Before *Seediq Bale*: Representation of Taiwanese Aborigine’s Documentary Films (1984-2010)

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Abstract

The emergence of documentary making in Taiwan allowed filmmakers and culture researchers the opportunity to tell stories and raise awareness of various issues of importance to them. Recently, aboriginal film-directors have also begun to express and record stories of their own tribes via the work of the documentarian. Recording and mediating on their own culture confers upon these artists a responsibility to transmit and explain their tribal stories and history to outsiders. We could then argue that these aboriginal directors play an essential role of shuffling between the boundaries of screening-in and screening-out, presentation and representation, furthermore, trying to balance their multiple roles as truth recorders and story tellers. They broadcast their identity as indigenous people in Taiwan for, as with many minority ethnicities they face a perception of themselves as “the others”, having at best a marginality of existence in this island. The theory of ethnography by Clifford (1986) will be presented here to clarify the difference between writing and recording. Additionally, this paper will also discuss the narration of these Taiwanese aborigines’ documentary films since narrators represent different concepts of culture interpretation and self-identity. Furthermore, this paper will use Mignolo’s (1998) division of the metaphor of ethnography into three positions: frontier, border and anthropologador. We will apply this division to these narrators in Taiwanese aborigines’ documentary films.
Not only that, the idea of local culture in globalization from Featherstone’s (1995) point of view will be further interpreted here to analyze how these documentaries could form strategies with which local people could resist globalization.

Keywords: Taiwanese aborigine, documentary film, culture theory, resistance, globalization, nostalgia
在《賽德克·巴萊》之前：再現台灣原住民紀錄片(1984-2010)

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摘要

身為自身文化的紀錄及傳播者，原住民導演肩負著向外界傳達及報告部落故事並延續部落歷史的責任，因此，我們看到原住民導演們穿梭於螢幕內外，呈現與再現自己的族群，他們嘗試著以記錄者和敘事者的身分描寫多元的角色，但原住民的身分卻讓他們身陷困境，因為台灣原住民就跟世界各地的「他者」一樣，面臨著相同的问题——他們的存在遭到排斥。然而當代社會中，大量的原住民紀錄片產出，使得「原民文化」成為討論的題材，因此本文將探討台灣自1984至2010以來所拍攝的原住民紀錄片對部落與全球化社會帶來的衝擊與改變。文中將先提問：寫作與影片的差異何在呢？紀錄片有辦法比寫作更精確地傳達事實嗎？對於原住民的議題，紀錄片能呈現寫作無法觸及的灰色地帶嗎？文化研究學者克里佛(Clifford：1986)對於人種的新理論將會在此章節被討論。第二部份將討論這些台灣原住民紀錄片的敘事手法，因為敘事者代表著不同的文化詮釋及自我認同，文化符號學者米格那洛(Mignolo：1998)將傳播異文化的媒介者分為三個類型：文化先鋒(frontier)、文化邊緣人(border)、以及文化仲介者(anthropologador)，本文將依此分類運用於台灣原住民紀錄片中敘事類型的分析。再者，第三部份從費勒史東(Featherstone：1995)的觀點詮釋全球化的當地文化再現，並進一步分析部落居民如何以紀錄片及文化策略抵制全球化的現象。
關鍵字：台灣原住民、紀錄片、文化理論、他者、抵制、全球化、鄉愁
Before *Seediq Bale*: Representation of Taiwanese Aborigine’s Documentary Films (1984-2010)

### 1. Introduction

Accompanied with the fame and popularity of the film *Seediq Bale* \(^1\) were the issues of how Taiwanese aborigines should be represented *Seediq Bale* certainly, by its success, put these issues back under the spotlight and aroused the question of social justification when applied to the rewriting of any historical narrative and its subsequent explanation. When a fictional movie gains so much attention, however, people gradually begin to diverge from the fictional narrative and shift to the non-fictional, believing this to represent with greater truth the lives of aboriginal people than fictional ones. In the late 90s, many Taiwanese aborigines’ documentary films were produced and presented to the public, then and these images of aborigines were how people initially received this subject in conjunction with mainly from writing or photography. With the advancement of high technology, however, came an increase in popularity among targeted groups such as researchers, filmmakers and students who bring the lives of aboriginals into focus again by documenting their culture. We must then consider where the difference between writing and filming lies and whether documentary films tell more truths than those in the form of writing. If documentary films present different aspects of aborigines’ issues better that writing then this should also be quantified. The theory of ethnography by Clifford (1986) will be presented in this paper, furthermore, this paper will also discuss the narration of these Taiwanese aborigines’ documentary films and a case study will be presented in the second section of our research to further illustrate the above argument. In this paper, we aim to analyze the style of narrators’ presentation in different aspects, mainly the position of narrators which represents different

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\(^1\) This film is directed by Wei Te-Sheng, a Taiwanese movie director. The story is adapted from a famous historical event called Wushe Incident happened in Taiwan, 1930. This film retold the tragic event of Seediq tribe, which lived on Mt. Chilai, and “Seediq Bale” is a phase in Seediq language meaning “a real man”. Mona Rudo, a village chief’s son, who led a group of only three hundred warriors to fight with the powerful Empire of the Sun. However, they were defeated and killed. When this film went on screen in Sept., 2011; it became the greatest hit in Taiwanese filmic history ever.
concepts of culture interpretation and self-identity. Based on Mignolo’s (1998) argument, he divided the metaphor of ethnography into three positions: frontier, border and anthropologador. We aim to explore and apply these three divisions to the narrators in Taiwanese aborigines’ documentary films. This paper will also discuss the function of culture reservation in these Taiwanese aborigines’ documentary films and whether films could be used as a mean to preserve aborigines’ culture? The research shows that these aborigines’ documentary films could be only a phenomenon of nostalgia and debates these filmmakers ability to transfer the stereotype of ethnographer into a new study field. We will interpret the idea of local culture in globalization from Featherstone (1995) to talk about how these documentaries represent the reality of aborigines and what kind of strategies local people use to resist globalization.

The issues of aborigines’ are worldwide and profound. Tai-li Hu (2006) demonstrates the historical development of Taiwanese aborigine’s documentary films from a point of an ethnographer’s view and record. The analysis of documentary filmic aesthetic and methodology also can be found in Kui-fen Chiu’s (2003) discussion of documentary film by Taiwanese writers. These discussions may present a glimpse but fail to complete the overview of Taiwanese aborigine’s documentary films as a whole, and not just as a temporary phenomenon. We would like to explore, therefore, data collected based on the documentary films shot by these native aboriginal directors and provide the new interpretation in our study. Our intention is to give these documentary films a new perspective from the present aspect of popular study strategies. We confirmed that Taiwanese aborigine documentary films not only record the history but contain a strong mission component which keeps Taiwanese aborigines’ culture current. These current directors could be said to practice the social responsibility in their cognizance of an obligation to help the entire tribal population to continue to thrive.

2. The purpose of using documentary to record aborigines’ culture

70
The system of writing has long been considered the benchmark of recording history. Traditional culture, however, is not only to be protected, but exposed to internal and external stimuli so that it evolves and gains further value. The progress it makes is not confined within national borders, and will instead be spread beyond them. Ong (1982) points to the character of writing by stating that:

There is no way to directly refute a text. After total absolute and devastating refutation, it says the exact same thing as before. This is one reason why “the book says” is popularly tantamount to “it is true”. It is also one reason why books have been burnt. A test station what the whole world knows is false will state falsehood forever, so long as the text exists. Texts are inherently contumacious. (79)

In order words, if people have doubts about the truth of texts in books, they will still believe in it for the writing still persists in the authority of telling. Plato mentioned his doubts about writing, calling it an artificial and unnatural thing. If human beings rely too much on writing alone, people will lose the ability of inner thinking and collecting memory. Writing is a one-way conversation; and only through speaking will we then be able to respond to our questions.

In the past, writing of history was narrowed by the development of technology. Now, however, documentation of films can overcome the problem of recording. Compared to the writing system, documentary provides the audience/reader the environment of voice, image and the mix of conversation. The interaction between interviewers and filmmakers consequently presents a new method of interpretation. If we trace back the history of documentary film, we find the purpose of making documentary film is not only to entertain people but also to educate. It acts as a little stone into the ocean of life, creating little ripples whose effects may never be known. In order to educate people, the documentary film has to collect voices from the public; especially people from the lower class in a society. The lower the class the people are, the worse the ability of expression they have, hence, the writing
tradition can not describe their concepts completely. Documentary then becomes a unique method to record their voice. Oral history is then the style of interview since documentary film will arouse public memory and experience.

Not only that, documentary is inseparable with ethnography. Once a person decides to make an aborigines’ documentary film, he/she has to follow the process of ethnography and use the approaches of ethnography. Clifford (1986) stated that “it makes the familiar strange, the exotic quotidian” (2), by changing of time and method, “a well trained ethnographer should dismiss the aura of distance and exotic; forget the stereotype of ethnography that only people who are from a higher class can document the truth” (2). As Clifford mentioned:

Now, ethnography is actively situated between powerful systems of meaning. It poses its questions at the boundaries of civilizations, cultures, classes, races, and genders. Ethnography decodes and recodes, telling the grounds of collective order and diversity, inclusion and exclusion. It describes processes of innovation and structuration, and is itself part of these processes. (2-3)

Meanwhile, a new aspect must be aroused due to the self consciousness of the researchers. That is, “the ethnographer has the cognition that ethnography is an emergent interdisciplinary phenomenon. The authority and rhetoric have spread to many fields where “culture” became the newly problematic object of description and critique” (3), as Clifford stated again. Obviously, documentation brings a new approach to help the ethnographer to do research.

As we know that culture is flourishing and is unpredictable by over time, so if we want to understand more about the relationship among culture and other issues, we have to change the traditional writing system and develop new approach to achieve our goal of study. There is no doubt that the convenience of documentary explodes ethnography into new perspective that represents human life in this modern society. The way of story telling and history recording is much
Before *Seediq Bale*: Representation of Taiwanese Aborigine’s Documentary Films (1984-2010)

more profound and diverse.

In a discursive rather than a visual paradigm, the dominant metaphors for ethnography shift away from the observing eye and toward expressive speech (and gesture). The writer’s “voice” pervades and situates the analysis, and objective, distancing rhetoric is renounced. (Clifford, 12)

When the metaphors of ethnography are no more dominant, then the voice of people could emerge. The character of documentary can subvert this authority of voice.

3. The narration of Taiwanese aborigines’ documentary films

When we start to talk about the narration in Taiwanese aborigines’ documentary films, the position of narrator/metaphor becomes a prime issue. We can’t ignore the voice from these narrators; especially when they represent the authority or point of view in the films. We would like to utilize the concept of “frontier” and “border” from Mignolo (1998) to discuss this section.

The concept of “frontier” initiates from globalization and civilization. Mignolo (1998) defines it as:

The frontier was the movable (westward) landmark of the march of the civilizing mission, the line dividing civilization from barbarism. The frontier, however, was not only geographic but epistemological as well: the location of the primitive and the barbarian was the “vacant land”, from the point of view of economy, and the “empty space” of thinking, theory, and intellectual production”. (45)

If we trace back the history of Taiwanese aborigines’ study, we can find ethnographers during the Japanese colonial time, such as Torii Ryuzu (鳥居龍藏) and Tadao Kano (鹿野忠雄), who posited
themselves as frontiers. While another ethnographer, Tashiro Yasusada (伊能嘉矩) applied the western concept to analyze and classify the tribes of Taiwanese aborigines. By grouping them, Yasusada attempted to build up a knowledge-constructing orthodox of Taiwanese aborigines and he was the pioneer by using a so-called scientific method. From either the photography or the written documents, Taiwanese aborigines were treated as barbarians, and the place they lived was a vacant land. Early documentary films also presented this point of view, even after World War II. The “frontier of civilization” in the late nineteenth century has become the “borderland” by the end of the twentieth century. “Borderlands, contrary to frontiers, are no longer the lines where civilization and barbarism meet and divide, but the location where a new consciousness, a border gnosia, emerges from the repression subjected by the civilizing mission” (Mignolo, 1998:45). If the documentary maker has new consciousness, the way he/she tells the history will not make lines to separate civilization and barbarism. Once documentary makers can really merge them into the aborigines’ culture, they can discover and record what they see faithfully. Tai-Li Hu (胡台麗) and Dau-Ming Li (李道明), are the first two researchers to play the role of border and presented different concepts about aborigines culture. They focus the topic of their documentary films on culture ceremony. The aim is to record the disappearing culture, such as The Return of Gods and Ancestors: Paiwan Five Year Ceremony《神祖之靈歸來:排灣族五年祭》, and Songs of Pastaay《矮人祭之歌》. These two films were shot in the 80’s. After the 90’s, the filmmakers started to transit their concerns to different fields of aborigines. The narration in these

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2 See the analysis of Wei-Chi Chen (2009).

3 The topic combined social movements, as shown in The Voice of People《人民的聲音》; living problem and culture conflict are portrayed in How Deep is the Sea《海有多深》; The Clothe of Shek Pik Tribe《石壁部落的衣服》, and Songs of the Mountain, Dance of Sea《山之歌海之舞:台灣原住民的音樂與舞蹈》 talked about the reservation of art craft or special technique; the people profile, documentaries such as Paiwanese: Sa Ku Liu《排灣人撒古流》, After the Champion《冠軍之後》, Libangbang: Ching-wen's not home《清文不在家》, and Sounds of Love and Sorrow《愛戀排灣笛》. And the dairy life recording such as Dishes of An
films is different from the others released before, these metaphors are trying to put dialogues into the reflexive accounts. We can see that they had specified the discourse of informants by staging dialogues or narrating interpersonal confrontation. (See Clifford 1986:14) So, the narration changes the concept of time and space. As a border position, the line between civilization and barbarism is going to disappear. There is something beyond this line. Mignolo (1998) mentioned this change:

What we are facing here is no longer spaces in between or hybridity, in the convivial images of contact zones, but the forces of “barbarian” theorizing and rationality, integrating and superseding the restrictive logic behind the idea of “civilization” …(46)

Then Mignolo pointed out the concept of “border gnoseology” which is a new way of thinking that emerges from the sensibilities and conditions of everyday life created by both colonial legacies and economic globalization”. When the filmmakers have border gnoseology, the documentary will splash out different point of views, and the voice of people can thus be heard. Subsequently, in these Taiwanese aborigines’ documentary films, we want to search the possibility of polyphony dialogue. Clifford (1986) explained this possibility of narration in Bakhtin’s theory:

Dialogical modes are not, in principle, autobiographical; they need not lead to hyper self-consciousness or self-absorption. As Bakhtin (1981) has shown, dialogical processes proliferate in any complexly represented discursive space. Many voices clamor for expression. Polyvocality was restrained and orchestrated in traditional ethnographies by giving to one voice a pervasive

Afternoon Meal《下午飯的菜》. Some films even raised the issue of the aborigines’ history in Japanese colonial time such as Three Soldiers from Haulien《花蓮三勇士》, We Fought for Japan-The Aging Veterans of Shoufeng Village《我們為了日本而戰》.
authorial function and to others the role of sources, “informants,” to be quoted to paraphrased. (15)

In addition, once dialogism and polyphony are recognized as modes of textual production, monophonic authenticity is questioned. The narrations, then, from an insider would bring us a deeper aspect of the story and the communal culture. As a frontier, the narrator is likely an outsider. As a border, the narrator could be between outsider and insider. When we study the issue of culture, we would like to investigate if there is a new way of narration in which that the text can present polyphony. Ribeiro found this special role in the field of culture study, thus an anthropologador: someone who was trained as anthropologist and at the same time was part of the “other”. Mignolo (1998) interpreted the function of anthropologador is:

to understand “barbarian theorizing” as border epistemology emerging from the conditions created by the last and perhaps most radical stage of globalization is the possibility of theorizing from the border (border as threshold and liminality, as two sides connected by a bridge, as a geographical and epistemological location); that is, of having both the formation in “civilized theorizing” and the experience of someone who lives and experiences, including the training in “communities that have been precisely subalternized and placed in the margins by the very concept and expansion of European civilization. (50)

Many filmmakers play the role of anthropologadors in Taiwanese aborigines’ documentary films as they are the intelligentsias in their tribe. They are selected to be educated and have the chances to contact with culture and environment that are different from their own. After they returned to their hometown or their tribe, they found the problem that has existed for a long time but had no one outside the tribe to consult and seek professional advice. They had found that it behooved them to bypass the middle – man, as it were, and tell the story and
Before *Seedig Bale*: Representation of Taiwanese Aborigine’s Documentary Films (1984-2010)  

record the history by themselves for their own tribe. They are not only insiders but also the “others”, presenting the civil life from a different point of view and provide new means of thinking. The topics discussed are in a great variety, some documentaries talk about identity and family history, while others tried to record the disappearing culture tradition or social system. And some documentaries focused their concerns on the social problems and culture conflicts. All these considerations gave rise to the realization among these anthropologadors that environmental protection lies atop their list for cultural conservation and further motivated them to communicate with government over policy as shown in documentaries. What is more, in our opinion, the anthropologadors face less constraints than those who are also insiders but work for an academic purpose. It seems that these anthropologador-filmmakers can rid themselves of the pressure of an academic career and do exactly what they like in attempts to construct the aboriginal knowledge subjectivity.

Although there are many awarded films considered to be the essential texts to be analyzed here, this paper is afraid to distract the main lineage of narration under the discourse we are discussing. Meanwhile, in order to emphasize the uniqueness and marvelous contribution of female documentary filmmakers, since it is not likely to conclude all of them with limited descriptions, we claim to choose a selected one as the research model and target to have a glimpse of framework of these anthropologadors. Therefore, we would like to devote a significant amount of time in this paper to analyze a filmmaker, Si-Marlirei (張淑蘭), a nurse and an anthropologador filmmaker in Orchid Island, the home of Tau people. As we know, an artistic creation requires artists to turn their attention inwards, searching for the sources

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4 Such as *Kavalan in Niao-ta-shi*《鳥踏石仔的噶瑪蘭》 and *Trouble, Did Aboriginal Relatives Come?*《代誌大條—<番>親有來沒》.
5 Such as *The Spirit of Wizard’s GAYA*《巫師的GAGA》, *Bihi.Bihi*《比嗨比嗨》.
6 Such as *Please Give Me a Job*《請給我一份工作》, *《小夫妻的天空》, *Bunun Kaimin*《我們是布農族—進去不進去》 and *Angoo*《回來就好》.
7 Such as *Ceased or Not*《有止息無止息》 and *Crying Lettuce*《哭泣的高麗菜》.
8 See Shih and Wu: 18-20.
of their own sensitivity and profound inspiration; artists look at the world with the aim of expressing their own vision of it, through the prism of their own perception. Here, Si-Marlirei made documentaries aiming to raise awareness and consciences of people to help the needy elders on Orchid Island. After she started to make films, she found many taboos in her tribe which diminished people’s courage to offer this help whether medical or otherwise. The films she made, Si-inreshan《希‧音拉珊》and And Deliver Us From Evil《面對惡靈》，portrayed her concerns on her tribe’s most serious yet intractable problem. As a professional nurse who has been trained to be a documentary filmmaker, she became the mouth piece for her people.

Lacking basic resources, to say nothing of education and medical support, people on Orchid Island are not only geographically distant from mainland Taiwan, but also the minority group in terms of economic and spiritual support. Their physical and emotional despair raises people’s self-awareness of “rescuing” themselves. Si-Marlirei\(^9\), a nurse from a township health center sees the abandoned elders as lonely outcasts in her tribe; feeling the need to help and educate islanders, she decided to organize a volunteer team to start caring for these specific seniors - the other, in her tribe. She leads the Home Care Team to look after these elderly people and films the event by herself. The concern of the paper is thus different from the former discussions of nursing care and the medical system which are presented as the pivotal interest in this film. The medical concern apart we may also see a further discussion in this film on the function of documentary making by an insider, an autoenthographer. Using the theories of representation and the studies of other from third world feminist, filmmaker, and anthropologist, Trihn T. Minh-ha, we aim to examine the emergence of resistance to globalization from marginal voices and the conflict between cultural hybridization. Based on Trihn’s theory, this case study will analyze the triple roles played by Si-Marlirei as a storyteller, a healer and a mediator. The function of these roles reconcile with the fragment of the representation of other, hence, And Deliver Us From Evil.

\(^9\) The author of this paper especially thank for Si-Marlirei giving the authority of her film, Deliver Us From Evil, to us from Taiwan Association of Visual Ethnography.
Before Seediq Bale: Representation of Taiwanese Aborigine’s
Documentary Films (1984-2010)

Evil is a story which may subvert the hegemony of anthropological
documentary making and reconstruct a new meaning of postcolonial
study. The message of conveying the image of other creates a
disconnection which may lead to a controversial issue to discuss.

3.1 The Storyteller

At the beginning of the film, Si-Marlirei tells a story of her high
school classmate, Orchid, who is her first homecare patient. They were
both twenty-six years old at the time. Orchid had a serious illness and
the doctors in mainland Taiwan gave her up. Orchid then returned to
Orchid Island and accepted therapy from local limited medical facilities.
Although Si-Marlirei couldn’t bear to see a beautiful and warm girl like
Orchid suffer great pains from illness, she still conveyed a positive
message to Orchid, reminding her that she was the luckiest case on this
small island because her family supported her so much when compared
to other elderly people. The audience can hereby see Si-Marlirei uses a
focus on Orchid’s pictures and gradually focuses on Orchid’s smile in
the pictures. It seems an acceptable beginning for the story and also an
understandable place to take our leave of Orchid, Si-Marlirei tries to tell
different stories and contradicts the possible happy ending of such
invisible patients. This then is how the film/story begins—And Deliver
Us From Evil—as the title states.

The narration of the film is woven by many cases of different
elderly people. As a nurse on Orchid Island, Si-Marlirei needs not only
supply the necessary medical care but also take part in the
administrative duty as a homecare worker for about forty elders.
Knowing the limit of her strength, she started to form a homecare group
to invite more volunteers to join in caring for the elderly. The all female
volunteers faced obstacles in becoming a member of this team. One says
that her husband agreed to let her participate in the beginning but then
refused to have her offer help after knowing the team’s mission is
helping the elders who have been outcast. Eventually, she conquers the
difficulty and deceives her husband in order to continue giving aid.
These female volunteers demonstrated an agglomeration of positive
spirit and their insistence on the right way to act contravened cultural
injunction against helping the elderly according to the Tau’s belief that they will transfer the illness, or evils upon the people who take care of them. Si-Marlirei’s duty is to enact the possibility of organizing these helpers and then transmit the story to the audience. “It is believed that the storyteller, besides being a great mother, a teacher, a poetess, a warrior, a musician, a historian, a fairy, and a witch, is a healer and a protectress”(140), as Trihn (1989) claims. It is in this film that a storyteller is in reality a nurse who brings practical facilities to cure the wounds and pains of the elderly.

The documentary then narrates the story by Si-Marlirei using the Tau’s dialect. We could see the elderly in this film asking the volunteers if they could speak the Tau language for it not only serves as a soothing and comforting feeling to them but also strengthens the authentic element of telling the story belonging to her tribe. The audience can also see the subtitles are both in Chinese and English. With the translation of subtitles, Si-Marlirei transmits the need to be known by outsiders, she posits a role of a translator as well. As Staten (2005) claims:

Every culture, no matter how civilized or advanced, is constituted as its most elemental human level as a space of nativeness in a strong sense, as a space of knowledge and relation that must in principle remain largely implicit, by definition unknowable from any perspective of universality; the native speaker is the one who uses a language with the knowledge of this context “in her bone”. (114)

The most implicit part of the Tau’s belief toward the ailing elderly is thinking the illness might affect youth or the healthy, the sick are thus abandoned. Si-Marlirei as a nurse with medical knowledge and a filmmaker who can interpret the traditional culture of Tau to the audience is someone who tries to exorcise the evils from culture through modern tactics and facilities. This so called “native informant” becomes the only native speaker who can use a language with the knowledge of this context from her quality of authenticity.


3.2 The Healer

Once a story is told, a healing process will begin in the receivers’ mind. Trinh (1989) asserts that “the story as a cure and a protection is at once musical, historical, poetical, ethical, educational, magical, and religious. In many parts of the world, the healers are known as the living memories of the people” (140). The most interesting and touching part is when the team realized their act of helping the elderly could be a symbol of offending the Tau’s spirit and lead to the misunderstanding or hatred of some tribal people, they composed a song to deliver their apology and their respect. The song is written by the volunteer, Hsiaben Maninung, and is sung together in the Tau language:

I am very sorry
For the young to stand before their elders
Singing traditional songs is most impolite
But there is no other way
We are grateful for heaven’s love
That we care for these people
When I see these weak old people who’ve lain on hard boards for years
My eyes fill with tears
Long days of work are endured
Simply to maintain the family
To bring up the next generation
It is sad they have not received the same care
We are grateful to these young people
Who show their concern for these lonely old people

During the singing, the camera scans through these young female volunteers who were holding notebooks in which the words of this song were written. Occasionally, the camera rests on one of the volunteers who carries a little girl. It seems to imply that the gathered strength of these women will be carried on from generation to generation. Through the native voice singing out the song in the Tau language, the chorus
delivered an atmosphere of comforting evils, raising the awareness of the youth to help the outcast elderly. As Trinh (1989) states that the principle of healing rests on reconciliation, hence the necessity for the family and/or the community to cooperate, partake in, and witness the recovery, de-possession, and regeneration of the sick (140). The team then started to advertise the modern concept of homecare. It is believed that “the act of healing is therefore a socio-cultural act, a collective, motherly undertaking” (140). Then, Si-Marlirei rests her camera on the close-up of an elder man’s face. He looks satisfied and accepts the health check offered by the team. As the metaphor of being a healer, Si-Marlirei applies a song to avert possible conflict among her people and heal the fear of evils and the paralysis of hesitation.

Besides music, Si-Marlirei also tried to convey that God, the almighty savior, is the most important comfort for the elderly. When she visits a blind elderly woman, Si-Marlirei records the woman’s prayer. She thanked Si-Marlirei for bringing care to her and stated that she thought of her as an angel from heaven. She prays:

God, I weep because I can’t see her. God, I wish I could see her and treat her as my own child. God, I want you to be my father. You are my father in heaven because you lead us to paradise. God give her wisdom so she can achieve more in her work. She can achieve even more. She is the instrument of your love. Protect her, and in her care of the elderly make her path smooth. Let her bathe in your precious blood. When she is driving, show her the right way. In the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

The close-up of the elder woman shows her tears and sincerity. Then, she crawls out of her dark house and the outdoor sunshine seems more delightful than ever. “How nice it would be to have an angel by my side” Si-Marlirei says. At this moment, Si-Marlirei is transformed into an angel in the woman’s prayer and has also healed her grief. “Her chanting or telling of stories has the power of bringing us together, especially when there is sickness, fear, and grief.” (Trihn, 1989: 140)
Before *Seediq Bale*: Representation of Taiwanese Aborigine’s Documentary Films (1984-2010)

is very paradoxical that the sickness, fear and grief can be healed and cured by modern science and western religion. Si-Marlirei seems to dispel the tribal belief that evils possess the sick.

### 3.3 The Mediator

Astride the line between outer culture and her own culture, Si-Marlirei plays a very subtle role in her film. The purpose of making a documentary film is to convey the untold and unheard. We have to pay attention to the use of the device of speaking out the truth in the film—the camera. Trinh (1991) states the hidden power of applying the so-called western mechanical device into the indigenous world—the unfolding scene is captured, not only by an individual, but also by a mechanical device(54). Furthermore, the most ambiguous part of Si-Marlirei is her appearance or disappearance in the film.

The filmmaker/camera-operator should either remain as absent as possible from the work, masking thereby the constructed meaning under the appearance of the naturally given meaning, or appear in person in the film so as to guarantee the authenticity of the observation (Trinh, 1991: 55).

The Authenticity creates a crack and a gap here for Si-Marlirei which is intrusive and shuttles around the process of representation.

“The moment the insider steps out from the insider, she is no longer a mere insider. She necessarily looks in from the outside while also looking out from the inside. Like the outsider, she steps back and records what never occurs to her the insider as being worth or in need of recording. But unlike the outsider, she also resorts to non-expllicative, non-totalizing strategies that suspend meaning and resist closure”(1991: 74)

In the double role of insider/outsider, Si-Marlirei uses her techniques in
manipulating the camera to enlarge the cruel situation which her people encounter. First of all, she uses many close-ups to emphasize the misery and loneliness of these elderly. “Close-ups are too partial; the camera that focuses on an individual or a group proves to be heavily biased, for it fails to relate that person’s or that groups activities to those of their kin”(1991: 61) as Trinh states that close-ups often show someone’s individual opinions rather than profound and objective views. Conversely, Si-Marlirei breaks through the stereotype of camera language and claims her individual point of view as the message she is trying to convey from it these close-ups. The concept of making an anthropological documentary,— being the inter-subjectivities— what we are familiar with does not exist here. The audience will not see the wide angles instead of close-ups. The focus on the elderly people’s facial expressions seems like a long pause or gaze which become indelible on the audiences mind. Secondly, Si-Marlirei lowers her camera to be level with the elderly person who lies on the floor. Besides her, the other volunteers also lower their bodies to help the elderly for cleaning their bodies, changing their clothes, and washing their hair. Si-Marlirei attempts to deliver a language of camera, which is humble and respectful because such a modern facility may produce a lot of apprehension and opposition while she shuttles between an insider out and an outsider in. As a woman filmmaker, Si-Marlirei might confront the difficulties involving conflict within her culture. As Trinh states that the place from which the woman artist works is always fragile, because empowerment of the self can only be achieved by emptying, reversing, and displacing power relations (1991:114). It would be a very toilsome job to be a mediator, an interval while the contact zone leaves lots of cracks and gaps to be sutured through the eye of modern apparatus—the camera.

3.4 Dilemma

Although And Deliver Us From Evil had a great success when shown around Taiwan, also becoming popular in some international film festivals, the effect of this film has gone far beyond Si-Marlirei’s expectations. First of all, people in Taiwan who are not Taus may
mistakenly conclude that the Tau are a tribe which doesn’t pay much respect and care to its elders and they may come to disagree with the Tau’s traditional culture. Additionally, even though this film does arouse the awareness of Tau youth to join the homecare team, some Tau people still think that the film conveys the wrong message to others. It is really a dilemma for Si-Marlirei to carry on her plan of playing this film to audiences. As a result, she decided to stop playing the film in public and has tried to make another film to deliver the message of the achievement of homecare and the present situation of the sick elderly on Orchid Island. “In other words, autoethnography itself is a complicit product after the represented people encounter modernity. It may please either the conqueror or the conquered. And it could also irritate both.” (Liu, 2004: 70) By reason of the process of interpreting her culture which encounters modernity, Si-Marlirei believes modernity and Christianity can both be salvations for the Tau. And Deliver Us From Evil reflects Mary Louis Pratt’s (1992) comment: “Such a text is heterogeneous on the reception end as well as the production end: it will be read very differently to people in different positions in the contact zone” (7). However, Si-Marlirei brings up the question of representing the other and challenges the conflict of her own culture. The success of this film and the concern of the sick elderly still have a great impact on the rest of people as outsiders.

4. The meaning of nostalgia in Taiwanese aborigines’ documentary films

As a mediator, the duty of her/him is to create a production outcome by manipulating different languages and meanings. Furthermore, Lin stated that “he/she needs to translate his/her opinion into an understandable language for readers come from different cultures” (219). To this end, the strategy of involving different eloquences, logical thinking, and even the use of silence is a way of representation to reconstruct and overturn the connotation of language in films. The lost language can be re-found by these mediators.
4.1 Nostalgia resists globalization

If we review these Taiwanese aborigines’ documentary films again, we will find a close relation among filmmakers including borders and anthropologadors who tried to recreate the atmosphere of a home. They sense that local culture within the tribe is going to be eliminated in the flow of mainstream culture. The only way for them is to record this culture by themselves. First, we have to understand what “nostalgia” is and what causes this phenomenon. Featherstone (1995) defines nostalgia as: the condition of nostalgia is usually taken to refer to this loss of home in the sense of homesickness, and it has also been used to point to a more general loss of a sense of wholeness, moral certainty, genuine social relationship, spontaneity and expressiveness (94). So, when people become aware of their native culture, and a boundary is formed and they may also feel a loss of a sense of a place, that is the beginning for nostalgia. Featherstone talked about the consciousness of home further by stating:

A sense of home is sustained by collective memory, which itself depends upon ritual performances, bodily practices and commemorative ceremonies. The important point here is that our sense of the past does not primarily depend upon written sources, but rather on enacted ritual performances and the formalism of ritual language. (94)

From commemorative rituals such as weddings, funerals, and participations or involvements of spectatorship at local, regional and national rituals, people feel that they are back home and can connect with all tribes or community freely. We can see clearly that there are many Taiwanese aborigines’ documentary films recording the rituals and culture traditions, such as The Return of Gods and Ancestors for Paiwan tribe, Songs of Pasta'ay for the Saisyat tribe, Head Hunting Festival for the Chou tribe. Usually these rituals or ceremonies are performed in public, rendering it untransmittable in writing, but possibly by visualizing. Featherstone (1995) talked about the
importance of presenting these rituals which “can be seen as the batteries, which charge up the emotional bonds between people and renew the sense of the sacred.” (94) Whatevver, the sense of sacred which these rituals bring up, as Featherstone stated further, is not only considered as an integration of a nation-state, but also exist even under the assault of the globalizing force. (see 94) According to the argument presented by Featherstone, we could see that the reason that causes nostalgia is “globalization”. Globalization creates the idea of “no sense of place”, the idea, however, has its danger. Featherstone mentioned:

One of the dangers of the “no sense of place” type of arguments is that they seem to point to processes that are assumed to be universal in their impact and which do not vary historically. It may be possible to detect particular phases induced by changes in the process of globalization and relations between states, which intensify or decrease the sense of homelessness and nostalgia. …. Within societies that were rapidly modernizing and elimination tradition, these rites created a desire to celebrate the past; they instituted forms of imitation and mythical identification, which have persisted. (94)

So, nostalgia is the strategy of resistance of globalization. Although, as Ma stated, there is a “paradoxical relation between nostalgic desire and the persistent belief in modernist historicism” (152), thus when we deal with the issue of retrieving nostalgia as an act of resistance to the mainstream, we still need to articulate more. Thus, Ma claimed that:

…in times of discontinuity and change, a documentary aesthetic is intensely gratifying for the general public, who share an epistemological commitment to factual history. It is the commitment that fuels the production and consumption of nostalgic texts with a powerful sense of authenticity. (152)
Globalization then, creates the homogeneity and integrated standards that will eliminate local culture. Only when people sense their position as on the borderland and homeless do they start to use strategy to resist this situation, their local culture will survive.

4.2 The strategy of resistance

The question then is to resist globalization and protect local culture. In Featherstone’s opinion: there is a return to local cultures, and the emphasis should be placed upon local cultures in plural, and the fact that they can be placed alongside each other without hierarchical distinction. (Featherstone, 1995: 96) In Taiwan, The Full Shot Community Foundation (全景傳播基金會) is a good illustration of this idea. This foundation designed many classes to train people who are interested in documentary film. Among these people, there are many aborigines who are willing to record their tribes’ history using documentation. As we mentioned in the first section, the higher classes control the writing system. So, people who are empowered by society can decide history. The mission of transmitting knowledge is decided by a hierarchical system. The difference of using documentary now is that even local people can play the role of telling history, and recording their own cultures for others. The voice projected from the local, thus, replaced those who are from the outsider class or of a higher class. Featherstone defined them as new middle class:

Localization clearly evident is the processes of gentrification as the new middle class moved back into the city or restore old neighborhoods. It is the new middle class, especially those who have has higher education or who work in the culture industries or the professions, who are most well disposed to experiment with the reconstitution of locality, the controlled decontrol of the emotions, and the construction of temporary aesthetic communities. (1995: 96-97)

The film Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation with
Before *Seediq Bale*: Representation of Taiwanese Aborigine’s Documentary Films (1984-2010)  

*Beauty and Sorrow* discussed about how the new middle class from the Bunon tribe should set up a foundation and how to operate this foundation to develop their local culture. The filmmaker Si-Marlirei from the Tau tribe, Show-Chen Chun (全秀珍) from the Bunon tribe, Mei-Fung Dai (戴美鳳) from the Taiyal tribe, are all trained by the Full Shot Community Foundation who then returned to their tribes to record their culture by using documentary films. Most of them have higher education when compared to their native home-towners, and have worked in cultural related professions. Their experiences came from the cultural shock they had encountered while in school, outside their tribe, or in the work place in the cities, this provided most important motivation for them to do the documentary.

Apparently, we know the notions of global and local cultures are relational, the strategy is not to subvert globalization but to resist it. Featherstone (1995) is also aware of this and he suggested that:

> We can point to the attitude of immersion in a local culture. This could take the form of remaining in a long-established locality by resisting being drawn into wider collectivities and erecting barriers to cultural flows. This, however, is difficult to achieve without military and economic power, which are essential if one is to avoid being drawn into broader regional interdependencies and conflicts. (97)

The whole system that the local cultures are resisting is not just from globalization, but nation specific. This explains why the Full Shot community Foundation called their strategy a social movement. They play the role of organizers to help and encourage people to speak up using their own voice. The aim is to achieve the resistance of knowledge boundaries and culture reservation. How to prevent these local cultures being drawn into the wider cultural flow is still a long process but many people have already welcomed their ideas.

Clifford (1986) also makes a statement notion about cultural
There is no longer any place of overview (mountaintop) from which to map human ways of life, no Archimedean point from which to represent the world…. Human ways of life increasingly influence, dominate, parody, translate, and subvert one another; cultural analysis is always enmeshed in global movements of difference and power. (22)

However, resistance might not be the only way for local people to survive on in this globalized world. Since cultures are meant to be influenced, imitated and translated, how to vitalize the native culture and be stimulated from the flow of change becomes the most critical issue. It would be consider pessimistic to resist the outside world rather than being optimistic to face the challenge. Therefore, we suggest that the inner bond and close tie of relationship can also be the solution toward the persistence rather resistance toward the better perspective of development.  

5. Conclusion

In sum, documentary does provide a new way of seeing, a new method of thinking and presentation of local people's life and culture. We can say that documentary films act as a social action for it is a critical way of looking at the external world and the desire to prioritise transforming the living conditions of a said population. In this case, it became one of the vehicles of resistance to globalization; nevertheless, its success rates and fruitfulness depends on how these narrators in documentary interpret local people's cultures and life experiences. We are glad to see a good beginning for documentary films in Taiwan. As cultural study researchers, we need to inspire and think about

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10 Hall and Fenelon identify four components of indigenous struggle that appears consistent across geographic and political location, and among them, there is a "community cohesion based on strong kinship ties and emphasis on greater group good". That is to say that strong bond of family can be the awareness of maintaining their culture.
developing more new methods on how to reserve local cultures and popularize them globally. Even though current feedbacks are positive and inspiring, the desire to be heard is only in its initial state and various aspects of it are yet to be identified.
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*Taiwan Historical Research* (《臺灣史研究》) 16(4), 1-35.


*Taiwan Indigenous Research* (《臺灣原住民研究論叢》) 5, 1-23.
Appendix

List of Taiwanese Aborigine’s Documentary Films from 1984-2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title in Chinese</th>
<th>Film Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Director(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>《神祖之靈歸來：排灣族五年祭》</td>
<td>The Return of Gods and Ancestors: Paiwan Five Year Ceremony</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Hu Tai-li</td>
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<tr>
<td>《矮人祭之歌》</td>
<td>Songs of Pasta’ay</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Li Dao-ming, Hu Tai-li</td>
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<td>《人民的聲音》</td>
<td>The Voice of People</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Li Dao-ming</td>
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<tr>
<td>《蘭嶼觀點》</td>
<td>Voices of Orchid Island</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Hu Tai-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>《排灣人撒古流》</td>
<td>Sakuliu (Paiwan)</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Li Dao-ming</td>
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<tr>
<td>《花蓮三勇士》</td>
<td>Three Soldiers from Hualien</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Liu Ben Tong Yan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>《巴伊˙大魯閣》</td>
<td>Pai-Taroko**(Truku)</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Liu Kang-wen</td>
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<td>《請給我一份工作》</td>
<td>Please Give Me a Job</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Yang Ming-hui</td>
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<td>《土地到那裡去了》</td>
<td>Where is the land?**</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Bi Ling, Ya Bu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>《山之歌海之舞:台灣原住民的音樂與舞蹈》 (Songs of the Mountain, Dance of the Ocean: Music and Dance of Taiwan’s Indigenous People)</td>
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<tr>
<td>《我們為了日本而戰》 (阿美族) (We Fought for Japan-The Aging Veterans of Shoufeng Village (Amis))</td>
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<td>Liu Ben Tong Yan</td>
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<tr>
<td>《末代頭目》 (排灣族) (The Last Chieftain (Paiwan))</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Li Dao-ming</td>
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<td>《新樂園》 (阿美族) (New Eden** (Amis))</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Chen Cheng-yuan</td>
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<td>《阿慕伊》 (泰雅族) (Amui** (Atayal))</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Li Xio-mei</td>
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<td>1999</td>
<td>Pan Xiao-xia</td>
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<td>《吉貝耍與平埔阿嬤》 (Siulay Pinpu Grandma**) (Siraya)</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Yang Zhi-lin</td>
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<td>《愛戀排灣笛》 (排灣族) (Sounds of Love and Sorrow (Paiwan))</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Hu Tai-li</td>
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<td>《我的知本日記》 (卑南族) (My Diary of Jhihben* (Puyuma))</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Yan Lan-quan, Zhuang Yi-zen</td>
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<td>《冠軍之後》 (卑南族) (After Championship (Puyuma))</td>
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<td>Dawoo</td>
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<td>Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation with Beauty and Sorrow</td>
<td>Cai Shan-shen</td>
<td>Bunun</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Head Hunting Festival</td>
<td>Zhou Mei-ling</td>
<td>Tsou</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bunun Kaimin</td>
<td>Lian Jian-zhong</td>
<td>Amis</td>
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</tr>
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<td>And Deliver From Evil</td>
<td>Zhang Shu-lan</td>
<td>Dawoo</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Dear Rice Wine, You are Defeated</td>
<td>Peng Shi-sheng</td>
<td>Amis</td>
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<td>Si-inreshan</td>
<td>Zhang Shu-lan, Guo Zhen-di</td>
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<td>Libangbang: Ching-wen's not home</td>
<td>Guo Zhen-di</td>
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<td>Ceased or Not*</td>
<td>Quan Lio-zhen</td>
<td>Bunun</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Crying Lettuce*</td>
<td>Dai Mei-Fong</td>
<td>Atayal</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Trouble, Did Aboriginal Relatives Come?**</td>
<td>Mu Zhi. Long Yao</td>
<td>Taivoan</td>
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<td>Documentary Film</td>
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<td>2002</td>
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<td>Di Bu-si</td>
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<td>2003</td>
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<td>《部落漂流到金樽》 (The Tribe Floated to Jin-Zun)</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Ma Yao.Bi Hou</td>
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<td>A Long Journey</td>
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<td>Yi Dan Ba Wa Wa</td>
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《唱歌吧》2009 楊智麟
Sing a Song**
2009 Yang Zhi-lin

* The film maker gave authority to the author of this paper to translate.
**The title is translated tentatively for the academic purpose by the author of this paper.

Note: This list takes the reference from Full Shot Community Foundation(全景傳播基金會之民眾記錄片公園 http://www.fullshot.org.tw/) and View Point in Public Television Service (公共電視之記錄觀點 http://viewpoint.pts.org.tw/)