

**Forgotten Communities on Modern and Post-modern
Island-state: On Socio-cultural Landscape of
“Yunnanese Villages” in Northern Taiwan**
(現代與後現代島國上的被遺忘社區：北台灣雲南人軍
眷村的社會文化景觀)

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九十年度【認同的機制與族群意識的能動性：
桃園「雲南村」非漢裔村民的自我建構（1/2）】
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Forgotten Communities on Modern and Post-modern Island-state: On Socio-cultural Landscape of “Yunnanese Villages” in Northern Taiwan*

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I. Introduction

Generally speaking, anthropological interests on development refer to the following three spheres: anthropology of development, anthropology for development, and anthropology against development. However, no matter what theme scholars devoted themselves into it with their own academic or practical aim, almost of all, if not absolute completeness, dealt with economic or politico-economic operation, growth, or exploitation and domination (cf. Rist 2000; Arndt 1983; Escobar 1995; Taussig 1988; Ferguson 1994; O’hanlon & Washbrook 1992) . In other words, “development” in the minds of various kinds of analysts is beyond question the outcome of an active economic process.

Indeed, taking economic criterion to define development while describing the Third World or underdeveloped or undeveloped areas either through macro-view or by micro-eyes (McCaskill 1997 : 26-30) is assumedly easier, and probably “reasonable” to both the relevant specialists and commoners. However, cultures, in their expressive forms, such as national culture, folklore culture, community culture, traditional or

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neo-traditional culture, ethnic culture, exhibiting culture, ethos-like culture, globalized culture, transnational culture, and historicized culture, should not be neglected under the atmosphere of development in anywhere people participate in improving economic lives. A state or particular region where a project of economic development is progressing must drive any aspect of culture to expose itself, in original or newly-shaped form, for adapting into changing environment.

Don McCaskill (1997) points out that a “culture of silence” which indicates quietness of the “developed subjects” may be found in a developmental process. But a “learning community”, a tribal or rural group to pursue autonomy or grasp the engine of doing development, was in establishment of facing external pressure (ibid, p.37) . However, as we know well that [t]he traditionalism which is expressed through manipulation of nationalism is thus deeply modern in character (Eriksen 2001 : 276) . Leaders of state nationalism create nationalist rite in order to accomplish or continue to re-shape building of nation. Many ceremonial texts authored by nation state “create symbolic devices which are capable of engendering solidarity” (Cohen 1994 : 164) . Through making things like theatrical production and folklorism, modern nation-state in its long way of urging economic development attempts to integrate heterogeneous ethnic and cultural units into a homology which is usually under an analytically-addressed “national culture”.

It is not unusual to find researchers who dualistically contrast “development” in the sense of state’s overall truism of modernization with “culture” in its communalism of tribal or rural tradition (cf. Vienne 1989) . Nation-state under the circumstances always comes into antagonism with tribe or rural community by reason of the latter being counted as the one blockading projects of development. However, contemporary national culture which is very different from classical modal of exclusiveness in its constructing processes has showed the magnanimity of filling in

cultures of folklore, community, and ethnics, or has fully been proceeding a job of syncretizing cultures (cf. Vienne 1989 : 52) . This is an absolutely politicized multi-culturalist movement that homogenizes a world where people appreciate nationalized heterogeneity.

Nation-state expresses no more hostility toward local cultures, because a post-modern universal value system has been popularized all over the world. That is to say, to develop “traditional” culture of minority peoples, or to encourage subjectivity, “learning community”, or their own voice among social or political inferior groups is considered as an advanced thought. Multiplicity in post-modern today seems not to be challengeable.

So, economic development for pursuing modernization now has its inalienable partner, i.e., cultural development for catching the standard of post-modern world. Under post-modernist climate, originally non-elite Mexicanos dancers at present are politically serviceable to be invited performing on the New York stage(Limón 1991 : 133) . Nation-state elitizes most of non-elite items, such as “folklife festival” (Bauman & Sawin 1991 : 290) or rural dance players, for convincing both herself and international community of standing in a real and correct position in conducting development.

Many scholars believe that in the past, the peasant was presumably the main criticized troublesome target of developmentalism (e.g. see Kearney 1996 : 50) . But unfortunately I think that is wrong due to the fact that almost of all peasants in any developing nation-state supported trend and policy of development. And this was the most crucial bases of being able to construct neo-fashioned national culture in post-modern time. Because an implicit tacit has been formed between state or “development” apparatus and community or “culture” unit since value of economic growth or improving daily life has profoundly occupied everyone’s inner heart.

However, to pay attentions to both economic dimension and cultural splendor in the processes of development is not yet reading a full story. If one tries to take a macro-angle to describe today's developing or nearly well-developed state, one may have opportunity to find good information from above discussion. But micro-eyes remind us to look at those people who espouse economic development in a well-developed state but still stood in "undeveloped" level, and whose culture especially for aspects related to expressive performances never has possibility to be brought into brisk national culture. In other words, "the undeveloped within the developed" and "the culture within nation-state out of national culture" are two appropriate statements to define those particular communities.

Taiwan, a successful economic reality among East Asian countries, is exactly an excellent place for having the researchers feel the co-existence of dualistic phenomenon: well-developed state/developmentalism accompanied with community/multi-culturalism(or heterogeneous national culture) on the one hand, and totally-ignored closed and localized multi-ethnic/cultural mini-world by all eyes on the island on the other hand.

In this paper, I plan to take two "stagnant" special military villages as examples to describe multi-ethnic local peoples and heterogeneous cultures in the communities for their various ways of dialogue with the acutely changing main society under atmosphere of continuous economic development and active cultural fostering.

II. Settlement of Yunnanese Military Immigrants

When the KMT (Kuomintang or Nationalist Party) army was routed and fled the PLA (People's Liberation Army) along Yunnan-Burma border in early 1950's, the Kingdom of Sipsong Panna, a petty Tai-Lue state in southern Yunnan, lost her

traditional authority. The newly established PRC (People's Republic of China) set up the Xishuang banna Dai Nationality Autonomous Region on January 23, 1953. Quite a few KMT troops still in northern Burma wanted to continue resistance against the PLA. In 1953 and 1961, remnants of the KMT army finally withdrew from Burma to Thailand, then eventually to Taiwan (cf. Sung Kwang-yu 1982). A small amount of troops remained in northern Thailand in preparation for re-gaining the "lost land" whenever Chiang Kai-shek gave the order from Taipei.

Native and international academicians (See Hill 1983, 1985, 1992, &1998; Chang Wen-Chin 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2001, 2002), and local writers for the general public in Taiwan (see Teng Ke-pao 1985[1961], Po Yang 1982) have paid a great deal of attention to the soldiers left behind in the "Golden Triangle" or as it is sometimes romanticized, the "alien territory". Unfortunately however, those un-romanticized soldiers along with their families who have settled down in Taiwan receive less attention in Taiwan society today. Hill and Chang in particular have contributed in the following fields of study: cultural changes among the Chinese diaspora; the ethnography of Southeast Asia; and ethnic relationships in northern Thailand. In 1977 and 1979, Sung Kwang-yu, a young research assistant at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, studied Ching-ching (It was originally named Chien-ching. Chiang Ching-kuo, son of Chiang Kai-shek, asked that the name be changed in 1967) and Chi-yang State Farms, two major highland locations where retired Yunnanese soldiers and their families live. Through his work, we have learned of the population, ethnic background, education, and economic conditions on the farms. Since Sung is the only one who has conducted fieldwork, and published an article on Yunnanese immigrants in the past four decades, it is not hard for us to imagine a common unfamiliarity toward this particular group of alien residents among the Taiwanese people.

The first group of the KMT's Yunnan army reached Taiwan in 1953. They were garrisoned in a newly founded village named Chung-chen in Chung-li, Taoyuan County on the northern plain of the island. The next group of soldiers from northern Thailand arrived eight years later(1961). Some of the later groups were proud of their guerilla warfare successes against the Communists. They looked down on the earlier immigrants and their "timidity".

Besides settling down in two main state farms, those people among the second group who were counted as "strong" and "young" had been concentrated in living in another village named Kan-cheng whose location is in Lung-tan township of Taoyuan County to get re-training to be paratroopers. Both Chung-chen and Kan-cheng were newly established military villages. They had been encircled by a number of Hoklok or Hokien Taiwanese and Hakka rural communities. In earlier time, the military villages were under management of the Ministry of Defense, so civil administrative units such as county, township, or city had no authority to manage such a special village. Whenever a soldier was discharged, he and his immovable "property", i.e., land and house was automatically transferred to the hands of the Council of Veteran Affairs, Executive Yuan. In other words, they seem not to be able to extricate themselves from the predicament of military state's domination. Thereby, local Taiwanese and Hakka villagers became very estranged from these two "Mainlanders" neighborhoods. And the configuration of community cultures to the extent of Yunnanese / immigrants / military / Mainlanders traits in comparison to Taiwanese / Local / Civilian / native appearances is totally different. In short, two mini-alien-worlds in Taoyuan area had formed since the mid of 1950's.

III. “Undeveloped” Yunnanese Military Villages on “Developed” Island

Since the 1970's, the KMT government gradually transferred its inner psychology and ruling philosophy of regaining Mainland into establishing Taiwan to be permanent home base. From the time on, the state under prime minister then president Ching-Kuo Chiang, son of Chiang Kai-Shek, was putting the policy of economic development into practice. Besides encouraging foreign investment and offering more convenient paperwork and other procedures as well as privileged strategies for local enterprises in conducting international trade, the government spent the whole of financial and man-power energy to develop heavy industry, to build cosmopolis, to expand middle size cities, and to urbanize non-urban communities. Taiwan to the end of the 20th century from a macro-view had become a “well-developed” country among others that were named “four Little Dragons” of Asia in comparison to most of states in Southeast Asia.

Quite a few originally small cities or petty towns now totally dish up in a new form. Many “villages” still under administrative name of chun or village but in reality whose residents have fully enjoyed all kinds of modern life. “Plentiful small communities”, i.e., villages, townships and towns, on a “well-to-do large land”, i.e., the country, might be the most suitable statement to describe today's Taiwan. However, this becomes an incomplete story if we take two northern Yunnanese military villages into considerations.

Chung Chen New Village (CCNV) was founded in 1954. The total households are around four hundred. The Ministry of Defense allocated a very limited space with a tiny house(one bed room, one family room and a kitchen)for each nuclear family. In earlier time, whenever entering in the village, rows of neatly arranged houses were impressed presumably. Even today, one's imagination of a quiet community as CCNV

surrounded with trees, ricefield and vegetable garden is often coming up to the mind when passing through alleyways in it. In other words, all old-fashioned houses built nearly fifty years ago are still there. A worse condition is that the plaster on the walls has peeled off, and nowadays “ugly” appearance replaces previous tidy shape due to planless and jumbled fragmentary re-construction by personal purpose in almost of all units (Photo 1) .

Many families enlarged their houses by way of building a couple of boxes linked to main body of the original one. A major reason was that the real life of continuous reproduction of household population forced people to seek rooms for survival. As long as particular residents permanently moved out of the village, neighbors usually occupied and even opened up a door for combining two units. Moreover, it is not uncommon to find roofslide or partly subsidence of walls but lacking fixation. Gloomy indoor environment is another universal characteristics. CCNV is exactly CCNV, it is very different from fully urbanized originally rural neighborhood.

There is a bustling market with noise and excitement just next to CCNV. Except for a couple of small-sized Yunnanese taste restaurants owned by residents of CCNV, hundreds of stores over there that symbolize the success of regional development basically have nothing to do with the military village. Governments in all levels, i.e., national, provincial and county, seem intentionally to work out specific measures of accelerating modernization only targeting to non-Yunnanese locations. Even for the fact that there is a major street where is full of restaurants of Yunnanese/Thai/Paiyi (Tai-Lue) / Burmese style (Photo 2) , villagers and tourists or passengers alike are consumers instead of the owners. In other words, most residents of CCNV were standing out of the business development. Whenever one cuts across the market and commercial streets into CCNV, as if sending oneself from a “civilized” world into a “primitive” land. In the past, trees and gardens delimited the range of military

community, today large buildings and business stuffs like never-ending shoppers and consumptive processes isolate and fix undeveloped village at the original spot (Photo 3) .

Kan-cheng Wu Chun or Kan-cheng fifth village (KCFV) is located at a more remote area. Unlike CCNV's location next to modernized and commercialized town, one needs to take about fifteen minutes walk when getting off bus on the main avenue for reaching the KCFV. The village is completely encircled around Hakka communities. It is not difficult to distinguish the military village from other local settlements because there are quite a few patriotic slogans on posters or walls in front of and inside the former one (Photo 4 & 5) , besides having a main gate with village name written on and an enclosure existed in spite of partial subsidence somewhere.

KCFV is divided into two portions, the west wing belongs to the veterans of former KMT troop withdrew from southeast coast of Mainland China, and the east wing is typical Yunnanese/Burmese sub-community. There are three main rows of standardized houses arranged in good order. Classical pattern of low walls accompanied with interesting designs are typical (Photo 6) . The alley in between every two rows is extremely narrow and small (Photo 7) . Just like the situation in CCNV, people in KCFV in previous four decades had been broadening their own dwelling units without comprehensive plan, neatness of the entire community thereby had gone little by little.

The first time for me to visit KCFV was back to 1990. At that time all natural or rural landscape from the bus stop beside the avenue to the village was wonderful. During past twelve years, the speed of urbanization around the military community was really fast. A giant block of huge buildings, that is said to be able to reside more than one thousand households, was newly founded on the wide land from the bus stop via the back of KCFV until the end point where is about one kilometer away from the

main gate of the village(Photo 8). Except for a few lucky families who had moved to new flats, most villagers are bitterly aware of their inadequacy when confronted with a real challenge of big money for making a purchase. In other words, one probably needs to buy an estate there at lifelong purchase. Veterans thus are lagging too far behind to catch up having a private immovable property. A commercial street is formed alongside the avenue where was only a bus stop standing with bush or uncultivated land in earlier 90's. All stores such as McDonald's, 7-11, Japanese owned modern coffee shop and others undoubtedly are mainly for the services of new residents residing in large buildings and middle class-like passengers instead of locals of military village.

Many informants in CCNV said that the government agents and representatives of veterans had discussed the possibility of re-build the entire village for more than ten times. "Meeting and meeting, we had meeting every year, but no result at all". All lands and houses are public properties. People are allowed to stay until death, but have no right to do buying and selling. So the government took over everything if a bachelor passed away. As for KCFV, the condition is a bit different from the former case. The majority of residents have signed a contract with the local government. They are arranged to move to two new buildings nearby downtown Chung-li, one of the major cities in Taoyuan County soon. But how soon will it be done the moving plan? No body knows. What one hears often recently whereas is to regret affixing one's signature because " we then can sell the property and receive cash if continued struggling to having ownership" of both land and house from the government successfully in the long run. In short, residents of two military villages are in similar situation, even through one has not yet signed for any proposal but another had prepared to leave, that is "wait and annoy"!

IV. Missing cultures out of Colorful Post-modern Country

An overall modernized Taiwan has accomplished her necessary condition in the sense of great economic promotion in early 1990's. Before long, a post-modern cultural phenomenon which was implicated in claiming multi-culturalism and tolerance and even encouragement of minority ethnicities emerged at a unexpected speed. I am not trying to imply an "must be" evolutionary framework of economically modernized state following a well mapped-out plan to step next into a culturally post-modernized world. However, Taiwan is "incidentally" matched such a phenomenal model.

In past more than ten years, the government initiated a longlasting movement of re-constructing communities of all sizes and levels in entire country overall. That is to say, the definition of national culture was never based on a homogeneous ideology any more. A mother kangaroo-like "national bag" now opens for receiving all kinds of local cultures and ethnic identities. Many team works under guidance of college professors or "cultural innovation" specialists went to indigenous tribes or rural areas to organize local leaders to "invoke" their self-identity and to begin to "love" traditional culture. Former "background primitiveness" of indigenous peoples and unsophisticated images of "country cousin" became elitized precious national heritage in the twinkling of an eye.

Hundreds of various kinds of "festivals", "ceremonies", "rites" and relevant activities were carried out in particular locations of all levels of state, county, city, town, township, village, neighborhood and community (see Hsieh Shih-chung 1996 ; Lee Ming-chung 2002). Cultural performance under the colorful post-modern environment becomes a universalized popular life to many enthusiastic participants. Almost of all "chosen" communities, i.e. having received support from state's agencies, no matter what it is huge or tiny have successfully trained special personnels

of being capable of “writing proposal” for applying grant to hold “cultural activity”. The subjectivity which theorist of post-modernism emphasizes as a key element for proving the existence of post-modern world is obviously found in the processes of initiating activities. Local community consciousness and pan-indigenous or single tribal identity through performing actions have been incorporated into newly formulated heterogeneous national culture.

However, nevertheless, not every community has gained agency’s good graces, i.e., no budget to espouse activity or never arising motivation to give grant-in-aid. Both CCNV and RCFC are exactly the case of being forgotten wholly. When Taiwanese people celebrated their festivals under the name of tradition or new tradition, the Yunnanese military villages in Taoyuan look like an alien world that is not only marginal to the main society but also absolutely away from normal daily life in Taiwan.

Two villages were never be chosen to re-construct community in establishing local culture, no budget being allocated to develop activity of performance, and certainly no skillful expert trained for preparing a qualified proposal in striving for getting grant. They are very quiet at all. No one knows that there are more than one hundred non-Han people, mostly female, reside in two Yunnanese military villages. They do have special “ethnic features” or “cultural items” being able to be manipulated as programme of exotic performances. But no one from any agency visited there. A few journalists had come but gained a superficial understanding through cursory observation. They asked questions and took photos, then left. In short, Taiwan originally had good opportunity to open up before world’s eyes by much multiplicity of post-modern multiculturalism and ethnic subjectivity. But they did miss Yunnanese/ Thai/ Paiyi [Tai-Lue]/ Burmese characteristics before zippering the mother Kangaroo’s “national bag”.

V. Ghetto-ized local color

CCNV and KCFV, the neglected village-isles by two passed-by mighty torrents, i.e., trend of economic development and current of cultural performance, have voicelessly existed there for about four decades. Exotic but lonely ghetto or multi-ethnic enclave might be a suitable term for being used to address them. As a matter of fact, villagers within the particular living environment have self-constructed special life style for well-taking shelter. All survival philosophy, historical consciousness, social critique, ethnic knowledge, and cultural theory are very profound and abundant. They not merely stand for the witnesses of a grand modern history related to the development of nationalisms in EastAsia and ethnic-cultural syncretism at certain locations of Taiwan, but also play a good game in negotiating or dialogizing with kins, neighbors, friends, military companions and other alien ethnic members.

The veterans of CCNV were discharged from the Nationalist government's regular troops that stationed in Yunnan in the 1940's. Most of the soldiers were Yunnan local Han people plus some Cantonese, except for a few recruits "caught" from non-Han ethnic groups such as Paiyi (Tai-Lue) and Luohe (Lahu). They were unmarried youngsters when joining in the army in hometown. Then the troop marched far away from Han-Chinese settlements that made soldiers be reluctant to marry non-Han local women at station where they temporarily stayed. Therefore, a majority of wives of the Yunnanese officers and soldiers were from non-Han groups especially the Paiyi in Sipsong panna (Xishuang banna) in Yunnan.

Multi-ethnic composition in Yunnan is a well-known regional feature. Now the same situation has been re-moved from there to Taiwan. In other words, we can find many ethnic groups whose hierarchical relation was evident in Yunnan has settled down in the same community. In CCNV, the highest amount of Paiyi female residents

in the first immigrants generation was around forty, and twenty for some other peoples. The common language for the villagers is Yunnanese Mandarin, even the second or third generation and their spouses have outstanding ability of speaking such an accentual language. They talked to me by standard Mandarin, but transferred to their own “mother-tongue” immediately while communicated with village members at the same occasion. Furthermore, Paiyi, a sort of Tai dialects, was also popular in earlier time. Husbands of Paiyi wives at least could understand what ethnic women said, and the second generation whose age is about forty usually indicate their ambiguity toward the usage of Paiyi. Listening comprehension of Paiyi among most of middle-aged villagers are fine despite of without speaking-out motivation and necessity.

People within the village know the general condition of multi-ethnic distribution in there. Many of them have rich knowledge about ethnic minorities in various aspects, such as ethnonyms, exotic custom, physical features, “savagery”, “timidity”, “obedience” and “backwardness”. They chatted each other in the evening in an open field nearby the village office (Photo 9) . Ordinarily several mahjong tables are ready for regular players in different houses at nighttime. Those small vendors that offer Yunnanese/Tai food sporadically set in the village provide people’s memory catching of homeland, and strengthen self-identity of culturally defined persona (Photo 10) . More and more immigrants from Thailand have dwelled in Taoyuan area lately. They are exactly the main participants to sell various sorts of Thai cuisine alongside one of the alleyways every Sunday morning, and cause residents of CCNV giving it a name of pleasantry “Little Bangkok”(Photo 11). An Islamic mosque built in 1971 is located at the intersection of business street and main highway-like road. It is certainly the main place for about fifteen households of the village Muslims to go meeting, and Muslims from other places show themselves often over there as well (Photo 12) .

Furthermore, “playing song”(ta-ke), a kind of half-Han and half non-Han special folk song singing way, was a favorite among many residents in earlier time when staying in Taiwan (Photo 13) . In general, Yunnanese/Paiyi/Burmese restaurants, “Little Bangkok”, mosque, and perhaps plus “playing song” altogether become the most fascinating local color in CCNV.

Old generation in their average age more than seventy five falls into decay fast. The village head told me that she once went abroad for two weeks, there were three deceased already when coming back to home. Funeral in most main procedure follows Taiwanese local way because the ritual specialists hired to assist are all from native towns. However, several youngsters expressed their interesting finding about a special phenomena appeared only in CCNV, that is many relatives, neighbors and friends inside the village joining the mourning household to chat, eat and gamble every night before the day of burying the dead. People regard this is a good custom because of having warm feelings. However, on the other hand, behavior of some new generation really hurt parents’ hearts deeply. Senior residents complained all the time about children’s alcoholism, gamble addiction, unemployment and over-dependence. Everyone even knows which boy or girl of a particular household did things worse like drugs trading or prostitution. In short, a moral gap between two generations seems to be moderate huge superficially. But, to me, a full learning outcome might be the real story for explaining above condition. In other words, the old generation depended on the government in the whole of their life, now the new generation is dependent upon their parents completely. Also the gambling leisure had become a common daily activity for a long time, kids take model behavior from oldsters spontaneously.

KCFV, compared to CCNV, is much more isolated from main society. So far as I know, media did not show any interest to KCFV although its multi-ethnic social

structure is more “colorful” than another military community. Only two Yunnanese/Paiyi/Burmese restaurants along a street close to main gate of KCFV, and one vendor owned by a Paiyi woman inside village (Photo 14) , commercial atmosphere over here is not so prosperous. Most of the residents made traditional food, such as very spicy pepper, rice noodle, thin pork skin, cool wide-pieced noodle and banana salad by themselves.

Most of the non-Han wives of veterans came from northern Burma or Thailand. They, unlike CCNV’s Paiyi originated from Sipsong Panna, a frontier country within China, were in reality not “Chinese”. Their story of their participation in Chinese army was touching whenever one recalled tragic refugee history in northern southeast Asia in the 1950’s. When part of KMT troops withdrew from Thailand to Taiwan in 1954, some others got order from Chiang Kai-shek in Taipei to stay more time. They thereby became untrained and loosen-organized anti-Communists guerrilla. The soldiers were not allowed to get married on account of uncertain future and causing inconvenience for military units’ marching. It was until 1960 when the second group was receiving order of retreat, a special military project called “Kuo-lei”(national thunder)which the villages use it to name a new park in the village(Photo 15). Many soldiers went out to “plunder” wives from non-Chinese tribes or rural communities by means of all rude ways. A number of child brides under the sorrowful condition were brought to get on the plane.

When the force arrived at Taiwan, the government temporarily found Cheng-kung base in Taichung for soldiers and their families’ staying. The non-Chinese “Burmese” or “Thai” (most of them were Paiyi, Akha, Lahu, Yao, Wa, Lisu and northern Thai) began to learn Chinese unsystematically with part-time female teachers sent by the Ministry of Defense. The entire troop before long had been divided into three groups: the first discharged people going to Chien-ching State

Farm, Nantou, the second one being dispatched to Chi-yang State Farm of Kaohsiung and Pingtung, and the youngest men kept in army allocated to KCFV (cf. Sung Kuang-yu 1982; Hsieh Shih-chung 2001). From then on, all non-Han wives learned Yunnanese Mandarin from husbands and members within man-newly-made villages.

It is no problem for non-Han women in KCFV to have full ability of speaking and listening Mandarin. But they are illiterate at all. A good many residents like to narrate past history of migration from Burma via Thailand to Taiwan. The listeners usually can arise a full imagined picture about the story. Although nothing related to public performance of expressive culture of local people in KCFV is a little disappointed (indeed there are some in personal situation for fun. For instance, a Miao man always hums traditional tunes[Photo 16]) , one still has chance to feel exoticism while contacting villagers by conversing themes on ethnicity or cultural life. People who had returned to homeland either in Burma and Thailand or Yunnan brought back ethnic clothes, religious stuffs(Photo 17), bags or toy with local decoration and music tapes. They re-shape their self-identity by traveling experiences with historical memory and symbolized commercial materials. The emergence of local color in KCFV thus is mainly on the foundations of intensive interaction among residents of different ethnic backgrounds within such an isolated community and playing as international tourists re-approaching to childhood poor living world.

VI. Conclusion

The heterogeneous “new” national culture in today’s Taiwan makes citizens happy by reasons of all kinds or levels of cultures, traditional, neo-traditional, “faked” traditional, or non-traditional, gaining unlimited opportunity to perform themselves when having good developed economic life at the same time. However, both CCNV

and KCFV's cases disclose contrary condition of "the undeveloped within the developed" in terms of economic standard and cultural expression.

However, although we see nothing of two villages being included in national culture, manipulated folklore culture, and exhibiting culture, other forms like community culture, i.e., a mutual-tacit of social interaction and multi-ethnic values, ethos-like culture (cf. Herzfeld 2001: 283), i.e., a "community spirit" which distinguishes itself from Taiwanese or Hakka identities is definitely in, historicized culture, i.e., internalized war and migration memorization which becomes the main theme of life representation, and finally ethnic culture, i.e., each non-Han people's continued intensification of self by traveling around past hometowns, all are distinctly in existence.

Lives in two villages might be regarded as so-called "culture of silence". But they respectively established their own "learning community" where the members after all know the ways of survival. The state's census classifies them into the general category of "Mainlanders", but "possessive individualism" (Kertzer & Arel 2002:34) shall be the most appropriate term to describe the Yunnanese/ Thai/ Paiyi/ Burmese/ Akha/ Lahu/ Wa/ Yao/ Miao identities in which each one finds one or more to cope with all kinds of life difficulties and needs.

The residents of CCNV and KCFV are not like what a certain of scholars and administrators said about peasant or rural people's role of troublemaker to affect rate of progress of economic development. Military villages in my cases in fact have nothing to do with the main society, and without causing obstruction in its spur of modernization like a raging fire. Villagers have stayed in historical stagnation for nearly half a century. Projects of post-modern cultural performances are spread everywhere in this country. CCNV and KCFV silently accept the fate of lacking connection to it, but their own non-publicized daily performance in the premise of

confirming local multi-ethnic/ cultural value become life. It is indeed, in these two old-fashioned settlements, “the vehicle for constructing social reality” (Schieffelin 1993:292).

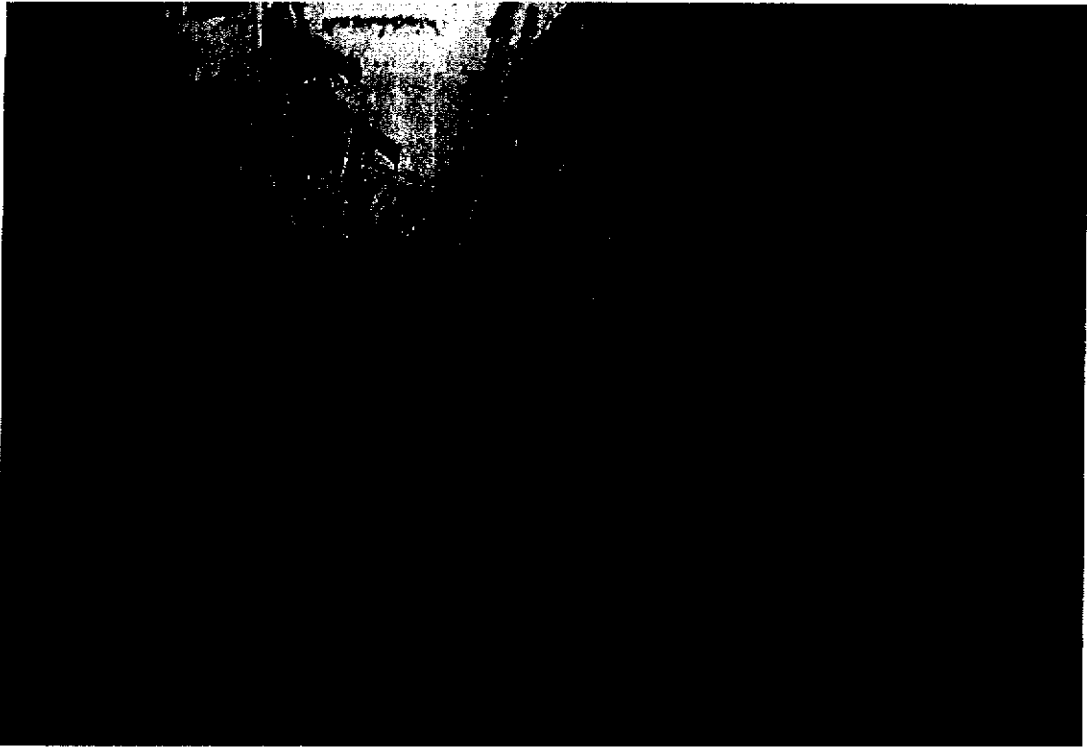


Photo1. Residents enjoying the cool at dusk in CCNV

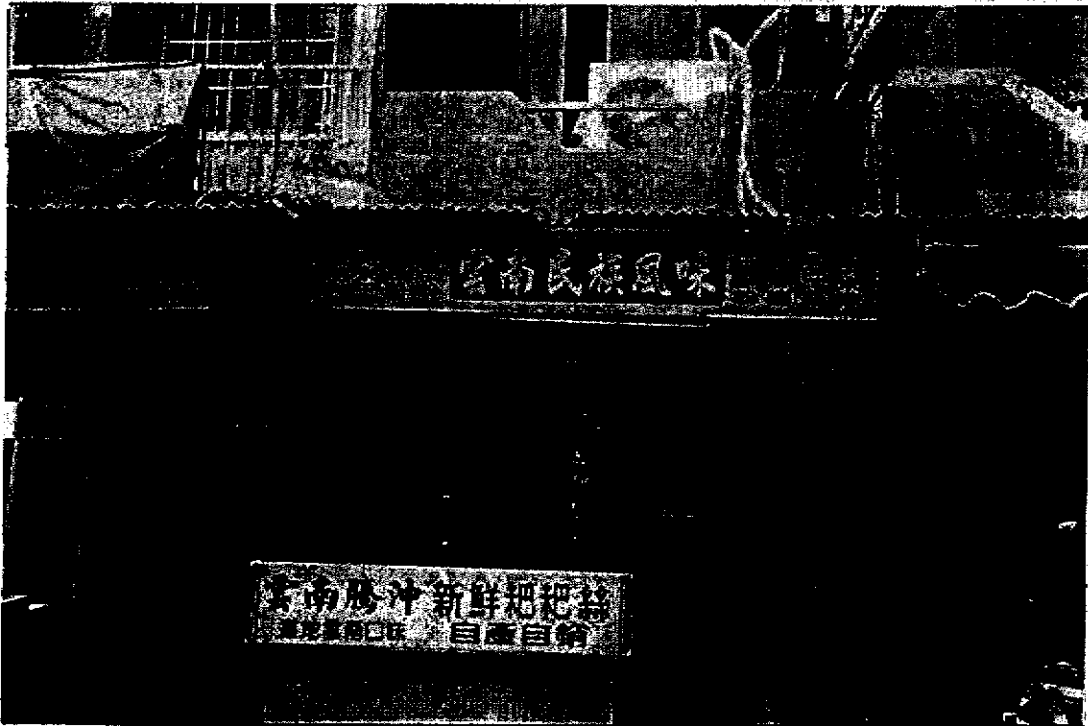


Photo2. The street renowned of Yunnanese / Paiyi / Burman restaurants close to CCNV



Photo 3. Bustling commercial street next to CCNV

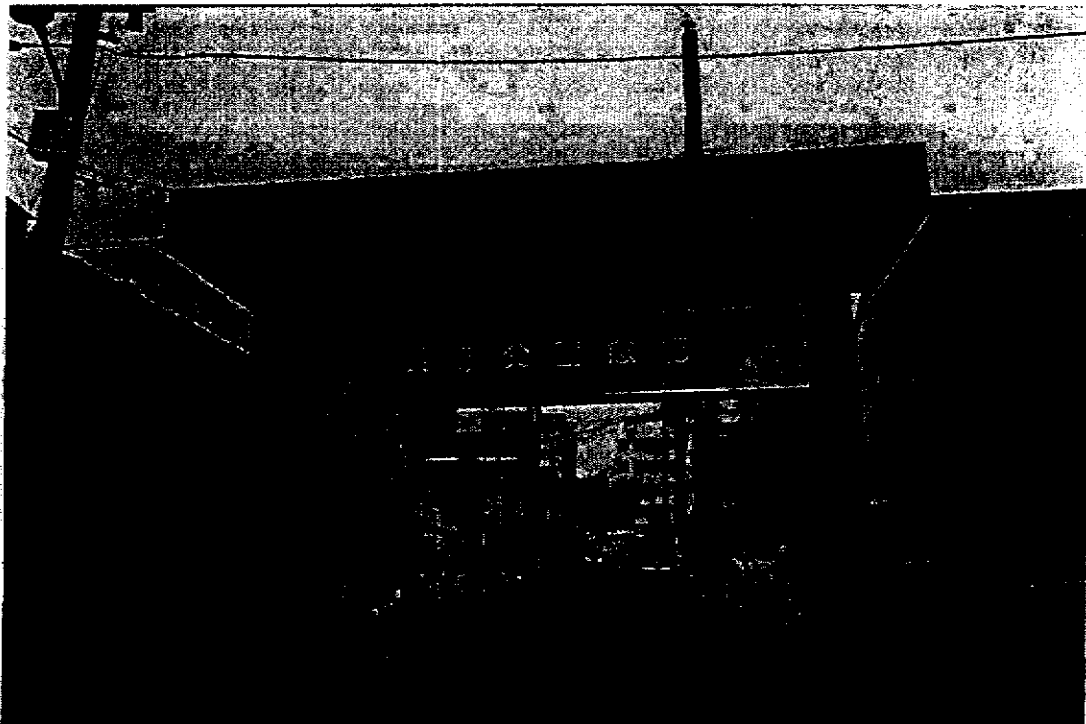


Photo 4. "Obey National Father's Teaching, Practice Three Principles", slogans put on the main gate of KCFV for commemorating Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birthday

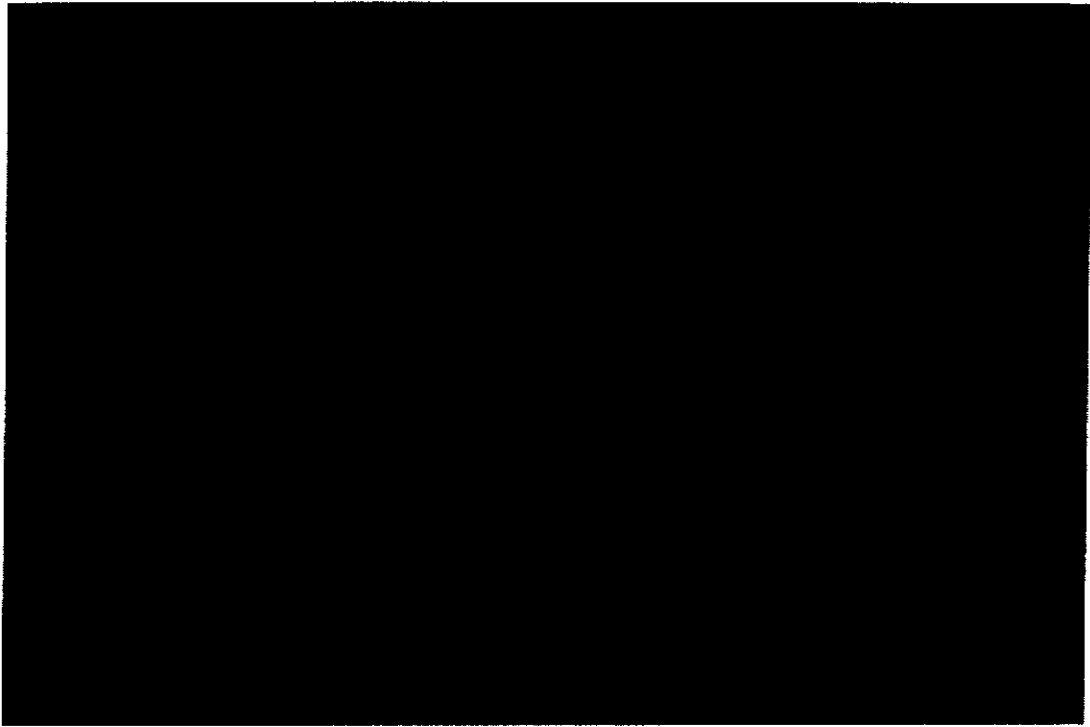


Photo 5. "Defend our Party-state", a slogan written on the wall in KCFV



Photo 6. Classical design on walls in KCFV



Photo 7. Narrow and small alleyway in KCFV

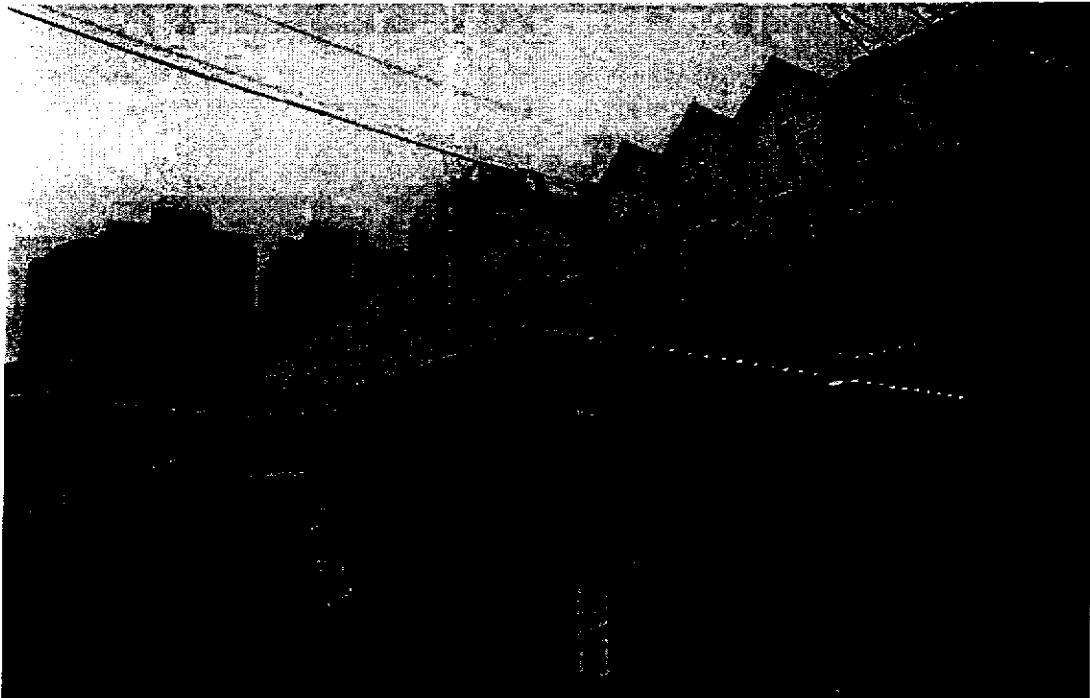


Photo 8. From declined KCFV seeing newly finished block of huge buildings

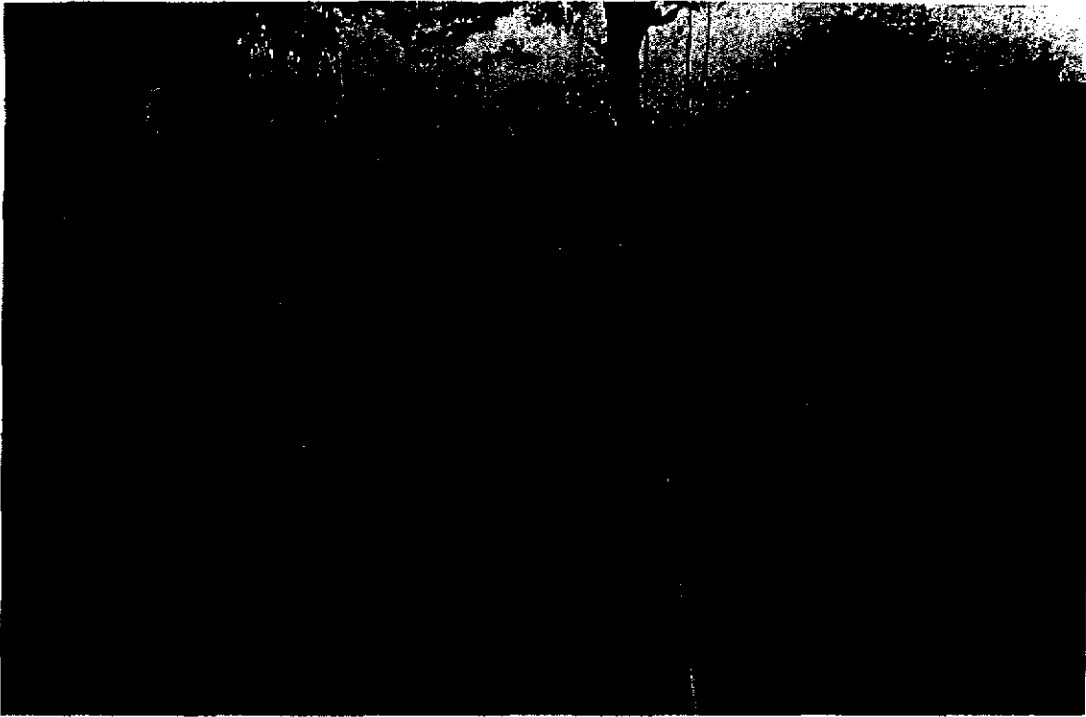


Photo 9. The author (second left) chatting with senior veterans in CCNV

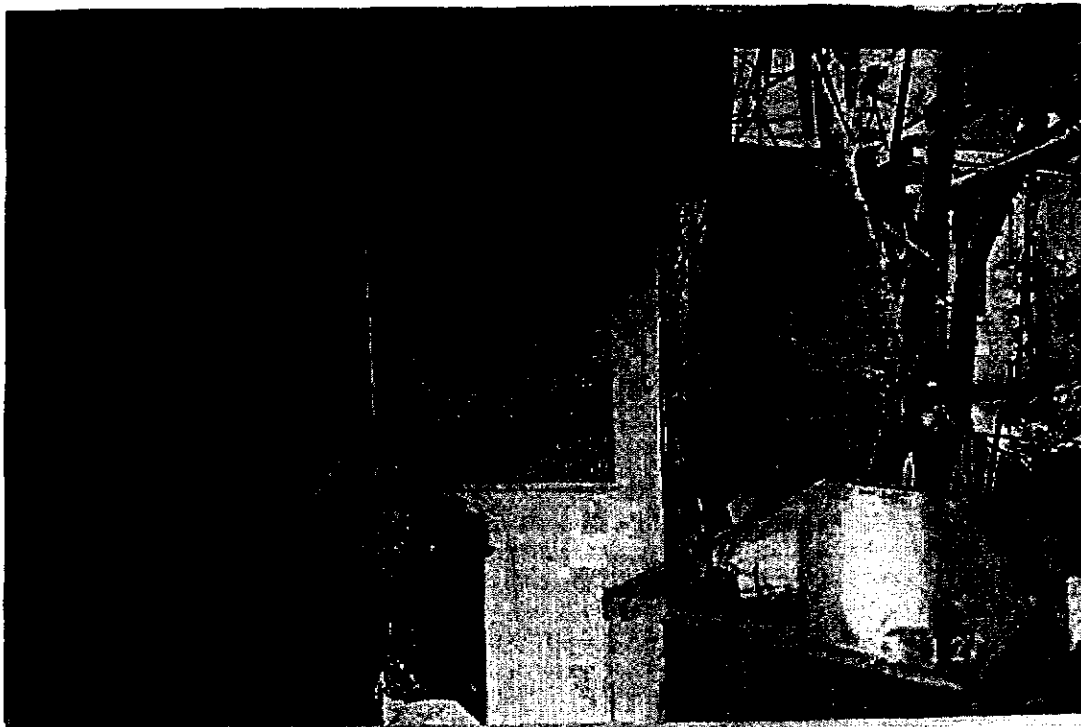


Photo 10. A vendor inside CCNV selling Papaya salad



Photo 11. "Little Bangkok" alongside a major alley in CCNV

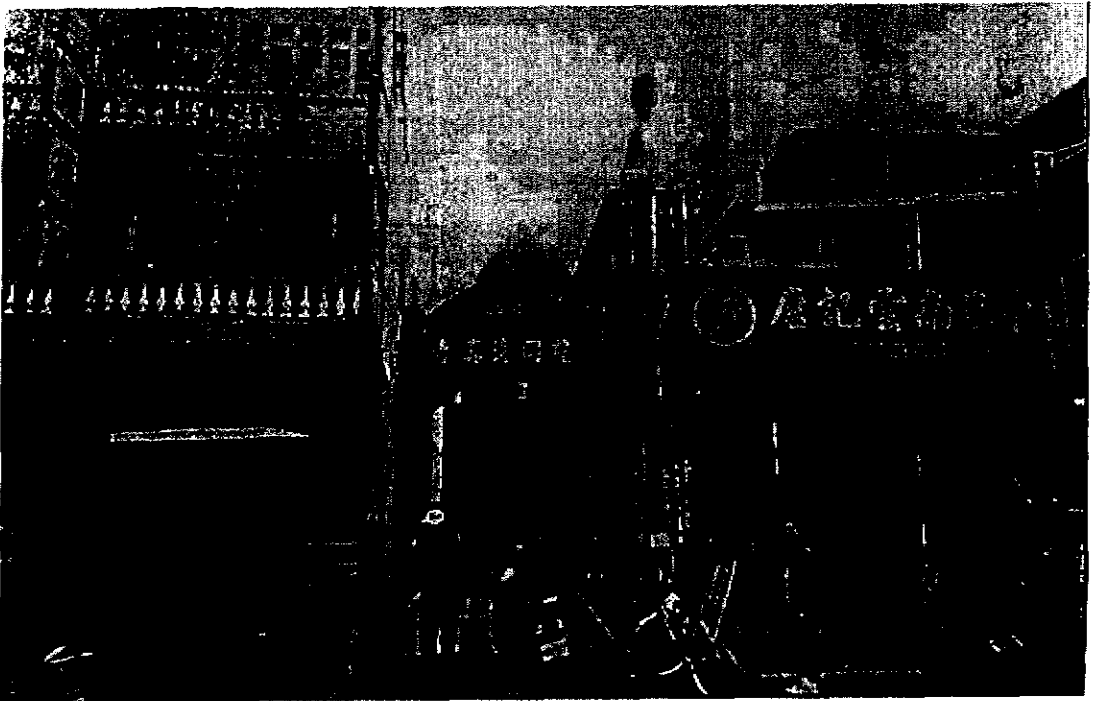


Photo 12. Islamic mosque in the middle, and a Yunnanese food store at the right nearby CCNV

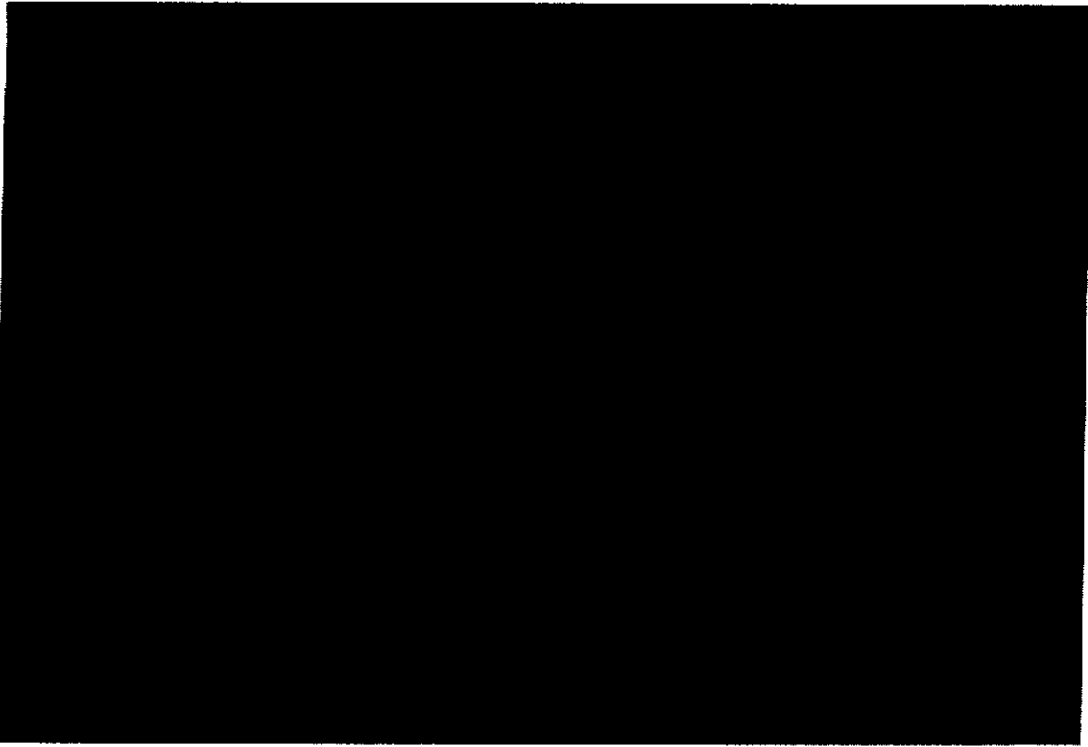


Photo 13. A faded statement on Yunnanese traditional “playing song” (ta-ke)



Photo 14. The Paiyi woman preparing food at her vendor in KCFV

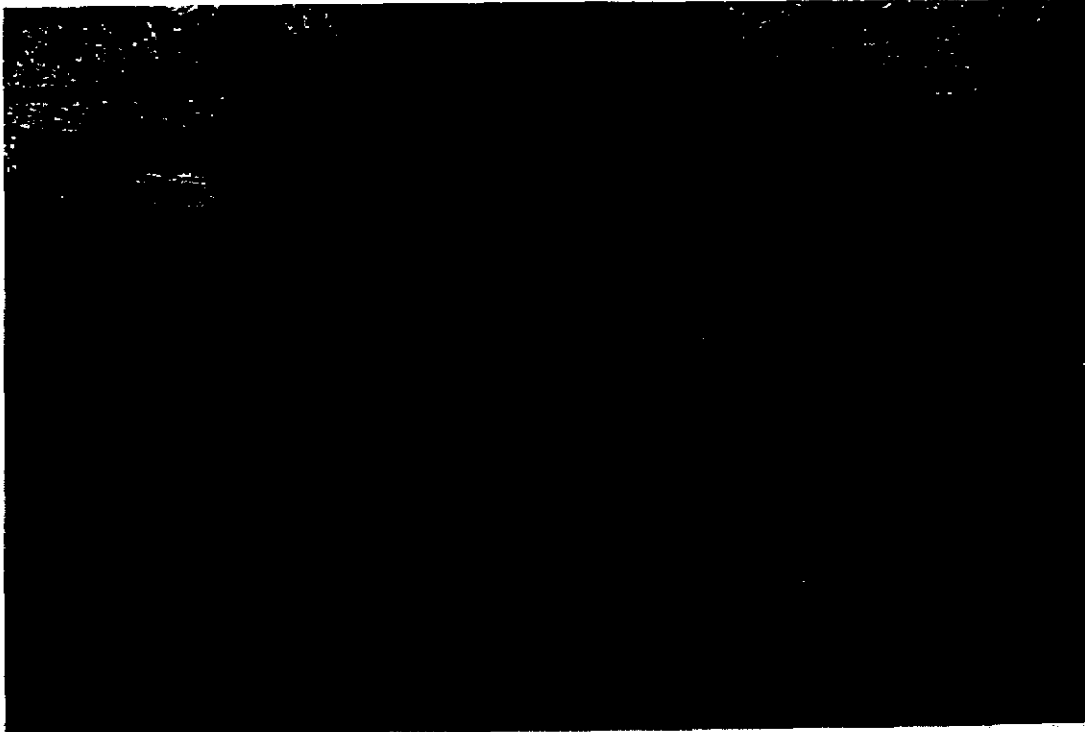


Photo 15. A park in KCFV called "kuo-lei" in memory of withdrawing plan of the troop under the name in 1961

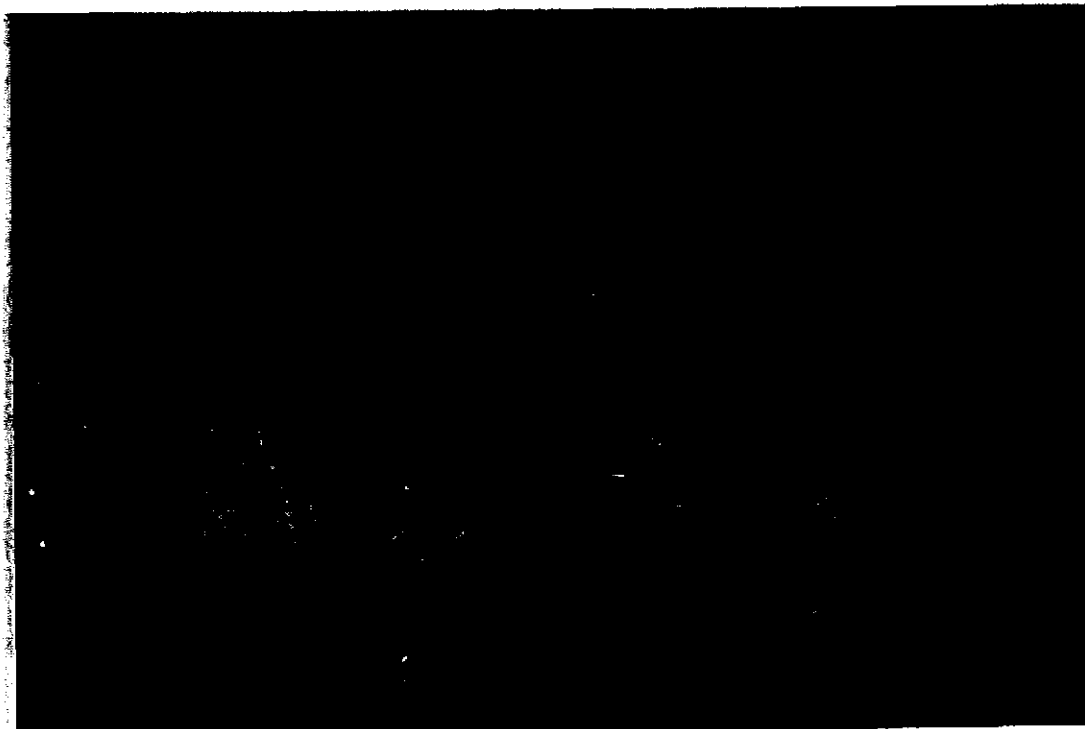


Photo 16. A Miao informant (right) narrating a story to the author and British anthropologist Nicholas Tapp in autumn, 2001 in KCFV

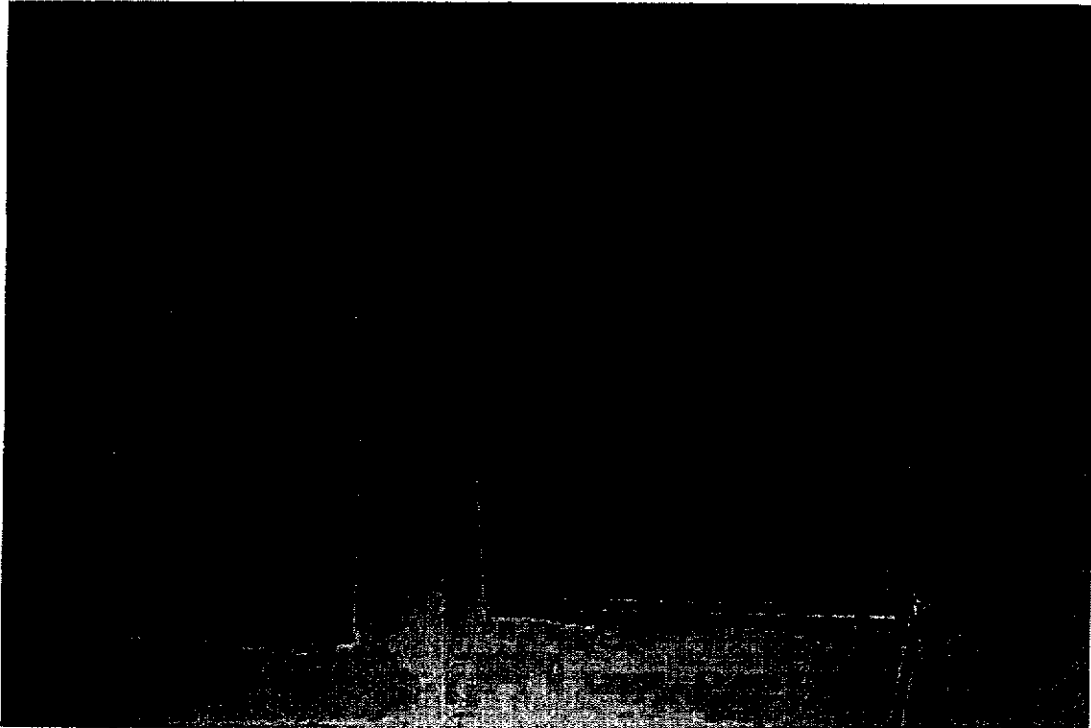


Photo 17. Theravada Buddha image and photo of a high-ranked abbot hung on the wall at residence in KCFV

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