IMAGINATIVE GEOGRAPHIES AND STATE RELIANCE:

EXAMINING TAIWAN'S SHANYUAN BAY

AND MIRAMAR RESORT

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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The development of Miramar Resort in Taitung, Taiwan has attracted much debate and attention in the past ten years. The case contains themes of rural poverty, indigenous agency, environmental protection, and economic development; therefore, any potential outcome has far-reaching and deeper implications for the local rural and indigenous residents but also for Taiwanese society's future approaches to similar development projects which appear to pit economic development against environmental protection and indigenous rights. Through qualitative interviews, this case study examines dynamics of power and agency from an environmental justice standpoint, focusing on the themes of how landscape perception is shaped and utilized by outsiders to gain agency and how reliance of rural communities upon the state serve as a limiting force in their development. Such dynamics have shaped responses to the Miramar case and can reinforce existing inequalities if not considered critically.

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CHAPTER I

CONTESTED TERRAIN

Introduction

Taiwan's rise in the 1960s and 70s as one of the economic powerhouses of East

Asia greatly raised living standards and general well-being, yet also caused severe

environmental degradation along the way (Chi, 1994; Agoramoorthy & Hsu, 2007;

Chan, 1993). In addition, the effects of colonialism have deeply affected many

indigenous groups in Taiwan throughout history, and have continued into present-day

society (Chi 2001; Hipwell 2009; Fan 2006, 2009). These two aspects come to a head

in the case of Miramar Resort in the Taitung, Taiwan, in which a hotel complex was

approved for construction in 2004 by the Taiwanese government on the beach of

Shanyuan Bay, which is adjacent to the indigenous Amis 'Bu-Luo' (village) of

Tsetung. The beach also falls within nationally-designated traditional territory of the

Amis tribe. Subsequent lawsuits brought forth by environmental groups focused on

the illegality of the environmental impact assessment (EIA) process, while protests

against the resort also highlighted the need for respect for indigenous agency and the

fear of environmental degradation. The seventh and most recent lawsuit eventually led

to an injunction on the resort construction and operations in October, 2013. Debate

over the entire process persists, as many residents of the area argue for the pressing need for economic development.

Though the primary reason behind the court injunction is that of EIA illegality, the social activism that compelled public opposition to the resort is seen by locals as highly influential to the legal proceedings. As existing literature has focused primarily on legal aspects, this paper explores the underlying societal attitudes towards this case that can offer a more critical understanding of important aspects movements resisting oppression and advocating for social justice must consider in the future.

The Miramar Resort case encapsulates issues of environmental protection and indigenous rights, and also raises questions of both the need for and long-term implications of rural development in Taitung. In this case, questions of environmental protection and risk, historically oppressed indigenous peoples, and the economic needs of the rural poor create a space in which discussions examining aspects of environmental justice are greatly needed, despite such a framework being largely absent from the majority of discourse surrounding the case.

For this thesis, I focus on two themes, drawn from interview content analysis. The first is an examination of the power dynamics involved in what I refer to as the "claiming of landscapes." "Claiming landscapes" encompasses discourse and articulations of landscape ideations which legitimize or bolster the credibility of those

making such statements; these claims subsequently justify the opinions held by individuals in regards to what Shanyuan Bay should look like or how it should be used.

The second theme focuses on the creation and reinforcing of the local communities' reliance upon outside power – most often, the state – through land designation and development discourse. In conclusion, I explore the intersection of these two themes, and argue that examining the existing power dynamics demonstrates the potential for an expanded environmental justice framework to be of critical use in Taiwan. Prior to a more in-depth view at current environmental justice scholarship in Taiwan, an understanding of Taiwan's sociohistorical context is useful, and provided in the following section.

Taiwan in Context

Taiwan, or the Republic of China, is a small island nation approximately 110 miles off the east coast of China (or the People's Republic of China). It covers close to 14,000 square miles (36,000 square kilometers), including several archipelagos as territory. In 2014, the population was close to 23.4 million people[1](Ministry of the Interior). Taiwan's population density is the second-highest in the world, behind only

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[1] Comparable to and approximately 1,500 square miles larger than the state of Maryland.

Bangladesh. The majority of Taiwan's population resides in urban settings, with the

two major cities of Taipei and Kaoshung serving as the home to around 68% of the

population (ROC Executive Yuan), creating a strong contrast between urban and rural

settings. Following its rapid development in the 1960s and 1970s, Taiwan today is a

highly industrialized nation-state, following its rapid development in the 1960s and

70s, with a strong economy that has earned it the title as one of the "Four Asian

Tigers."[2]

The Tropic of Cancer runs through the southern half of the island, and its marine

tropical climate includes an annual typhoon season during late July to early October.

The Chungyang Mountain Range runs from north to south down the island, reaching

over 10,000 feet in many parts. Gentle plains cover most of the west, the mountain

range precipitously descending to the Pacific Ocean on the east coast (See Figure 1 on

the following page).

As a democratic republic, Taiwan's governmental powers have historically been

held primarily by two parties, the Kuomingtang (KMT), which is a continuation of the

Chinese government that fled the Communist takeover of the mainland after World

War II, and leans towards more conservative politics; and the Democratic Progressive

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[2] Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, Singapore.
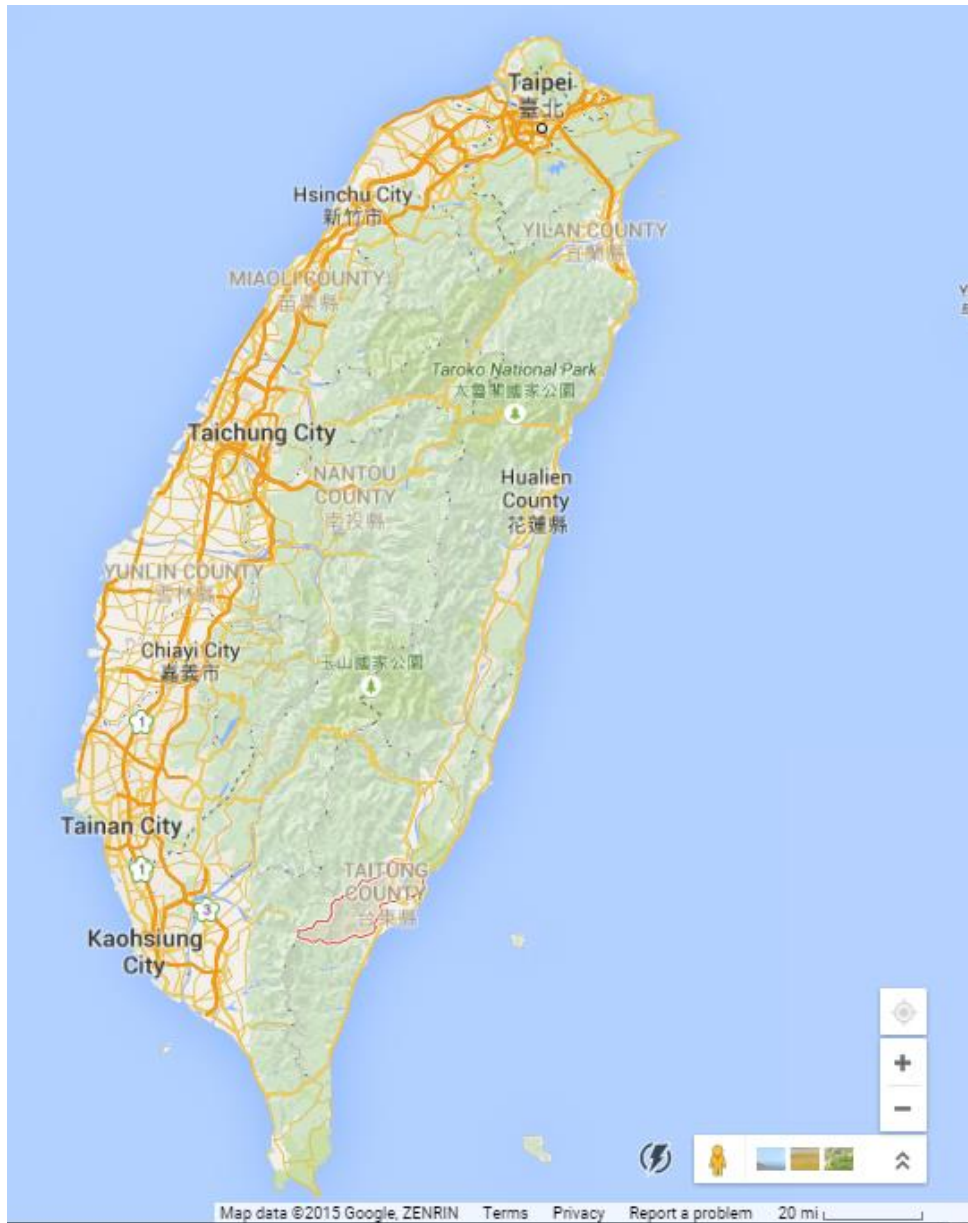
Figure 1: Map of Taiwan. The lack of development of the eastern half of the island is apparent from the transportation system, concentrated in the west. Taitung County is in the southeast corner, outlined in red. (Google Maps)

Party (DPP), which has strived to create a new Taiwanese identity through advocating

for independence from China. The Green Party has become more active in recent

years, but still lacks the political influence and support of the other two parties.

Of particular note in Taiwan's history is the martial law period upon transition

from Japanese rule to the Republic of China's Kuomingtang Party (KMT). Due to the

fear of Communist infiltration after Mao Tse-Dong's army took over mainland China, the KMT, upon fleeing from the mainland and reestablishing in Taiwan, imposed martial law beginning on May 20th, 1949. Martial law suspended many constitutionally-protected rights, such as labor strikes, demonstrations, and voting, until it was lifted in July 15th, 1987 (Lu 1988).

Due to Taiwan's history as a civil society that developed largely with colonial rule of the Japanese and martial law under the right-wing authoritarian Kuomintang party, its social movements have had a short and fragmented history. This, argue Tang, Tang and Chiu (2011) is a result of Richard Rose and Doh C. Shin's term "democratization backwards," in which "free elections were introduced before civil society was strengthened, a tradition of rule of law was consolidated, and an accountable administrative system was established (qtd. In Tang, Tang & Chiu, 2011, p.334)," and heightens difficulty in addressing social concerns. The lack of development of social activism and accountability for governments, argue Rose and Shin, often negates the supposed representation that democratization brings about. Such sociohistorical context is important to consider in the case of Miramar, in which the demands of a social movement conflicted with the desires of the local government and rural residents.

Outside influences: Globalization, neoliberalism, and Taiwan

Though this study focuses on a specific geographical location, the international

forces that affect Taiwan on a global scale are salient as well, as global tourism and

neoliberal markets can have strong effects on the local scale. Taiwan's economic

development has charted a unique course when compared to many other

developmental states. The nation built up its strong economy beginning in the 1960s

through a number of authoritarian state policies during its martial law period:

controlled wages, which attracted cheap labor from other Asian countries; an

emphasis on identifying export niches (such as vinyl and plastic shoes, and later,

computer chips and monitors); taking advantage of low-cost manufacturing in

southeast Asian countries to support Taiwan's own export industries; and encouraging

foreign investment in high-technology industries (White, 1999; Lue, 2014:278)

Beginning in the 1980s, Taiwan began liberalizing its markets to the

international world, eroding the control of the state (Tsai, 2001). This was due to

international pressure, most notably from the 1985 Plaza Accord[3], when the nation

was forced to lower tariffs, open its domestic markets to international investors, and

significantly appreciate its currency. Taiwan's economy has also opened up to more

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[3] For more information on the Plaza Accord, a 1985 trade agreement between G-5 nations, see
http://www.businessinsider.com/the-plaza-accord-2010-9

foreign influence through the nation's efforts to gain entry to the World Trade

Organization (Chu and Lee, 2004).

Some scholars have argued that foreign investment and transnational capital

(TNC) in developing countries can lead to strong pressure on peripheral states to

liberalize their markets to the rest of the world (Cardoso and Faletto, 1979;

Fukuyuma, 1992; Tsai, 2001). This may subsequently lead to pressures to lower trade

standards such as environmental regulations to accommodate for transnational

corporations. However, Dent (2003) has argued that similarly to Singapore and South

Korea, Taiwan has been able to moderate the influence of foreign investment on the

nation's policy through a combination of its society's technocratic capabilities, and

effective regulation of the relationship between its domestic and international

markets. As Chu and Lee (2004) write in regards to Taiwan:

> …When the government decided to open up the stock market to foreign
> investors in 1991, it set a strict investment cap and raised it only gradually. In
> this incremental approach to liberalization, the government has kept financial
> stability and industrial development as top priorities. Therefore, liberalization
> measures were taken only with the concurrent introduction of re-regulation to
> safeguard domestic financial and price stability, and insulate Taiwan from
> excessive external shocks. (52)

Another financial control in Taiwan is higher restrictions on international

investment capital that could be quickly withdrawn from the country (White, 1999).

The reasons are primarily political: Taiwan's often-contentious relationship with the

People's Republic of China compels the Taiwanese government to consider potential

economic attacks from the PRC, which would be likely if China pushed for reunification. Minimizing direct foreign influence in the market is one method to mitigate this risk, and has effectively restrained Taiwan's development from being overly influenced by transnational forces (Chu, 1999; Dent, 2003; Lue, 2014).

Overall, the aspects above make the common dependency of developmental states upon international investment less applicable to this case (White, 1999). Interestingly, while China's political presence in the international sphere has prevented Taiwan from joining various global coalitions or groups, it has also supported a higher level of domestic control over the economy when compared to other developing states.

In recent years, Taiwan's tourism growth is increasingly important to the national economy, as many southeast Asian countries offer cheaper manufacturing than Taiwan can afford to. The number of tourists visiting Taiwan annually has increased from 1.9 million to 7.3 million between the years of 1990 to 2010 (Huang and Horng, 2012:7585; Shapiro, 2013). As cross-strait relations with China slowly thaw, tourists from the mainland have made up the bulk of these increases, and China now leads all countries in annual visitors to Taiwan.

Tourist demand has led to increases in tourism infrastructure such as hotels, guides, and transportation options. In addition, tourism is often touted as a low

pollution industry when compared to Taiwan's traditional manufacturing-based

economy. The multiple Build, Operate, and Transfer projects currently being planned

for Taiwan's east coast today are indicative of demands of the global market reflected

in the Taiwanese government's planning and decision-making. The potential for

tourism income from the massive market of China will also continue to influence

Taiwanese policy.

Considering the broader themes of outside influence outlined above, it is

important to remember that though this case study focuses on a private resort

development, the effects of external forces upon Taiwan's market and government are

still observable. In the Miramar case, the focus on tourism – a field increasingly

connected globally – necessitates that such externalities be considered even as this

study zooms in on the lived experiences of individuals in a particular locale.

Resort Surroundings and Local Villages

Taitung County is the poorest of Taiwan's thirteen counties. In 2013, it had an

average annual household income of 799,026 NT (26,634 USD) compared to the

national average of 1,195,566 NT (39,852 USD) (National Statistics, R.O.C.). Taitung

covers 3,515 square kilometers, and is located on the eastern coast of the island where

the amount of arable land is severely limited due to the Chungyung Mountain Range.

Thus, it has experienced far less industrialization than the rest of the island. Taitung's

primary industries include tourism, and the fishing industry, and limited agricultural

cultivation.

Though widely known for its natural beauty, Taitung's status as the least-

developed area in Taiwan – with the exception of certain areas in the central high

mountain ranges – creates a lack of access to many services that other parts of the

country take for granted. Youth in rural Taitung areas often must leave home for any

education after middle school due to a scarcity of local schools; adults often must

move elsewhere for more job opportunities. Healthcare and other basic living needs

are far more limited in Taitung than in other parts of the country as well. Finally,

transportation is also far more limited than other parts of Taiwan.

Traditionally referred to as "*Houshan*" ('back mountain') because of these

inconveniences, Taitung has a lack of overall infrastructure that limits the living

standards of its residents. Tourism in rural and poor areas is widely regarded as a

means of creating jobs, preventing outward migration, generating tax revenue for

infrastructure, and bringing in opportunities for non-cash livelihoods (Schyvens,

2011), and a promise of Miramar Resort was to begin addressing these aspects,

making it an appealing proposal to most Taitung residents, including many indigenous

people (Liu, 2014; Yeh and Wei, 2012; Lu, 2012, 2013; Hsiao, 2013, 2013a; Chen, T.

2012; Chen, W. 2012a).

Around 32.4% of Taitung County's 242,842 residents belong to various

indigenous groups (amounting to 78,680 people), the highest percentage among all

counties (only 1.7% of the rest of the island's population belong to indigenous groups)

(Taitung County Government website). Seven of the sixteen recognized tribes call

parts of Taitung their home[4]. The combination of low levels of development and

infrastructure alongside historical oppression of and resource extraction from

indigenous communities has created a situation in which Taitung's indigenous peoples

experience disproportionately high rates of poverty and low levels of education. Such

immediate concerns can begin to explain the desire for development – even on

indigenous territory – in the case of Miramar that was exhibited by many in the local

indigenous community.

Fushan Village is the closest village to Shanyuan Bay, where the resort structure

is located. Fushan is located within Beinan Township of Taitung County (See Figure 2

below for a visual relationship). The entire township of Beinan only has around 6,400

residents within 412 square kilometers, while Fushan Village covers approximately 12

square kilometers, and as of 2010, had 256 households, with fewer than 700 residents.

Approximately 100 of these residents are of indigenous Amis descent, and constitute

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[4] Amis, Puyuma, Bunun, Yami/Dao, Rukai, Paiwan, Kavalan

the indigenous community of Tsetung (Chin, 2010:11). Indigenous communities are

known as 'Bu-Luos' in Taiwan, and are further explained in the following section.
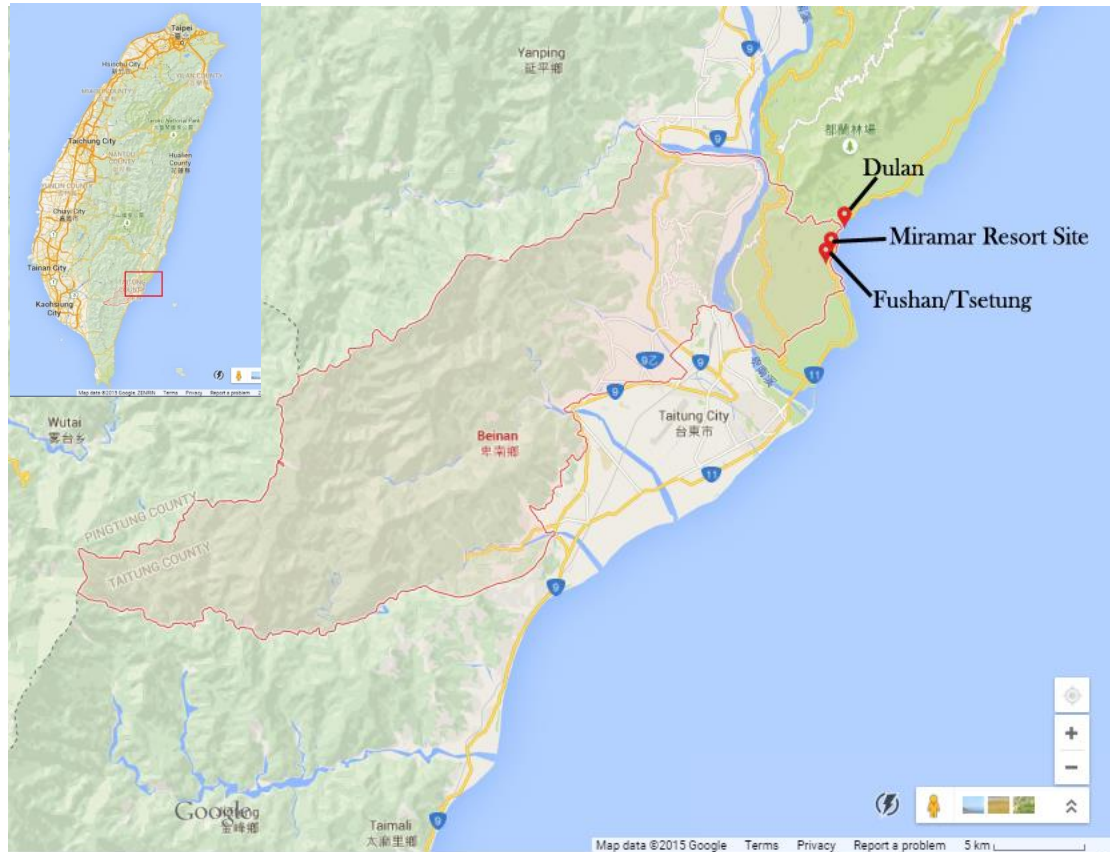
Figure 2: The geographical closeness of Miramar Resort and Fushan/Tsetung is shown here, while the neighboring village of Dulan can be seen to the north. (Google Maps)

According to Huang Wen-Ming, who has served as the mayor of Fushan for

almost thirty consecutive years, most of the Amis people that now constitute Tsetung,

and who are among the subjects of this study, moved to the area in the 1950s from

other local Bu-Luo, eventually establishing the Tsetung Bu-Luo. For this reason,

Tsetung is considered a 'new' Bu-Luo by many. Several interviewees mentioned the

perception that Tsetung is 'disadvantaged' or 'weaker' in certain ways due to its

shorter Bu-Luo history and incomplete governing structure.

The Fushan area has poor farming conditions, with a long history of fishing and sugarcane farming. Both industries have suffered, the former due to the development of fish farm technology that makes it possible for the fishing industry to operate inland, while the latter due to the closure of local sugar processing plants upon the decline of the sugarcane industry. This has led to an outflow of the workforce, with the elderly and children making up most of the remaining population in the area (Chin, 2010).

The Concept of the 'Bu-Luo'

An understanding of how indigenous communities, or 'Bu-Luos,' are situated within the larger Han Chinese society is important to understanding the community dynamics around Miramar Resort. The Aboriginal Basic Law defines a Bu-Luo as "a congregation of indigenous peoples according to traditional and cultural practices, in a particular area within indigenous territory, which has been recognized by the Central Aboriginal Affairs Committee, (ROC Laws and Regulations Database)" though the phrase was already commonly used before the ABL definition was formally recognized. The actual meaning of the Mandarin phrase 'Bu-Luo' simply means 'gathering' or 'community,' but the use of it today in everyday dialogue and also formal writing is almost exclusively understood as referencing an indigenous

community, comparable to referencing a village or town in non-indigenous

infrastructures.

Bu-Luos are distributed across parts of Taiwan both as independent villages, but

also often within close proximity of – or even within – larger villages and townships.

Governing processes within Bu-Luos are determined by the aboriginal members of

the particular community and cultural practices, yet the geographical proximity of Bu-

Luos with non-indigenous populations creates situations such as the Miramar case, in

which priority of decision-making and agency becomes exceedingly complicated.

Thus, when discussing the village of Fushan and the Bu-Luo of Tsetung in this case

study, it is important to consider them as separate yet tightly connected and related

entities.

Indigeneity in Taiwan

A historical perspective of Taiwan is necessary for an understanding of the

current situation of its indigenous population. Approximately 530,000 people

belonging to various indigenous groups comprise around 2% of the 23.4 million total

population of the island, and their history in Taiwan dates back to around 8,000 years

(Council of Indigenous Peoples website). As of June, 2014, the Taiwanese government recognizes 16 tribes officially[5].

The dominant Han population – comprising around 97% of the total population of Taiwan – largely began colonizing Taiwan four hundred years ago (Ministry of the Interior). Migrations occurring before this were sporadic, and often resulted in armed conflict between Fujianese or Hakka migrants and indigenous groups. The colonization of Taiwan by the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch, and subsequent takeovers by the Ming and Qing Dynasties between the 17th and 20th century all contributed to the assimilation and displacement of indigenous peoples. During the Qing Dynasty[6], more formal territorialization and Han settlement began, during which assimilated indigenous groups were characterized as "*shoufan*" (familiar barbarians) whereas those pushed to mountainous regions were "*shengfan*" (uncultured/unfamiliar barbarians), demonstrating historical discriminatory structures.

The end of the Sino-Japanese War led to the Treaty of Shimonoseki on April 17th, 1895, which made both Korea and Taiwan Japanese colonies. Japanese colonial control lasted for fifty years, until the end of World War Two. Much of the existing infrastructure today – including the rail system, schools, and hospitals – were

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[5] Amis, Atayal, Paiwan, Bunun, Puyuma, Rukai, Tsou, Saisiyat, Yami (now Dao), Thao, Kavalan, Truku, Sakizaya, Seediq, Hla'alua, and Kanakanafu.

[6] The Qing Dynasty spanned the years of 1644-1911.

constructed by the Japanese, who also were largely responsible for overall

industrialization of the island. However, natural resource exploitation and oppression

of the existing population – indigenous and Han alike – was widespread, and

resistance was rare due to the lack of an organized military presence on the part of

Taiwanese residents.

Continued persecution of indigenous groups by the Japanese took the form of

internment camps and displacement from their historical homes (Hipwell, 2009),

while other programs also eroded indigenous cultures. These included forced

linguistic training, boarding schools, and agricultural reforms that supplanted

indigenous land management methods (McNamara, 1986).

After Taiwan was returned to China from the Japanese, cultural assimilation

continued, primarily through education systems and policy. Indigenous peoples were

derogatorily called 'mountain compatriots' (*shanbao*) by the KMT government until

the indigenous name rectification movement successfully changed their title to

"*yuanzhumin* (direct translation 'originally present people' or 'original residents')" in

1994 (Chiu and Chiang, 2012:531). The Council on Aboriginal Affairs was

established in 1996 by the Executive Yuan[7], while the Aboriginal Basic Law was

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[7] "Yuan" is translated as 'House' in Mandarin, and refers to a particular branch of the government.

added to the Taiwanese Constitution in 2005, signifying another move towards the

recognition of indigenous rights.

Though efforts to address sociohistorical inequities have taken place through

policies such as implementing indigenous curriculum in schools and increasing

legislative representation, indigenous peoples today still fare poorly on virtually every

single social indicator (Fetzer and Soper, 2011). A fundamental reason that

perpetuates this is the unevenness of urban and rural development. With the

urbanization of Taiwan, the lack of rural planning for purposes other than natural

resource extraction has exacerbated the socioeconomic difficulties of rural areas,

which is where the majority of indigenous Bu-Luos are located. Young and middle-

aged people from Bu-Luos often depart in search of employment; young people, in

particular, may be drawn to exploring cultures that offer different experiences their

Bu-Luos lack. This has had severely detrimental effects on community structures and

cultural continuation due to single-parenting, absentee parents who depend on

grandparents to raise children, and generational gaps that create and accentuate

cultural differences (Li, 2010). The plight of the Taiwanese indigenous people can be

summarized as Chiu and Chiang (2012) write:

> Ethnically and socially marginalized, Taiwan indigenous people have long
>   been neglected by nonaboriginal society, and any issues related to them,
>   such as the loss of their tribal lands, culture, customs, and even ethnic or

individual names, in addition to their loss of autonomy due to colonialism, are frequently treated with indifference. (525)

The Amis Tribe

The surrounding area of Miramar Resort and Shanyuan Bay is home to many indigenous Amis people, including the residents of Tsetung Bu-Luo and neighboring Dulan Bu-Luo[8]. A basic understanding of Amis culture, tradition, and current state provides more context to the Miramar Resort case. Among aboriginal tribes, the Amis has by far the largest population, with approximately 200,000 of the total 530,000 population belonging to this tribe. Amis people reside primarily on the east coast of Taiwan, spanning the counties of Taitung and Hualien, located directly north of Taitung (Council of Indigenous Peoples website).

Amis culture is known for its 'age-grade' structure, in which men are grouped according to their age and assigned particular roles in the Bu-Luo. This system is not merely task-oriented, but traditionally determines political, economic, military, educational, and religious roles, among others. Teenage boys begin their service at the early age of 13 to 14. Due to its all-encompassing nature, the age structure is foundational for all activity within Amis Bu-Luos (Tsai, 2013). A disruption in the structure can have severe impacts. A departure of the workforce age group, in this

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[8] Tsetung refers specifically to the Amis Bu-Luo situated next to Shanyuan Bay. By contrast, Dulan is a non-indigenous village with a Bu-Luo situated within it; the Bu-Luo in Dulan does not differentiate its name from the village of Dulan itself.

case, has led to the lack of a complete decision-making apparatus within the Tsetung

Bu-Luo, further complicating the process of facing the Miramar development and

reaching consensus as a community. In essence, the breakdown of an age-grade

structure effectively removes a source of power within the Bu-Luo.

The Amis cultural traditions of festivals are also an important aspect to consider

in the case of Miramar Resort, tourism, and the potential for increased numbers of

outsiders. The Amis are well known in Taiwanese society for their annual festival of

ilisin ('bountiful year/harvest festival') during the months of July and August. In

addition to the festival being a time to thank the gods for a plentiful harvest, the *ilisin*

also marks the time of the year at which teenage boys officially enter the age-grade

structure (Council of Indigenous Peoples). The *ilisin* has become a tourist attraction in

many places, with outsiders flocking in to catch a glimpse of indigenous culture.

Though generally well-received, a recent rise in returning to cultural roots among

indigenous communities has led to occasional conflicts between indigenous peoples

and tourists who inadvertently violate cultural customs or lack proper respect, and

several interviewees referenced such difficulties or tensions in our conversations

(Personal interviews 2014). The festivals remain a source of income for local

businesses and communities, however, who stand to benefit with tourist consumption.

This further demonstrates the complex dynamics between local indigenous culture

and the potential for increased tourism and economic dividends through a beachfront resort. A discussion on the possibility of reviving and advancing indigenous culture while also addressing economic needs is clearly needed in this case.

Case Overview: Relevant Parties

The case of Miramar Resort began in 2004, after the approval of the resort construction on the beach of Shanyuan Bay in Taitung by the Taitung County Government. In the following ten years, the case of Miramar Resort received increasingly levels of attention nationally, with much debate over its legality and necessity. Arguments supporting the resort focused almost exclusively on the need for economic development and the raising of living standards in rural Taitung. Most Taitung citizens, including many who live close to the resort site, joined Taitung's government in throwing their support behind the resort development as a much-needed plan to stimulate the local economy

The anti-resort activist movement has also been spearheaded by Taitung citizens. Two indigenous members of the Tsetung Bu-Luo along with several local academics aligned with environmental protection groups in raising awareness regarding questions surrounding the environmental impact assessment (EIA) process; the risks of environmental degradation; and the lack of agency afforded to the Tsetung Bu-Luo

in determining land use within indigenous traditional territory (ITT) (Personal interviews 2014; Wang, 2007; Ho, 2007; Hsiao, 2013b; Liu, 2012; Hsieh and Chang, 2011).

Much of the support for activists has come from outside Taitung County, however. Non-local indigenous artists played an important role in galvanizing solidarity among indigenous communities from outside of the area, including a number of non-Amis tribes. In addition, many popular musicians – including several of indigenous descent – spoke out publically against the resort and its lack of consideration for indigenous agency, and participated in protest concerts and rallies. This raised awareness among their fans and other young people. Finally, environmental groups were supported strongly by students and young professionals; the vast majority do not reside in the immediate area, though some young activists in neighboring Dulan have played a significant role in the protests. The presence of non-residents has been a point of contention in the entire process, as many local residents who support the resort express their discontent with 'outsiders' meddling in Taitung's affairs (Personal interviews 2014; Liu 2014; Yeh and Wei 2012; Hsiao 2013, 2013a; Chen, 2012).

Specific Case Proceedings

In the August of 2004, the Taipei-based developer DeAn Developer Group[9]

(later known as Miramar Resort Group) applied for a building permit on the Shanyuan

Bay coastline in Taitung, with plans for an oceanfront resort on the beach. This

application was in response to a call from the Taitung County government to the

private sector for operational plans for Shanyuan Bay under the Act for Promotion of

Private Participation in Infrastructure Projects. Previously, the beach had been under

government management, but had closed due to a combination of poor economic

returns and also concerns regarding the SARS epidemic[10].

The application targeted a 59,956 square meter plot, with the resort structure to

be constructed on 9,997 square meters of the overall plot. The development on the

Shanyuan Bay coastline was permitted by the government under the BOT plan (build,

operate, transfer) in September, 2004, and the specific contract was officially signed

that December. BOT is a method of economic stimulus in which the government

contracts a private company to build and operate a business for a set amount of time.

At the end of the contract term, the ownership of the operation is transferred to the

sponsoring government with no strings attached. In the case of Miramar Resort and

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[9] DeAn Developer Group is a Taiwanese company that owns a domestic airlines and several large shopping malls across the country (Lu, 2004.)

[10] SARS, Severe acute respiratory syndrome. An outbreak in south Asia between November 2002 and July 2003 led to several deaths in Taiwan, prompting nation-wide concern.

Shanyuan Beach, the lease allowed for an operating period of 50 years, with 2% of

the profit margin and $360,000 NT rent for the beachfront parcel submitted to Taitung

County annually.

The coastline of this area falls within the boundaries of the traditional territory of

the Amis tribe, with the Bu-Luo of Tsetung directly adjacent to the land to be

developed. In particular, the location of Shanyuan Bay is significant due to the fact

that it is close to the location at which local Amis Bu-Luos hold their annual festival

of *ilisin* during the summer months. According to Taiwan's Aboriginal Basic Law,

agency in traditional land management is still held by existing local indigenous

communities, mandating communication with the community prior to any changes to

the land use (ROC Laws and Regulations Database). However, in the case of

Shanyuan Beach, little consultation with Tsetung villagers was conducted (Personal

Interviews 2014).

Initially, the Miramar Resort Group avoided the requirement for an

environmental impact assessment (EIA) by subdividing its land into three smaller

parcels and applying for a small-scale construction permit (for plots under 1

hectare[11]). This was all done with the approval of the Taitung County government.

Miramar Resort Group subsequently expanded construction plans after receiving the

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[11] 1 hectare = 10,000 square meters.

permit. Expansions included adding an entire story to the planned structure and

increasing construction area by close to 20% of its originally-covered ground.

Construction began in October, 2005; another expansion of construction occurred in

April of 2006, and Miramar submitted its first EIA due to this expansion. Other minor

expansions also occurred in September and November of 2006. (EIA Report 2012,

2013)

In early 2007, environmental and indigenous rights groups based both in and

outside of Taitung began to express concerns regarding pollution from construction,

and also the circumvention of and lack of transparency in the EIA process. These

complaints were based on concerns expressed by a few local residents, including a

mother and her daughter who are residents of Tsetung. Over the next six years, six

more EIAs were conducted and approved, approved with stipulations, or rejected to

varying degrees[12]. During this time, anti-resort activists drew further attention to the

negative environmental impacts and the lack of regard for indigenous agency (Taiwan

Environmental Information 2013).

In addition, Miramar Resorts continued their construction despite the concerns

raised in rejected EIAs, eliciting more complaints from activists. Protests under the

broad banner of "Save Shanyuan Bay" culminated in several large-scale

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[12] See Appendix D for the full timeline of the Miramar EIA appeals process

demonstrations throughout 2012 and 2013 both in Taitung, and also at federal

administrative buildings in the capital of Taipei. These protests – attended by citizens

concerned about a combination of indigenous rights, environmental protection and

aesthetics, and due process in the court systems, argued primarily for the cessation of

construction. Some activists had the primary goal of seeing the resort being

demolished at some point (Personal interviews 2014). Several lawsuits accusing the

Taitung government of disregarding due process in EIAs were brought to court by

environmental non-profit groups. In addition, litigation regarding improper waste

disposal by the resort developers also occurred. The lawsuits focusing on EIA process

eventually led to a temporary moratorium on construction on September 7th, 2013.

The case focusing on the legality of the EIA was retried, and the resort was

determined to be illegal on October 28th, 2014. Current Taitung County governor,

Huang Jian-Ting has announced that he will appeal the decision (Citizens of the

Earth, 2014). This is not a departure from the general attitude of Taitung governors

throughout the ten year process of Miramar, as the local government has historically

thrown its support firmly behind the arguments for economic development. Questions

over the merits and faults of the development plans continue to draw high levels of

attention from Taitung residents, as the case is regarded as a precedent-setting one for

the overall development of Taiwan's east coast (Lin 2012).

Environmental Justice: A Brief Discussion

As demonstrated in the overview of the case proceedings, the construction and future of Miramar Resort has important implications for the area. Environmental protection and aesthetics; indigenous agency of traditional land; environmental impact assessment legality and process; and the economic needs of the rural poor are all important topics within this case.

The themes above can be readily examined within an environmental justice framework. Environmental justice investigates the distribution of environmental harm and benefits, with questions of race, inequality, power, and privilege as some of the important aspects it considers. Environmental justice (EJ) as a movement is often recognized as having its roots from the 1982 case in Warren County, North Carolina, when the largely African-American community of Afton engaged in a series of acts of nonviolent civil disobedience to protest a nearby PCB landfill. (Jamieson, 2007; Bullard, 1990). Traditional environmental justice approaches taken by earlier scholars in the field largely addressed issues of environmental racism, in which peoples and communities of color experienced disproportionate patterns of environmental harm in the form of various toxins, pollutants, nuclear waste, and others (Taylor, 2002; Bryant and Mohai, 1992; Bullard, 2000; Bullard, Mohai, Saha, and Wright, 2007; Mohai, Pellow, and Roberts, 2009; Pellow, 2000, 2004). However, Pellow (2000) makes a

clear distinction in pointing out the differences between environmental racism and

environmental inequality. In contrast to the former, Pellow (2000) writes the

following on environmental inequality:

> Environmental inequality focuses on the broader dimensions of the
> intersection between environmental quality and social hierarchies.
> Environmental inequality addresses more structural questions that focus on
> social inequality (the unequal distribution of power and resources in society)
> and environmental burdens. That is, unlike environmental racism, for
> example, environmental inequalities include any form of environmental
> hazard that burdens a particular social group. (582)

In making this differentiation, Pellow argues that the paradigm of environmental

justice must be expanded beyond what in reality is often a framework only examining

cases of environmental racism. An example of such expansion might be more recent

studies on public health issues and 'contested illnesses,' for which patients are

unfairly held responsible to prove the harm that has been done to them (Brown et al.

2012), while industry polluters are innocent until proven guilty.

In addition, Pellow and Brulle (2005) point out that environmental justice

"sought to redefine environmentalism as much more integrated with the social needs

of human populations, and, in contrast with the more eco-centric environmental

movement, its fundamental goals include challenging the capitalist growth economy

as well (3)." They utilize the "Treadmill of Production" model articulated by

Schnaiberg (1980) to explain why such a challenge is needed: Schnaiberg (1980)

argues that due to continuous pressure from both competition and shareholders,

economies under a capitalist production model lead to the constant, unending

motivation to increase production.

This cycle of production necessitating further production has led to ever-

increasing demands upon the environment in the form of natural resource extraction,

forming the root of the environmental problems we face today. Issues such as nuclear

waste and risk or global climate change and volatility remain more likely to affect the

poor and people of color, yet also have a wider range of distribution in which all

humans are at risk. The perpetuation of such extraction is driven by the powerful,

while more disadvantaged populations must bear the burdens. Therefore, the

argument that Pellow (2000) poses in examining environmental inequality and power

dynamics in addition to instances of environmental racism has become increasingly

important, and EJ scholars and activists have critiqued mainstream environmentalism

for its lack of engagement with themes of power and oppression (Pellow and Brulle

2005; Sandler and Pezzulo 2007).

Bryant (1995) provides a more inclusive definition of EJ as follows:

Environmental justice refers to those cultural norms and values, rules,
regulations, behaviors, policies, and decisions to support sustainable
communities where people can interact with confidence that the
environment is safe, nurturing, and productive. Environmental justice is
served when people can realize their highest potential...EJ is supported by
decent paying safe jobs; quality schools and recreation; decent housing and
adequate health care; democratic decision-making and personal
empowerment; and communities free of violence, drugs, and poverty. These

are communities where both cultural and biological diversity are respected and highly revered and where distributed justice prevails (6).

Bryant's framework of environmental justice provides a useful multidimensionality that expands what qualifies as 'environmental.' Following this, we may reach the conclusion, as Jamison (2007) does, that "justice is at the heart of environmentalism (98)." Environmentalism itself must consider what is just for the environment, and subsequently, all that exists within it, which includes all life.

The case of Miramar Resort involves the agency of indigenous peoples; rural poverty; environmental protection; tourism development; and government-supported capital expansion. Though the case does not involve the common EJ topics of direct and immediate environmental harm through the form of toxins or pollutants, it encompasses similar themes of 'distributive justice' – questions of the equal distribution of benefits, harm, and risk; and also the distribution of the power to enact or contest change and events within historically disadvantaged places such as poor rural communities and indigenous Bu-Luos. These aspects combined make environmental justice a suitable point of departure for exploring the case, despite discussions of EJ largely being absent from the current discourse.

EJ in Taiwan

For the purpose of this thesis, an initial examination of existing literature on environmental justice discourse in Taiwan is necessary. As Aygeman (2002) argues in

comparing EJ movements in the United States and the United Kingdom:

> …an international, 'one size fits all' version of environmental justice is neither possible nor desirable. What is possible and desirable is that as residents and activists, we should be able to 'speak for ourselves' in defining problems, movement structures, and proposed solutions. (49)

Similarly, the EJ master framework existing in the United States cannot be applied uniformly to Taiwan's situation or the specific case of Miramar, given that the underlying theme of racism that created much of the environmental injustice in the United States is historically and geographically unique. Understanding Taiwan's approach to EJ can illuminate specific themes that may warrant more discussion, and also demonstrate gaps in research that the themes surfacing from this case study may begin to address or point out, increasing the possibility for Taiwan's citizens to 'speak for themselves.'

Environmental justice in Taiwan has largely focused on the siting of a nuclear waste facility on the island of Lanyu, which is off the southeast coast of the main island and is the traditional home of the Dao (formerly known as the Yami) people. The work by Fan (2006, 2009, 2010) is the most widely recognized on this topic, and has explored public perceptions towards the waste site, arguing that cultural diversity and identity plays a large role in what is perceived as 'just' or 'fair.' In other explorations of indigenous environmental exploitation, Chi (2001) has explored the forced relocation of the indigenous Taroko of Hopin, a coastal village in eastern

Taiwan, for the purpose of a cement plant, arguing that such acts are driven by a neoliberal agenda that dictates the direction of Taiwan as a country. Though in such cases indigenous peoples are clearly being negatively affected through environmental harm, much of the discussion has revolved around the contradictions between development and environment, rather than questions of race and ethnicity.

Other studies have focused on pollutants and toxicity. Tang, Tang and Chiu (2011) have explored governmental cover-ups of dioxin pollution in southern Taiwan, which were executed to prevent loss of interest from potential investors. This case study also examined the question of victimhood and how the status is one some citizens are hesitant to claim due to considerations of social identity. In addition, Chiu (2011) examined media suppression and denial of incidents from the government in the cases of chemical solvent pollution in manufacturing, high-tech pollution in science parks, and heavy metal contamination in oysters. In both of these cases, economic factors and industrial development were clearly prioritized over health and pollution concerns, resulting in unequal environmental burdens on local populations.

Perhaps most useful is the analysis by Huang and Hwang (2009) of the EJ framework in Taiwan in comparison to that of the United States. The authors argue that though issues of inequitable distribution of toxicity and pollution exist in Taiwan, it remains to be determined whether the patterns that occur in the US, where such sites

disproportionately affect people of color, are translatable to Taiwan. This is because

the starting point of much of Taiwan's EJ scholarship has been the Lanyu nuclear

waste site, the only such site in the country. A pattern of discrimination or intentional

targeting of minorities cannot be observed, then, with such a sample size. The case

studies outlined above verify Huang and Hwang's argument, as there is no clear

pattern of either indigenous or less affluent areas being specifically targeted.

Thus, though the case of Lanyu has effectively led to Taiwan's "racialization of

environmental justice (30)", the authors caution that "Han-indigenous and Black-

White relations (27)" are not comparable due to sociohistorical aspects and the

relationality with land that Taiwan's indigenous peoples hold. Without the immediate

patterns of environmental racism, Huang and Hwang (2009) argue that a western

model of EJ is limited in its utility when applied to Taiwan. While various authors

(Hipwell 2009; Chi 1994; 2001; Fan 2006, 2009) have written of environmental

problems that indigenous people are faced with, none have specifically argued that the

patterns of environmental harm have targeted indigenous groups in particular.

In sum, much of Taiwan's environmental justice literature has focused

specifically on issues of pollutants and toxins, with less literature exploring questions

of race and ethnicity or indirect harm, such as culture loss due to environmental

exploitation. In addition, the frequent conflicts between economic development and

environmental costs are particularly evident on a small island nation. This may be one

of the reasons that questions of race are sometimes overlooked. Discussions of people

and communities of lower socioeconomic class being disproportionately burdened

with environmental harm also seem largely absent.

My aim to delve deeper than superficial opinions of pro or anti-resort and

examine underlying themes of societal attitudes serves to build upon existing

literature on environmental justice and raise specific considerations that can be useful

in expanding the EJ framework in a manner that is useful for Taiwan's society.

Specifically, the presence of both indigenous communities and rural residents who

experience lower living standards and limited opportunities indicates a need for

examining questions of inequality, power, and race that move beyond the common

theme of toxicity and pollutants. This paper builds upon existing literature of EJ in

Taiwan by including broader examinations of power dynamics that perpetuate

injustices in ways that are less direct and visible than the detrimental effects of toxins.

Miramar Resort in Literature

In addition to an understanding of existing Taiwanese EJ literatures, existing

studies of Miramar Resort and its surroundings are also important for examining this

case. Limited academic literature surrounding the Miramar case is available at the

moment. This may mostly be due to the fact that though the case has been ongoing for

around a decade, the injunction on construction was only issued in 2013 and upheld in

the fall of 2014. Though a few undergraduate research projects undertaken by college

students in Taiwan exist on the internet, they primarily summarize media coverage

and the arguments of supporters or detractors of the resort. In addition, two master's

theses not yet made fully public focus on ethnographic research examining public

participation in the case, and cannot be accessed at this time.

Current scholarship and literature studying Miramar Resort has largely focused

on the legal aspects of the case, particularly the details of environmental impact

assessments (EIAs) and relevant environmental regulations (Dai, Ku, and Kang, 2013;

Chan, 2012; Huang, 2013). Most works criticize the EIA system as insufficient, and

include recommendations to address the regulatory inadequacies that allowed for the

construction to occur in the first place, while others utilize the case study as a

prototype for discussing the direction of future coastal development for Taiwan.

Taking a different direction, Ting (2014) has explored Fushan and Tsetung

resident attitudes towards the potential of tourism development in the area through

survey forms, finding that socioeconomic conditions play the largest role in

determining residents' attitude towards tourism, with those in lower socioeconomic

conditions demonstrating higher interest towards tourism development. The work of

Lin (2012) is the only piece present that explores the cultural dynamics existing, in

which he argues that a capitalist, tourist culture has already negatively impacted the

local Amis culture by instilling conflicting capitalist values in the community.

Relevant literature focusing on the Taitung area in such respects is limited, as

well. Chin (2010) explores the 2005 establishment of the Fushan No-Fishing Zone,

situated a few kilometers north of Shanyuan Bay and Miramar Resort. The fishing

prohibition zone also included some of Tsetung Bu-Luo's fishing grounds, and

affected the annual Amis *ilisin* festival as well, as demonstrating fishing skills is part

of the ceremony for youth transition into adulthood. Opposition and complaints

regarding the no-fish zone arose quickly from local Amis, but scandals of Tsetung

residents using poison in fishing and selling their fishing rights to non-residents

eroded respect for indigenous claims and heightened tensions between environmental

groups and Tsetung Bu-Luo. Though a compromise for fish takes was eventually

reached, this case study illustrates existing tensions between Amis peoples, other local

residents, and environmental groups in the Fushan/Tsetung area; as well as conflicts

between livelihood needs and natural resource protection.

In addition, in regards to coastal tourism in particular, the overall negative

impacts of infrastructure development and general tourist activities are well-

documented (Hall, 2001; Davenport and Davenport, 2006; Burak, Dogan, &

Gazioglu, 2004). With Taitung's coastline facing multiple Build, Operate, Transfer

developments at other locations, the case of Miramar Resort is particularly important to consider; who, ultimately, will bear the environmental risks of development?

In sum, more nuanced discussions on social aspects seem to be missing, despite Miramar's status as a landmark case not only for environmental protection, but to many, a successful outcome for social movements and indigenous rights. Is the current result of a permanent injunction on resort construction a fair and just result? Are there future considerations that environmental and indigenous activists can glean from the case proceedings and protests? How did power operate in this case study, and what inequalities must be addressed? The following chapters seek to highlight these aspects in order to explore an environmental justice framework in Taiwan that considers environmental protection, social and economic equality, and indigenous rights jointly.

Two particular themes revolving around power largely undiscussed in previous literature or media reports surfaced in research data. In **Chapter II,** I explore how relevant parties – local residents, outside activists, and the resort company – utilize articulations of landscape aesthetics and perceptions of environmental risk to lend legitimacy in claiming agency over the landscape of Shanyuan Bay. I refer to this as 'claiming' or 'laying claim' to the land in later chapters. **Chapter III** focuses on the theme of the local communities' reliance upon and reinforcing of state power; this is

done through the delineation of indigenous traditional territories and development-

oriented planning in rural locales. In conclusion, **Chapter IV** argues that

understanding the prior two chapters and their illumination of power dynamics in this

case study is essential for more effective and inclusive resistance of oppressive

projects and structures. This will ultimately allow for more forward-looking and

generative ways of thinking about community-building.

Methodology

My research builds upon existing environmental justice literature in Taiwan by

identifying and analyzing EJ-related themes that surface in the Miramar case, paying

particular attention to those related to power and inequality, which are underexamined

in Taiwan's EJ discussions focusing on direct environmental harm. Data collection

aimed to obtain information that would offer insight to such themes, which were not

covered in mainstream news and existing academic literature that primarily focused

on the legal aspects of environmental impact assessments. My primary research

questions are as follows:

- How are dynamics of power and agency around environmental, indigenous,

    and economic issues illustrated in the case of Miramar Resort?

- How are inequality and injustice perpetuated by such dynamics in this case

    study?

- How does understanding these themes contribute to the ways in which ideas of environmental justice can operate and expand in Taiwan?

While published literature can quickly organize existing reasons for supporting or opposing the resort, a deeper understanding of how such opinions were formed and deployed within societal discourse is important for identifying the dynamics of power, and subsequently how social and environmental equality can be strengthened.

Semi-structured Interviews

Because of limitations in the content and scope of published literature and news reports, semi-structured interviews that focus on individual experiences were chosen as the method of data collection. In this case, in-depth, individual experiences were the best starting point from which to begin identifying the dynamics of power and agency I was looking for, as deeper explorations of lived experiences hold the potential to illuminate themes overlooked by reporting on the case.

Semi-structured interviews follow a predetermined framework of questions that are generally open-ended, and allow for a broader exploration of themes through probing and follow-up questions. Dunn (2010) argues that strengths of interviews include investigating complex behavior and motivations, and collecting a diversity of meanings and experience (102). Barriball and While (1994:329) argue that semi-structured interviews have the potential to avoid the poor response rates of a

questionnaire, and is also well-suited to the exploration of attitudes, values, beliefs, and motives. In addition, it can facilitate comparability by ensuring that the general themes of the questions are answered by all respondents while still allowing for adaptability based on the respondent's interests – something that a formal, structured interview would be hard-pressed to do.

Interview questions were developed after an examination of Miramar Resort-specific publications and a broader literature review on environmental and indigenous case studies in Taiwan to establish sociohistorical context. Literature reviewed included Taiwanese academic publications, media reports, online blog posts, and publically available environmental impact assessments (EIAs) for the resort. The primary contentions described in the literature included questions of EIA legality; indigenous traditional territorial rights; coastal environment and aesthetic protection; and the need for economic development. Given the technical nature of EIAs and that the focus of research was not on legalese, interview questions focused primarily on the three other aspects of the environment, indigenous rights, and development. Semi-structured interviews followed a general framework included in Appendix B. General questions included ones such as:

- "How did you hear about the Miramar case?"

- What's your history here, and how would you describe this community?

- "Have you heard much about indigenous traditional territorial issues?"

- "What do you think would be a fair or just outcome for this case?

Given that I had no direct connections to the case other than a strong interest in

Taiwan's environmental movements and social justice, utilizing the semi-structured

interview method was important to create more space for interviewees to dictate the

topic of discussion to some extent. This allowed respondents to articulate observations

beyond reasons for supporting or opposing the resort, facilitating the identification of

themes of power that respondents experienced or participated in. In this manner,

themes such as state reliance and landscape control surfaced without specific

prompting.

Data Collection: Sampling and Interviews

In the summer of 2014, I spent five weeks in the Fushan, Tsetung, and Dulan

areas of Taitung County conducting in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 17 local

residents who had connections to the case. In August, 2014, I interviewed 3

individuals from outside the Taitung area who also had been involved in the protest

process to varying degrees, such as attending or performing at rallies at the resort site.

The selection process for interview subjects was done by identifying people of

interest from existing literature regarding the Miramar case. Certain individuals were

often quoted in newspaper and online articles, and some had become informally-

designated spokespeople for either anti-resort activists or Miramar supporters. These

included environmental and indigenous rights activists; local supporters of the

development, both Han Chinese and indigenous Amis; a Miramar Resort

representative; and governmental officials and representatives of Taitung County.

Selection was based on the assumption that individuals more closely tied to the resort

proceedings would likely have a deeper understanding of underlying themes

unmentioned in news reports on the resort.

After reaching out to these individuals, the snowball sampling method and

convenience sampling was used to find other interviewees. Snowball sampling

utilizes recommendations from the first few interviewees to identify other people who

are interested or involved in the case; convenience sampling involves selecting

interviewees based on ease of access – for example, approaching shop owners or

pedestrians on the street (Bradshaw and Stratford 2010).

Though snowball sampling increased the likelihood that my interviewees would

be engaged in this topic, it also increased the risk that the overall sampling would be

biased, as interviewees are likely to recommend friends who have similar opinions.

Convenience sampling can produce lower levels of dependability and information, but

given the physical proximity of the resort to the communities in which I was

recruiting interviewees, it was highly unlikely that respondents would not hold

relevant information.

A script of my introduction to my research given to potential interviewees can be

found in Appendix A. Aside from two interviewees who were contacted via email, all

initial contact was made via phone calls and in-person. One interview with an activist

located outside of Taitung was carried out via Skype, while another was conducted via

email. All other interviews occurred in face-to-face meetings within a two month

period of July and August, 2014.

An effort to have a diverse interviewee pool in terms of the respondent's

relationship with and views on the resort was relatively successful, mitigating the

potential bias that snowball sampling might create. However, I had difficulty reaching

Tsetung residents (see '*Refusing research*' section on pg.46). Of particular importance

for diversity were the interviewee's opinion on the resort, Han Chinese or indigenous

identity, and place of residence; these are the most relevant aspects when examining

questions of power and inequality in this case, and a breakdown of these interviewee

characteristics can be seen in Appendix C.

In addition, though participants varied in age, a specific age range was

undetermined, as it is sometimes culturally inappropriate to inquire on elders' age.

Gender sampling was limited in some respects due to the snowballing method, as the

majority of referrals for other interviews were for men. Locale was also more limited

to the immediately neighboring locations, as the context of lived experience in the

area was important in the goals of this paper.

Interviews began with an overview of IRB requirements and rights, and were

recorded with the respondents' consent. The guiding questions were utilized to ensure

that all interviewees responded in regards to particular topics, but respondents were

otherwise free to elaborate in more detail on aspects they held to be important.

Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to examine interview content. As Fereday and Muir-

Cochrane (2006) write, "[thematic analysis] is a form of pattern recognition within the

data, where emerging themes become the categories for analysis (4)." Boyatzis (1998)

writes that it is a process of "encoding qualitative information (vii)." In this case,

thematic analysis serves as the most applicable method of analysis that would

effectively illuminate themes that reached beyond pro and anti-resort sentiments.

All interviews were first transcribed in Mandarin. The primary themes of

importance were identified in each interview separately by noting particular moments

in the interview. These moments were then compared with the other interviews to

determine which themes were most strongly present. Thus, patterns of respondent

experience were determined through inductive reasoning from examining respondent

answers in search of common themes, and researcher-driven lines of questioning

based on initial literature review. Particular themes that moved beyond pro and anti-

resort sentiments and highlighted power dynamics in the case included the following:

- The strengthening of individual claims of agency and credibility through

  articulations of landscape aesthetics

- Differing perceptions of environmental risk, based on social identity

- Views of the government as the primary entity needed for economic

  development and improvement

- Reliance on the colonial state in determining and designating indigenous

  traditional territories

The first two themes were combined and analyzed in terms of existing power

dynamics in perceptions of landscape held by various parties, while the latter two

themes were considered jointly in terms of community reliance upon state power. In

addition to thematic analysis of interview content, EIA documents and available

public meeting notes were examined for relevant information that would complement

the themes above. In particular, regulatory aspects involving the emphasis on

technological management of environmental risk (large sections of EIA documents

devoted to explaining water filtration technology); and efforts in mediating cultural

concerns (such as offering a stage at the resort for indigenous performances or

highlighting potential economic benefits through the commercialization of indigenous

culture) were present in the EIAs, and were considered to provide further context to

the thematic analysis.

Refusing Research, and Other Limitations

During my stay in Taitung, multiple attempts to interview the residents of the

Amis Tsetung Bu-Luo proved largely unfruitful, with the majority of willing

respondents residing in neighboring villages. Tsetung residents generally responded to

my requests to talk to them about the resort in almost exactly the same way, down to

the wording: "I don't really know anything about that, sorry."[13]The only Bu-Luo

members who agreed to be interviewed were two anti-resort activists, and the

chairperson of Tsetung, who supports the development.

Because of this, it is critical to clarify that this paper has significant gaps in the

attitudes toward Miramar held by Tsetung Bu-Luo members. Tsetung's residents live

directly next to the resort site[14], and are the most immediately impacted by the resort.

Thus, the refusal to participate for so many individuals approached in Tsetung is

likely indicative of issues that are not identified in this paper rather than an overall

lack of knowledge about the resort.

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[13] 7 different individuals were approached, and 5 of them had the same response of refusal due to lack of knowledge.

[14] The parking lot of the resort comes up directly against several residential structures.

Tuhiwai-Smith (1999), Tuck (2009) and Tuck and Yang (2014) have written on

the damage that academic research has historically wrought in native communities,

and argue that refusing research can be a form of refusing to participate in what may

be another colonial project that brings no benefit or does harm to the indigenous

community. In this case, whether the refusals to participate were a form of resistance

of a settler-colonial dynamic is unknowable, but they may also indicate that research

is not seen as needed, or that the community seeks to do its own work rather than

continue discourse with outsiders. Overall, though questions of indigeneity are highly

important in this case, analysis in this regard is unfortunately limited. This is because

most of the Amis interviewees participating in this study were from other Bu-Luos

that have not been immediately affected by the resort in the ways Tsetung has, placing

limitations on the understanding of indigenous experiences.

In addition, other limitations in this study exist as well. The gender

representation in interviews is skewed towards male interviewees, a function of the

snowballing sampling method, making considerations of gender dynamics difficult

and underanalyzed. In addition, my identity as an outsider to a community that has

withstood floods of visitors and protestors in the past decade without a doubt created

some sense of suspicion for many. Despite the fact that several interviewees expressed

surprise and gratitude that I was interested in their stories, my short time period spent

actually living in the community imposes limitations on my understandings of

community dynamics and history.

CHAPTER II

CLAIMING LANDSCAPES

Throughout the process of Miramar Resort, an overarching question posed by activists, local residents, and related media coverage alike was one of agency: Whose considerations are the most important when determining the outcome of Shanyuan Bay, and who should hold the final say in how the landscape of the bay is utilized or preserved? A prominent theme that emerged in examining interview content was the overall attitude of establishing personal grounds for claiming agency over the landscape, in an effort to answer the question above by pointing to oneself. This following chapter explores how relevant actors 'claim' the landscape. By the phrase 'claim' or 'claiming,' I refer to the various efforts actors partake in to establish their legitimacy in determining the fate of the landscape in question. In the case of Miramar, two particular means of "claiming" surfaced in interview analysis:

- Articulations of aesthetic representations of landscapes and built structures

- Differing perceptions and management of environmental risk

These processes demonstrate how landscape and risk perception serve to legitimize dialogue and opinions related to the case of Miramar Resort, consequently affecting how power and agency over the land operates. The overall theme of "claiming" landscapes is important in terms of the original research question, as such

an act is inherently one of exclusion. By "claiming," one delineates not only who has

authority to speak on certain matters, but also who does not. In the following analysis,

we see the 'landscape claiming' of anti-resort activists and resort management

outcompeting the arguments of many from the local community. Thus, even if one

argues that the final result of an injunction is the ideal and responsible one, the

dialogue surrounding Miramar Resort case demonstrates a process of laying claim

that should be more critically evaluated in future efforts of activism.

In sum, I argue that understanding the power dynamics inherently present in the

process of claiming is necessary in considering the locally-held perception that

outsider voices consistently override local ones. Such sentiments can prove severely

detrimental to environmental and indigenous work, which may be framed as

movements ignoring local agency. Through approaching this case with an

environmental justice framework, we can promote a deeper consideration of existing

structural issues of poverty and disadvantage, and acknowledge different perceptions

of the case stemming from different social identities.

Aesthetic Articulations of Landscapes

In recent years, the visual aesthetic quality of a landscape has increasingly

become considered as a resource to be protected in the public interest, joining related

aspects such as biodiversity, tourism potential, cultural heritage, and psychological

health as strongly tied to the importance of conserving landscapes (Kurdoglu &

Kurdoglu, 2010; Angileri & Toccolini, 1993; Jessel, 2006). Today, the focus of most

landscape studies is not on the landscape itself, but on how it serves as a medium for

expressing social and mental constructions (Daugstad, 2008). How discourse on

landscape occurred in the Miramar Resort case demonstrates the contestation and

negotiation of landscape use, which subsequently identifies how power is perceived,

claimed, and affects relevant actors.

The Tourist Gaze

In issues of rural development, those who value the protection and preservation

of landscape and habitat are often geographically and/or socially distinct from the

local population, and frequently search for a different ways of living that depart from

urban culture and lifestyles (Goodwin, 1998; Cawley & Gillmor, 2008). This is

exemplified in examinations of the tourism industry, where the anticipation of tourists

has a strong influence on how development is planned and landscapes are perceived.

The Miramar Resort case was no exception to this, as individuals from outside

the area exhibited particular concern for the aesthetics of the bay. Ah-Ji is the lead

singer of the popular underground band "The Chairman," and was one of the leaders

in the artist/musician efforts to draw attention to the Miramar case. The Chairman is

well-known for its strong political leanings – often leftist and socialist – in their songwriting, and have a large following from both rock music fans and also young people interested in social activism. In addition to writing a song dedicated to the beauty of Shanyuan Beach, The Chairman also performed at a large-scale anti-resort rally and concert at Shanyuan that occurred in the summer of 2012, drawing hundreds of people to an event located in a relatively remote corner of the island.

I was fortunate to be able to squeeze in a brief interview with Ah-Ji at his recording studio. Ah-Ji immediately expressed a strong distaste for the actions that he felt were "ruining the beach" for everyone. "It's just a beautiful place with lots of childhood memories," he said. "They're taking that away from everyone. How could you do that?" The comment that "everyone went there" was common among local residents as well, indicating that Shanyuan Beach holds an important place in Taitung County's collective memory. In related media coverage documenting the 2012 event, various artists took similar positions as Ah-Ji, offering statements such as "We have to prevent this ugliness from continuing," or "We need to preserve the mountains and the water here to attract people, not build up structures like this (Li, 2012)."

Many other interviewees also espoused the same views as Ah-Ji and his fellow musicians. Michael is an Australian woodworker who settled in neighboring Dulan after visiting multiple times and falling in love with the area. He, too, points to the

aesthetic values of the beach as his primary reason for getting involved. Though he acknowledges that other concerns such as indigenous rights and self-determination exist, he expressed disbelief that the government and private companies would "do something like that to such a beautiful place…I just can't believe it." Similarly, Yang, an organic pineapple farmer from Tainan in southwestern Taiwan, claimed that it was "unbelievable" that someone would want to develop on a place that was a public good to be protected for all. Says Yang, "From the start, building on a sandy beach…that's wrong. What kind of values does our society hold to allow for something like that? Why should there be an ugly concrete structure on a sandy beach?" "J," a local hostel owner in Dulan, asks in regards to the fifty year lease, "What will the beach look like when it's returned to the government? We have no way of knowing."

The repeated references to "beauty" and what the beach "should look like" or what type of things "shouldn't be present" in such a landscape are telling of an emphasis on the visual aesthetics of the matter at hand. The beach functions as a landscape that must maintain certain visual characteristics that are deemed valuable, worth protecting, and "right." Moving against these characteristics is "unbelievable," and inherently wrong to many. Clearly, the ideations of landscape aesthetics here deeply colors perspectives on the resort and related proceedings.

The lack of infrastructure and development of Taitung when compared with the rest of the country is also influential in shaping such aesthetic values. With a population of over 23 million squeezed onto an island covering just under 14,000 square miles – dominated by a 10,000 foot mountain range running the length of the island, few areas of Taiwan are not overdeveloped and crowded. Taitung County is one of the few exceptions, and while its natural scenery has made it a popular tourist destination, the lack of convenient transportation options from the two most populous cities of Taipei and Kaoshiung has kept Taitung from experiencing the tourism boom that other tourist destinations across Taiwan have.

This is a positive outcome to many. Several interviewees, both local and from outside the area, referenced the town of Kenting, located in southern Taiwan but now easily accessed by a high-speed rail system built in 2007[15], as a cautionary tale. Once touted as a pristine beach town with beautiful surroundings, Kenting has since become overdeveloped and inundated by large crowds of tourists. There are worries that Taitung might head down this road. Many interviewees used the words "disgusting and filthy" or "full of trash" to describe Kenting nowadays, due to the amount of refuse left by the sudden influx of tourists. Others claimed that the crowds have completely destroyed the laid-back atmosphere in which to enjoy the beach and

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[15] The rail system reduced travel time from Taipei to Kenting from 6 hours to 90 minutes.

the local nature preserve (See Figure 3 below). Kenting, to most interviewees who

oppose the resort, reflects the 'self-destruct theory of tourism' posited by Holder

(1988), which states that attractive natural places developed for upscale tourism

eventually must lower the costs of visiting to increase tourist participation, and then

becomes inundated with mass tourism that ultimately is undesirable.

Figure 3: Picture of Kenting Beach after a music festival. (Apple Daily News)

With the negative example of Kenting having gradually come into existence in

the past few years, the appreciation of Taitung as a getaway from the urbanization of

the rest of the island creates strong motivations for many to keep the county from

overdeveloping as places like Kenting have. Even some locals adhere to such

viewpoints; one resident described Taitung as "the only piece of land in Taiwan that

still has natural value." However, the agency of local residents sometimes becomes

lost in the rush to preserve the last "frontier" from being overtaken by

industrialization, development, or tourist sprawl, as seen in the following section.

Community Responses

The views outlined above tout Shanyuan Bay as a place of pristine beauty that

has been negatively affected by the construction of the resort structure, and will

continue to suffer if tourists begin staying at the resort. Such views exemplify what

local resort supports see as a lack of understanding for local needs and dynamics, and

only concern with "making sure Taitung looks as primitive as possible so they can

come here and enjoy it, then go back to the city," Mayor Huang agrees, stating:

> You know, you all are just visitors; you come here, and you say, "Oh,
> Taitung has a great environment and natural scenery...you guys keep it this
> way, and we can come and enjoy it....That's not right. If you want to enjoy it
> that's fine, but you have to consider us here. We're not animals in a zoo....if
> you don't want us to develop, sure. If we can't find jobs, are you going to
> support us? Maybe we'd accept that… But that's not possible, right?

Director Yu of Taitung's Planning Department echoed Huang's and the security

guard's sentiments, saying, "Environmentalists simply seem to want to keep Taitung

exactly as it is – no development, not even a park. They want to maintain it as

primitive place without development at all." Many supporters of the resort claimed

that the majority of the protesters who are against the resort "didn't even know what

Shanyuan Beach looks like" or "haven't even been there." Given the aesthetic nature

of many of the arguments leveled against development, the perception of the opposition's lack of visual 'knowing' is doubly ironic.

Mr. Chen from the Fushan Fish Protection Association counters the protesters' points on the potential of environmental destruction and pollution, asking: "A hotel comes in and specifically advertises for the natural beauty and scenery around it – do you think they'd actually ruin their moneymaker?" This sentiment was echoed by the majority of the resort supporters, who found it unlikely that the hotel would not actively manage for the most aesthetically-pleasing environment possible. In statements like Mr. Chen's, we see that the hotel itself is not necessarily seen as the eyesore that the opposition frames it is; rather, to some extent, it represents a specific form of future aesthetic stewardship that has brought in beach cleanups and management previously missing.

An alternative aesthetic was proposed by Mayor Huang as well. The Amis Tsetung Bu-Luo sits directly adjacent to the Miramar Resort structure, and is a collection of tin and aluminum-roofed shanties and shacks, some in danger of losing their siding with the next typhoon. In regards to Tsetung's dilapidated state, Huang claims that Miramar has a vested interest in making Tsetung as "good-looking" as possible through investing in the community: "Not only should the resort look nice, but the neighboring areas too, right? We don't want this side to be pretty and this side

to look like crap." Huang's statement here demonstrates a difference in aesthetic

values, as he uses the appearance of Miramar Resort as a barometer for how the

neighboring Bu-Luo looks, instead of considering its visual impact to the coastline as

activists do (See Figures 4 and 5 below).

Figure 4: A photograph of Miramar Resort, with construction walls still up. (Personal

photograph, 2014)

Figure 5: A photograph of Tsetung Bu-Luo. (Personal photograph, 2014)

Overall, a strong tension between the agency of the local people and the desires

of activists is apparent. While tourists and visitors from other parts of the island and

foreign countries appreciate Taitung's rural scenery and natural beauty as a welcome

departure from the crowding that the rest of Taiwan, and indeed, most of East Asia

experiences, a sense of resentment can be observed in many of the statements made by locals when they respond to questions of aesthetics. If we return to Huang's rhetorical questioning about accepting outside support to maintain the landscape, the absurdity Huang sees in the idea that Taitung residents should preserve their landscape to match the desires of outside tourists and visitors is apparent. The use of the word "primitive" ('*yuanxi*') by both Mayor Huang and Director Yu particularly highlights how locals might view the demands to preserve the aesthetic landscape as both impossible and backwards.

The perception that outside influence – which so often is based on ideas of what Shanyuan Beach's physical appearance should be – is affecting governance and planning in Taitung is prevalent. This is reinforced in particular by the court injunction imposed on the Miramar Resort despite local support for the development. In deeming this action as "completely unjust" or "lacking sense," locals argue that the aesthetic views espoused by groups largely made up by 'outsiders' are overtaking their calls for economic justice.

Ironically, the lack of development that has negatively affected many Taitung residents in their standards of living is seen as a positive trait by many, reflecting Duffield and Long's (1981) argument that in many cases, unspoilt landscapes and local cultures are seen as positive resources from the perspective of tourism, even if

their preservation often becomes a liability for local communities. Despite the

acknowledgment by some supporters that "[the resort] is a huge piece of trash if no

one is staying there," the need and appeal of jobs and economic progress easily trump

any perceived blemish on the landscape.

<p align="center">*Aesthetic Hegemony: Landscape Ideations*</p>

The idea that Nature is something unspoiled by human touch, has been well-

explored, most notably in William Cronon's (1990) *The Trouble With Wilderness.*

Cronon (1990) problematizes the idea of an "American wilderness" and its

associations, arguing that it is an invented, constructed concept; an "unexamined

foundation on which so many of the...values of modern environmentalism rest (80)."

Speaking to common environmental ethos, Cronon writes that "...such a perspective is

possible only if we accept the wilderness premise that nature, to be natural, must also

be pristine – remote from humanity and untouched by our common past. (83)"

The mental construct of untouched, pristine landscapes as ones to be idealized

and protected is readily applicable to perceptions of landscapes that fall outside of the

American frontier scope discussed by Cronon (1990). As Hsiao and Tseng (1998)

argue, the introduction of Western environmental thought by Taiwanese scholars who

studied abroad was also influential in bringing in a 'preservationist' mindset. This

mindset remains deeply ingrained in Taiwanese environmental consciousness. One

piece of evidence supporting this is the incredibly positive response[16] to the recent hit

documentary "Seeing Taiwan," in which human-caused destruction to the Taiwanese

landscape is highlighted through contrasting scenes of polluted rivers and destroyed

river beds against long segments sublime aerial footage of Taiwan's natural scenery.

Though Taiwan's stunning mountains and jagged coastlines are treasured

aesthetic symbols of the nation, its ascent into international economic relevance

during the 1960s and 70s (deemed the "economic miracle" in Taiwanese middle and

high school text books) has left significant scars on the island's environment, and

development has continued at unsustainable paces ever since, deeply impacting

Taiwan's environment (Chi, 1994; Agoramoorthy & Hsu, 2007; Chan, 1993).

Economic development through industries such as microelectronics and electroplating

have created increasingly harmful impacts to the environment (Chiu 2011). Therefore,

maintaining and preserving such landscapes has become increasingly important to

many Taiwanese citizens in recent years.

For Taitung's Miramar Resort, the idealization of an undeveloped beachfront is a

primary framework for anti-resort discourse and reasoning. Similar to Cronon (1990)

and his argument regarding the mental construction of 'wilderness,' notions of

preserving environments and preventing human development stem from perceptions

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[16] "Seeing Taiwan" set a new record for opening week ticket sales, breaking $100 million USD at the box office in the first week.

of what particular landscapes *should* look like. Such viewpoints quickly create

conflicts, however. As Cronon (1990) writes, "the wilderness dualism tends to cast

any use as *ab*-use, and thereby denies us a middle ground in which responsible use

and non-use might attain some kind of balanced, sustainable relationship. (85)" This

denial of a "middle ground" is most certainly an important reason for the resentment

shown by local residents, who see the resort as an once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for

the economy and their families that is being denied by outsiders.

In his work, Cronon (1990) emphasizes that his critique is not directed towards

the efforts that we put forth to protect what we view as "wild lands," but the lack of

critical thinking behind such efforts. Using the example of the attempts of first-world

countries to "protect" the rain forest from use by local natives, Cronon effectively

portrays the end goal of a "peopleless landscape" as a cultural myth that is not

grounded in reality, and one that too often becomes a form of cultural imperialism.

Given Taiwan's demographics and population density, a "peopleless landscape" is

certainly beyond what environmental activists are advocating for. However, the idea

that the construction of a physical structure and the subsequent influx of tourists at

Shanyuan Bay will inevitably lead to the deterioration of the environment suggests a

demand upon the local landscape based upon self-perceived superiority of

environmental understanding or appreciation. Concerns of economic justice,

meanwhile, are left unaddressed. In contrast to the activists, most local residents express hopes that Taitung's coastline development will "draw a lot of wedding photography," "develop like Bali Island," and "bring tourists that spend money here."

In regards to this, Eagleton (1990) writes:

> …the aesthetic is from the very beginning a contradictory, double-edged concept. On the one hand, it figures as a genuinely emancipatory force – as a community of subjects now linked by sensuous impulse and fellow-feeling rather than by heteronomous law, each safeguarded in its unique particularity while bound at the same time into social harmony...On the other hand, the aesthetic…[inserts] social power more deeply into the very bodies of those it subjugates, and so operat[es] as a supremely effective mode of political hegemony. (28)

Therefore, an appreciation of the aesthetic in the case of Miramar Resort functions in an emancipatory way in the sense that it unites some to prevent the corporatization, commodification, and potential destruction of the ocean and its surrounding environment. However, the opposite edge also cuts towards those who perceive the development as the best opportunity for any sort of rise in living standards; this case study exhibits the argument posed by Kianicka, Buchecker, Hunziker, and Muller-Boker (2006), that locals' desire for economic development in their community tends to conflict with tourists' preferences for preservation of their hideaway. Within the field of tourism studies, terminology such as "the tourist gaze"" and "place consumption" express this type of aesthetic or visual 'claiming,' which, in some cases, turns into a type of hegemony that eventually determines what the

landscape becomes (Urry 1992, 1995).

Furthermore, Longo and Baker (2014) have argued that "'economy versus environment' arguments [can] become a hegemonic discourse advanced throughout social institutions (343)." The arguments that economic development negatively impacts environmental aesthetics or that environmental protection impedes economic progress leave no room for further dialogue in between, the 'middle ground' that Cronon (1990) speaks of. Depending on popularity, legal grounds, or a number of other criteria, particular arguments for landscape planning serve as hegemonic forces that secure the agency of certain groups while alienating the desires of others. In this case, the injunction imposed on the resort creates the perception that the successful advocacy based on outside aesthetic and environmental values have effectively eliminated job opportunities and directly prevented higher standards of living, even if the final outcome of the courts was based on EIA legality. The agency for determining landscape use is seemingly held in the hands of outside environmentalists rather than locals who have spent their lives in the area.

The actual benefits that Miramar might have brought cannot be known or estimated accurately today. However, if locals believe that the aesthetic values associated with environmental activism are hurtful to their communities, this can prove detrimental to efforts of future environmental activism and negatively affect

participation and partnerships with the environmental community. In addition, while environmentalists point to the visual appeal of the beach and the ugliness of the resort, the clear need Tsetung and Fushan have in terms of physical infrastructure and soundness is overlooked. There is clearly a need for such movements to see beyond aesthetics and consider the people living within such landscapes.

Risk Perceptions, Relational Anchoring, and the Embeddedness of Identity

Another critical theme upon which interviewees often drew was their perception of environmental risk. Risk of environmental issues or catastrophe play an important role in development plans, and Taiwan's history of natural disasters and annual typhoon season heightens awareness of such risk, particularly in regards to tourism development (Tsai, Tseng, Tzeng, Wu, and Day 2012). Respondents validated and legitimized their perceptions of risks in regards to construction occurring near the oceanfront by utilizing their personal histories in the area to note changes in the landscape – or the lack thereof. This subsequently served to support the theme of 'laying claim' to the landscape through the embeddedness of identity within specific geographical places: One's identity as a 'local resident' carried a certain amount of authority, meaning non-residents were compelled to find other ways of constructing a credible identity in terms of evaluating the local environment.

In addition, discourse surrounding mediating environmental risk focused on the

implementation of a water filtration system in the resort, demonstrating a different

approach of managing risk perception through technology. As this discourse was

dominated by the resort company due to its technical nature, it also demonstrates how

the authority to shape local perceptions of risk is a form of power that becomes held

by entities existing outside of the local communities.

Landscape Changes and Anchors

Among the individuals interviewed, many spoke to the effects of the construction

process they personally observed. Taitung Representative Chen, a recreational

snorkeler, states that he has seen a significant decrease in marine life in the area over

the past few years. He explains that "the coral reefs, if they're covered by soil, dirt

and other debris [from the construction runoff], all the fish and seaweed and stuff

don't have a living habitat, they can't get sunlight, and they die or move on." Others

claim to have observed large pieces of trash left from construction floating near the

coast, or speak of beach clean-up experiences in which erosion of sand uncovered

concrete blocks and used steel rods that they were purportedly buried by the

construction company rather than responsibly disposed of. "I know a lot of people

who found things (referring to garbage)," says "J," "and I have definitely seen those

blocks and [steel] rods too just strewn in the corner of the beach." The presence of

such refuse, to many activists, is just a precursor of what would befall the beach if the

resort began operations.

Hsu Lan-Xiang is an organic farmer residing in Dulan who also has a long history of participating in environmental activism. Like many who supported the resort, she attributes the continued erosion of sand and soil in the area to natural forces such as wind and rain. However, instead of excusing the resort for its environmental impact, she cites these natural phenomenon as precisely the reason construction should not occur in this location:

> The reason I'm against Miramar is that, I know very clearly, you can't construct things here; the ocean changes its route all the time. Especially with the Pacific current, causing so much erosion...it needs to flow on its own, we humans can't stand in its way. So you see, all these armor blocks[17]...there's always a way out. So the water, the current, it'll go where you haven't developed and constructed, the places that are weaker, and end up affecting disadvantaged people much more.

The unpredictable ocean routes were also cited by several other interviewees, while many also pointed to incremental weather. Taiwan's east coast generally weathers several typhoons annually. While these typhoons bring much-needed precipitation and refill Taiwan's reservoirs[18], they also assail the east coast in particular with strong winds and torrential rains, which often leads to flooding, landslides, and property destruction. "It's like building a pesticide factory next to farmland," says activist Yang, comparing Miramar to another case of environmental

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[17] Wave energy dissipation blocks

[18] Taiwan's narrow geographical shape and steep elevation changes make retaining freshwater extremely difficult; thus, typhoons are essential to sustaining the island's water sources and population.

dispute in southwestern Taiwan. "It's completely counterintuitive…you're asking for

a disaster. And it's going to take a toll on the poor first."

These statements can be contrasted against the experiences of many local

residents who support the development. Many like Mayor Huang, who has been the

mayor of Fushan for thirty consecutive years, drew on their personal histories in the

area to back up their claims that the environment was experiencing minimal impact.

> I've been here since 1955 – born and raised here, so I really know the coast.
> So the power of nature, how it affects things, I have a good understanding
> of. But Miramar, it's right next to the mountains and hills on the opposite
> side [to the beach], so it's a slope. So every time there's a storm or a
> typhoon, all that soil comes down from the mountain and goes into the
> Pacific. It's always been like that. When I was a kid, the corals, sometimes,
> they'd be as tall or taller than me. But the past fifty years, a lot of the coral
> has gradually been covered or filled in by soil and sand. This is because of
> the power of nature. I can't accept them blaming it all on the resort. I'm a
> local. I would know. A lot of the stuff that comes down to the beach with the
> rain and stuff, you get pictures of it in the news like it's pollution...I get
> angry just thinking about it.

He continues, "All the activists talk about environmental pollution, about collusion

between the developers and the government....but I'm a local, I've been here my

whole life, and what the environmentalists say about pollution, we don't feel that

here." Many agree with Huang, claiming that erosion is simply part of the natural

process of the area, while others pointed to the lack of change in terms of marine life.

Another Fushan resident spoke of a family of clownfish in the local reef that he visits

every week: "They've been there for five years, and they're still there…I still go out

there [diving] every week; nothing's changed. I saw them just a few days ago." "L"

runs a popsicle stand next to the Fushan No-fishing Zone, a few miles north of the

Miramar site, and briefly worked for the resort before its indefinite closure. In

addition to praising the resort as the best employer she's ever had, she also points to

her first-hand experience as evidence of the environmental health of the area.

> The water hasn't changed…if this was affecting the water, all the fishermen
> here would be the first to protest…but we don't see any of that, no fish
> dying, nothing. If there were problems, we wouldn't be catching and eating
> fish.

"L's" status as a volunteer for the local fish protection society serves as

further evidence that the environmental impact from the resort is minimal;

referring to the volunteer groups, she claims: "We'd be the first to complain if this

was affecting the fish and the environment."

The emphasis on the lack of change, on being a "local," a former employee, or a

conservation volunteer, and the implied knowledge that comes with these identities is

clear in the discourse shown above. The statements that "Nothing's changed," or "We

don't feel those [environmental effects]" sum up a disbelief in media coverage

outsider claims ("They only show pictures of sensational stuff like polluting water

pipes flowing into the ocean…turns out the photos weren't even of Shanyuan," "They

only want the things that are exciting…most of it, it's from the weather patterns and

nothing out of the ordinary"); and the argument that local opinions must be

considered and respected over outsiders ("I'm a local; I would know").

The idea of "relational anchoring" of risk perception explored by Auyero, and Swistun (2008) is a process that "…induces people to give undue weight to an initial value that in turn powerfully affects their subsequent judgments….[when] uninterrupted routines and interactions work smoothly as blinders to increasing environmental hazards. (359)" In the interviews above, anchoring takes place on landscape events such as erosion or families of fish in the ocean. This anchoring supported by the lack of immediate change may prevent individuals from seeking more relevant information in regards to the resort. Of course, 'anchoring' can also be reinforced by intercommunity dialogue and interactions in which normal community routines continue without interruption. In addition, given the drawn-out time frame of Miramar's development also serves to reinforce the anchoring of perception through subtle, unnoticeable changes and processes.

As seen in the following section, however, the process of anchoring can be reinforced and perpetuated by outside forces as well. In the case of Miramar, discourse surrounding the water filtration system installed in the resort structure dominated any conversation pertaining to questions of environmental risk.

Though even supporters of the resort pointed to missteps by the developers during the construction process, they also unequivocally agreed that the later mediating steps made up for these mistakes. In particular, the utilization of advanced water filtration technology reinforces support for the resort among many local residents. Mayor Huang sums up the primary concern that many supporters initially had in the following:

> Actually, those of us who have lived here longer...the only thing we're worried about really is waste water treatment. But waste water has its own set of government standards…if you reach those, then it's fine...that's how it should be, that's what government standards are for! And their on-site equipment is actually better than the standards, and they reuse a lot of their waste water in landscape maintenance and gardening, too. So you see, we still have our standards that we're demanding of Miramar.

Mr. Chen, of the local fish protection association, points out that almost none of the existing small-scale hostels and motels in the area have any type of water filtration installed on their premises: "[The water runoff] all adds up, and there's no reason why it doesn't make as big of an environmental impact as a larger hotel. Now if Miramar has the technology, why is it so much worse than all these small places combined?" Chen asks. Mr. Cheng from Paradise coffee agrees, claiming that few if any businesses in the area even have septic tanks – all household waste water goes straight into the Pacific Ocean. "If you have the opportunity to have a closed [water filtration] system, why wouldn't that do a better job?" he asks, once again pointing to Miramar's

technology as proof of a responsible developer who is concerned with the local

environment. Many supported Mayor Huang's claim that Miramar's water filtration

system was beyond government requirements, and praised the company for taking

concerns seriously. Others referred me to the life guard on the beach, hired by

Miramar, who supposedly would allow me access to the resort interior to see the

filtration system in person (he did not).

As evidenced by the constant references to the water filtration system, many

supporters of the resort viewed technology as the primary solution to potential

environmental problems, or even as indication that the resort would take better care of

the local environment than many small businesses had been doing. References to the

system made by all interviewees who supported the resort speaks to the effectiveness

of the information released by the developers. By limiting what information was made

available and emphasized to the public, Miramar Resort Group was able not only to

address concerns, but use the possession of advanced technology to their advantage,

despite the fact that monitoring water quality is certainly not the only measure of

environmental impact of the construction. As Auyero and Swistun (2008) write:

> Risk frames (what people see, what they don't see, what they know, and what
> they don't know) are socially produced, but this production is hardly a
> cooperative creation. The anchoring of perceptions is a crucial process in the
> molding of the collective schemes residents use to assess hazards – a process
> manipulated by material and discursive power (Heimer 1988). Given that
> opinions and interventions are endowed with different power…what the

president or other state officials affirm, do, or avoid doing, carry a different weight than what a regular neighbor asserts or does. (374)

As can be seen above, the politics of technology quickly surface in the discourse surrounding waste water treatment. Instead of the words of "the president or other state officials" carrying more weight, the resort's monopoly on technological access and knowledge entrenches it as the authority of environmental management, despite the presence of historical local knowledge in the area. Winner (1980) has argued that artifacts can hold political qualities when they establish or reinforce patterns of power and control in a particular area. As he writes,

It is obvious that technologies can be used in ways that enhance the power, authority, and privilege of some over others, for example, the use of television to sell a candidate. To our accustomed way of thinking, technologies are seen as neutral tools that can be used well or poorly, for good, evil, or something in between. But we usually do not stop to inquire whether a given device might have been designed and built in such a way that it produces a set of consequences logically and temporally prior to any of its professed uses. (125)

The development and implementation of water filtration technology is an appropriate response to concerns about wastewater of the resort; however, it also functions as a means of controlling and directing discourse on environmental risk in the area, and preemptively provides a solution to environmental concerns in general.

The outcome of such discourse is that other social and environmental issues such as infrastructure pollution, tourist traffic, noise issues, and local benefits from the resort may quickly be overlooked. Alternative means of operation that might allow for

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more community control or implementing local knowledge are circumvented by the introduction of technology that is beyond the average lay person's technical understanding. The technology's status as "above what the government mandates" only serves to accentuate the sense of authority and power it holds in a community with comparatively low levels of development, while conveying a sense of capability and centralized control held by the resort over any potential issues that may arise.

In addition, the idea of 'relational anchoring' (Auyero et al, 2008), discussed earlier, can be applied here as well, as residents tie the formation of opinions and knowledge almost exclusively to information released in regards to water filtration, and consequently, few other aspects. There are problems with such an approach, as activist Lin Shulin points out:

> What we normally hear is, "Oh, they're taking care of the wastewater treatment." So you wonder, what kind of methods [Miramar] is using to convince people; everyone is concerned about the ocean and pollution, but in reality, there are so many other deeper issues in this. This is only the bare surface. What about transportation, what about the tourist crowds? Will there be dangers to our Bu-Luo with so many people coming and going? The cleanliness of the beach? These are all things that are not addressed by Miramar.

Intentionally or not, the discourse surrounding technology has effectively provided an immediate and convenient answer to many of the concerns brought up by activists while offering blinders to obscure unaddressed issues. In terms of 'claiming' the landscape, the technology and the release of such information claims the

landscape on behalf of the developers as safe, and also creates the image of control

firmly held by the resort. The entrenching of outside control is realized in artifactual

form here through technology, and the dynamic between top-down policies or

regulations and the corporate strategies designed to meet them as quickly and

effectively as possible often leave no space for the community to enter into

discussions, ask further questions, or gain much-needed information.

Risk Perception and Social Identity

As can be seen above, the perception of environmental risk is an additional

element motivating both resistance against and justification on behalf of the resort.

Beck (1991) has argued in the case of western European societies that progress made

in advancing modern technology and material culture did not bring security and safety

to people's daily life. Instead, this has made various toxic and hazardous activities and

sites necessary – such as nuclear power plants – creating what he calls a 'risk society,'

in which the perception of risk shapes not only our individual actions, but more

importantly bureaucratic policy and systematic responses in general. He contends that

a change in how society responds to risk have broken down old class relations, as

environmental risk such as climate change or nuclear catastrophes would have similar

effects on people across the board; thus, the primary struggle would be over the very

definition of risk between different social groups.

Such a struggle is clearly present in the discourse above. Indeed, considering the

relative low impact of a resort when compared to the risk associated with nuclear

power plants Taiwanese society has argued over for the past several decades[19], the

public's concern with environmental risk is somewhat surprising, though this may be

explained in part by the fact that Taiwan has faced many catastrophic environmental

events in the past decade, from atypically strong typhoons causing landslides and

flooding, to an earthquake in 1999 that registered 7.1 on the Richter scale and killed

over 3,000 people in the aftermath (Central Weather Report, 2000).

Such events have led to the emphasis on risk prevention in the tourism industry,

which often operates in areas possessing scenic views that are dependent upon steep

and dangerous landscapes, but also have led to an overall heightened awareness of the

inherent risks present given Taiwan's geographical location and features (Tsai, Tseng,

Tzeng, Wu, and Day 2012). The negotiation of what constitutes as "risk" is

demonstrated in these contested claims to knowing the landscape of a given area, and

is tied to social identities which validate or strengthen such claims.

Furthermore, the claim to a sense of 'ownership' of the land is not a concrete

discussion of deeds, titles, and transactions, but rather of an identity that belongs to

the area. Most interviewees who support the resort maintain that they would not allow

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[19] Taiwan has three operating nuclear power plants, with a fourth incomplete plant that has generated
high levels of controversy for the past X number of years. In addition, the situating of nuclear waste
has been a point of contention due to limited land.

for construction of this magnitude to occur if it did not adhere to their personal and communal standards, and that they "would be" opposed to it if certain requirements were not met. For example, another Fushan resident states, "…us accepting Miramar, it's not unconditional. We still have our principles. Of course, we need jobs, but I wouldn't let someone destroy my home just for jobs. That wouldn't be acceptable." Others claimed that they would be "first in line" to protest if desired regulations had not been met. These statements demonstrate the idea that the community still retains some sense of agency in whether the construction occurred or not.

In their examination of landscapes surrounding a New York suburb, Duncan and Duncan (2001) argue that "…landscapes are integral to the performance of social identities. Collective memories, narratives of community, invented traditions, and shared ecological awareness are repeated, performed, and occasionally contested. (390)" The statements above exhibit the process of using personal perceptions of risk to lay claim to landscape, and also a particular social identity of "insider" or "local" as opposed to the "outside" agency looking to thwart development plans. Personal experience and stories serve as a means of legitimacy for arguments for or against the resort, but also solidify the particular social identity that individuals view as having the authority to speak to affairs surrounding Taitung and Miramar Resort. This

process is supported and reinforced by the corporate sector through the promoting of technological superiority as a form of mitigating perceptions of risk.

On the other hand, anti-resort activists utilize their individual claims to landscape as a means of social participation, which might bridge the exclusion that their non-resident status quickly triggers when engaging in dialogue on local affairs. Their experience in participating in the landscape is limited, however, when compared to local residents who have spent much or all their lives in the area, and in the view of locals, the less-substantial association with the land held by "outsiders" makes it dismissible when such significant conflicts in opinion occur between locals and outsiders. However, while the long-term experiences of locals can serve as tools of exclusion against outsiders and their agendas, they also are not necessarily effective in discourses on a larger scale, and can be overlooked when alternative claims are more appealing to the general public.

Imaginative Geographies of Shanyuan Bay

In Edward Said's seminal essay "Orientalism," Said uses French philosopher Gaston Bachelard's "poetics of space" to explain the process of what he calls 'imaginative geographies.' Using the inside of a house as his example, Bachelard argues that the setting acquires a particular sense of intimacy, secrecy, and security – real or imagined – because of what experiences come to seem appropriate to it. The

more objective qualities, such as the dimensions of the room or the number of

windows existing, become far less important than the imaginative values that have

been assigned to the room. Thus, as Said writes:

> ...space becomes emotional and even rational sense by a kind of poetic
> process, whereby the vacant or anonymous reaches of distance are converted
> into meaning for us here…[T]here is no doubt that imaginative geography
> and history help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing
> the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away
> (Said, 168).

Projects of imaginative geography are used by Said to explain the vast majority

of portrayals and descriptions of non-Western regions throughout history; through

controlling representations of place, control of place itself is often achieved. Thus,

imaginative geographies are projects of projected representation of an area that can

encompass all aspects of a local geography, from aesthetic appearances to social

structures to environmental risk.

For example, Coleman (2007) has drawn on Said's imaginative geographies to

explain how the Columbian government creates 'gendered' landscapes in their

discourse – portraying certain places as 'irrational,' undeveloped (feminine) areas and

others as hyperviolent and unsafe (masculine) in order to legitimize neoliberal

development in the area as a means to address the negative 'gendered' characteristics.

If we return to the arguments of landscape perception and the politics of

technology outlined in the sections prior to this, we begin to see the projects of

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imaginary geography taking place. In the case of Miramar, it is not a matter of the exertion of control from the state or invading powers, but rather the supplanting of local agency from broader social movements and cultural values. The environmental projects present argue that Taitung, and Shanyuan Bay in particular, are locations that are valuable because of their natural aesthetics. They also contend that inherent environmental risk of the area mandates that development avoid oceanfront parcels. On the other hand, the governmental and corporate projects that are echoed by many locals outline narratives of jobs and economic activity as the final ingredient to bring Taitung from a less-developed rural category into the modern world and the standards of living that such a world entails.

The corporate project in particular has led to the eventual renaming of Shanyuan Bay as "*Meiliwan,*" the phrase for 'beautiful bay' in Mandarin. Miramar is simply the direct phonetic translation into English. The location is now identified almost exclusively as "*Meiliwan*" to the extent that headlines coverage and discussions freely alternate *Meiliwan* for Shanyuan Beach – essentially, Miramar. The interviews I conducted also fell under such influence, as the term "Shanyuan Bay" was rarely used. In addition, the indigenous name of *Fulakfulak* ("The place where the sand sparkles") has only been picked up infrequently by activists.

Gregory (1994) builds upon Said's theory of imaginative geographies with the idea of "dispossession through naming," highlighting how colonial projects practiced using naming 'discovered' places as a way of transforming the space into one that could be possessed – or rather, *dispossessed* from those who existed on the land prior to 'discovery.' (Gregory 1994:170-171). In this case, we see that in the renaming of Shanyuan Bay as *Meiliwan* or Miramar, the location becomes dispossessed from the local communities, both indigenous Amis and Han Chinese, and instead identified by its association with a corporate resort, completely redefining its cultural and geographical identity. The shaping of the common citizen's perception of the area as resort-centric furthers the project of reimagining Shanyuan's geography in a turn away from local culture, towards one as a globalized tourism site. This is only reinforced by the dialogue surrounding water filtration technology, which creates the perception of Miramar Resort holding unquestionable control over the land.

In the case of Miramar, environmental activists and enthusiasts have participated to project an image of Shanyuan Bay as a beautiful beachfront that also symbolizes the ocean from which many local Amis make their livelihood through fishing and foraging. Disbelief is expressed at how others who support development do not recognize the value of landscape and aesthetics. As Said (1977) writes in regards to the intensification through "dramatizing the distance and difference between what is

close to it and what is far away," we likewise witness urban activists being accused of dramatizing an environment they wish to protect as beautiful and emblematic of collective regional memories, making it untouchable.

As seen, imaginative geography projects are certainly not merely executed from West to East; in this case, environmental aesthetic values (which admittedly have drawn much from western perspectives) served to create a project that held more influence, displacing much of local rural agency, and impose ideations of landscape upon certain areas that are deemed as ones to be preserved and protected. In contrast, the high level of poverty and lack of basic infrastructure in the immediately surrounding area of Fushan becomes secondary within such a project, despite the acknowledgment of their existence by many activists.

To be clear, the 'imaginative' label of such projects does not imply that they are inherently false, nor does it necessarily demonstrate an insidious attempt at grasping for control over the local community. Shanyuan Bay and the rest of Taitung County surely possess inherent natural value, indigenous cultural value, utilitarian recreational value, residential use value, and many more aspects that must be considered. Miramar's water filtration system almost certainly addresses concerns of water quality. In addition, projects framing Taitung as sorely in need of increased economic activity are certainly not without merit, either: All projects in this case hold

a level of truth significant to certain populations. Thus, the goal of highlighting how projects of imaginative geography function in these instances is to illuminate power dynamics that serve to displace and replace – often inadvertently – the agencies of those who are unable to easily access and participate in such conversations: Indigenous elders lacking Mandarin language skills; the rural poor with lower access to information and technology; and the expatriated adults who left their villages and Bu-Luos for work.

Though indigenous cultural and territorial rights (as discussed in the following chapter) were significant themes raised by activists during the protests, the environmental and aesthetic aspects resonated strongly with the public, perhaps even more strongly than questions of indigeneity. As demonstrated above, discourse surrounding the environmental themes inadvertently acted to displace and overshadow many local voices. While effective politically, this can serve to alienate many while reinforcing complaints that outsiders are simply trying to keep Taitung looking like what they prefer. The long term effects of this may be surprisingly damaging to efforts seeking to advance environmental protection, and continue the framing of environmental activists as outsiders who claim superior knowledge and values that undermine local ones.

In regards to environmental justice, we can see that rural community agency

must be prioritized alongside questions of environmental risk and indigenous rights

within such a framework. If activists truly aim to seek justice for both the

environment and also the local Amis whose culture and livelihoods are being

encroached upon, then the conversation must begin to prioritize those who are not

currently present within social movements and bureaucratic institutions. The

partnering of environmental protection and indigenous rights can be an extremely

effective one, yet when rural communities who are also disadvantaged are left out of

the vision of such movements, their lack of power is left unaddressed, and in many

ways more deeply embedded. It is crucial that self-identified environmentalists begin

to consider whether they are overlooking whole communities within their constructed,

imaginative geographies.

CHAPTER III

THE STATE TO THE RESCUE?

The previous chapter has explored how power dynamics function between different social groups through the claiming of landscapes and the management of risk perceptions; and how in the case of Miramar Resort, these power dynamics have led to a feeling of alienation and disenfranchisement of many local residents. The following chapter traces power in a different manner. By focusing on interview statements that hold that state as the entity embodying the capacity for change and improvements, this chapter identifies the reliance of the local communities upon state structures that exists throughout much of this case, despite the appearance of the corresponding activism resisting a state-sponsored project. Through identifying this reliance, this chapter continues the exploration of power dynamics from the previous chapter: power is not only claimed by outside groups over locals as demonstrated earlier, but also ceded to the state in many areas of discourse through a dependency upon bureaucratic interventions. In conjunction with Chapter II, Chapter III points out the passing-over of local communities as generative sites of possibility and potential, and highlights the constant turn towards the state for support

In particular, I explore two aspects of the case that demonstrate how bureaucratic power shapes the Miramar conflict and its related issues:

- The reliance of indigenous communities upon the state for designation and recognition of indigenous traditional territories (ITTs)

- The reliance of local communities upon bureaucratic structures for economic development projects and its related actions.

In analyzing these two aspects, I argue that calls for the state to enact change can entrench reliance on outside power structures and capacity, furthering the potential for systemic disenfranchisement and disempowerment. By pointing out these power dynamics, a space is opened up for an environmental justice framework that can bring attention to not only issues of environmental risk, but also to the power structures that can function as impediments to or crutches of community agency.

For the purpose of this paper and related discussions to the state, I utilize Bob Jessop's (2007) definition of the state as "an ensemble of power centres that offer unequal changes to different forces within and outside the state to act for different political purposes (37)," or "a distinct ensemble of institutions and organizations whose socially accepted function is to define and enforce collectively binding decisions on a given population in the name of their 'common interest' or 'general will'" (cf. Jessop 1990:341) (9).

This broader definition will lead to instances in which 'the state' *can* be interchanged with other words, such as 'the government,' yet also implies more than

political entities or laws; rather, the main point is to emphasize the mutual constitution

of state and society, and also the processes through which states are constructed and

reproduced. Thus, when discussing the 'will of the state,' for example, we must

consider the societal groups and entities that participated in the overall formation of

the state as well, instead of simply viewing the state as an autonomous entity

executing its agenda.

Using such a definition, we can keep in mind in the following discussion the

plurality of state capacity and its roots in multiple and diverse moving parts such as

governmental officials, planning institutions, private-sector companies working

alongside such officials and institutions, and local communities participating in

electoral politics.

Indigenous Traditional Territories: Moving Beyond Recognition

In addition to the arguments against Miramar Resort concerned with aesthetic

harm and environmental risk, another has been its location within traditional Amis

territory. The Aboriginal Basic Law mandates that prior to any change in land use on

indigenous traditional territories (ITTs), consultation must be conducted with the local

Bu-Luos, though a lack of specificity in terms of consultation is an issue. Many

activists nationwide rallied around the protection of indigenous rights and agency on

traditional territory, and several anti-resort interviewees quickly pointed to this aspect as a primary reason for their participation.

In contrast, the majority of local resort supporters who were interviewed downplayed this particular aspect. In fact, most had to be specifically asked about this topic in order to ensure comparability with interviews with activists. Several resort supporters – including the chairperson of Tsetung Bu-Luo – immediately turned the conversation towards jobs, pointing to the poverty of Fushan. In addition, some interviewees suggested that pressures from societal relationships and dependency on governmental benefits prevent some indigenous people participating in ITT advocacy.

While the diametrically opposed attitudes of interviewees is telling of an overall lack of engagement between the two camps, an analysis of ITTs and their role in the case is indicative of existing power dynamics as well. Concerned activists showed a reliance upon the colonial state in delineating these territories, and others' hesitancy to advocate for ITTs due to considerations of social relations and governmental benefits highlight ways in which dependency affects communities in ways often unacknowledged. Thus, though the power dynamics here differ when compared to claims of landscape from the previous chapter, it shares the similarity of denying rural communities and indigenous Bu-Luos as sites holding agency while ceding power to the state.

Territories and Designations

Territorial designations have long been a means of establishing power and control throughout Taiwan's colonial history. After the Qing Dynasty of China took over Taiwan in the late 17th century, the state's priority to prevent Taiwan from becoming a rebel base led to more formal territorialization compared to previous Dutch and Spanish occupancies[20]. This was done through restricting Chinese emigration from the mainland, and restrictive measures of Han settlements on the island. Doctrines of quarantine also restricted both indigenous and also Han Chinese movement (Chang 2008). Such policies set the grounds for the lack of recognition for indigenous territory and tradition centuries prior to the democratization of Taiwan, and were largely continued by the KMT government when Taiwan was returned from Japanese rule (Kuan 2014).

Beginning in 2002, the Taiwanese government under the Democratic Progressive Party launched the Indigenous Traditional Territory Survey to map indigenous traditional territories (ITTs). This act was based on a movement from the 1960s in Alaska and Canada which focused on collective memories in indigenous mapping (Chapin, Lamb, and Threlkeld 2005). A primary goal was the reconciling of historically troubled Han-indigenous relationships (Chi and Chin, 2012). Other goals

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[20] The Qing Dynasty was established by the Manchu people of northern Asia, and dealt with continuous resistance from remaining Han supporters of the previous Ming Dynasty.

of the survey were to increase indigenous agency, and serve as a mechanism to pass on cultural knowledge to younger indigenous generations.

The mapping was generally carried out by indigenous councils, which are made up of indigenous representatives within the Taiwanese government, working alongside local elders. The Aboriginal Basic Law (ABL), ratified in 2005, also drew upon the recognition of these territories by mandating their respect and partial tribal agency over them (ROC Laws and Regulations Database). Despite this original intent, conflict between different indigenous communities and also with the government over claims to natural resources and their management began to arise. In the 2007 Smangus Beech Event, three members from an Atayal Bu-Luo took a downed tree blocking the road back to their community for use, though the road was technically outside their ITT. Their arrest and several lawsuits from the forest service followed.

Though all three men were eventually acquitted, this incident crystallized the problems of such policies: Historically, many indigenous Bu-Luos did not have such concretely-defined territories, and the mapping process merely took the concept of 'ownership' and attempted to apply it evenly to resource use development plans. Management policies from a governmental perspective largely adheres to a capitalistic and utilitarian view, and excludes other ways of understanding and establishing relationality to the land (Kuan and Lin, 2008). In addition, the concept of

'ownership' opened up land to capitalist expansion and purchase in a way that

allowed for more convenient appropriation of traditional tribal lands (Kuan 2014).

Other issues arose as well; as Chi and Chin (2012) point out, traditionally-used

measurements (for example, "one day's walking") were incompatible with the

mapping technology. In addition, the exclusivity of mapping, in which only a minority

of Bu-Luo elites participated, also affected the abilities of Bu-Luos to effectively use

both the knowledge and also the recognition that mapping granted to serve their

communities. Finally, Huang (2012) has pointed out that Bu-Luo elders who have

relevant knowledge and experience may not be fluent in Mandarin, further limiting

the efficacy of the survey accurately representing indigenous traditions and

knowledge. Overall, scholars have argued that ITTs have been of limited use, a

viewpoint echoed by interviewees below.

The Limitations of ITTs

While many activists pointed to the recognition of traditional territories as a

crucial part of the protest process, most also emphasized that insufficient

governmental recognition and policymaking went beyond simply this particular case.

Taitung Representative Chen Lamlo Payrang and activist leader/Tsetung resident Lin

Shulin sum up the thoughts of many indigenous activists. Says Chen:

…[because of the surveys], most people have an idea of what traditional

territory is; however, the [Taiwanese] government [after political transition] has not continued with their actions in recognizing territory, this part....they're just saying, 'okay, that part is traditional territory, but as far as the future, we don't have any processes for taking care of it,' most people....don't know what to do with it, even though we've all walked it, know where it is.

Lin Shulin agrees, stating:

Even now, indigenous people don't have the right to self-govern. If you go back to the laws, and you don't have practical, applicable legislation, then governments still won't respect the process....right now, all you have are these laws saying 'We'll respect their culture, we'll respect their Bu-Luos.' Underneath, there's no content. So we need laws to be specific in order for our Bu-Luos to know how to self-govern, and for the government to honor these agreements.

In examining Chen and Lin's statements jointly with the development of the Miramar Resort, we find that neither the Taiwanese government nor many indigenous people themselves have a clear understanding of what designating ITTs truly means in terms of governance. Chen's statement that despite most people "having walked it, they don't know what to do with it" demonstrates that merely defining the boundaries is not sufficient to guide the subsequent actions of Bu-Luos, regardless of the personal connections walking the land may have created. In this case, the recognition of indigenous agency and ownership did not result in the creation of effective management systems for the local indigenous peoples or a comprehensive understanding of the land. To many, the recognition offered through ITTs still lacks detailed terms of governance.

Andrea Smith's (2010) analysis of the racial state and settler-colonialism is a useful framework to consider in considering the issues of governing power over ITTs. As Smith writes, "when one seeks recognition, one defines indigenous struggles as exclusively as possible so that claims to the state can be based on unique and special status. In contrast, if one seeks to actually dismantle settler colonialism, one defines indigenous struggle broadly in order to build a movement of sufficient power to challenge the system. (Smith website)"

In seeking further recognition from the state in the form of specific, exclusive governing policies for indigenous traditional territories, anti-resort activists inadvertently show an expectation that the Taiwanese government, despite its status as a colonial state, will continue to exist and govern indigenous issues, or provide the capacity to support their governance. This moves away from developing ideations of self-determination and decolonization within indigenous communities, and increases the reliance upon bureaucracy that has historically functioned as oppressive and alien.

The lack of specificity in regards to land governance has led some within the Tsetung community to downplay the significance of governmental recognition of indigenous rights. Chairperson Liu Yu-Yi of the Tsetung community is one of the representatives of the pro-resort group, and says that "without jobs, we don't have [indigenous] rights." He and several others insist that no one in their community is

concerned with the idea of traditional land at this point in time, and "only want job

opportunities so our children can come home. I don't know about traditional lands...no

one talks about that here… [jobs] are more important...we can talk about traditional

land when we have jobs." Liu's idea that indigenous rights are a secondary priority

when compared with the immediate importance of jobs explains to a large extent the

lack of dialogue concerning traditional land rights within the Tsetung community. To

Liu and many other supporters of the resort, the "only things" desired are jobs that

will lead to the return of the middle-aged generation – his children and grandchildren.

In addition to the reasons outlined above, some interviewees suggested that local

Amis people were hesitant to advocate more strongly for recognition of indigenous

territory due to societal pressures. As Mayor Huang states:

> The problem is, this so-called traditional territory, sometimes the Han
> Chinese won't be willing to accept it. Because that area- that's our
> coastline, the people who live here, we all grew up there playing together
> on the beach. So sometimes we even joke about it, saying, "Hey! If that's
> your traditional land, then where's ours? We've been here too!" So, even
> if you're aboriginal you might not be willing to bring this up, or care too
> much about traditional territories. Furthermore, my father was here very
> early on – before the village of Tsetung was established by the Amis.... so
> maybe a lot of their people might not want to mention traditional
> territories, because most of us grew up together.

In Mandarin, "so-called" does not carry quite the amount of derision that it often

does in English. However, it is clear here that Mayor Huang is casting doubt to the

usefulness of defining such territories to not only local Han Chinese populations, but

also to the indigenous people, while subtly pointing to pressures that indigenous

peoples might face. He suggests that acknowledging ITTs may jeopardize established

societal relationships and norms, and implies that the Amis people he knows are

probably unwilling to do so. The significance of delineating such territories is

undermined, and it is clear that social relations are more important than government-

mandated territorial lines – not just to the Han Chinese, but also local Amis people.

This provides another possible reason to explain Chariperson Liu's viewpoint of

community members "not talking about traditional land."

Anti-resort activist Su Yating explicates some of these pressures when she points

to residents' dependency upon Mayor Huang's role as an administrator of

governmental benefits for low-income households. For many years, residents have

depended on Huang to navigate the difficult application process, creating a deeply-

entrenched power dynamic that once again points to a dependency on the colonial

power of the Taiwanese government alongside their personal relationship with a state

representative.

Some other local Han people have even more negative viewpoints of indigenous

traditional territories. Some sentiments included calling ITT policies "*the* most unfair

idea," and many claims that traditional territory is impractical due to restrictions on

development. One interviewee even went as far as claiming that "Han people are

oppressed by the indigenous people [in Taitung]!" Overall, ITTs are seen by many as directly contradictory to progress due to the complications they bring to the forefront.

Such attitudes are also present in my interview with the Director of Taitung County's Planning Department, Yu Ming-Shuin, who uses the example of Lanyu, an island off the coast of Taitung, bringing up the many considerations the government must account for in regards to land rights:

> [The Dao indigenous people] on Lanyu are very insistent on their views of traditional territory. As government officials, our priority is to improve their living situation…We were just talking about building a fire station for the firefighters there, since they're still renting a house as their base...where do we build it?...we were prevented from [building] because it was supposedly a burial ground for some of their ancestors...but you know what? The township government had already communicated this with them...they also have no deeds, nothing. Lanyu's villages also have strong claims on traditional territory that sometimes conflict. So they might as well self-govern, re-draw the traditional territory, and let us know when they're done. That's the only point at which we'd be able to build anything... if we did things according to the indigenous people, it wouldn't necessarily be beneficial for them.

Director Yu's intentions here are clearly on behalf of public service and meeting the material needs of communities. However, the lack of property deeds and titles possessed by the Dao is seen as a significant problem, despite the fact that there are no reasonable grounds for these documents to exist. The temporal significance of prior occupancy that deeds represent is rendered meaningless when considering the history of Dao on Lanyu, yet the Dao's very existence on their homeland is called into question by later-arriving colonial power systems. In addition, Yu's lack of confidence

in indigenous people is on full display here, with Yu's suggestion of "letting [the

government] know when they're done" figuring out self-governance implying the

ultimate need for governmental intervention at some point, while the following

sentence casts further doubt on indigenous peoples self-governing.

ITTs and State Dependency

Several aspects of relevant power dynamics can be observed above: First is an

overall reliance upon bureaucracy for continued recognition and implementation of

ITT management. Indigenous activists such as Lin Shulin and Representative Chen

Lamlo Payrang pin their hopes of advancing indigenous rights on improved legal

structures and policies. Secondly, the hesitancy to advocate for recognition of ITTs

reflect a reliance on existing power systems and the benefits they administer, as well

as the reluctance to damage existing social relations. Low income benefits and

societal pressures seem to prevent many from actively engaging in struggles for

autonomy and recognition. Finally, the framing of ITTs as an obstruction to

development demonstrates an attempt at removal of power from even simple

mechanisms of recognition. ITTs are viewed as a hindrance to the improvement of

living standards, and some even claim that it is an oppressive structure preventing

Han people from being able to pursue improvements in their living standards.

The very act of mapping, of course, is frequently for the purpose of defining

particular hierarchies and land use privileges in a manner that necessarily makes sense

for the government. As James C. Scott (1998) writes in *Seeing Like A State:*

> Officials of the modern state are, of necessity, at least one step – and often
> several steps – removed from the society they are charged with governing.
> They assess the life of their society by a series of typifications that are
> always some distance from the full reality these abstractions are meant to
> capture. These typifications are indispensable to statecraft. State
> simplifications such as maps, censuses…etc. represent techniques for
> grasping a large and complex reality; in order for officials to be able to
> comprehend aspects of the ensemble, that complex reality must be reduced
> to schematic categories (77-8).

The possibility that ITTs serve the Taiwanese government more than various

indigenous groups is not necessarily limited to increasing its ability to categorize

land. Lightfoot (2010) has written of the 'overcompliance' of nation states[21]

through "recogniz[ing] indigenous land or self-determination rights beyond that

state's technical legal obligations, or…recogniz[ing] a category of indigenous

rights in domestic law while opposing that same category of rights in international

discourse (89)." Lightfoot argues that such a move on the part of the countries can

actually be a self-serving one: it may function as an attempt to come to terms with

its colonial past and national identity without making larger strides in granting

indigenous sovereignty, or it may be due to an international image the state must

uphold.

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[21] Lightfoot specifically analyzes the cases of Canada and New Zealand, two countries considered at
the forefront of indigenous rights protection.

Given Taiwan's colonial history and ambiguous, quasi-nation status on the international stage, the designation of ITTs could certainly be due to these reasons, while in the case of Miramar Resort, its actual benefits to local indigenous populations is difficult to identify. The lack of tangible benefits for indigenous peoples in this case is not unique to Taiwan. In a case study of four different nations[22] and their approach to indigenous policies, Göcke (2013) discovers that land rights policies in general have not lived up to original expectations, and points out that while states have a duty to demarcate indigenous territories, "From the obligation to take all necessary measures to legally recognize and protect indigenous lands follows that demarcation as a merely factual act does not suffice to adequately protect indigenous ownership and use rights (145)."

A more fundamental contradiction exists in perceptions of traditional land recognition as well. The culture of indigenous peoples is inextricably tied to the land on which they reside (Castellino and Walsh 2005; Coombes, Johnson, and Howitt 2012; Tsai 2013), and the Amis people are no exception (Lin 2012). To support the cultural continuance of the Amis, the gaps in the Amis age-grade structure must be addressed, so different age groups can fulfill their cultural duties and pass on this

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[22] Austrailia, New Zealand, United States, Canada.

knowledge to the next age grade. To Chairperson Liu, his community believes that

there must first be economic opportunities to draw the missing age groups back to the

community. However, it is perceived that the only way to do so is through outside

forces creating economic opportunities that requires foregoing the claiming of

vaguely-defined land rights. In the case of Miramar, this not only means that

indigenous agency in issues of land use is under-prioritized by local Amis, but that

those who call for its recognition become associated with 'outsiders' who are not

addressing the primary local needs of jobs, economic stability, and reuniting families.

Despite a few local individuals being extremely outspoken about land rights,

Chairperson Liu maintains that "no one" talks about this – a statement that several

Han Chinese interviewees also made. Liu's statement, as the chairperson of the

Tsetung Bu-Luo, is particularly powerful in effectively othering the few community

members who are vocal about ITTs. Gaining economic stability and advancing

indigenous rights simultaneously is not seen as an option, and the steps that are

necessary for cultural continuance seem to directly move in opposition of the

advancement of indigenous rights. Such conflicts in social identity are not

uncommon; as Theriault (2011) writes:

> Indigeneity…can be a powerful claim, but it is not always the discursive or
> legal resource it promises to be… "The tribal slot," as Li (2000) calls it, can
> disadvantage not only those who can not or choose not to invoke it, but it
> can also serve to undermine the political claims of those who do (Brosius,

2003; Conklin, 1997; Conklin and Graham, 1995; Hodgson, 2002; Kirsch, 2007; Sylvain, 2002) (1420).

Theriault (2011) argues that indigeneity and related rights that are dependent upon political arrangements can quickly be fractured by "divergent interests of competing groups, and serve…to exacerbate existing social tensions, particularly along lines of ethnicity, class, and gender (1420)." The analysis on ITTs above fully demonstrates such tension and the potential for fracturing of such arrangements due to the perceptions that indigenous rights are hurting economic justice.

Because of the ambiguity of ITTs, when issues such as the Miramar Resort that demand attention but also promise immediate economic benefit arise, these concepts of land are not useful to many who simply want quick and concrete results. Instead of an increase in agency that many hoped for, the designation and recognition of ITTs has indirectly pushed some indigenous peoples from the movement to reclaim rights to a focus on short-term economic gains, and also led to other rural residents holding a negative view of indigenous claims to land. It also created a situation in which many indigenous people look to the government and its bureaucratic structures to designate the next step in determining land and resource use. Instead of advancing towards and advocating for self-determination, in many ways, a stronger sense of reliance was created. In addition, it pitted indigenous culture against development potential, and created the sense that the former was a barrier to the latter.

Considering Taiwan's progress in beginning to recognize indigenous land rights, there is certainly possibility of more direct benefits to local Amis community through tourism. Successful partnerships in this field between indigenous peoples, the state, and local communities have been demonstrated in other cases (Scheyvens 2011; Hipwell 2009; Lin and Chang 2011). Though I have argued that ITTs increase reliance upon bureaucratic institutions on the part of the Amis and potentially damage indigenous-Han relations, they are still without a doubt a necessary step towards more effective self-determination, and strengthening and specifying relevant policies are important future steps. A key question is identifying how to move beyond the initial step of recognition to productive dialogue on how Bu-Luos might deploy their resources and assets to take physical ownership of their land and their natural resources while working alongside rural, often impoverished communities.

Many academics in the EJ field have noted that community empowerment and capacity building is of the highest importance in EJ movements (Cole and Foster 2001; Faber and McCarthy 2003; Schlossberg and Carruthers 2010). In the case of Miramar Resort, the specific issue of land rights and falls squarely within environmental justice's goal of seeking justice for communities in which we live, work, and play, and the use of an EJ framework here to thoroughly examine and propose solutions to different forms of injustice holds high potential. Explorations of

varying forms of oppression, from sociohistorical origins of indigenous disadvantage

to the marginalization imposed by a neoliberal economy, can create a more inclusive

movement of resistance that facilitates dialogue between indigenous peoples and the

rural poor, instead of pitting the two populations against each other; and begins to

address the reliance upon state capacity that is experienced by disadvantaged

communities and reinforced by the state.

Development and Bureaucracy

The section above has explored the reliance of indigenous communities upon the

state in terms of the recognition of indigenous traditional territories. This following

section examines the broader area of development, and argues that in addition to the

area of ITTs, a reliance upon the state is also held by local rural communities in

general regarding economic development, limiting potential for more localized

agency and visions.

With a lower population than most other counties, Taitung's poverty is

exacerbated by low tax revenues collected, affecting infrastructure, education, and

other government-provided services. Many have argued that Taitung has received less

attention from the central government in terms of infrastructural support compared

with other counties, further entrenching its disadvantaged state. Even most anti-resort

activists made clear that they were not "against development" but simply held deeper

reservations about this particular case. Tourism is held as the most viable option for

addressing economic issues due to both limited land, but also the relatively low levels

of development that have preserved Taitung's natural scenery. Taitung's efforts in

tourism are evidenced by government initiatives in the past few years that include a

successful hot-air balloon industry and railway expansion.

Though the government is not responsible for the construction of Miramar, it still

holds the capacity for approval and regulation, and in this case, initiated the call for

development proposals. Its officials also benefit from successful or completed

projects as evidence of their efficacy while in office. As debate continues over what

Taitung's future trajectory should be, the state's role throughout must be critically

considered. In this section, I explore how development initiatives serve to extend the

state's capacity and reach; the potential impacts this may result in; and the

relationship between a democratic society and an expanded bureaucracy. Through

such an exploration, we see that reliance on state capacity is not limited to discussions

of ITTs as in the previous section, but also in broader terms of economic

development, prompting further questions of community agency and power.

Perceptions of Need

An overall reliance upon the state in affairs of development begins to surface

quickly in analyzing the interviews. With the legality of the environmental impact

assessments being the main point of contention within the court system, resort

supporters complained frequently about the lack of state power to "right the wrongs"

of the injunction. Mayor Huang states:

> [Miramar] applied for all the right permits and complied with all the
> precautionary requirements...why can't the laws and regulations hold the
> power they are supposed to? [The government] should simply say yes or no,
> and not sway their opinion based on what other people (referring to
> protesters) are saying. If you do, there's no point in having these policies,
> right?

He continues in his complaints on the number of "pointless" meetings he attended, in

which plans were drawn up by private or public entities alongside community

approval, only to be shot down by what Huang saw as fear of backlash from

environmentalists held by governmental officials.

Another Fushan resident who worked for the resort tells the story of several tech

industry executives who came to visit the resort. The executives believed that most

industries, including both technology and also heavier, commercial industries, had

clear regulations and requirements, while regulations for tourism were more

ambiguous. This ambiguity allowed for environmental groups to "find holes to poke"

– to interpret regulations within a court of law in a manner that demonstrated the

failures of Miramar to comply with policies. "We just need really specific regulations,

so [environmentalists] can't do stuff like that," he concludes.

Furthering this line of thought, Director Yu claims that if initially the EIA had

been conducted accordingly without the sub-parceling and adhered strictly to

regulations, then it really would have simply been up to those holding power –

environmental regulatory officials – to make a prudent decision:

> If protests still occurred under these circumstances, which I think they
> would, then all the decision-makers from top to bottom must have the
> courage to face down these protests. As long as you believe it's right, and
> all the environmental regulatory processes and EIAs are fine, are safe,
> then you have to have the courage to stamp that stamp. That's the only
> way that this whole thing can move towards a positive direction. Now if
> because of [outside voices] you're afraid to approve certain projects, then
> you're affecting the economy of the whole area, you're affecting the
> willingness of various companies to come here and develop.
> Subsequently, you're affecting the quality of life for all these people.

Director Yu's best intentions for the quality of life of Taitung citizens are

apparent. In addition, governmental decision-makers certainly must at times take a

stand in governing. However, the possibility of dialogue between the state and those

who espouse opposing opinions is not offered as an option at any point, and

governmental approval or intervention is seen as "the only way [for] a positive

direction." This particular approach is of course not indicative of all governmental

agencies or representatives, yet mirrors prior complaints by many protesters who

found it extremely difficult to obtain information, voice concern, or simply find the

appropriate steps to communicate with the state and its representatives. In addition,

framing a top-down decision-making process as "courageous" is dangerous in that it

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can serve as a self-validating, power-reinforcing apparatus that further removes the

possibility of dialogue from the bottom-up.

Other interviewees expressed similar sentiments, including statements such as

"If you're going to be afraid every time someone comes out against you [for

development]...what do I need you as a government official for?" The need and desire

for top-down action and decision-making demonstrates that the state, in the minds of

many, still retains the ultimate capacity and responsibility for concrete outcomes.

Surprisingly, those who are against the resort and are highly critical of the county

government's actions in allowing the privatization of a public space also point to the

importance of state interventions in development projects. Speaking of a recent

coastal management plan approved by the government for the east coast of Taiwan,

hostel owner "J" paints a picture of an incomplete and thus far ineffective policy that

nonetheless brings far more government involvement into the area:

> ...so including all the staff and workers in any sort of park, scenic area,
> they all have to take a bunch of [management] classes now. It's a problem,
> because none of it is defined clearly in legal terms. Plus, when you
> consider the rights of locals, when the zoning around their homes change,
> they aren't able to do a lot of the stuff they used to (such as hunting and
> fishing). But you don't see the government stepping in to establish job
> training, environmental education, any sort of transition, they're not doing
> enough to create supporting programs. If you really want tourism you
> need to do a lot of corresponding support. You can't just have some sort of
> slogan and wait for tourists to show up.

He follows up this statement with multiple examples of tourism development

that led to overcrowding and pollution due to lack of regulations. The immediate

connection between tourism development and the need for subsequent local job

training and transition provided by the government suggests that development must be

a multi-pronged approach if it is to truly benefit the local community. Simply

constructing physical infrastructure would not be sufficient, or it would lead to an

influx of outside labor, largely with specialized skills, reflecting another complaint of

many activists who felt that the argument touting job creation was problematic due to

the skillsets required in resort work that was not just "changing sheets and cleaning

bathrooms," as described by other interviewees. Most of the local population in need

of employment, under such circumstances, would likely remain jobless.

In examining the interviews above, several ways in which locals think of the

state and its bureaucratic systems are apparent. Some see an increase in state authority

as a necessary step for efficiency in concrete action and progress in development.

Others point to more specific laws as crucial to prevent overly-broad interpretations in

regards to environmental debates. Still others advocate for new or complementary

governmental structures to assist in transitions of development. Overall, governmental

involvement and bureaucratic expansion is considered essential to the future well-

being and development of the area by both resort advocates and anti-resort activists.

Systemic Disenfranchisement

Reliance upon bureaucracy is not necessarily limited to calls for more specific laws and new regulations or programs, as some activists claim that existing bureaucratic apparatuses have already deeply affected how local residents have reacted. One of my questions for many who opposed the resort was how they responded to the local claims of employment and economic needs, and I also asked more general questions about how respondents perceived local reactions. Several interviewees brought up the topic of state programs and assistance as potential influences on the local response to Miramar, adding a layer of complexity to the overall analysis.

Several activists pointed out that in the case of Fushan, many residents rely completely on local authorities for assistance with any sort of paperwork; the most important of which is their public assistance paperwork for low-income households. This is due to a combination of a lack of knowledge of the bureaucratic system and paperwork, and also language barriers in the case of Amis elders who have difficulty reading or writing in Mandarin. This may create a sense that the authorities who are providing and supporting families have the area's best interests in mind and are more likely to be 'correct' in opinion than outside protestors, or it may simply create the feeling of indebtedness to a system that has supported the communities in other ways.

In addition, Mayor Huang's role as the main representative of the state may dissuade some from contradicting his opinions in these affairs.

To be clear, there were no accusations that the mayor or others attempted to sway the support of the villagers. However, such power structures do not necessarily need to actively persuade those under their influence to impact societal situations and how they are perceived. As Pellow (2000) has proposed, environmental inequality must be viewed not as a discrete event or a victim-perpetrator issue, but a sociohistorical process involving multiple stakeholders with shifting allegiances. Tsetung's status as a newer Bu-Luo may serve as one of the explanations for the overall dependency upon the mayor and the state, though the overall lower socioeconomic status of the area's residents also entrenches their dependency upon state assistance. Subsequently, 'allegiance' to the state, if it can characterized as such, may well be a reason for the reluctance of residents to speak, in addition to an interest in maintaining relationships with the most immediate state representative – Mayor Huang, in this case.

Activists and resort supporters alike pointed to the outward migration of the middle-aged groups as a direct reason for a dependency on bureaucratic structures instead of community support. "You don't have any ways of meeting outside pressures and events when no one's around," and "Your community structure is substituted by the mayoral system of governance, and everything the mayor says is perceived as

correct" were a few of the sentiments proposed by interviewees as explanations for the majority opinions of Tsetung and Fushan as supportive of the resort.

In particular, the lack of access to information about the resort can sustain the idea that bureaucratic structures and their representatives are reliable sources of information. The only interviewees of this study who had access or knowledge to utilize the internet – where public information meeting notifications, EIAs, and other pertinent information is most readily accessed – were younger, educated activists or government officials. In addition to demonstrating the inequality of socioeconomic class between the camps, the difference in informational access clearly shows how unequal power dynamics can serve to further disenfranchise already marginalized communities.

Finally, many argued that the potential effects of development on the natural environment would eventually impact those who are dependent upon the ocean for their livelihoods or direct food sources, as future land use restrictions or pollution will indirectly increase dependency upon the government for low-income subsidies. It is clear here that many are conscious of existing inequalities that affect how decisions are made or opinions are reached. However, though many pointed to such inequalities and dependencies as important in actions and opinions, virtually no respondents

engaged in potential solutions. It seems that further reliance upon the state is the

primary solution to many at this point in time.

It is critical to examine the dominating argument, held by both supporters and

protesters, that Taitung 'needs' development, as well. Arturo (1988, 1999) argues that

'development' as a professionalized, top-down act was invented in large part through

the World Bank's 1948 defining of 'poverty' with a specific level of income.

Development became a "top-down, ethnocentric, and technocratic approach that treats

people and cultures as abstract concepts, statistical figures to be moved up and down

in the charts of "progress" (1999:384)," which leads to a "hegemonic form of

representation (1999:386)" that constructs poverty as a universal characteristics

without nuance and detail of locality and history.

While Scudder (1988) points out that the "major justification for [development]

is that the large majority of the world's population want development for themselves

and their families (366)," this hides the fact that development, or the promise thereof,

can serve to change local attitudes to "resemble those of the industrial world (Escobar,

1991:670)," further perpetuating the desire for more development by redefining the

"priorities and realities (671)" of natives to focus on economic wealth.

As shown by Lockwood (2002) in her study on rural Tahiti, self-identification as

'poor' or 'in poverty' is relative and constructed by external forces rather than being

an absolute level as defined by the World Bank. Many residents in her study are

reluctant to self-identify as "poor," despite clear material differences between

socioeconomic classes. This is due to a combination of social, cultural, and religious

factors. However, this relativity is easily affected by external forces; as she writes:

> …while income-poor families are not destitute or starving, their experience may
> be socially debilitating in various ways…the intensity of such effects and the
> broader social consequences are shaped by the size of the gap between the
> material lifestyles of the "haves" and the "have-nots," the extent of real and
> perceived social inequality, and the cultural values and norms surrounding
> poverty and its presumed causes. (211)

As seen in the Miramar case, the aversion to anti-resort arguments held by many

locals is reinforced by the fact that the majority of protestors are from relatively well-

off urban areas, which do not experience the various inconveniences and lack of

opportunity Fushan and Tsetung do. In addition, the long-term perception that Taitung

is 'underdeveloped' when compared to Taiwan's urban regions also continues to

strengthen the idea that economic progress is a necessity – a necessity that must be

addressed by outside intervention, and that one's community and oneself is, indeed,

'poor.' Unfortunately, the fact that development must be more than economic growth

is then often left unconsidered.

Dependency on State Capacity

Activist Lin Shulin provides a useful summary of the responses above:

...in a very invisible and gradual way, whatever the mayor says, there's a lot

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of power to that, you know. Plus, the head of our Bu-Luo…he's working somewhere else. So a lot of decisions are made by the mayor...when outside forces come in and the mayor agrees with what they want to do, then these people become a very powerful support for whatever is being planned…I think that the government is imperceptibly providing for these people in a way that makes them dependent. However, they haven't put in a support system or structure that is truly useful. So, do these people really need this assistance? There's room for debate. But if these circumstances persist long-term, then you have people who aren't used to voicing their opinions or trying anything new. It's easy to be led around by the nose then.

The overall dependency upon the state and its representatives can be further analyzed by building upon the work of James Ferguson. Ferguson (1990) utilizes a case study of Lesotho to discuss how development discourse serves to 'reconstruct' regions as generic, less-developed areas in need of aid, rather than parsing out more nuanced depictions of locally-unique assets and needs:

By uncompromisingly reducing poverty to a technical problem, and by promising technical solutions to the sufferings of powerless and oppressed people, the hegemonic problematic of "development" is the principal means through which the question of poverty is de-politicized in the world today. At the same time, by making the intentional blueprints for "development" so highly visible, a "development" project can end up performing extremely sensitive political operations involving the entrenchment and expansion of institutional state power almost invisibly, under cover of a neutral, technical mission to which no one can object. The "instrument-effect," then, is two-fold: alongside the institutional effect of expanding bureaucratic state power is the conceptual or ideological effect of depoliticizing both poverty and the state (256).

In sum, Ferguson argues that development can serve to extend state bureaucracy through unintended, undetected, and seemingly unimportant ways, calling it an "anti-politics machine" that renders such bureaucracy invisible while taking poverty as its

"point of entry (255)". As specific bureaucratic or regulatory structures move in to

address the situation, the state begins to fill a more prominent and necessary role, as

the needs of society are increasingly directed towards bureaucratic processes through

which issues must be processed, reviewed, and supervised.

In this case, Miramar's operations would have required the implementation of

infrastructure to accommodate for more transportation, tourism activity, businesses,

and other activities. In addition, the regulation of privatized beachfront property and

necessary job training that many activists see as essential would also require the

increase of management structures in the area. Whether through specific laws and

policies, expanding existing management agencies, or creating new governing

entities, it is unlikely that this will increase local grassroots or community agency.

Rather, this would likely require more top-down bureaucracy through local, county, or

federal governing structures.

Ferguson (1990) argues that even development projects that are recognized as

ineffective or failures may lead to increased bureaucracy; for example, land

development that leads to severe degradation of the local environment will likely lead

to stronger and more specific governmental policies on land use. In regards to

Miramar Resort, the illegality of the EIA process and the developer's attempts at

circumventing requirements through subdividing their land parcels were

acknowledged by even many supporters. The subsequent calls for stricter and more comprehensive EIA processes and for more targeted governmental involvement aptly illustrate Ferguson's idea of how a 'failed project' like the now-illegal Miramar complex can advance state power and capacity just as effectively.

Democracy and State Reliance

As seen in the example of the difficulties many have with low-income assistance paperwork, bureaucracy can serve to decrease the accessibility to government that is available to citizens. In the same manner, mechanisms that should have served to increase public input on the resort – including public commenting sessions, representation on decision-making councils, and the overall dissemination of relevant information – all become increasingly exclusive (Personal interviews 2014). The aspects above create and perpetuate a reliance on the state systems, which in turn installs limits on what communities view as viable steps to increase their own agency; instead, outside, top-down systems and structures become the primary means through which they see possibilities for improvements in living conditions.

The irony here is that the developments, in the view of the local residents, were implemented and initiated by local governmental officials *precisely* to increase the support they might receive from the citizens they represent and serve. Both supporters and detractors of the resort acknowledged the significance of a type of 'project-based

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democracy,' in which the actions of politicians are tied to the need to demonstrate a

substantial and concrete accomplishment within their term(s) served, in preparation

for the next election cycle – commonly through development projects. This is because

development projects are often the most visible in which a politician can demonstrate

their contributions to the area they represent, particularly in a small island country

such as Taiwan, where any development receives immediate attention. For example,

one interviewee pointed to high approval ratings for the current Taitung governor

Huang Chien-Ting because "…he's done a great job of development."

Such a project-based democracy leaves little space for citizen engagement and

agency. A few interviewees expressed a deep mistrust of such a system, in which

development corporations are afforded more political sway through their ability to

heighten a politician's electoral stock via projects like Miramar, and citizens have

even less power than they are led to believe. As one activist says,

> As citizens, we should have the first say in these issues…Where is the
> representation that our society is supposed to have? The government is
> supposedly there to serve the people…but this reflects local politics and a
> type of capital development-governed system. We look like a democratic
> society…but if you look at the past four [Taitung] governors, why did all of
> them support the project? …It's this culture surrounding elections; short-
> sighted, short-term speculation in which you're just thinking about the next
> four or eight years.

The juxtaposition of the 'short-sightedness' of four or eight years with the fifty

year lease the government signed with Miramar Resort Group demonstrates a

significant problem in such election-centric development efforts. Politicians, representatives, and the money to which they are tied in their campaigns operate on a different time scale than the local citizens who have more limited mobility both socially and physically. The Miramar case has provoked questions regarding democratic representation and responsibility, and should lead to further discussions on how Taiwan can further a statehood that can fairly and adequately represent and serve its citizens long-term.

As Ferguson (1990) argues, the state is too often treated as depoliticized in developmental discourses, as the assumption of devotion to national and citizen interest is a given. In the 'project-based democracy' model, as politicians shape directions of development to maximize electoral support, a possible outcome is a focus on creating the perception that certain projects are beneficial and desirable for citizens rather than evaluating the deeper implications they may have. In short, the state becomes increasingly powerful in defining its very relationality with the citizens that are constitutive in its formation, with its own perpetuation as the primary goal.

Thus, when supporters claim – as many did in their interviews – that there "are no winners" in this particular case, it seems to be contending a narrative of no *economic* winners while undervaluing other aspects that may be seeing gains – ideas such as indigenous solidarity, environmental awareness, and citizen participation. On

the other hand, the 'failure' of the project at hand is seen as indication of the need for

more state capacity and involvement. The reliance that both supporters and detractors

of the resort demonstrate in their viewpoints is both understandable and also realistic.

However, the lack of alternative possibilities in existing discourse demonstrates the

need for continued dialogue even after this particular case is over. Beginning a

departure from reliance and dependency upon state actions remains an area that all

citizens, activist or not, can work towards to increase the possibility of both economic

and environmental equity.

Miramar's Development in Perspective

Advocating for the tailoring of laws to match one's own preferences is obviously

nothing new. However, in the case of Miramar Resort, the call for increased power of

law and regulation from both sides of the argument – indigenous rights activists

requesting more specificity on traditional land use policy, environmentalists looking

for more regulation of private sector activity, and locals arguing for stronger laws with

fewer "loopholes" – lacks consideration for the implications of further reliance upon

the government.

If we return to the definition of the state put forwards by Jessop (2007) and

combine the state's mutual constitution of government with society it suggests

alongside Ferguson's theories of state capacity expansion, we see then that the issue

of Miramar within such a framework is how actions – whether they are communal, local, or national, - increasingly must go through various state apparatuses. The laws and regulations that both proponents and detractors of the resort suggest as possible solutions towards their ideal goals bring with them the potential of an increasingly complex bureaucratic structure, of which navigation will is becoming even more inaccessible to many with the most need of representation. This subtle diversion of possible routes of action not only will increase the difficulty for certain communities seeking self-determination, but also can reinforce the sense of reliance upon outside agency that is articulated in regards to Tsetung and Fushan residents in both issues of ITTs, and also in terms of economic development.

The entrenchment of governmental structures – indeed, the *need* that communities perceive themselves to have for these structures – creates a social imaginary in which the state is responsible for recruiting and subsidizing developers; creating the subsequent job or education programs that would benefit local communities; increasing and enforcing environmental regulations and policies; and defining and providing governing guidelines for indigenous traditional territories.

Consequently, the focus on how the state should or should not act in this situation diverts attention from assets and agency that the local community possesses and can utilize; it also limits alternative approaches that are seen as viable. In

addition, the possibility of citizens coming to a more inclusive understanding of ITTs,

their purpose, and the importance of their recognition is in many ways made more

difficult when a legalistic framework is the basis of the discussion.

When examining this particular theme from an environmental justice standpoint,

it is evident that the rectification of such unequal dynamics of power must occur. EJ's

attention to addressing injustices that stem from the powerful imposing their agency

upon the less powerful helps us identify the reliance upon the state in the Miramar

case, and provides a framework in which economic issues can be discussed alongside

those of landscape and indigeneity.

CHAPTER IV

INCLUSION, IMAGINATION, AND THE ROLE OF

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Throughout the previous two chapters, I have traced the dynamics of power in

the Miramar Resort case in two separate ways. Chapter II illustrates how projects of

imaginative geography compete with each other over the site of Shanyuan Bay, with

the outside, aesthetically-focused viewpoint displacing local perspectives which seek

economic progress. This reproduces the lack of power and agency experienced by

rural communities, and manifests again in the dependency of the community upon

environmental risk management discourse, controlled by the resort through

technological infrastructure.

Chapter III has examined the reliance of Amis Bu-Luos and local communities

upon state capacity in the designation of indigenous traditional territories and

supporting economic development. The continued ceding of control and power to the

state demonstrates a dynamic in which state intervention does not lead to agency

being generated within or transferred to the communities in which it intervenes, but

rather entrenches the notion that continued involvement of the state is necessary for

community progress.

Overall, we see a removal of agency from local rural communities in both chapters. More specifically, Ferguson's (1990) development framework, used to explore state reliance and expansion, is reminiscent of Said's (1977) projects of imaginative geographies, which were used to investigate the claims on landscape. In terms of power and control, if an area is portrayed as poor and in need of development, it becomes susceptible to the control of outside power through state intervention. On the other hand, if it is seen as aesthetically pleasing or at environmental risk, it also becomes significant for the means of preservation, and draws the attention of environmental coalitions and groups.

Inclusion and Environmentalism

This study has demonstrated that despite the best intentions of many activists seeking to protect the environment and advocate on behalf of indigenous rights, many rural communities experiencing poverty and hardship remain unserved and unacknowledged. As seen in Chapter II, the aestheticization of landscapes has led many rural community residents to view environmentalists as "out of touch" and insensitive to existing economic needs. Such perceptions have only grown amongst the many local resort supporters due to their continued lack of agency.

Though the themes explored in this case study do not qualify under the category of direct environmental harm that is more commonly examined in Taiwan, it

encompasses precisely the type of uneven power dynamics that perpetuate

environmental inequality. Taiwan's limited land availability is an immediate limiting

factor in terms of both development and preservation, and contestation of geographies

will certainly continue well into the future. Indigenous rights, land justice, and

economic justice are prominent themes in the Miramar case, but also are highly

relevant in Taiwan overall. Environmental justice can serve as a larger framework that

places these themes in dialogue with the protection and stewardship of the natural

environment. Adapting an environmental justice approach will lay the groundwork for

more inclusive and diverse movements. Such movements can begin to reach out

beyond their specific goals in order to understand and consider possible sites of

resistance they have not yet engaged with – in this case, villages of the rural poor. As

Di Chiro (2008) writes:

> The hard work essential to political articulation – the linking of diverse
> movements, common ideas, and situated knowledges in the hopes of
> surviving together – constitutes coalition politics reaching toward the vision
> of environmental and reproductive justice. (280)

Some interviewees in this case have begun to explore the potential of coalition

building. When asked what parts of the anti-resort movement could be changed or

improved upon, one activist unhesitatingly pointed to "communication" as the key:

> We simply didn't do the best job at reaching out to locals who weren't
> actively participating in the movement…We didn't do enough outreach in
> the [Tsetung] Bu-Luo. They should have been the main party we advocated
> benefits on behalf of, and we're not seeing that at all. Our environmental

groups…we have lots of people, but we don't have people who are able to organize within the Bu-Luo. So that's something we need to work on.

This statement is certainly a step towards working alongside others, though the non-indigenous rural poor in Fushan, directly adjacent to Tsetung, remains overlooked here. Others acknowledged the need for further engagement with the local community, recognizing that chanting slogans and occupying Shanyuan Bay with temporary campsites during rallies did little to convince local residents to join their efforts. Though such work undoubtedly will require more effort from various social movements, increasing engagement with populations seeking equality and opportunity will contribute to a stronger, more generative movement that can avoid advancing certain agenda at the expense of other disadvantaged groups.

Reexamining the Sociological Imagination

In addition to the need for social movements to consider their engagement with demographics which are not already aligned with their causes, the reliance of local communities upon outside intervention also calls for attention. As discussed in Chapter III, limitations on the potential for rural communities to be sites of generative progress are reified by the constant turn towards state capacity and agency, which can serve to restrict community visions of the future, as the state is seen as the gatekeeper through which all progress must pass.

Furthermore, the global forces which have raised tourism to the forefront of

development discourse in Taiwan are also problematic in attempting to identify means

through which local communities can increase their capacity for self-determination.

As Lyon-Callo and Hyatt (2003) write:

> Globalization and neoliberalism are also discursive means for conceptualizing
> and imagining the world in particular ways. Particularly troubling… is how
> such policies have come to be widely regarded as totalizing and natural….This
> has the multiple entrapping effects of rendering any locally based, non-market-
> based mobilizations as ineffectual and misguided, thereby removing the
> possibility of noncapitalist class processes from the social and economic
> imagining. (189)

While imagining economic progress is the core argument for supporters of the

resort, the indigenous residents of Tsetung Bu-Luo must consider an additional layer

of complexity. The Bu-Luo's age-grade structure – and subsequently, its governing

apparatus and cultural focus – seems dependent on drawing back the expatriated

young and middle-aged people of the community in order to regain its functionality.

Clearly, this is a more complicated issue than the more linear question of

'development' and 'poverty' raised earlier.

Similar issues of indigenous culture and the need for economic development

exist on many native reservations in the United States, where casinos take the place of

what Miramar Resort represents in this case. Mezey (1996) has explored the

consequences many tribal nations in the United States face after they incorporate

casinos and gambling culture within their communities and reservations, with the aim

of economic progress. Mezey (1996) argues that various approaches exist in terms of

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native casino culture, with certain tribes effectively relying on casino culture to reinvent tribal identities that were "virtually extinct (725)", acknowledged by many of the current tribe members themselves (Lawlor 2005).

While traditionalists who view gaming culture as an erosion to native culture are also present, Mezey (1996) argues that a third approach of "culture as negotiation" exists, in which cultures constantly borrow and adapt from other cultures. As she writes, "This dynamic process of incorporation and redefinition is known as acculturation, which must be distinguished from the complete cultural absorption inherent in assimilation (731)." However, because cultures rarely, if ever, encounter each other on equal grounds, cultural choices are largely pragmatic." Gaming – or in this case, resort development – may be viewed as a necessary evil, a choice that, though unideal, affords communities and tribes the possibility of other choices that may have not been available in the first place: namely, the reunification of family and community units that are essential for Bu-Luo culture. As Mezey (1996) points out, while assimilation characteristics may jump to the forefront of such discussions, more efforts to hear the reasoning of communities in these issues are needed.

Cattelino (2005) has also highlighted the benefits of casino introduction Indian reservations in the United States. Worries persist, though, with tribal members debating on how to raise children under unfamiliar economic conditions and teaching

them the value of work. However, Cattelino points out that gaming is not necessarily

the creator of such questions in the first place, but rather that "gaming has become the

idiom through which pre-existing and emergent political and social differences are

articulated. (192)." She points out that concerns that gambling may erode culture rests

on the assumption that "money, more than poverty, erodes culture and difference…if

indigenous non-ownership of property was the founding myth of settler colonialism,

then indigenous poverty and its imaginings may be one of neocolonialism's most

potent contemporary forms. (194-5)" Once again, the perceptions of poverty and

development serve as a hegemonic discourse, limiting the social and cultural

imaginations.

Illuminating and understanding these phenomenona is important for communities

to begin seeing futures that they can take ownership of. The next step after

acknowledging the existing reliance is often identifying community assets and

resources. Examples of this approach can be found in literature of many case studies.

Hipwell (2009) has explored the idea of 'asset-based community development'

occurring in several indigenous communities across Taiwan, in which the vision of the

community is based upon existing community strengths; Escobar (2001) has

advocated the study of place-based practices in terms of culture and ecology to

provide alternative visions for constructing local communities. A study by Lin and

Chang (2011) shows the realization of this idea in Taiwan, in which an indigenous Meqmegi community was able to move away from a natural resource management model that historically relied exclusively on outside experts to one that took into account traditional and local knowledge.

Upon examining the surrounding environment of Miramar Resort, the neighboring village of Dulan offers an example of successful culture reclamation and community cohesion. A youth-initiated, elder-supported project that began in the early 2000s has restored a once-defunct age-grade structure for Dulan's Amis Bu-Luo (Tsai 2013), and various small businesses now utilize traditional Amis knowledge to educate tourists in understanding the local environment and also respecting the land. For example, Chinese mugwort, a plant traditionally used like tobacco by the Amis, has gained popularity as an alternative stimulant; this has created economic opportunities for several older Amis women in preparing and selling the plant. Other local businesses such as hostels have reached agreements to curtail their expansions in order to limit the number of tourists visiting Dulan, and joined in activities such as beach cleanups and supporting and sponsoring indigenous festivals (Personal interviews 2014). Clearly, community resources and the potential for community-initiated progress exist.

In *The Sociological Imagination*, C. Wright Mills (1959) argues for the importance of what he calls the "sociological imagination," which "enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals (5)." Wright contends that the development of the sociological imagination can lead to an understanding that allows the broadening of thinking, allowing the individual to begin to make connections of "personal troubles" to related, larger social realities (15).

While Wright offers the idea of the sociological imagination primarily as an argument on behalf of the importance of the social sciences, the concept is also useful in discussing the power dynamics in this case, which have been outlined in Chapters II and III. An immediate argument would be that expanding the sociological imaginations of the local communities in this case through illuminating existing power dynamics and state reliance is a beneficial process. This is with the hope of beginning to remedy the systematic disenfranchisement that power structures and reliance upon them can create.

Introducing an environmental justice perspective can be helpful in pointing out such dynamics, and highlight the need for resisting acts of outside agency that reify the perceived need for the state – a state often more interested in its own continuation, and which has contributed to rural dependency and the continued introduction of

capitalist culture that erodes local indigenous ones. Furthermore, such a perspective can serve to advance the argument that the notion of 'development' – so often singularly thought of as a solution to the similarly uniform idea of 'poverty' must be seen as "a historically specific, even peculiar, experience (Escobar 1991:676)" that must not be thought of as the norm; rather, it must be adapted to and involve the particular communities that it purports to benefit.

In addition to the expansion of the sociological imagination, a refocusing on the initial "personal troubles" may be necessary as well. For activists – and academics, as well – the presence of personal troubles can quickly trigger a leap in intellectual process, creating immediate connections to and analysis of the larger social realities that Mills (1959) speaks of. Though such analysis on a broader scale – as I have done in this paper – are undoubtedly necessary, returning for a deeper understanding of the communities and the existing personal troubles is equally important. This can help prevent the perceived alienation and loss of agency many local supporters of Miramar experienced in this case; and also remind activists of the importance of allies and coalitions in their resistance efforts.

Having approached this case study from an environmental justice standpoint to identify and analyze the ways power operated around Miramar Resort, it is evident that a diversity of perspectives must be considered in cases like this. Furthermore, an

understanding of power structures should not merely reaffirm the struggle to resist

them, but also identify ways to recruit others into a more inclusive movement by

making efforts to address their 'personal troubles'.

Most importantly, the inclusiveness and the imaginativeness of resistance and

advocacy for both people and the environment are inextricably intertwined. Moving

away from outside reliance and dependency on the state requires imaginative means

to problem-solving. The inclusion of additional communities and building of

coalitions can only serve to contribute to a diversity of visions that move beyond

delineations of social identity and reliance upon the state.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW INTRODUCTION/RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

Hello,

My name is Timothy Chen. I'm a master's student from the Environmental Studies program at the University of Oregon in the United States. I was wondering whether or not you'd be interested in participating in my research? My research project is studying social perceptions of the Miramar Resort Development case and the activism surrounding it. My goal is to gain more understanding on differing perspectives around this situation. In doing so, the hope is that these understandings will inform future efforts for both social and environmental equality, but also economic needs of communities. I hope to learn from your insight, knowledge, and opinions on this topic.

    If you decide to participate in this study, you will participate in an interview with me that will be used in my master's thesis. With your permission, I will be recording the interview in audio format. I will also take notes during the interview. I will be the only person who will have access to the notes and audio recordings. You have the option for your **information to remain confidential** if you so choose, **in which case any content used from your interview will be attributed to a pseudonym**. Of course, your participation is completely voluntary, and you can end the interview at any time. You are also free to refuse to answer any question given. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, feel free to call or email me with your decision. I hope that my findings through this research will provoke more thoughtful action in the future in cases similar to the Miramar Resort development. However, there may be no direct benefits to individuals participating in this research, and there may be minimal risk to the participants of this research in terms of socially-sensitive questions.

    If you have any more questions about this process or if you need to contact me about participation, I can be reached at tchen6@uoregon.edu or 716-208-4428.Thank you so much!

Best,
Timothy Chen

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

General questions (answered by all interviewees):
- In regards to the Miramar Resort development case, what do you think happened?
- In your opinion, what were the primary reasons or goals for the protesting?
- Much of the protesting has centered on the rights of indigenous communities. How do you think these issues are related to the resort development?
- What do you think of the media portrayal of this case? Did they do a good job?
- Does the term "environmental justice" mean anything to you? If so, what?
- Is there a "just" outcome for the development case? What would it look like?
- Do you believe that there are long-term implications for the results of the Miramar case (moratorium currently being appealed) in regards to the issues we discussed?
- In the future of social and environmental activism in Taiwan, what do you think are some important considerations?

Community resident-specific questions:
- How long have you lived here? How would you describe your community?
- What kind of impact has the whole process of development and protest had on you and/or your community? What was your experience throughout?
- Have you heard from or talked to other residents in your community about the development and protests? What are some of the things you've heard?
- What kind of direction do you think your community should take in the future?

Activist-specific questions (will also be asked of community residents who support and/or participated in anti-development activities after self-identification):
- Have you been active in environmental issues in the past? In what way(s)?
- What do you think were the concerns of most of your fellow protesters?
- Do you think that the protests were effective/achieved their goals?
- Some news sources have reported that around 90% of community residents support the development for economic benefit. What do you think about this?

Questions to Miramar employees:
- How do you think your company has responded to the whole progression and changes in events throughout this case?

- In what ways do you think the development company could have improved their situation?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEWEE IDENTITY

	Pro	Anti	Neutral
Pro/Anti resort	9	10	1

	Male	Female
Gender	14	6

	Amis	Han Chinese	Other
Ethnicity	6	13	1

	Tsetung	Fushan	Dulan	Taitung City	Other (Non Taitung)
Locale	3	6	5	4	3

APPENDIX D

MIRAMAR/EIA TIMELINE

Date	Event	Comments
8/2004	DeAn Group apply for BOT development permit	
9/2004	DeAn Group accepted as tentative partner by Taitung government. Negotiations begin.	
12/2004	BOT contract signed between DeAn and Taitung County.	
2/21/2005	DeAn (now Miramar Group) applies for subparceling of plot.	
3/8/2005	Subparceling approved by county.	
10/2005	Construction permit issued.	
12/2006	Further expansion plans proposed for resort structure.	
1/2007	**First EIA concludes.**	Result: Temporary injunction and fines.
4/2007	Taiwan Environmental Protection Union appeals to Taitung County regarding illegality of construction.	This is the first major environmental action against the development.
4 – 8/2008	Various protests against resort occur.	
8/2007	**Second EIA concludes.**	Result: Stipulates that developer must clarify construction plans.
12/2007	**Third EIA concludes.**	Result: Failed, must reapply.
4/2008	**Fourth EIA concludes.**	Result: No decision, 5th EIA scheduled.
6/2008	Citizen lawsuits from activists request review of construction approval process.	
6/2008	**Fifth EIA concludes.**	Result: EIA passed without stipulations.
7/2008	Environmental groups appeal fifth EIA	

	result.	
12/2008	EPA rejects citizen lawsuits.	
3/2009	After rejection, citizen groups bring forth lawsuit on EIA illegality.	
8/2009	Previous EIA determined illegal by higher courts.	Taitung government appeals decision.
10/2010	Previous court decision upheld.	Result: Injunction on construction ruled. Developers begin new round of EIA applications.
6/2012	**Sixth EIA concludes.**	Result: No result, 7th EIA required after stipulations met.
12/2012	**Seventh EIA concludes.**	Result: EIA passes. Questions regarding process, EIA attendance and panel selection, and public commenting are raised.
3/2013	Environmental groups appeal EIA results.	
7/2013	EIA results ruled illegal.	Results:Injunction on construciton upheld. Taitung County appeals ruling.
10/28/2014	Taitung County appeal defeated. Injunction on resort upheld.	

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