%A1%8C%E6%94%BF%E5%A4%A7%E6%A8%93.JPG>

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.flickr.com/photos/randomwire/4539000419>

What comes to mind when you think of coffee shops? What, why, when, and where do you go to coffee shops? Do coffee shops empower you or give you any sense of achievement?



Figure 27: Styles of Modernity on Display in Taipei's Coffee Shops (2)



Figure 26: Styles of Modernity on Display in Taipei's Coffee Shops (1)



Figure 28: American and European Styles on Display in Taipei's Coffee Shops (1)



Figure 29: American and European Styles on Display in Taipei's Coffee Shops (2)



Figure 30: Taipei's Coffee Shops: Japanese Style (1)



Figure 31: Taipei's Coffee Shops: Japanese Style (2)



Figure 32: Taipei's Coffee Shops-Old-Time Taiwan Style



Figure 33: Homey Taiwanese Style in Taipei's Coffee Shops



Figure 34: Taipei's Coffee Shops in Residential Areas (1)



Figure 35: Taipei's Coffee Shops in Residential Areas (2)



Figure 36: Taipei's Coffee Shops in Residential Areas (3)

Taipei's coffee shops definitely give people a sense of Taiwanese yuccie structure and empower the majority's aesthetic self-achievement. At least for me, during my early college years, upon doing a part-time job in a coffee shop, I studied in coffee shops, largely for the atmosphere they provided—feeling cool and elegant; dressing up to feel prettier. It was also when a close friend taught me how to do make-up to make my skin-tone lighter. She also said that eyeliner would make my eyes brighter and prettier. Taipei's coffee shops (see Figures 26 to 36 above)¹⁰⁵ also become tourist sites for peoples, who live outside of Taipei, to visit and to engage in Taiwanese yuccie structure—modern and middle-class leisure but immersed in coffee shops' nostalgic decoration of old times in Taiwan. My indigenous family and some of my relatives often like to meet with me in coffee shops when they visited me in Taipei. I am one of the few indigenous children in my village who attended college.

¹⁰⁵ Figures 26 to 36 are retrieved from a personal food and coffee online journals, where the author has visited before: <http://vilo92.pixnet.net/blog/post/429955862-%E3%80%90%E5%8F%B0%E5%8C%97%E3%80%91%E7%A7%81%E8%97%8F%E5%BF%85%E5%8E%BB%E7%9A%8415%E9%96%93%E7%BE%8E%E5%A5%BD%E5%92%96%E5%95%A1%E5%BB%B3%E2%80%A7%E5%81%B7%E6%B8%A1%E8%B6%85>.

Also, Taipei, for most indigenous people, is a beacon of capitalism, prosperity, internationality, fashion, beauty, the future, and (for some people) the evil; thus, chatting in coffee shops gives most Taipei tourists, including my family and friends, an environment to indulge in this yuccie structure a little bit; we then can go back to reality, which is nothing like life in Taipei.

When I began dressing more like a typical citizen of Taipei during my junior and senior years of college, I would have interesting conversations with my family and friends when they visit. They would often ask:

Hsiao-Ching, tell me what cosmetic products you use because your skin looks lighter now.

Hsiao-Ching, you've lost weight. What have you done? Tell me!

Mom asked: How many boyfriends do you have right now? Don't be too greedy. Don't date Chinese men! Their family will look down on you.

Taiwan's yuccie structure is also seen in international tourism and photography, and international artistic exhibitions—the international/famous ones are usually held in Taipei. Figures 37 to 44¹⁰⁶ are retrieved from an online fashion magazine, *A Day Magazine* (<http://www.adaymag.com/>), promoting a photography exhibition in the most elite business center of Taipei—Sinyi District. This photography exhibition includes a Russian photographer's "discovery" of Taiwan, filming a foreign model to intensify the beauty of "diverse Taiwan."

¹⁰⁶ Retrieved from an online news of *A Day Magazine*: <http://www.adaymag.com/2016/04/17/follow-me-to-pandora.html>, this news gives accolade in the following description (Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016):

If you remembered and were amazed by the Russian photographer Murad Osmann and his wife Nataly Zakharova last year, who created a trend for lovers to travel and photo together around Taiwan— "Follow Me To," and who took you to visit Taiwan's renowned tourist sites such as Alishan National Park, Taipei 101 building, Sun Moon Lake, Toroko National Park, etc., this year follow them again in 2016. Invited by a Danish brand name, *Pandora*, soon they will arrive and rediscover Taiwan's beauty for you in their next photography exhibition, "A Journey of Love," held in Taipei Sinyi Eslite on April, 14th to April, 29th.

In addition, this exhibition employs the affective theme of his photography, “Follow me To,” to promote lovers holding hands to travel to enjoy life; therefore, creating an atmosphere in which the harmony of diversity in Taiwan can be witnessed and reached.

Alishan Sunrise, a must-see in Taiwan. Also touched by the beauty of Alishan, Nataly [the model, the photographer’s wife] found the beauty in her heart (Figure 37).¹⁰⁷

A must-visit when you come to Taiwan. Through his camera lens, the photographer manifests the grandeur of Taipei 101, booming with the flourishing clouds (Figure 38).¹⁰⁸ If you’ve ever been here, you would be drawn by the solemnity of this Buddha statue (Figure 39).¹⁰⁹



Figure 37: Alishan Sunrise, Chiayi

¹⁰⁷ Photo description on the website (<http://www.adaymag.com/2016/04/17/follow-me-to-pandora.html>). Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.



Figure 38: Taipei 101



Figure 39: Buddha Memorial Center, Kaohsiung

In Figure 40, the fan on Nataly's head and her red dress join the train's redness to accentuate the exuberant green of the Alishan forest.¹¹⁰



Figure 40

In Figure 41, one of Alishan's specialties: Tea. What are the couple—the photographer and the wife—so enamored with? It's the green plantation and the smell of the tea, as well as the hospitality when visiting the tea stores.¹¹¹



Figure 41: Alishan Tea Garden, Chiayi

¹¹⁰ Ibid. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

¹¹¹ Ibid. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

In Figure 42, with the developed city scenery, and the magnificent natural “Wows,” Taiwan also contains different kinds of aboriginal cultures to diversify this Taiwanese series of “Follow Me To.”¹¹²



Figure 42: Tzu-mu Bridge, Taroko National Park, Hualien

In Figure 43, joining the annual *Inviting Gods and Peace Temple Ritual*, the photographer and the model capture an array of colors of Taiwanese local features, memorizing unforgettable moments.¹¹³



Figure 43

¹¹² Ibid. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

¹¹³ Ibid. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

With the sunset and the red roof tiles, Murad's camera lens displays the unique beauty of Sun Moon Lake (Figure 44).¹¹⁴



Figure 44: Sun Moon Lake, Nantou

Taiwanese yuccie structure exemplified in this chapter creates links between individuals' cultural identity and country's national identity. It then merges beauty talks in the society with the aesthetic impact of internationality and Chinese tradition. Thus, Taiwanese yuccie structure has fostered a particular environment for an indigenous person, like the college-educated me, to believe in a fixed beauty standard. Behind this belief, I think about a proscription of Taiwanese indigeneity and a supercilious Chinese settler-colonial nationalism and culturalism that galvanize the affective diversity of Taiwan.

The combination of Chinese nationalism, culturalism, and internationalism has contributed to a peculiar yuccie structure, producing the aesthetic classifications based on the society's beauty standard. Within this structure, not only the Chinese majority has imposed the social ascriptions upon the Taiwanese indigenous people, but, in my auto-ethnographical case, the indigenous, like the college me, has also insensibly fed these social ascriptions by not recognizing the conflict between the indigeneity and the settler-colonial structure.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

Auto-ethnographical Dialogues in Elimination, Affectability, Pastiche of Taiwanese Aesthetic and Indigeneity

One day in 2015, as a master's student at CSU seeking a break from my studies, I took the opportunity to search YouTube for a short Mandarin speaking program as an escape from the surrounding English-speaking environment. I encountered a Chinese-renowned entertainment show called "*I Am a Singer*." As much as I like to sing and, as close as I almost ended up in a professional singing career in Taiwan before college, I still dislike big entertainment shows like this. This one, *I Am a Singer*, is the worst for me because it is a competition between famous veteran Chinese singers (Seriously! What exactly are they trying to prove—that they are all "not-good-enough" singers). Usually I avoid paying attention to this kind of show.

That day, I glanced at an image with a caption from an episode about a famous singer who employs Taiwanese indigenous children as his backup vocalists. Out of curiosity, I watched, wondering why in the world these children were on "that" stage. That episode only lasted about ten minutes, but, little did I know then, that this would provide the inspiration for my thesis. *I Am a Singer* [Mandarin: 我是歌手] was introduced as a Chinese version of a Korean reality show, *I am a Singer*.¹¹⁵ Decided by the audience members, only one singer will be chosen to be the best singer among six other talented singers after going through weeks of performing and an excruciating eliminating process.

¹¹⁵ Retrieved from Wikipedia, "https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/I_Am_a_Singer:"

I Am a Singer (Hangul: 나는 가수다; RR: *Naneun Gasuda*) is a popular South Korean singing competition program; a part of MBC's *Sunday Night* lineup. Seven talented, veteran Korean singers perform for a selected audience, which votes to eliminate one singer after each week's performance. The following week, another singer joins the competition, and the lineup of artists varies throughout the course of the show. Due to this fact, and because none of the accomplished singers desire to be voted last amongst their peers and eliminated, the level of performance is usually high and acclaimed by critics and viewers alike.

The episode¹¹⁶ that caught my attention was a performance by a famous Chinese singer in Taiwan, Jeff Chang. At a critical juncture during the competition, Chang also brought a group of Taiwanese indigenous children to participate in his performance dedicated to raising money for the rebuilding of the children's elementary school (the school's building was greatly damaged by a typhoon one summer).

These indigenous children are the children of Chang's former students in Taiwan before he became a famous singer. The singer used the following song to best illustrate his characteristics as a professional singer while also infusing affective elements to support fundraising. The following song, widely known by most Chinese, is a key element of the soundtrack of a well-known Chinese movie from 1985, "法外情 [*The Unwritten Law*]." ¹¹⁷ Wikipedia's introduction to this movie, retrieved from "[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Unwritten_Law_\(film\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Unwritten_Law_(film))," mentions why this movie has been influential to the Chinese society:

The Unwritten Law is a 1985 Hong Kong trial drama film, written, produced, and directed by Ng See-yuen, and starring Andy Lau and Deanie Ip. The film was a critical and commercial success and was followed by two sequels. *The Truth* (1988) and *The Truth Final Episode* (1989). Because the film and its subsequent two sequels have displayed a touching mother and son love, Deanie Ip had the title of "Andy Lau's mother."

The lyrics of this song are included below to illustrate what the singer uses in his performance upon adding Taiwanese indigenous children's "traditional culture" in the background.

¹¹⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cTjN6p0InfM>

¹¹⁷ "法外情 [*The Unwritten Law*]" depicts a story about a first-year attorney, Raymond: He grew up in a Catholic orphanage in Hong Kong, and after finishing law school in London, he goes back to Hong Kong to defend a law case for his birth mother, Wai Lan. Through the process of the lawsuit, the protagonist, Raymond, never knows that Wai Lan is his birth mother while Wai Lan recognizes later that he is her son. Wai Lan works as a sex worker and is suspected of killing one of her clients, who harassed her, and Wai Lan accidentally killed him in self-defense.

DEAR CHILD ¹¹⁸

My little little child, did you cry today?

Was it because friends ran away from you?

Or because they left and left only loneliness to you?

My beautiful child, did you cry today?

Was it because you got your new pretty clothes dirty?

Or was it because you didn't have friends to share your fear?

My smart, little kid, did you cry today?

Was it because you lost your lovely gift?

And you've looked for it from dawn till dusk; still, you could not find a thing.

My dear child,

Why don't you let me know what you think?

When the wind blows the candle out,

You chose to wander aimlessly.

My dear little child,

Wipe away your tears.

And I will walk you home.

(see Figure 45)

¹¹⁸ Lyrics trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.



Figure 45: *I am a Singer*: Jeff Chang's Performance 1

The voice and performance of Taiwanese indigenous people, shown in Figure 46, in the eyes of contemporary Chinese are usually considered beautiful. In this performance, Chang plays a song while indigenous children are wearing their traditional clothes dancing in the background. They received applause from the audience, and other competitors of *I am A Singer*.



Figure 46: *I am a Singer*: Jeff Chang's Performance 2

The first time I watched this, I cried, like shown in Figure 47, because it truly was a touching song, and it was nostalgic to me—a reminder of my childhood in the 1980s. Also, these children were fighting for their educational rights by joining the fundraising and by representing their indigenous tradition. It was touching because the singer, Chang, did not forget his roots prior to becoming a famous Chinese singer; he taught music in an indigenous community in the mountains decades ago before he became a famous singer in Taiwan. I watched this episode a few times and allowed myself to indulge my emotions—mostly, missing Taiwan while now in the U.S.A.



Figure 47: *I am a Singer*: Jeff Chang's Performance 3

However, something did not seem right. I started asking myself: Why did Chang have to bring them to the show to do the fundraising—I thought *I Am a Singer* was a platform for veteran singers to be honored for their singing skills (what did indigenous children's asking for help to rebuild their school have anything to do with the competition)?

Why do these children's Bunun clothes look roughly-made when compared to my best friend's authentic Bunun clothes? Why did these children have to stand in the back, and why were they so shy and standoffish when dancing and harmonizing? Why was the audience so touched when they saw a group of indigenous children performing in this song? Were they touched for the same reason as I was? Were they touched because of the melody and the lyrics?

I won't be able to examine all these questions; I also don't intend to regulate or diminish the kindness of the singer, the audience, and the children. However, I would like to offer a perspective regarding Taiwanese indigenous images in the contemporary media (see Figure 48 and 49).



Figure 48



Figure 49

While emotions often resonate with people's aesthetic choices, the media simultaneously exploit these connections in order to fixate Taiwanese indigenous images to a certain group. While the Chinese majority thinks that the Taiwanese indigenous are primitive and barbaric, the Chinese society might still consider the indigenous pretty and beautiful in a unique way if the indigenous portray themselves helpless, innocent, unaggressive, and amiable. Also, the Chinese renowned song that the singer chose epitomizes an image of an orphan; thereby, this show successfully amplifies some of the Taiwanese indigenous images in the Chinese society—orphans and victims.

Psychological research regarding the theory of beauty focuses on the objectification theory, internalized evaluation, and body shame.¹¹⁹ Scholars like to say that body shame causes mental issues such as bulimia, anorexia, or anxiety. For these researchers, mental issues are internalized; whereas, for me, the public's emotional response can catalyze a person's body shame, causing mental distress. Thus, these issues can be internalized and be externalized. Like the images of the Taiwanese indigenous in the singing show, I argue that without the audiences' preconception of the Taiwanese indigenous being helpless and victimized to configure the stigma, the Taiwanese indigenous wouldn't have a mental device to trigger their internalized self-regulation or body shame due to the majority's misconception. Of course, every indigenous person has a choice regarding how one chooses to think about the issue. I am not solely attributing individuals' mental issues to the public, nor exempting indigenous individuals' responsibility from facing the issues.

My argument here is only a reminder of how issues occur before the Taiwanese indigenous individuals realize one thing—They don't have to be conceptualized as either barbarians or victims; also, they don't need to try to be pretty by presenting themselves helpless. Therefore, speaking of emotional effects and considering the Chinese settler-colonial structure's impact, one day I encountered Sara Ahmed's article, "Happy Object." She believes that feelings can be evaluated; the desires of happiness can objectify us. She also argues that bad feelings and good feelings can be both positive and are structured and oriented by cultures, tastes, circumstances, politics, etc.

¹¹⁹ (Brown, Cash, and Mikulka 1990): Females regulate their body images more than males do. (Fredrickson and Roberts 1997): Theories of body convey social meanings. (Calogero, Davis, and Thompson 2005) Some women's self-objectification associates with their sufferings of eating disorders. (Calogero, Davis, and Thompson 2005): Females who are cautious of male-gaze are tied to greater body shame and physique anxiety and eating disorders.

To give value to things is to shape what is near us.”¹²⁰ From Ahmed’s points, an idea dawned on me that the Taiwanese indigenous people’s issues regarding body-images of themselves reveal the eliminatory elements of Chinese settler colonialism.

Body image often speaks of not only internal self-evaluation but also external institutionalized heterosexuality. The theory of beauty in feminist research sheds light on this inside-and-out process the most. Sandra Lee Bartky (1997) suggests that “an adequate understanding of women’s oppression will require an appreciation of the extent to which not only women’s lives but their very subjectivities are structured within an ensemble of systematically duplicitous practices.”¹²¹ The same way Bartky argues that “in contemporary patriarchal culture, a panoptical male connoisseur resides within the consciousness of most women: they stand perpetually before his gaze and under his judgment,”¹²² the Taiwanese indigenous people’s self-consciousness of body images stands under the society’s gaze and judgment of what an indigenous person should distinctly appear—different from the normal.

Thus, a struggle of the self-consciousness of an indigenous person tends to enhance the eliminatory structure of the colonial ideology—either forcibly, automatically, voluntarily, or inevitably. To conclude, I use Susan Bordo’s idea—Femininity is a cultural artifact:

But people’s identities are not formed only through interaction with such images, powerful as they are. The unique configurations (of ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, religion, genetics, education, family, age, and so forth) that make up each person’s life will determine how each actual woman is affected by our culture.¹²³

¹²⁰ (Ahmed 2010), 31.

¹²¹ (Bartky 1997), 37.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 34.

¹²³ (Bordo 1993), 61-63.

Thus, the Chinese colonial governance in Taiwan has produced the facet of the eliminatory structure to complicate the indigenous' identity. Regardless of what identity a Taiwanese indigenous person believes, due to the preference of femininity of the Chinese society, an indigenous female can choose to be more feminine (more so-called Chinese delicacy) or choose to be more masculine (more so-called indigenous distinction) without often being considered inferior. An indigenous female is likely to be accepted by Chinese society because of being able to be "feminine" and because a female can choose to marry a Chinese male—thus, be a Chinese person.

An indigenous man cannot be feminine enough to preclude himself from "masculinity" because even if he marries a Chinese woman, he will still not be considered a Chinese person due to the history of Chinese patriarchal lineage and ancestral worship.¹²⁴

Due to his blood, an indigenous man will always appear masculine, primitive, distinct from the Chinese—though he might want to be feminine or wants to be Chinese. I encountered Lauren Berlant's *Cruel Optimism*.¹²⁵ In *Cruel Optimism*, Berlant tracks the affective attachment of what people call the "good life" regarding various scopes such as the American dream, suburban leisure, private property, and yuccie inequalities. Overall, she discusses that present yuccie and neoliberals have produced fantasies. These fantasies, in turn, have formed a series of "good life" wherein people scaffold and practice their identities and desires.

¹²⁴ A man is identified and honored by his blood; a woman, her husband's blood. A catchy Chinese saying can offer more connotation to this rule: "Sheng Wei Nijia Ren, Si Wei Nijia Gui [Born for your family; when dead, your family's ghost]." Through her husband's name, a Chinese woman is expected to be constantly worshiped by her Chinese descendants; without her husband's name and "her husband's descendants" to worship her after death, a woman will be ever stranded in Hades without protection. An ancient Chinese woman did not publicly own a name before marriage. She would be given an official name and publicly claim her husband's family name after she marries her husband.

¹²⁵ (Berlant 2011). Berlant, Lauren Gail. 2011. *Cruel Optimism*. Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press.

This framework of “imaginations” might eventually turn sour and become “cruel optimism (Berlant 2011);” thus leading to an impasse where no support structure exists to sustain the “good life.”

The major beauty standard in contemporary Taiwan might reflect an optimism, and this standard usually facilitates the eliminatory and assimilative affection toward indigeneity. In other words, there is a possibility to see through the fantasy of Chinese aesthetics and to offer another perspective regarding the settler-colonial structure in Taiwan. However, while Berlant says that it is imaginable to not reproduce the conventional collateral damage,¹²⁶ I say that “the recast of the ordinary” is, to the greatest degree, to counteract the elimination of indigeneity in Taiwan.

Taiwanese indigenous characteristics often provide this counteraction mixed with Taiwan’s contemporary Chinese aesthetics through clothes, arts, fashions and governmental events and buildings. These examples undergird the agency of Chinese settler colonialism’s national and cultural dominance through the aesthetic pastiche of the indigenous and the Chinese.

Figures 54 to 55 illustrate two versions of art that employ Taiwanese indigenous elements in their works. The first artist, Lee, is currently a senior high school student in Taiwan who identifies herself as a one-quarter Bunun (a Taiwanese indigenous tribe) and three-quarters Han Chinese.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 263: “To recast the ordinary is to hazard the value of conventional, archaic political emotions and their objects/scenes. But this is what it means to take the measure of the impasse of the present: to see what is halting, stuttering, and aching about being in the middle of detaching from a waning fantasy of the good life; and to produce some better ways of mediating the sense of a historical moment that is affectively felt but undefined in the social world that is supposed to provide some comforts of belonging, so that it would be possible to imagine a potentialized present that does not reproduce all of the conventional collateral damage.”

She is known for her fashion design, combining European and Bunun patterns. She will attend the University of Arts in London for her Bachelor's degree while pursuing her passion for fashion design. In an interview on Taiwan Indigenous TV (a basic-cable channel in Taiwan), she said, "I still would like to keep searching for what I like by infusing artistic elements of the Taiwanese indigenous into the world's fashion design (see Figure 50).¹²⁷ I also hope to bring more of Taiwan to the world as a voice for the issues of Taiwanese indigenous people."¹²⁸



Figure 50: Lee's Bunun and Modern Fashion Design

The second is a well-known artist in Taiwan, Asia, and Europe, who has dedicated his art to Taiwanese Symbolism and Impressionism. Often expressing nostalgic emotions, his art describes Taiwan from the ruling of the Republic of China to the present. Figure 51 was broadcast on an online news story of NTD.TV,¹²⁹ and applauded with the following report:

A-Sun Wu returned after a 30-year absence to bring New York a new inspiration called "The Legend of South Pacific," combining Taiwanese indigenous totem with his childhood memory to present Chinese Ying and Yang.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7zHk8O9IIvc>

¹²⁸ An Interview on Taiwan Indigenous TV (<http://titv.ipcf.org.tw/news-19831>), 2016. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.

¹²⁹ <http://www.ntdtv.com/xtr/b5/2013/03/17/a864373.html>

¹³⁰ Ibid. Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin, 2016.



Figure 51: Taiwanese Totem in A-Sun Wu's Art

Figures from 52 to 57 also depict the aesthetic pastiche of the Taiwanese indigenous, Chinese orthodoxy, and modernity. Figure 52 to 55 are retrieved from a personal blog,¹³¹ Figures 56 and 57 are from a government website¹³² expressing how the Taiwanese government displays indigenous culture in public space.

Figures from 56 to 57 show Atayal tribe's history in Yi-Lan county through the lens of a Han Chinese woman's eyes.



Figure 52

¹³¹ Personal Travel Journal: <http://aura10.pixnet.net/blog/post/131546468-%5B%E5%8F%B0%E7%81%A3%E2%80%A7%E5%AE%9C%E8%98%AD%E2%80%A7%E5%A4%A7%E5%90%8C%5D-%E6%B3%B0%E9%9B%85%E7%94%9F%E6%B4%BB%E9%A4%A8-%E5%8E%9F%E4%BD%8F%E6%B0%91%E5%82%B3%E7%B5%B1>.

¹³² Projects of Arts and Culture Exhibition of Department of Economic Development Taipei City Government in 2010: <http://www.doed.gov.taipei/ct.asp?xItem=19221708&ctNode=51075&mp=105001>.

These pictures use the government's modern design with a friendly indigenous vibe, accentuated by a bright light shining through the windows in the spacious hallway, to convince tourists that exploring indigeneity here is safe and optimistic.



Figure 53



Figure 55



Figure 54

Also, the Department of Economic Development Taipei City has held various cultural and artistic events in their modern and indigenous architecture. Figures 56 to 57 show how the indigenous patterns are infused into the modernity in Taiwanese governmental buildings.



Figure 56: Taipei City Architecture (1)



Figure 57: Taipei City Architecture (2)

Figure 58 represents a gift design in an online brand name company,¹³³ whose one design for the holder of the name cards, shows Chinese traditional elegance—using the style of simplicity and the hues of black and brown (connotating solemnity and nobility). Also, the design adds Taiwanese indigenous patterns and colors to reach customers holding preferred aesthetic taste, either gentrification or plebification.



Figure 58

¹³³ 雅迪生活[Ya-Di Gift Shops, Taiwan], <http://www.sldeer.com/index.html>.

This shop, shown in Figure 59, is an indigenous gift shop in Taipei, and is reported on an online news article¹³⁴ with its brand name products supported by many Taiwanese indigenous artists. The façade and the interior design of this shop illustrate the combination of Chinese orthodoxy and Taiwanese indigenous arts, disseminating Taiwanese diversity using the nostalgia of Chinese elegance, family and childhood with the affectability that enhances the unity of the Chinese and the Indigenous.



Figure 59

Promoting Taiwanese indigenous art in Taipei, this shop also epitomizes the combination of Taiwanese indigenous arts (exotic to the majority), Chinese nostalgic interior design—revealing traditional Chinese homey setting and childhood (reference Figures 60 and 61).

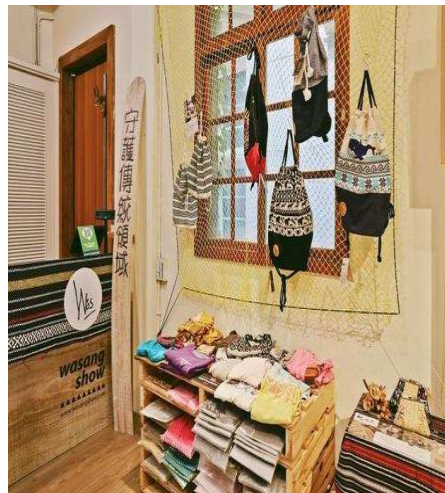


Figure 60

¹³⁴ 大人物 [DaMan Wu]: <http://www.damanwoo.com/node/88026>.



Figure 61

Also, the shop implements characteristics of international impact—Japan’s valuing of cuteness (reference Figure 62) and Europe’s appreciation of color use—boldness and diversity (reference Figure 63).¹³⁵



Figure 62



Figure 63

¹³⁵ Figure 63 exhibits art of an international artist, Yosifu, a Taiwanese indigenous person from the Amis tribe. In Asia and Europe, he is known for boldly employing vibrant and bright colors in his art (music, photography, and painting). Yosifu Gallery’s (<http://yosifugallery.blogspot.com/p/about-artist.html>) comments on his achievement ties his Taiwanese indigenous identity with his techniques of infusing Western and Asian style:

Yosifu was born in the village of Mataling, Taiwan and belongs to the Amis tribe of indigenous people found in the east of the island. He now lives and works main in Edinburgh in Scotland, and has exhibited successfully in both Europe and Asia. He is one of only a very few artists promoting Taiwan indigenous culture in Europe.... He focuses on the strong use of colours to dramatic effect, with a simple facade often hiding more serious observations or social commentary. His work has become popular internationally, and is currently held by private collectors from Scotland, England, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and Sweden.

Fredric Jameson's "Postmodernism and Consumer Society" illustrates that postmodernism reinforces and reproduces consumer capitalism by the combination of classical high-modernism and other forms of art such as punk rock, popular art, graffiti, etc.—in all, the representation of the pastiche.¹³⁶

Jameson defines "pastiche" in art production as a compensation for "the death of the subject;" in other words, the death of creativity in art:

For our purposes, it is not particularly important to decide which of these position is correct (or rather, which is more interesting and productive.) What we have to retain from all this is rather an aesthetic dilemma: because if the experience and the ideology of the unique self, an experience and ideology which informed the stylistic practice of classical modernism, is over and done with then it is no longer clear what the artists and writers of the present period are supposed to be doing. What is clear is merely that the older models—Picasso, Proust, T.S. Eliot—do not work anymore (or are positively harmful), since nobody has that kind of unique private world and style to express any longer.¹³⁷

Hence, once again, pastiche: in a world in which stylistic innovation is no longer possible, all that is left is to imitate dead styles, to speak through the masks and with the voices of the styles in the imaginary museum. But this means that contemporary or postmodernist art is going to be about art itself in a new kind of way; even more, it means that one of its essential messages will involve the necessary failure of art and the aesthetic, the failure of the new, the imprisonment in the past.... One of the most significant features or practices in postmodernism today is pastiche.... Both pastiche and parody involve the imitation or, better still, the mimicry of other styles and particularly of the mannerisms and stylistic twitches of other styles.... Now parody capitalizes on the uniqueness of these styles and seizes on their idiosyncrasies and eccentricities to produce an imitation which mocks the original.... But what would happen if one no longer believed in the existence of normal language, or ordinary speech, of the linguistic norm..., the very possibility of any linguistic norm in terms of which one could ridicule private languages and idiosyncratic styles would vanish, and we would have nothing but stylistic diversity and heterogeneity.... This is the moment at which pastiche appears and parody has become impossible." ¹³⁸

¹³⁶ (Jameson 1992). Jameson, Fredric. 1992. "Postmodernism and Consumer Society, 166-167."

¹³⁷ Ibid., 168.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 169.

However, Jameson also concludes that products, re-invented by the pastiche of past nostalgia (high-modernism¹³⁹) and postmodernism, are commodified in cultural production and social life. This commodification also unveils how high modernism (canons taught in schools and universities) first fails to preserve history, and how the then so-called “subversive cultures” for the norm, in fact, provide agency for societies’ “historial [*sic*] amnesia.”¹⁴⁰ He says:

Not only are Joyce and Picasso no longer weird and repulsive, they have become classics and now look rather realistic to us. Meanwhile, there is very little in either the form or the content of contemporary art that contemporary society finds intolerable and scandalous. The most offensive forms of this art—punk rock, say, or what is called sexually explicit material—are all taken in stride by society, and they are commercially successful, unlike the productions of the older high modernism.... For one thing, commodity production and in particular our clothing, furniture, buildings and other artifacts are now intimately tied in with styling changes which derive from artistic experimentation; our advertising, for example, is fed by postmodernism in all the arts and inconceivable without it.¹⁴¹

Drawing from Jameson’s ideas of “aesthetic dilemma, stylistic innovation,” and “historial [*sic*] amnesia,” I conclude that under Taiwanese yuccie structure, influenced by Chinese modernity and orthodoxy, Taiwanese indigeneity seems dismantled, nonetheless, powerful in an underdog position. While the modernism in Taiwan has led contemporary society to forget about the history—obliterating the authentic sovereignty of the Taiwanese indigenous, Taiwanese indigeneity continues emerging from the society’s appetites for the pastiche of aesthetics— valuing a beauty standard, which is composed of the following elements—Chinese elegance/nostalgia, modern comfort/convenience, and the indigenous acceptance/sublimation.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 177.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 179: “Thinking only of the media exhaustion of news: of how Nixon and, even more so, Kennedy are figures from a now distant past. One is tempted to say that the very function of the news media is to relegate such recent historical experiences as rapidly as possible into the past. The informational function of the media would thus be to help us forget, to serve as the very agents and mechanisms for our historial [*sic*] amnesia.”

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 178.

The Residual Us/The Sojourning You

While Peta S. Cook (2012) believes that auto-ethnographical writing enhances students' critical thinking of certain writings in search of critical self-reflexivity/identity in themselves and societies,¹⁴² this part strives to exhibit poems; thereby, I would like to portray the dialectical contradiction between indigenous and settlers around the world.

Poems in the part of "The Residual Us" exhibit indigenous peoples' identity struggle/reflexivity under settler-colonial societies,¹⁴³ while their history is normalized to be "formalized premodern aesthetics (Thomas Michael Swensen 2015).¹⁴⁴"

On the other hand, poems in the part of "The Sojourning You" display migrating settlers' anxieties of the New World and their past,¹⁴⁵ while authenticating their "colonial cosmology."¹⁴⁶

Comparing the two groups' agony regarding their identities leads me to conclude the journey of this thesis—exploring the indigeneity, identity, and the perception of beauty in Taiwan.

¹⁴² (Cook 2012). "'To Actually Be Sociological': Autoethnography as an Assessment and Learning Tool." *Journal of Sociology* 50 (3):269-282.

¹⁴³ Reference translated poem 1: lines 4 and 5; poem 2: line 3 in stanza 2, line 3 in stanza 4, line 3 and 4 in stanza 5, and line 3 in stanza 6; poem 3: line 4, 9, 10, and 14.

¹⁴⁴ (Swensen 2015a), 6. "Forever Crossing Over: "At the Intersection of John T. Williams's Life and Memorial:" To be identified as Native, and perhaps even more so as a Native artist, meant being read through the lens of formalized premodern aesthetics. This aesthetic distinguished a contemporary Native person as a premodern individual whose cultural traditions ceased developing when European settlers arrived in the region.

¹⁴⁵ Reference translated poem 1: line 8, 21-23; poem 2: line 3.

¹⁴⁶ Paige Raibmon, 2005. *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*. Durham: Duke University Press. Cited from (Swensen 2015a), 7: "In other words, what Raibmon calls the "colonial cosmology" views Native/non-Native relations as resolutely binary and mutually exclusive, situating Native peoples apart from non-Natives and their ways of living."

Poems in “The Residual Us” depict indigenous people’s dispossession of land, sovereignty, language, etc.—however, authenticity remains; whereas, poems in “The Sojourning You” express settlers’ feeling dislocated and lost in a new land. To conclude, I have found how poets in these two kinds of literature portray themselves in a dichotomy—the Native, encapsulated in archaic artifacts and the non-Native (settlers), undergoing metamorphism for a bright future.

The Residual Us

Poem 1: 親愛的，我不再寵你¹⁴⁷

親愛的，當你強辯著需求同情
謊言使你變得脆弱喪失了意志
春天的菇房還等待你來建造
有什麼令你遲疑，令你
成為島上的乞者

- 柳翹

(Poem 1 English Translation): My Dear, I Will Spoil You No Longer¹⁴⁸

My Dear,
When you demand the right to command, to deserve sympathy,
Lies have made you weak and lose your will.
In Spring, mushrooms in the greenhouse wait to be built.

¹⁴⁷ Retrieved from (Lin 2003), 14. "Observing Writing of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples in the *Annual Collection of Selected Poems*."

¹⁴⁸ Trans., Hsiao-Ching Lin and Matt Hehn, 2016.

What has made you hesitant,

A beggar on this island?

- Liu, Xiang [Allis Nogan]¹⁴⁹

Poem 2: Ballet in Bethel¹⁵⁰

Ballet in Bethel.

Skintight dancers spinning across a stage,

Displaying only fantasies of a foreign world.

Opera in Shishmaref.

Piercing and screaming, the words unknown to all,

The sound shatters the stillness of the night.

Mime in Elim.

Stark faces of fools

Saying nothing.

Repertory Theater in Barrow.

Actors waiting for Godot

In a play that never reaches our world.

Symphony in Wales.

¹⁴⁹ A famous indigenous Atayal poet, writer, activist in Taiwan.

¹⁵⁰ Retrieved from (Spatz, Breinig, and Partnow 1999), 240. Spatz, Ronald, Jeane Breinig, and Patricia H. Partnow, eds. 1999. *Alaska Native Writers, Storytellers & Orators: The Expanded Edition*, Anchorage: Alaska Quarterly Review.

Instruments of time

Being blown by history

Of one world overpowering another.

Impact disguised as cultural creativity.

Upheaval replacing the entertainment

Of the ceremonial dances,

The blanket tosses, folklore,

And games of strength.

No more cultural gatherings,

Only a ballet in Bethel.

- Fred Bigjim¹⁵¹

Poem 3: When I of Fish Eat¹⁵²

When I of fish eat; when, with knife and fork,

I break the tender segments of flesh within my plate

I feel the pulling back. Strong I feel it;

Pulling me back to my forefathers,

To shores not yet trodden by white men.

It is, then, not a mere eating of the flesh,

¹⁵¹ Iñupiaq from Nome and Sinrock, Alaska.

¹⁵² Retrieved from (Allen 2012), 172. *Trans-Indigenous: Methodologies for Global Native Literary Studies*.

A delighting in the sensual taste.
It is, for me, more than this: it is a revelation.
The sea surges before me, washing upon long shores;
Heaving against jagged rocks; as it did of old.
And this sea holds more than just its beauty,
Its aboundingness. It is something sacred;
It is like a parent to me. For think I then
That the sea was my forefathers' very existence.
Fishermen were they. From the sea came their very life.
This then is what it is when, with knife and fork
I lift a morsel of fish to my mouth.

- Rowley Habib¹⁵³

The Sojourning You

Poem 1: 晨雨¹⁵⁴

在停車場陰暗的轉角
突然遇到一個意外的雨天
無法拒絕的光明，我只能在簷下
保持我陰暗的身影，時間
打開了它的窗子

¹⁵³ A New Zealand poet, playwright, and a writer.

¹⁵⁴ Retrieved from (Fong et al. 2011), 195. *Words & The World*.

沙一樣漏下的時辰
落在我心中
一條陌生的街道
彷彿我第一次和它相遇
輕得被一陣風吹彎
滿天銀色的種子，天空並不擁有
在一個成熟的潮濕的時刻
被寧靜引向高處
帶回我曾經對它的注視
我瞳孔有過的閃光
在我每天走過又遺忘的道路開花
送來一個敞亮的時辰
我的窗子打開，悠遠的傾斜的道路
雨水從這裡流向天空
帶著我無意中告別了的事物
又突然呈現，猶如目前
當我在清晨正要開門離去便碰到它歸來的明亮的臉

- 王良和

(Poem 1 English Translation): Morning Rain¹⁵⁵

In a shadowy corner of a parking lot
I meet the irresistible shaft of light
Of an unexpected rainy day. I could only
Stand gripping my shadow beneath the awning. Time
Opened its window. Hours trickled out like sand
Down into my heart.
An unfamiliar path,
Like the first time I've seen it, so frail
the wind's blown a bend in it.
The sky fills with silver seeds
Unpossessed by the space,
Drawn by silence into the height beyond
In a ripe, moist moment,
Taking back with them my past attention to it.
The glimmer my pupils once had
Blooms beside the road I take and forget each day
And sends me a spacious hour.
My window opens—a distant, diagonal road
Rainwater flowing from here to heaven
Taking with it everything I unwittingly abandoned

¹⁵⁵ Trans., Canaan Morse.

but which suddenly appears before my eyes.

As I open the door in the morning to leave

I'm met with its fresh, returning face.

- Wong Leung Wo¹⁵⁶

Poem 2¹⁵⁷

At the tip

Of the always dark

Of new beginnings

- A. H. Reynolds¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ A veteran awarded Chinese poet, who studies Chinese poetry.

¹⁵⁷ Retrieved from (Chambers 1994), p. 9, chapter two: Migrant Landscapes. *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*.

¹⁵⁸ (Chambers 1994) note 1, p. 43: "Poetry reading at the Bronx County Hall, New York, Spring 1990."

CONCLUSION

The 2015 Miss Taiwan contest, shown in Figure 64, was won by the first Taiwanese indigenous woman, who identifies herself as a Taiwanese Amis (Taiwan's largest indigenous tribe).¹⁵⁹ Whereas Taiwan was celebrating that cultural diversity had been achieved, accepting a Taiwanese Amis to represent Taiwan, this figure alludes that from "Raw Barbarians" to Miss Beauty Queen requires an imagined and eliminatory structure to diminish the social ascriptions from indigeneity of Taiwanese aboriginal people. It further complicates indigenous self-identity and self-image. 2015 Miss Beauty Queen in Taiwan acquires cultural capital to become a desirable celebrity; however, this role is by no means a representation of Taiwan, for the contemporary government can claim that Taiwan has reached its harmonious cultural diversity, thus vulgarizing its indigeneity.



Figure 64: 2015 Miss Taiwan (1)

¹⁵⁹ Retrieved from Chinatimes.com (<http://www.chinatimes.com/realtimenews/20150804004990-260405>).

The study of indigeneity often follows the study of indigenous sovereignty. Biolsi¹⁶⁰ and Swensen¹⁶¹ have discussed the indigeneity of Natives in the U.S. through the lens of American citizenship and sovereign spaces because Natives' political practices sometimes compromise with colonialism and have reproduced repeated oppressive patterns.

Audra Simpson¹⁶² examines indigeneity according to the identity struggles of Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke in sovereign membership and citizenship. She explains "feeling citizenship" and "primary citizenship" to promote what a genuine indigeneity should connote— "social belonging, social recognition, and recognition that does not necessarily entail a juridical or state form of recognition."¹⁶³

This thesis has discussed Taiwanese indigeneity through identity struggle concerning the perception of beauty in Taiwan due to the ubiquitous phenomenon of beauty talks in contemporary Taiwan. It best illustrates the Chinese settler-colonial nationalism and culturalism, as well as the internationalism from other countries.

Also, obsessive beauty talks in contemporary Taiwan embody the Chinese aesthetics and create identity hierarchies with individuals' cultural capital; wherein, the indigenous often are ostracized to otherness; therefore, beauty standard tends to be eliminatory, depriving Taiwanese indigenous of their identity and image.

¹⁶⁰ (Biolsi 2005), 253. "Imagined Geographies: Sovereignty, Indigenous Space, and American Indian Struggle."

¹⁶¹ (Swensen 2015b). "The Relationship between Indigenous Rights, Citizenship, and Land in Territorial Alaska: How the Past Opened the Door to the Future."

¹⁶² (Simpson 2014), 189. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*: Duke University Press.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

However, for challenging the binary of Taiwanese indigenous scholarship regarding the Chinese settler colonialism and the Taiwanese indigenous image—the oppressors and the oppressed, I argue that indigenous art and characteristics embedded in Taiwan’s pastiche of aesthetic and yuccie structure—modernity, Chinese orthodoxy, middle-class lifestyle, and international influence—counteract some forces of elimination caused by Chinese colonialism, providing a standoff to offset the dire dispossession of land, language, identity, sovereignty, etc. of the indigenous. Figure 65¹⁶⁴ shows that 2015 Miss Taiwan wears a formal Western dress altered to integrate Taiwanese Amis’ patterns. This exemplifies that Taiwanese indigeneity offers an amplification of aesthetic affectability to the Chinese-dominant society, which discusses beauty from head to the toe.



Figure 65: 2015 Miss Taiwan (2)

¹⁶⁴ <http://www.chinatimes.com/realtimenews/20150618004520-260405>

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