**Case Study: The Flowing People’s Stories: A Study of the Migration due to the Construction of Shihmen Reservoir in Taoyuan County, Taiwan, China**

Chie-Peng Chen(1), Li-Yu Chen(2)

**Abstract**

The spatial development of Toayuan County reflects the migration processes that have occurred in the area. The opening of irrigation canals and the construction of the Shihmen Reservoir changed the regional landscape of different areas. The reservoir construction caused a high level of movement within the population, and those migrants who experienced migration first-hand provide insight into some of the effects of construction not often analyzed. The topic of this research, by discussing the flowing of people, is to explore the developmental influence and spatial transition caused by the construction of the reservoir through the temporal axis.

Related mobility studies include body mobility, basic transportation and communication device installations, spatial re-building of capitalization, displacement and migration, citizenship and cross-internationalism, tourism and travel related topics. The dialectical relation between nomadic and sedentary people appears to be the main knowledge output source during mobility discussions, and is used to emphasize the knowledge output process of displacement and migration in this study.

Trinh T. Minh-ha indicated that when people encounter the dilemma of displacement by narrating stories in a journey, people’s imagination is extended and situations are changed. This paper collects the personal stories and experiences of different immigrants relating to the construction of the Shihmen Reservoir. In addition, by comparing the people that moved out against their own will and the people that immigrated voluntarily, we explore their place and meaning in the society, history and culture in Taiwan.

**Keywords**: mobility, Shihmen Reservoir, migration,

*Method of this work: literary montage. I have nothing to say. Only to show. I will not draw upon anything precious or appropriate expressions full of spiritual values. On the contrary, rags and rubbish, but not in order to produce an inventory, rather in order to render them justice in the only way possible: by using them. Walter Benjamin*

1. **Preface**

Mobility paradigms can be divided into two dialectical relations, namely, nomadic and sedentary, which are the main knowledge output sources during mobility discussions. (Cresswell 2006) The newest periodical, “Mobilities”, specially discusses mobility related studies which include body mobility, transportation and communication infrastructures, re-building of capitalized spaces, displacement and migration, citizenship and cross-internationalism, tourism and traveling related topics, etc. (Blunt 2007:684) When studying mobility related topics in this study, we focus on the knowledge output process of displacement and migration, especially aiming at the displacement and migration in the areas of Taoyuan County, Taiwan.

In the discussion of European and American cultural criticism in recent years, issues regarding “displacement” have slowly come to the surface. Moreover, the discussion of immigrants, refugees, those who are in exile, nomadic people, destitute and homeless people is placed together with travelers, explorers, tourists, and *flaneurs*. To be more accurate, in the western capitalism period, those who are mobile is associated with both commerce and leisure
activities. Displacement is the contemporary mass migration movement, including the mass migration current caused by the imperialist expansion in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century to escape famine, racial extinction, imprisonment, which were continued through policies implemented in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. The traditional migration theory is based on the Push-Pull Theory. In history records, there are various types of displacement. Originally, displacement was mainly caused by the “push” factor, which refers to the environmental “push” of the original residents, based on the increased shortening of food supply, resources, and the overflow of population, etc., and after the common consensus of the community, they decided to carry out the whole displacement or the “Big Nation Displacement” method. The “pull” factor refers to the attraction of the displacement destination, such as better job opportunities. Nowadays, displacement is mostly based on the “pull” factor, as more people move to urban areas where the demand for physical labour is high. Therefore, displacement begins from rural areas to small cities and towns and eventually to big cities. (Cresswell 2006:2)

Displacement is induced by the “pull” factor. The main stream of modern displacement moves towards cities, but the urbanization style of developed countries is that of dispersed suburbs, forming displacement from cities to suburban districts. In history, economical factors and shelter were the main reasons for inducement displacement. For example, the displacement that occurred between Hong Kong and Mainland China during 1960 to 1980 (Jordan & Düvell 2002:21-23); immigrants from Brazil, Poland, Turkey towards England also belong in this category. (Jordan & Düvell 2002:87-92)

Forced displacement is caused by the power and authority of the country or social organizations, and is a product of the “push” factor; the most severe methods are exile and deportation. Today, forced displacement is occurring around the world, in particular, in developing countries that have unstable economic, socio-political, and environmental situations. When forced displacement occurs, the so-called “culture of terror” can also occur. Historical research has shown that when forced displacement occurs, agricultural people or citizens who are affected often end up as refugees, people searching for shelter, or city roamers (Urry 2007:36). For example, in the 1930s, on the border of Zambia and Zimbabwe, due to the construction of the Kariba Dam, a total number of 57,000 residents were forced to migrate. (Johnston 2000:8) In Namibia, A. Corbett (2000) pointed out that the Epupa Dam built in the 1980s also affected the Himbas immensely. The Himbas carefully calculated that they lost resources, land ownership, and socio-economy structure, which are the foundation for eternal subsistence in the particular area. (Corbett 2000:13)

According to the statistics of the World Bank, it is estimated that there are approximately ten million immigrants every year that are forced to migrate due to large construction projects, among which reservoir constructions are the majority. Furthermore, according to the global census in 1994, among the 192 involuntary migration cases, there is not one case that involves immigrants whose original living standards have been improved due to displacement. Also, according to the book “Silenced Rivers” written by P. McCully (1996), from 1959 to 1989, there have been approximately thirty million people who have been forced to migrate due to the construction of reservoirs. This study aims to determine the extent of the displacement problem in Taiwan, a problem that has been overlooked on all sides. Among the examples we examine is the impact of the Shihmen Reservoir built during 1956 to 1964 which caused the most immigrants (i.e. three thousand people), and the many problems it left. Therefore, this study uses the Shihmen Reservoir migration problems as the main focus of this research.

2. The History of Taiwan’s Migration Process
2.1. The Qing Dynasty

The relationship between the reclamation of space and the development of ethnic
groups is extremely close. In addition, the development of the Fujianese and Hakka groups serves as being representative of the Taoyuan district. During the immigration process, the push of immigrants led to an uneven rate of people and available places in Southern Fujianese and Guangdong Provinces. The pull factor was due to the superior natural environment, but during the Guangxu Emperor rule (1662-1722) and the Yongzheng Emperor rule period (1723-1735), the Taoyuan district was not ideal for immigrants to cultivate and develop. Also, due to the lack of natural environment, this particular area could only be cultivated and developed until the thirtieth year of Qianlong Emperor’s rule (1766), as it was forbidden during the Qing Dynasty Maritime Prohibition. From the view of the development space, the Nankan and Zhuwei areas by the northern coastal area, and the inlands of the Taoyuan area were developed first, it was only later that the central, southern, western parts (Yangmei and Zhongli area) were developed and cultivated in the last years of Qianlong Emperor times.

The “Taoyuan Traditional Village Investigation Project”, Huang Zheng-Ling (2007) describes the Han going into the Taoyuan plateau, which can be divided into three consecutive stages of development. The first stage is the development of western coastal areas, this is due to the fact that the Han first reached land passing through coastal roads to river mouth harbors, or through the old canal(coastal lines) to Xinzhu, then up north Taoyuan or after going south from Bali, opening and developing river valleys or canal lines. These western coastal areas were the first areas the Han developed into towns and villages. In the second stage the southeast inland near-mountain areas were developed. These areas were attractive to establish villages due to the access to the canal mountain lines and transportation routes made possible by the Dakekan River. The third stage involves the re-development of the southwest area and inner-plateaus, since the Han continuously entered Taoyuan plateau. Also, the population that settled down on the western part of the plateau and southeast inland near-mountain areas had already started to saturate the area resulting in movement towards the southwest to develop instead, or re-develop unoccupied places in inner-plateaus. After these three stages, the Han completed their development and cultivation in Taoyuan plateau, forming a Han-centered society.

2.2 Japanese Colonial Period

The governance method the Japanese adopted to rule Taiwan was very much like the governance method France used to rule Algeria (Wang 1993:114), and by doing so, the colony became completely assimilated with the colonial motherland. During the Kodama Gentaro1-Goto Shimpei period, the foundation of the colonial political affairs was established, and also, the development direction of agricultural Taiwan and industrial Japan was decided. Furthermore, the agricultural industry began migrating to Taiwan, thus, Taiwan’s agriculture migration policy was decided. The “Enterprise Report of Civic Immigrants” published by the Office of the Taiwan Governor-General in 1919 pointed out the essentiality of Japan’s agriculturist implantation, which is divided into the following points: (1) The reason for governance (2) Country-assimilation (3) To expand into tropical nations (4) The adjustment of the population process in Japan (Yanaihara 2001:154) Regarding the amount of Japanese immigrant villages in the Japanese rule period, the most important ones located in Western Taiwan are as follows: (Lin 1995:58-59) located in Zhanghua County are the Akitsu Immigrant Village (built in 1932, 181 Jia in area, has 156 households, 780 people, and is now known as Fangyuan Township today), Fengli Immigrant Village (built in 1936, 494 Jia in area, has 149 households, 745 people, and is now known as Beidou Township), Kajima Immigrant Village (built in 1937, 531 Jia in area, has 128 households, 640 people, and is now known as Tianwei Township). In the eastern area within the Hualien area, there is the Yoshino immigrant village (built in 1910, 1270 Jia in size, has 242 households, 1210 people, and is now known as Jian Township), the Fongtian Immigrant Village (built in 1913,
has 172 households, 860 people, and is now known as Shoufong Township), Lintian Immigrant Village (built in 1914, 766 Jia in size, has 171 households, 855 people, and is now known as Fenglin Township). According to Yanaihara Tadao, these immigrant villages take up 17% of the Japanese population and 30% of the Taiwan population in Eastern Taiwan. Compared to Western Taiwan, these statistics show that Eastern Taiwan was occupied by the Japanese, not the Taiwanese, thus, inevitably, Hualien Street was simply a Japanese city street. In fact, it is conspicuous that Eastern Taiwan is Japanized with Japanese immigrant residences built, which totally differs from the impressions of travelling in Western Taiwan. In addition, this mission, the development location of immigrants, is “not only carried out for the satisfaction of being a motherland’s colony, but also for a midway or a southbound expansion base.” (Yanaihara, 2001:155)

During the Japanese Colonial Period, besides the fact that the Japanese voluntarily immigrated to Taiwan, the Indigenous Collective Migration Policy implemented during the Japanese colonial period was in fact immigration by force. Take the Bununs for example, the reason for their displacement firsthand was due to the increasing lack of food supply and resources, and population overflow, etc. (Tanapima Lumaf 2008) A great majority of modern displacement is forced displacement that resulted from the power of the state, such as the Indigenous Collective Migration Policy, with which the Japanese forced the Bununs, who were living among the mountains, to migrate to hills near the level ground. The Japanese took over the area to make use of the available forest resources, mineral resources and water that were once part of the livelihoods of the Bunans now displaced (Lin 1998). The main reason for modern immigration to big cities, such as for urban aborigines, is for more and better job opportunities. (Lo 1998)

2.3 Nationalist Government Period

The largest mass forced migration during the Nationalist Government Period is the exile movement after the Chinese Civil War between the Nationalists and the Communists in 1949, when two million civic and military men/women fled to the island of Taiwan for temporary residence. At that time, by calming down the nerves of the military, their remaining strength was preserved. Furthermore, in the overall planning of the Women’s League hosted by the First Lady at that time, Soong May-ling, the military residential community construction project was unsealed. According to background material, the establishment of residential communities for retired military men can be divided into two stages: the first stage began in 1956 and lasted until 1967. During these ten years, ten single-storied communities for the families of military men were built; a total number of 38,100 buildings were distributed over 11 counties and cities in the whole of Taiwan. However, due to expense limitations, the average area of a room was rather small, the quality of materials below average, and the facilities were rough and primitive. The migration stories of these communities are important cultural events in Taiwan’s modern history. There is much related information, yet it is irrelevant to this paper, thus it will not be further discussed. Another point to mention is, due to public construction needs, the government must search for other lands in order to help residents that have been deprived of their residences to settle down. The stories of these immigrants have existed till today, but they are unable to be recorded one by one, therefore, this study is directed at only the Taoyuan district and stories that have greater meanings. In addition, besides the migration story of the Shihmen Reservoir built during 1956 to 1964, Taoyuan related migration stories include immigrants who were forced to move out, and also those who moved in on their own will.

3. The Migration Story of the Shihmen Reservoir
Built during 1956 to 1964, migration in the Shihmen Reservoir left many problems; therefore, this research focuses on this issue for further discussion in this paper. The entire process of Shihmen Reservoir immigrants that originally lived in Ahmuping Plateau migrating to Taoyuan Datan is further discussed in this paper, referring to the different and various impact that occurred in different stages. The establishment of the Shihmen Reservoir caused the structure of the Shiyifen area to shift from residences and businesses to a tourism industry structure that revolves around commerce today. Also, residents that used to consist mainly of the Hakka group have now turned into a village that consists of a mixed group of people including Fujianese, Hakka, and those who migrated from Mainland China.

Immigrants from the submerged area of the Shihmen Reservoir being forced to move out is one of the stories regarding the establishment of the reservoir. In fact, the story includes the original Shiyifen district (mainly consisted of the Hakka) and the life experiences of the residents that moved in, which can be summarized into four types: (1) The residents that moved out: Aborigines and Han from the submerged area (2) The original Hakka group of the Shiyifen areas (3) The residents that moved in: the staff from the Shihmen Reservoir Construction Committee (Bureau of Shihmen Reservoir Administration) and staff from the Chung-Shan Institute of Science and Technology (4) Residents that moved in temporarily: as dam labourers, and construction related employees and American consultants.

3.1 Residents That Moved Out: The First Displacement of Moving-Out Immigrants of the Shihmen Reservoir

3.1.1 Official Statement

Fifty years ago, the area along the upstream of Dahan River was once a scattered river terrace that rippled according to the lay of the land with the village and terraced field scenery above. After the government’s construction of dams and the mass development of the Shihmen Gorge area, the Shihmen Reservoir has become the largest reservoir of Far Eastern Asia. The Shihmen Reservoir submerged area include Sanceng, Siang Plain, Bajie and Ahmuping Plain that belongs to Taoyuan County Daxi Township, and Zhutoujiao, Lahao, Shueiliudong, Singan Plain, Jiaobansan that belongs to Fuxin Village. Cultivated lands and residences that have the area below 1024 hectares became submerged areas (Xu 1963:46). For more description, the area from the Shihmen Reservoir site along Dakekan River (Dahan River) to Lahao with the length of about 16.5 kilometers, land with 250 meters above sea level, and 142.5 meters below in both shores of the back of the dam are all part of Shihmen Reservoir submerged area, among which there are 128 Aborigine households, 288 Han households, and a total of 2870 people. (Shihmen Reservoir Construction Committee 1966:607)

After the discussion between the Shihmen Reservoir Construction Committee and the Taoyuan County government, the immigrants were divided into five groups: the first group consisted of 29 households and were settled in Caota; the second group consisted of 48 households and were settled in Shulinzih; the third group consisted of 40 households and were settled in Tatan; the fourth group consisted of 79 households and were settled in the area from Zhengutou to Jiadongkeng, where the above four groups are all Han immigrants. The last group was all Aborigines, with a total of 82 households that were settled in Zhongzhuang, Daxi Township. However, later due to the Gloria Typhoon that invaded and attacked Northern Taiwan in September, 1963, the original residences of immigrants were severely damaged and destroyed; therefore they migrated to Datan instead. (Xu 1963:46) The Qara Tayals and the Han whose residences were submerged migrated to the Datan cultivated area to start new lives. During the entire process of migration, official records show that the selection and choosing of immigrant villages was the government’s masterpiece from their hard efforts, which began from 1956, and staff was sent to different places of Northern
Taiwan to search for suitable immigrant villages. Nevertheless, due to steep slopes or inconvenient traffic, residents from the submerged area were reluctant to go. In March, 1957, staff was sent along the two shores of the Dahan River to search from Shihmen to Daxi, Sanshia, Banciao, Shulin, and Danshui, etc, yet no ideal locations were found. Afterwards, they proceeded to the coastal shores along Western Taiwan and headed north to search, and eventually, in Caota, Shulinzih, Tatan, Jiadongkeng, Xuchukang, of the Guanyin Township, Taoyuan County they found a secure forest area which had an area measure of hundreds of hectares and stretched out for a few kilometers. At the same time, the government implemented land improvement, road reconstruction, water conservancy construction, the rebuilding of an immigrant model village, the equipping of public facilities, and the distribution of cultivation farmlands (each household with the framework of eight divisions) (Shihmen Reservoir Construction Committee 1966:609-616) From the position of the government, most immigrants had positive attitudes of gratitude towards the new policies of the government. The chief executive officer of the Shihmen Reservoir Construction Committee at that time, Xu Nai, described:

> New immigrant villages have been built in all the transplanted areas, and houses were built with red bricks, making the appearance beautiful and solid. ...the public facilities in new villages such as schools, local police stations, village offices, health stations, water and electricity, roads, bridges were all completed. This, however, cannot be discussed together with their originally primitive and humble village. Therefore, after all the immigrants were safely arranged and settled down, they were excited and full of undying gratitude. (Xu 1963:46)

In fact, in the view of the government of that time, the construction of the Shihmen Reservoir represents the many positive statistics, which is the key important reconstruction for the development of the nation, thus, the construction of the reservoir is duty-bound. In comparison to the results of construction project developments, the negative problems of space, people, land and culture within the area seems rather trivial. The public opinion at that time can be shown in the comments below: “Besides the high expenses and techniques, the accomplishment of a large construction project also needs the cooperation of local people. Also, local people need to embrace the spirit of sacrificing oneself to accomplish something bigger. Therefore, by just 416 local households and about three thousand and something immigrants, millions of residents are benefited.”

### 3.2 The Real Situation

Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of immigrants themselves, the information mentioned above is not as it seems. First of all, the distribution of immigrant village land was considerably unfair. To draw the decision of where to locate immigrants might be a fair in the government’s point of view, but for the immigrants, it was unacceptable. Yet, the immigrants had no choice but to go along with the government’s policy, thus, they lost autonomy and the right to choose on their own. (Fan 1999)

From the field interview, it shows the hardship and despair the people went through is still deeply memorable and is an experience that they will never forget. Originally, the immigrants hoped for a new hometown that would be able to provide them a safe and comfortable home and shelter, but during the first stage of migration, the local natural environment and living adaptations left difficult psychological factors for them. Thus, in order to rearrange their homes into a comfortable place to live in, they had to spend a very long time and go down a difficult and tough road. For example, changing wastelands into a fertile farmland took nearly ten years.

The conditions of the natural and actual environment of the Datan new immigrant
village in the beginning were poor and all the facilities were primitive, humble and not in shape to be used. Also, the farmlands did not have enough crop input, so some immigrants went from Ahmuping to Datan, hoping to continue farming the fertile river terrace before their Ahmuping Plain homeland was completely submerged by the Shihmen Reservoir, thus, making up for the difficult life in the early days (Fan 1999). This is shown in the words of a resident named Liu Chuan-Xing at that time:

“In 1960, I built houses by the sea, and I invited neighbors to join me. I came here to build houses in November, and I always rode my bicycle to the area by the sea. It takes me a long time to get from Ahmuping to the sea, about four to five hours, then I would stay in there for a night and leave the next morning.”

It was a pity that, due to the strong attack of the Gloria typhoon in 9 September, 1963, there was a downpour of rain for two days consecutively, and not only did the rain fill up a reservoir, it also caused a flood discharge. Typhoon Gloria was detrimental to their original plan, and according to the memory of Liu Bao-Luan, who was a resident at that time:

“The government once said that the Shihmen Reservoir is fairly large and it would take about up to three typhoon attacks for the water level to rise to the top and fill up the reservoir. No one thought that Typhoon Gloria would overflow the water in the reservoir! Also, to my surprise, at that time I was still tilling the land when the water ran along the field and filled up the steps one by one, the rapid speed of water running in nearly made it hard for me to escape. It wasn’t long before all the fields were soaked in water. Before I knew it, all the houses in the village were soaking under the water.”

From then on, Ahmuping was permanently changed and the group of people from Ahmuping ended up as homeless orphans who started an endless journey of body displacement and soul drifting. For the Ahmuping residents and who had to leave their hometown that had been there for generations against their own will is utter grief and sorrow. Nevertheless, because of the pressures in life, they had no time to worry about other problems, the only thing for them to do was to positively overcome the problem and to adapt.

3.3 The new hometown of Datan

The villagers that used to live in Ahmuping have long ago already built up a friendship from their mutual life experiences and spatial memories. Especially under the topography restrictions due to the inconvenient water canaling and irrigation on river terraces, the supported network, providing a continuous and stable water source, was built together by the villagers after searching, dividing, digging canals and setting up tubes together. Due to the time of water supply and distribution of canals, disputes or disagreements might have occurred during the process of chanaling and irrigating water, yet they benefit from the disagreements and problems were solved. Moreover, the mutual understanding between residents was re-built from helping each other out voluntarily. Circumstances had brought them closely together in a tight bond, and this bond will not break or change from moving to Datan. (Chen & Fan 2002)

During the migration process, the Shihmen Reservoir immigrants brought their religion, the Earth God, to their new homes. Furthermore, after they settled down, they built an Earth God temple in the new village. The Earth God temple in Datan Village, relocated by the villagers to its present place, was formerly a stone shrine. It was then named “Zhen-Ping Temple”; “Zhen” and “Ping” were adapted from the places “Daxi Zhen” (Zhen meaning “Township”) and “Ahmuping” (Ping meaning “Plain”), and this moving and naming process has a deep, significant and memorable meaning in the history of migration. (Cheng 1999:92-95) The Earth God Temple in Zhen Ping Temple is the main religious center of the new immigrant village of Datan.

“Bidding family name”, a total of ten years a round, refers to the local religious custom
of the Daxi Township, Sanmin and Ahmuping. People agreed on which family is in charge of hosting the Pig Slaughtering Ceremony, which is held annually every year on February the 25th in the lunar calendar at the Fuxing Temple where “Developer of Zhangzhou” was worshipped. Every year, the Pig Slaughtering Ceremony is the grandest local folk custom ceremony. Although the residents from Ahmuping migrated to Caota, Shulinzhi, Tatan, Jiadongkeng, and Xuchukang, the “Bidding Family Name” activity still exists. (Fan 1999) Even though the members that participated in the activity were forced to move to five villages by the coastland of Guanyin Village, Taoyuan County, they still believed in the Zhangzhou native god instead of the religions from their migration place; this significant religious behavior has continued and still exists in villages today.

In early Datan, life by the sea was not easy; it was simply not a place suitable to live in. Although Datan was located at the seaside, there was an immense lack of living resources. Throughout the year in Datan, there are strong sandstorms, sterile lands, and a surfeit of salt. Also, the location of Datan is remote; not only were there no other jobs opportunities whatsoever, crops were not able to grow. Nevertheless, after ten years and striving to open new fields and improve the environment, whether they are Fujianese, Hakka, or Aborigines, people that lived on the same land all worked together in unity to rebuild their homes, eventually transforming this sterile land that stretched out to several kilometers long into a green field, a brand-new home. Furthermore, residents gradually developed a set of organized collective systematic patterns that effectively transformed a wasteland into a fertile farmland. When life started to improve, they began to actively enhance their homes. The fields and farmlands of each home no longer looked barren; instead it was paved with loess and asphalt, and flowers, plants and trees were planted around the fields. In other words, these Shihmen Reservoir immigrants built a living environment they could belong to on this uneven badland; they rebuilt Datan into a beautiful new homeland, a homeland that future generations could trace roots and find home in. (Chen & Fan 2002)

4. The Second Displacement of Shihmen Reservoir Immigrants Moving Out

4.1 The Coin Chemical Industrial Co. Cadmium-Pollution Incident

In 1974, the Coin Chemical Industrial Co. set up factories in Datan. In the 1960s, many factories used the military flag’s reputation for industry development to go deep into what was originally the base of operations of agriculture production. These factories did indeed provide the rural society some job opportunities, but they also produced lots of industrial pollution, seriously effecting the living environment in that area. It was hard to imagine that when Datan village, whose residents had worked so hard to transform their dire living conditions into a comfortable and happy pastoral life, were again to face displacement and migration due to cadmium pollution.

In fact, in a remote rural village like Datan, if there were factories willing to set up in Datan, young people from new generations who did not want to devote themselves to the farming industry were able to find jobs nearby, therefore, they no longer needed to work in places far away from their home villages; the attitude of the majority was thus positive. Due to the education level of the majority of the population in rural villages, it was virtually impossible for them to have the foresight regarding factory safety standards and the damage that may occur from environmental pollution caused by the output of factory production. Everyone just presumed factories would be able to bring prosperity and job opportunities to the place. On the other hand, in the political environment of Taiwan before the martial law was lifted, factories only needed to acquire the establishment permission of the government. Due to the collusion between government officials and businessmen, minorities had very little chance at having their voice heard regarding the dangers factories posed to the environment and the livelihoods of nearby residents.
The cadmium-pollution incident in Datan village refers to the industrial waste water, which contains heavy metal poisonous substances such as cadmium and lead, that was discharged from the Coin Chemical Industrial Co. site in 1974. The waste water was not properly processed and was discharged directly into section 11, rows number 2 and 3 of the Taoyuan irrigation canal. Moreover, for a long time, the pollutants in the waste water accumulated at the bottom of the irrigation canals and in the water, and this was the beginning and origin of the Datan village cadmium-pollution incident. (Fan 1999; Chen & Fan 2002)

4.2 The Second Displacement

From the end of 1982, the Datan village started to become a fallow land, proclaiming the order to residents to prohibit them from selling the polluted crops, breaking off the most fixed financial resources of the villagers. Although, ever since 1984, the government awarded compensation at the rate of NT$18,000 per hectare to compensate for the loss of the farmers, the work is exhausting and the salary is low, thus, the lives of local residents fall into a unprecedented predicament. The residents, not being able to plow their lands or drink the water, began to consider migrating once again.

In 1989, the government had already made a resolution to change the Datan district into a Restricted Industrial District. As soon as the government finished land collecting and compensation, residents were required to leave in a limited amount of time. Therefore, Datan faced another catastrophe, residents looking hopelessly at the new hometown they worked hard together to build turn into nothing but a useless wasteland. After the negotiation of both sides, the price of lands cost 8.4 million dollars a hectare. However, since the purchases of real estate was separately collected, (Chen & Fan 2002) many lands have already been purchased or collected by the government, thus, residents had no choice but to choose to use money in exchange for the home they worked hard for their whole lives. Under the execution of the fixed policy, the only pathway residents could go was to leave Datan and immigrate once again. In 1974, the Coin Chemical Industrial Co. set up factories in Datan; in 1978, cadmium pollution was confirmed in 1982, lands were left fallow; from 1990 to 1991, Datan was established as a Restricted Industrial District. From the beginning to the end, all the events mentioned above lasted for up to 17 years long. This long period was also the fall of the once prosperous new immigrant village. After residents received their compensation, they searched for new destinations, and slowly the village became an empty and unoccupied place with only a small number of those who refused to leave or those homeless with nowhere left to go in Datan. However, due to Datan’s vast and spacious village, remote location and cheap rent, it became the most ideal place for building recycle factories, stone factories, automobile disassembling factories and even garbage factories. Instead of the tranquil and peaceful pastoral scenery the place once had, it has now become a shocking sight, as a report at that time covered: “In recent years, Guanyin Village in Taoyuan County has had unworthy people who stole sandstones and backfilled garbage, causing the condition of waste soil to go downhill. Also, not only did this result in the damage of environment quality, ...local public could not bear the low living quality.”; “In Datan village and Baozhang village, there is about ten areas that, due to an overflow of digging gravel sand, garbage backfill, and medical treatment waste, has formed into a deep grand canyon hole...”

At that time, the residents once requested a land-for-land collective immigration. However, it was a pity that, in the end, the government decided to adopt the purchase and compensate method, making it impossible for villagers to reunite in the same place. Therefore, they had no choice but to each search for their own roads and pathways by themselves, breaking their deep friendships. Unfortunately, the solid community consciousness that had been accumulated for a long time was not able to be passed down to the next generation.
4.3. Returning home

Residents could decide whether they wanted to move to the northern or southern part of Taiwan. In particular, the couple, Liu Jin-Xiong and Xiu Ju-Zhen decided to go back to their hometown, Ahmuping, the place that held all their childhood memories. Ever since they left Ahmuping and went through the different life experiences of different places such as Datan, Taipei, and Dayuan, Liu Jin Xiong and Xiu Ju-Zhen could not stop thinking about their desire to go home.

Nevertheless, they also came across difficulties because of the Shihmen Reservoir construction project. Their wonderful Ahmuping hometown from former times had already become a lonely island on the water, thus, if people wished to leave or go there, they could only rely on sampans or bamboo rafts. Large construction machines and tools were needed to build new homes, but these tools were too large and heavy for the small transportations to carry across water, so their dreams of returning home were shattered. Fortunately for them, due to the drought in northern Taiwan in 1994, the water level of Shihmen Reservoir dropped to its lowest level, therefore, boats were able to pass on land in the reservoir. Also, automobiles and motorbikes were driven all over the reservoir. As a result, this unique and rare chance immediately solved the dilemma of the Lius, large machines and tools were brought to Ahmuping, and Liu Jin-Xiong, who was a born carpenter, was finally able to personally build a new home. There were many ordeals, obstacles, difficulties and blame that occurred from the first time the idea of going home came up to the process of forming, deciding, and accomplishing the actual idea. The many struggles during those experiences demonstrated people’s strong sentiment and attachment to that particular land. During the Lius’ interview, the interviewer tried to understand their reason for returning home, and the only answer the interviewer got was “I missed home”, this simple answer expressed the strong desire from deep within their hearts.

5. The Migration Story of the Qara Tayal
5.1 The Sorrows of Qara Tayal

Qara, as the Tayals called it, was the name for Shixiuping Plain during the Japanese Colonial Period. The Tayals called it “qara” because there is a big stone (“stone” in Chinese is “shih”) in their tribal unit that the local tribal society called “tunux qara”, “tunux” meaning a beautiful geographical scene formed by mountains, rivers and stones. Also, because of the wide terrace for cultivating paddy fields, and all the descriptions mentioned above, the area was named “Shixiuping Plain” (the “xiu” taken from the Chinese adjective “xiuli”, literally, beautiful), which, translated directly into English, means “Stone Beautiful Plain”. The “Tribal Community Experiences and Culture Transitions—the Migration History of the Tayals in the Shihmen Reservoir Submerged Area” (Lee 2007) written by Lee Huei-Huei (Tayal name: Aho Batu) studies the Tayal aborigines that lived in the msbtunux submerged area (former Dakekan mountains) and were forced to migrate because of the Shihmen Reservoir. From introducing the Tayal msbtunux community to the whole process of being submerged and migration, three stages according to three time periods are discussed: Zhongzhuang (1963~1964), Datan (1964~1987), Migration (1987~now). Besides the migration stories, the book focuses on economical transitions and the description of being forced to move, in the end, emphasizing the practice of gaga and describing in detail the difficulties they faced in the migration. Moreover, the “The Qara People: Losing Their Tribes for Thirty Four Years” published by Yang Suo (1994) further described the Qara Tayal people’s difficult lives in Datan. From 1957 to July, 1963, one after another, the Qara Tayal aborigines that were scattered in the Shihmen Reservoir submerged area migrated to the new immigrant village in Datan. Although, during the village migration gathering meeting held by the government in
1957, officials vowed solemnly, promising: “You will all have good houses to live in, and your children will have schools to go to. The government will make up for the consequences and pay you back ten times more in return.” The truth was that the lands given were only sand beaches with hot sand that was almost impossible to walk on and transportation problems posed great difficulty.

It was necessary for the men and women of Tayal to take many part-time jobs which still resulted in inadequate livelihood standards. Often the elderly in the tribe lying on their deathbeds could not help complaining: “This is not a place for humans to live in! Why does the government pretend nothing is wrong and allows us to move to this awful place?” Itan Yungan, another person who lived in the Tayal immigrant village located in Datan and who is a graduate from the National Taiwan University, said bitterly: “The Shihmen Reservoir brought up the residents of Taoyuan and the Metro-Taipei region, which, in exchange, was the unfortunate result of the diaspora of the Tayal tribal people. The yachts and cruise ships of the reservoir spared no time in taking all the benefits from profit-seeking businesses, while my tribal peers fought with the sea wind all day long and lived together with cadmium poison! Others who attend university rely on rental payments to complete their education, but me, my two sisters supported me by becoming prostitutes so that I could graduate from NTU.”

5.2 The Migration Process

In the migration movements, the migration process of Qara Tayal people was the most difficult and arduous of all. In the first migration, the government originally arranged for them to be moved to the reclaimed land located in Zhung-Xing neighborhood, Daxi Township but when the houses were partially built, a typhoon destroyed them. Therefore, Qara people asked the Shihmen Reservoir authorities to build houses on a safer place. After that, reservoir authorities re-coordinated the location to Zhongzhuang, Daxi Township, and each household would be distributed over about one hectare of the reclaimed land according to the number of people in the household. At the same time, each household was given a NT$12,000 mortgage to pay the loan to the bank. The houses in Zhongzhuang were built by the help of engineering companies in the same style as public houses of today, even the road and lane systems were also planned. At that time, churches of the religion that Qara tribal people believe in were built there. On September 13th, two days after the typhoon Gloria hit Taiwan, the reservoir suddenly released floodwater, making the water level rise higher and higher. Also, the houses, rows, crops, and livestock closest to the river were flushed away by the river water. This was the first flood discharge since the completion of the Shihmen Reservoir construction project. According to the reservoir management statistics, the amount of floodwater released was about 500,007,400 cubic meters. As a result, all the tribal people of Qara hid in a nearby elementary school for about a month or so before they started to rebuild their homes. All the households were left empty-handed. After the disaster, government departments assisted the Qara people to migrate as a community, and this time they had arranged to be moved to Datan Village, Guanyin Township.

This immigrant village was built using the area along the coast of preserved lands and state land, by the government, and the government distributed residences among the households for them to purchase, also giving them a ten thousand dollar grant for building houses. Moreover, eight lots were re-distributed, and new houses were built on sand lands by the sea with no roads whatsoever, only heaps of piled up sand and soil. A Canadian preacher, Wadan Malin, who lived together with the Qara community, bought forty carts of red soil and handed them out to every household for them to pave the road with. Among the eight pieces of land that were given to each household, there were two that were the backward flowing areas, and the other six were sandy reclaimed lands. Yet, the cultivated lands were not
connected to each other, instead, they were all separately scattered between beefwood and wild pineapple trees, which made it difficult for the tribal people to plow and sow on the lands. Furthermore, it was almost impossible to grow crops on sand lands, plus, due to the strong sea wind, even sweet potatoes were not able to grow there. Thus, there was no choice for the Qara tribal community but to find jobs in the factories of the Han. During this period the Qara people lived their lives in hunger and fear. Since they lived by the sea, every time the typhoon season came and the water level rose, they had to evacuate in advance and be prepared for evacuation at all times. Wang Ching-Guei from the Qara tribe reminisced:

“In order to build the reservoir, the government randomly chose a place to relocate us, just to fulfill their responsibility of migration. On the surface, it seemed as though we had houses to live in, fields to plow on, but the truth was the places they located us in were either reclaimed lands or new lands reclaimed by inwelling. We lived in torture, and no government officials came to check and see if we were fine or not, let alone try to help us improve our living situation. They were clearly there to dupe and deceive us!” (Lee 2007:82)

Suspicions of discrimination arose amongst the aborigines regarding their treatment and the government’s choice in Datan as their new home. The majority of the Tayals feel the same about how the government dealt with the whole migration situation, which included the distributing and giving of lands, the area in which they are relocated, and dealing with compensation standards. All the points mentioned above gave the Tayals the feeling that the government, in planning out and executing the migration situation, discriminated against them, causing them to go through three painful experiences of forced migration. Nevertheless, the people from southern Fujian Province and the Hakka immigrants that were also affected by the Shihmen Reservoir migration movement did not feel they were being forced to move against their own will. Msbtunux Tayal devoutly believed in the gaga standard, at that time, they saw the government’s promise as gaga; in other words, they did not believe one word of the promise (Lee 2007:82). However, in the end, during the migration process they were discriminated against and felt deceived, thus, it was inevitable that their rebound and reaction against the government was bigger. As a result, the community that was originally located in Zhongzhuang ended up either returning to the remote mountains to plan their future on their own, or carry on migrating to Datan. Among the nine tribes of the Msbtunux submerged area, there were 82 households that migrated to Zhongzhuang, and only 46 households that continued to migrate to Datan (Lee 2007:80)

5.3 The Coin Incident

In the beginning of 1974, the Coin Chemical Industrial Co. set up factories near the new immigrant village. Although the women of the tribe got more job opportunities, after two or three years, odd illnesses arose. For example, Jiang Qing-Shuei’s feet started to rot and blacken, and it was not long before he oddly passed away. Also, there were a few Qara youngsters that had headaches after coming back from work and did not wake up from their sleep at all. These consecutive tragedies shocked the community. When government officials came to investigate, they found out that the terrible incidents were caused by the cadmium pollution; the water source of the village contained heavy metal pollution.

As a result, unfortunately, the Qara community faced their third migration. The Qara tribal people placed great value on their families, yet they truly had to face the fate that forced them to separate. Although the development of Shihmen Reservoir contributed immensely to the country’s development, the movement left unforgettable scars in the memories of those who were forced to migrate. Besides the immigrants that went their own ways, there were 16 households that moved back to their tribes. The tribes involved included the Toujiao tribe, Siayun, and Siasikou tribes. Zhengtaili, who came from Siasikou, recounted their rough
journey of returning to tribes in the mountains:

“When we were returning back to Zhongzhunag, what we saw was unarranged and unorganized wastelands. What’s more, the cultivated lands were all stones, so you had to pick up all the stones before you could even slowly begin to bring the wasteland under cultivation, and all the houses were also swallowed up by floodwater! Then, when we arrived in Datan, the government gave us sand lands that burned our feet when we walked on them, they totally deceived us! We moved all over the place, ten years later we were in on the east side of the river, then another ten years later we were on the west side, life did not improve, so when we returned to the mountains, our tribal people would mock and laugh at us! Running all over the place then running back, moving again and again, all the moving made us poorer and poorer, and we ended up coming back to build laborer-shacks to live in!” (Lee 2007:81)

In order to soothe their wounds and feelings, the magistrate of the Taoyuan County, Liu Bang-You, once promised to make up for everything:

“It was the government’s idea to build the Shihmen Reservoir, and the aborigines from the Shixiuping Plain cooperated with the migration policy. At that time, if people were not satisfied with the compensation, the only solution was to compensate comparing to the cadmium pollution compensation of Datan Village and the market price and value of lands in Shixiuping Plain in 1989. If there was a price difference in between, then the government would indemnify it.” (Lee 2007:92-93)

The head of the county promised that, after checking thoroughly, they would complement the difference in amount, which might redeem their hurt souls from migrating for thirty years. Unfortunately, the head of the county was shot in an accident and died, thus, the matter was left unsettled. What’s worse is in 1997, Shih-Siow Plain was proclaimed as the Shihmen Reservoir water source, water quality, and water amount preserved area, and the preserved lands that were restricted kept expanding. Also, eleven pollution acts were banned. Even many years after the Shihmen Reservoir was built, many laws and decrees restricted their living environment, and tribes were always under the pressure of the laws. Under the many restrictions in economic development, returning home was also torture and painful. (Lee 2007:74)

6. The migration stories of the Shiyifen areas
6.1 Lungxi Ancestral Hall

Among the Hakkas that originally lived in the Shiyifen areas, the Lee family name of Lungxi Ancestral Hall has the longest history. The Lee family used to be a prominent family in Long-Xi, so a shrine in their honour was named “Long-Xi Hall”. Then, the Lee family established their territory in the Shiyifen “Musketry territory marked” area. The Lees originally came from the Guang Dong Province in the Jieyang District. During the 18th century, in 1791, Lee Yuan-Fong came to Taiwan and rented land from the aborigines in Longtang to plow, passing from the one generation to the next, it was only until Lee Huo-Lai of the 15th generation, that the industry began to bloom. Lee Huo-Lai built the Long-Xi Ancestral Hall, the ancient Lee house, located in Longtang Village, Jiaan Village, Shiyifen area No.59. Lee Huo-Lai died in the WWII, and his son Lee Gai-Rih, who was born in the year 1900, acceded to his family’s career after he graduated from elementary school. Thus, under Lee Gai-Rih’s striving hard efforts in operating his family’s business, the Lee business was even more thriving than ever. Later, in 1953, Lee Gai-Rih won the 3rd annual Head of the Taoyuan County Council election with high votes from his show of consideration and concern for local infrastructure and development. In addition, before the Shihmen Reservoir was built, it was rumored that Lee Gai-Rih advised President Chiang Kai-shek to build a reservoir in the
Shihmen Gorge, and that was when President Chiang agreed to the construction of Shihmen Reservoir.

During the construction period of the Shihmen Reservoir, in order to provide the large amount of employees a place to live in, Lee Gai-Rih generously donated lands to the workers of the Shihmen Reservoir Construction Committee and the Shiyuan (literally, Stone Garden). The only condition was that they could only be used as staff dormitories. The lands now have all already been purchased by the government, and the property right belongs under the name of the Northern Water Resources Bureau. The location of the Shiyuan second village originally belonged to the land of the Xiu family. When Shiyuan second village was going to be built, the Xiu family paid the price of 600,000 jia for the land. It can be said that from the construction proposal of the Shihmen Reservoir in the beginning to the actual construction process, the obtaining of lands were all due to the help and the push of Lee Gai-Rih. Were it not for Lee Gai-Rih, there would not be the Shihmen Reservoir today; also, there would not have been the development of the Shiyifen areas. From the generations of Lee’s grandfather and father to his generation, the whole Lee family played decisive roles in the construction of the Shiyifen areas. They were the hand that pushed the industrial development forward.

6.2 The beginning and end of the Shihmen Reservoir construction project

Early in 1924, after the Taoyuan Irrigation Canal system was completed, Japanese technician, Hatta Yoichi, started to study the possibilities of building dams to reserve water in Shihmen Mountain. Since the geography of the Taoyuan plateau is a bit higher, and the river stream is a little less, only wetlands and canals could be used to irrigate water, which was not entirely efficient in developing water resources. In Showa 4th year (1929), there was the Shihmen Reservoir construction project plan. In the same year, Japanese geologist Ooe Ziro once did further research on the geology near Shihmen, and the “Shihmen nearby Geology Investigation Report” was issued. During 1930 to 1943, a total of 14 years, the investigation of the Dakekan River hydrology data during the flood and the geology research of the reservoir and dam dike were carried out. Furthermore, in 1938, Ooe Ziro drilled to the bottom of the dam ground to survey whether it was bedrock or not, then mapped out the construction project plan summary, which was the so-called “Showa Water Conservancy Project”. The main aim of this project was to expand the plateau on the south-east side of Taoyuan Irrigation Canal, and although this project focused more on irrigation, it also took the efficacy of flood prevention into consideration.

After the restoration of Taiwan, the Provincial Water Resources Bureau continued the research of the Shihmen Reservoir construction project, and also the exploration of dam dikes and basic laccolith drilling. Related organizations pointed out the project research paper was about the form of reservoirs and dams and using water to generate electric power. Nevertheless, the plan in the beginning was very similar to the “Showa Water Conservancy Project” of the Japanese Colonial Period. According to records taken down, in 1949, when vice president Chen Cheng came to Taiwan for medical treatment, he once went to Shihmen and heard a local resident say:

“The Dakekan River is often either short of water or flooded with water, and when it is short of water, the insufficient amount is not enough for irrigation. The Japanese built Wushantou Reservoir in the Chianan (i.e. Chiayi County and Tainan County) area; as a result, the farmlands in Chianan area got irrigation advantages. Also, Taoyuan residents wish to build a reservoir to solve the irrigation and flood prevention problem in the Shihmen district. However, due to budget limit and technical conditions, the idea could not be implemented and no action could be taken, they could only do a little bit recording of hydrology.” (Chen 2003:9)

Vice president Chen thought that it was crucially essential to build the Shihmen
Reservoir and in the future there might be many economical benefits. Therefore, the earlier the plan was implemented the better, and this was the major key to actually accomplishing the idea and plan of building the Shihmen Reservoir.

When vice president Chen served the post of Taiwan Governor in 1949, Taoyuan local residents asked him to set the Shihmen Reservoir construction into action, advising and urging the Provincial Water Resources Bureau to carry out investigations and project research. In 1952, local gentry Wu Hong-Sen organized a Shihmen Reservoir Construction Promotion Committee who assisted the government in advancing and coordinating local jobs. In March, 1954, the first organization established for the Shihmen Reservoir, the “Shihmen Reservoir Design Committee”, was established. This committee devoted themselves to geology, hydrology, and agricultural economic investigation, and also the preliminary construction project and the estimation of construction cost and benefits. In July of 1955, the Shihmen Reservoir Construction Preparation Committee was established. However, since the government did not have such a large amount of money to build the reservoir, they borrowed and collected funds for building the Shihmen Reservoir by turning to USA and applying for a loan. The attached subsidiary condition of the loan was that our government had to employ American design consultancy and construction consultancy companies, thus, they chose the Tippetts–Abbett–McCarthy–Stratton engineering company and the Morrison-Knudsen engineering and construction company to serve as the design and construction directing consultants respectively. Both the companies signed contracts consecutively. Under the help of American technique, qualified engineering workers were sent to the Bureau of Reclamation and the two consultant companies in USA for 6 months or for one year practical training, then they returned to Taiwan to work. In addition, with the help of the consultancy companies, a large number of special technicians were publicly and selectively recruited through exams and then trained. The number of technicians was about ten thousand people. (Chen 2003:11)

The most important change during the Shihmen Reservoir construction process was the change of dam patterns. Due to the reservoir’s river valley terrain, geology, construction deadline, and engineer building cost, the concrete arch dam plan was selected and chosen after comparing and analyzing initial research and conclusion research. After digging the dam ground in November, 1959, they realized the geology of the dam ground was not as expected from the surveying process, therefore they decided to change the dam pattern into earth and rock-filled dams (Chen 2003:20). In addition, besides geological factors, the arch dam breakdown incident in Malpasset, France was an important factor in the modification of the dam construction.

The construction of the Shihmen Reservoir began in 1956, and about 7,000 workers were employed, working day and night. However, unfortunately, due to the vast work area and the dangerously steep terrain, a total of 34 workers died during construction, and up to 2,079 workers were injured. Eventually, through the hard efforts of the Committee and all the workers, after 8 years, the Shihmen Reservoir finally finished construction in 1964.

6.3 Moving in: the new residents of the Shiyifen areas
6.3.1 Shiyuan (literally meaning “Stone Garden”)

In the beginning of the Shihmen Reservoir Construction project, Taiwan employed many American engineers from the Tippetts-Abbett-McCarthy-Stratton Engineering Company and the Morrison-Knudser Construction Company to teach others how to build a reservoir. Moreover, in order to make it comfortable for the group of American consultants during their stay in Taiwan, the government built the village of Shiyuan for them to live in. The consultants were divided into groups according to construction rate of progress; the highest number of people was 65, but, adding the number of family dependants, the number of people was 110. The Shihmen Reservoir Construction Committee built 40 American-style bungalow
houses especially for the Americans to live in, which is also known as the Shiyuan Villa today. As for the unmarried, they were distributed to the singles’ dormitories and when government officials came on inspection visits they stayed in hostels also located in Shiyuan. The entire Shiyuan had a spacious environment, and many different sorts of public facilities and infrastructure such as swimming pools, tennis courts and sports grounds were built. This residential village imitated the standalone single dwelling residence style of U.S. communities. Also, Shiyuan faces Dahan River; on the right hand side is the Shihmen Reservoir, across of Mount Xizhou; on the left hand side is Daxi River terrace, where the scenery is magnificent. The American consultants were particularly picky about living taste; in the holidays, they often had family gatherings, parties, and musical events. Even today, we can still see the red soil tennis court that was built at that time and the historical remains of golf courses. From this we can see that, besides the time when the American engineers were working, they still did not forget about leisure activities and pastimes. The road next to Shiyuan is now called Xin-Sheng Road, which, in the beginning, was the short cut especially built for American consultants, making it more convenient for them to go to the reservoir. From then till now, that road has always been called “America Road” by the local residents. On America Road, a security guard stand still remains, that was the place in which Taiwanese guards would stand on guard to ensure the safety of the environment where the U.S. workers lived and prevent outsiders from entering. Therefore, the Shiyuan at that time was sort of like a concession area. Also, Americans often drive pass America Road, and when they do, local children would stop the cars along the road, then the Americans would generously throw out candies and sweets for them to pick up on the road; this became a huge joy for the local children.

6.3.2. Shiyua First Village

After the construction of the Shihmen Reservoir was completed, the American consultants returned to their country. The dormitories built during the Shihmen Reservoir Construction Committee period were given to the Shihmen Reservoir Administration and the Shiyuan became the dormitories for the higher-classed staff of the Shihmen Reservoir Administration. The Chung-Shan Institute of Science and Technology and the Institute of Nuclear Energy were respectively established before and after 1981. The area of the Chung-Shan Institute of Science and Technology took up about 200 hectares of Huaiizihpu, and the government simply directly gave the Chung-Shan Institute the Shihmen Reservoir Construction Committee office and American consultants’ dormitories were renamed as the Shiyuan First Village. Therefore, the dormitory area of Shihmen Reservoir Administration lost about one third of its square measure, and the Shiyuan First Village was officially given to the hands of the military to manage and maintain.

Then, after collecting Shiyifen lands of the Hsiu family to build the Shiyuan Second Village, the Huaiizihpu dormitory area project was cancelled. The employees of the Chung-Shan Institute reached up to nearly ten thousand people; besides the part of military tasks that belonged to military scientific and technical talents, many research tasks were conducted by domestic and overseas technical professionals. In order to take care and look after the people who go there to work, security guards were employed to provide service for the community, molding another kind of closed community environment. The Shiyuan first village’s control over the community was extremely strict, firmly shutting out outsiders. Also, the facilities inside the community were complete and whole; there were restaurants, welfare stores, gymnasiums, tennis courts and indoor swimming pools, all complete for the needs of residents. The pattern and layout of dormitory appearance and the amount of area used was top-class and the best of the dormitories in the Shiyifen areas. Unfortunately, due to the mysterious veil put on by the strict administration of the military control, in the last 50 years,
no outsiders entered the Shiyuan first village, not even people from the Shiyifen areas.

6.3.3. Shihmen Reservoir Administration Dormitory

Besides the Shiyuan first village, the Shihmen Reservoir Administration also established another dormitory building with 250 households. Under the distribution of government organization, families of employees lived in that building. With its low building coverage ratio, the elegant environment indeed provided the employees sufficient and good care. Furthermore, in terms of selecting materials and construction quality, the buildings in the community were built to a high standard, and this is also the main reason why, even after going through many typhoons and earthquakes, the community has never had severe disasters. Regarding the government’s gesture in building residences for them to live in, the employees felt gratitude in their hearts and deeply valued this gesture. For many years, the family dependents of the employees were all under the care of the government. In the Shihmen Reservoir Administration dormitories, besides basic dorm residences, there were also several public facilities and installations. In the 1960s and 1970s, this type of community living environment was actually extremely unique to the society.

If the Shihmen Reservoir Administration dormitory is compared with Shiyuan first village, it is obvious that the amount of space used for particular dormitories reflected the job level and positions of employees. Middle-rank employees lived on Jiaan East Road, although the dorms here cannot be compared with the bungalow houses of Shiyuan First Village, the dorms are still separate buildings that stand individually, and each household has their own little garden. On the other hand, low-rank laborers lived on Jiaan West Road, which is near the market. Each townhouse-style attached house, with no garden, were closely linked together, thus, the whole lane and living environment was inevitably a lot smaller and narrower. As seen from the size of the dorms and where they were distributed and located, the low-rank employees were placed near the market where it is the noisiest and dirtiest area, thus, the closer the dorms were to the market, the smaller the households were. In other words, their living environment is far from the middle-class workers living on Jiaan East Road and even more incomparable to the living environment of Shiyuan first village.

The road plan and space arrangements of the Shiyifen office dormitory areas were all perfect examples of public government organization dormitories; the neighboring Sankengzih and Daping residents referred to this area as the “new village”. Moreover, the cultural landscape and space characteristics had the most dramatic change before and after the Shihmen Reservoir was built, therefore the Shihmen Reservoir Administration dormitory area became the headquarters of immigrants that moved in. In addition, the reason for immigrating was mainly due to their jobs and the dorms they were distributed to. The 250 households of Shihmen Reservoir Administration plus the 348 rooms of Shiyuan first and second village the Shiyifen area gained prosperity through a bustling marketplace. Therefore, the Hakka living in the Shiyifen areas had to accept the spatial transition caused by immigrants moving in, and also to adjust their regional perception. The immigrants that moved in also had to adapt to the new environmental space in order to increase their identification of the particular region.

Also, since the dormitory for family dependants was under the control district of Shiyuan first and second village, the residents of the Shiyifen areas had fewer opportunities to go there, thus, giving the Chung-Shan Institute staff a sense of superiority that cannot be explained. Most of the parents from the residential area work at the Shihmen Reservoir Administration and the Chung-Shan Institute, and most of their children went to the same school (Shihmen Elementary School), therefore the government welfare of both major organizations were about equal and they all worked hard together, interacted and helped each other. The residents watched movies and swam in the indoor swimming pool together. However, if compared with an objective view, the welfare and budget expenses of the Chung-
Shan Institute were much higher than the Shihmen Reservoir Administration. After the construction project was completed, the Shihmen Reservoir Administration, with only hundreds of employees, was established to be in charge of operating the reservoir. Because of new workers coming in, the living space and pace changed tremendously. Although the Mainlanders living in the Shihmen Reservoir Administration village yearned for their hometown and thought of themselves as Chinese people, and even though the Mainlanders looked down on the local Taiwanese people they began to blend in with the local culture and Taiwanese people. Regulations and measures prevented retired elders to live permanently in the area. The original residents of the Shihmen Reservoir Administration village, Lin Wen-Chi, whose father had already retired from the Shihmen Reservoir Administration, was forced to move out due to related regulations and law:

“Being forced to move out of the Shihmen Reservoir Administration was the biggest challenge in my life, and also the start of my living willpower and stamina. Reluctantly, I bought the Yi yuan (literally, amenity villa). In two years, besides our full-time jobs, my wife and I also put all our strengths in taking part-time jobs. Every day my wife would ride a bicycle from Yi yuan to Xianziding back and forth, which was extremely exhausting. In those two years, together my wife and I paid our debts, and those rough years of hardship, struggling and working our heads off really paid off, because we had the ability to continue buying houses. I once had the fortunate opportunity of being a part of the Shiyifen areas, of fully enjoying the wonderful environment, but now, in the current migration process, being forced to migrate has left an unforgettable memory in my life, and I can now relate to the sorrow of the reservoir immigrants before.” (Lin 2008)

6.3.4 Permanent new immigrants since the construction of the Shihmen Reservoir

For up to 8 years, the highest number of employees and laborers hired went up to about 8000 people. Plus, adding the family dependants that workers brought in, there were approximately 15 thousand people. In order to accommodate such a number of people, not only did the Shihmen Reservoir Construction Committee provide Shiyifen dormitory areas, they also built a large amount of aluminum temporary dormitories on the north and south embankment area of the dam, providing employees and laborers working during the construction period a temporary accommodation, which was scheduled to be demolished after construction. However, this still did not satisfy the needs of the entire group of laborers. Because of the shortage of accommodation, there was the establishment of the “Ershijian” house which is a house with 20 rooms.

Although it seemed as though the Shiyifen areas were fairly prosperous and boisterous, deep in the employees’ hearts, there was uncertainty. After all, the construction project was going to last only for only a few years, and they were uncertain about their futures. In 1964, when the Shihmen Reservoir construction project was completed, an intense population transition of the Shiyifen area occurred. The workers that had completed their work were all either dismissed or required to switch jobs. Including family dependants, the total number of immigrants was over ten thousand. Workers of each class were able to receive an average of three to five month payment benefit. This movement resulted in the displacement of thousands of workers’ family dependants, and the former geographic scenery of the Shiyifen areas started to change dramatically. There were a few technical laborers that had already gotten used to their lives in the Shiyifen areas, and they got along well with the Hakkas in the nearby area. Even though the dormitory area accommodated ethnic groups from all over the place and the percentage of Mainlanders was considerably higher, we saw the birth of a harmonious new village. In order to reach the goal of long lasting permanency, a permanent plan was produced. The following are a few representative cases taken down in a field investigation report:
I. Representative migration 1: “Erhshijien House”

The technicians that were signed in contract for two years, and the Erhshijien House they rented was located on the border, road intersection of Sankengzi and Daping, which was also the starting point of a section in American Road that is restrained. The Erhshijien House was where the laborers rented places to live in. In fact, in Sankengzi, Daping and Erping, renting houses was very common in those days. The main reason for that was because it was close to Shihmen Reservoir and workers were under time pressure to take turns to work three times a day.

An Erhshijien House consisted of brick house with a pitched roof paved with red tiles, ten rooms in the front row, and ten in the back. According to investigation, it was first built by a landlord, the Gu’s family, and subleased to Shihmen Reservoir laborers. Since the house was located in a popular spot and transportation was considerably convenient, renting was extremely popular. There were not any individual bathrooms and kitchens, in other words, it was a public space. Also, the rooms were not big and if a family of five moved in, the space would become rather crowded. After the construction project of the Shihmen Reservoir was completed, the majority of laborers were dismissed, so the residents of Erhshijien House could only move to another place. After encountering several resells, the Erhshijien House had already been pulled down and rebuilt, and just like that, its history was slowly forgotten by people. During the interview of Lee Guo-Guang and his father, Lee Cing-Xiu, it was known that in 1959, because Lee Qing-Xiu was transferred from Taipower Company engineering branch in Wushe Reservoir to the engineering branch in Shihmen Reservoir, it took their whole family Shiyan hours to get to Erhshijien House, and they lived there for about 3 years.

“There is a long row of buildings in front of my house, also known as the Erhshijien House. There was a period of time once when these houses were empty, and children from the neighborhood would often chase each other, play hide and seek, roast sweet potatoes, play paper cards and toys…etc. The walls of Erhshijien House were built with red bricks, and the pitched roofs were paved with red tiles and Taiwanese China fir. However, it is a pity that all that has already been pulled down and taken apart, the building that was filled with my childhood memories will never come back again.” (quoted from Lee Gou-Guang)

In order to provide for domestic expenses, the Lees appeared to have foreseen a business opportunity, thus they moved out of Erhshijien House and built another small grocery store on the intersection of American Road as a subsidy for the family. Moreover, during the weekends, the whole family used the opportunity to sell tourists soda drinks and beverages to engage in making profit. The Lee family transformed from a technician laborer family to new immigrants living in Longtang Shiyifen areas.

Before 1971, the Shihmen Reservoir was one of the most popular sightseeing spots of northern Taiwan, with travelers and tourists from central, southern and northern part of Taiwan visiting to see the beautiful scenery. The extraordinary sight of cars queuing and waiting in a long line just to be part of the wonders of the reservoir remains a vivid memory for Lee Gou-Guang:

“Our home was just located on the traffic road section, and also because we had a grocery store, our parents worked hard and were very busy all the time. As sons and daughters, it was inevitable that sometimes we had to go down and help attend to customers. Especially on the day of the Moon Festival, the beverages in our store would be sold until there were no iced beverages left, but customers do not care if the drinks are iced or not, they just always seem to think that drinks without ice is better than no drinks at all.

Besides helping on Moon Festival day, our father used the weekend, when there were a lot of people at the Shihmen Reservoir, to take us to the reservoir to sell beverages and souvenirs.
To be honest, it wasn’t easy selling drinks to strangers, because when I was still young and shy, hesitating to shout out “Cold drinks! Cold drinks!”, such an experience was something I found hard to adjust to when I was small. So every time I return to Shihmen Reservoir, it would remind me of those days. " (quoted from Lee Gou-Guang)

II. Representative migration 2: (Fresh Fish Street)

The prosperous sight of the Shiyifen areas after the Shihmen Reservoir was built showed that the locality of residents had slowly been established. The regional space included the Hakkas that originally lived there, the large number of laborer family dependents that moved in because of the construction project, and some businessmen; this caused the Shiyifen areas to bloom and develop in a way that had not been seen. During the construction project, the construction site was desolate and food and other goods were not easy to get as a long drive to Da-Xi was necessary to make purchases. It was because of the Shihmen Reservoir project that the Shihmen fresh fish street existed, and restaurants advertising with Shihmen fresh fish began to appear. In the 1960s, small restaurants using “fresh fish” as their restaurant theme started to appear. According to the tourists’ wishes, the chefs could cook varieties of fishes for them, and this gradually became a big feature of the local dietary business. Moreover, this changed the industrial structure of the Shiyifen areas from an agricultural region into a business area catering to tourism. Shihmen Fresh Fish became the specialty of the Shiyifen areas, and the Taoyuan County Government generously helped advance and popularize this specialty. Then, in 2004, the first annual Shihmen Fresh Fish Festival was established, and from then on, fresh fish culture had become an intangible cultural asset.

The rise of Shihmen fresh fish was on the so-called “Old Fresh Fish Street” on Jia-An West Road of Long-Tan Shiyifen areas. “Jin Lan” on Jiaan West Road was the trade name of the oldest local fresh fish restaurant in Shiyifen areas. The name “Jin Lan” came from the founder of that restaurant. In 1965, Yu Chao Jin-Lan and her husband, Yu Ruei-Bin, moved there from their home in Puli Township, Nantou County putting themselves in water conservancy construction projects such as dam construction. While her husband went to the office for business, Jin Lan stayed at their home on Jia-An West Road and started her own business opening a small restaurant. At first, her restaurant sold steamed buns with stuffing and noodles; it was only until 1966 that her restaurant began having carp dishes on their menu. Although, in the beginning, they only had spicy fish, braised fish and braised fish head in casserole, this dish still managed to spread their name around. This was why, in 1981, they simply decided to start making fresh fish dishes. Fresh fish restaurants started back from the first “Jin Lan” to the Fresh Fish Street today, the range of the new Fresh Fish Street nowadays with a number of about twenty something stores, is from Shihmen Elementary School to the Wenhua Road section of Northern Water Resources Bureau. (Feng 2004:42-46)

The climax period of Shihmen fresh fish business was during the 70s, among which the Shihmen fresh fish of Shiyifen areas was the most developed. The background story of the development of Shiyuan Fresh Fish was also filled with touching stories. According to the person in charge of the Shiyuan Fresh Fish restaurant, Chen Huei-Cing, who still serviced the Air Force in 1971, after work hours, would immediately join his wife to make steamed buns with and without stuffing to prepare for business in the mornings. Then, after they finished serving breakfast to customers, he would get on his 65cc scooter and drive to Taipei to stock up goods for their store. The drive from Shihmen Reservoir to Taipei is long, the small scooter had to carry 240 kg of stock, and he only slept 4 hours a day. Nevertheless, it was not long before he bought the shop Tianrangu restaurant next door. In 1974, the 48 year-old Chen Huei-Cing retired from military service, so he put his heart fully in operating the restaurant. In the beginning, the Shiyuan Fresh Fish restaurant only had the basic fresh fish 3-way-eat: braised, spicy and braised fish head in casserole. Then, hoping to change that, the manager of
Shiyuan Fresh Fish restaurant, Chen Huei-Cing deliberated and communicated with the chefs so that there was not only the traditional fresh fish 3-way-eat, instead, hundreds of fresh fish dishes were invented and produced.

7. Corporeal Mobility
7.1 The metaphor of mobility

The study of mobility has already become a popular discussion topic amongst scholars whether it is from the view of pilgrimage, invasion, exploration, migration, and exile, they were all widely and profoundly discussed (Urry 2000; 2007, Cresswell 1997: 2006, Thrift 1996, Solnit 2000). In this case, Tim Cresswell pointed out that, issues related to the have actually filled up the title pages of intellectuals, socialists, geographers, and culture critics. In the discussion of mobility, nomadic people, immigrants, travelers and explorers represented that the post-modernism of nomadic persons replacing the modernism of traditional sedentary (Cresswell 1997:360-361). Take the Shihmen Reservoir for example, firstly, in the Qing Dynasty and Japanese Colonial Period, the places in which explorers, missionaries, ambassadors, and ethnography scholars were interested belonged to the colonial frontier. English reporter Owen Rutter’s Through Formosa (1923) compares the area to a frontier district defended by an army of volunteers (Rutter 1923/1990:228). In the Nationalist Government Period, the area was considered a sightseeing spot: during the times of the Civil War between the National Government and the Communist Party in 1949, Chen Cheng, who was convalescing in Taiwan at that time, once visited Shihmen Gorge; therefore, he had the opinion to build the reservoir. On the other side, in 1950, young Ma Ying-Jeou was brought by his family to the Shihmen Gorge, where they took a picture as a souvenir, which also represented the trend and current of global reservoir construction that began in 1950. Nevertheless, the Shihmen Reservoir benefited the residents of northern Taiwan, but it also caused the people from the submerged area to end up as homeless roamers. In the eyes of the government, the construction of Shihmen Reservoir represented an essential step for development. However, the government’s consideration of the spatial, social-cultural, and environmental impacts were negligible. In many examples of large reservoir development in under-developed countries, governments have often neglected to prevent, mitigate, or even identify potential impacts of such infrastructure development in their grander pursuit to bolster their economies (McDowell 1996; McCully 1996; Cernea 1996; Johnston 2000). From the 1960s to the mid-1970s, the Shihmen Reservoir attracted many tourists domestically and globally, creating the summit of tourism popularity of the reservoir. An endless stream of tourists and travelers were seen on the dam.

Just as noted film scholar Trinh T. Minh-ha once indicated, stories transform the “impossible” to “possible”. For those who had disastrous encounters during their journeys, Trinh recounted personal traveling experiences, which considerably soothed their sorrows effectively. Through the acknowledgment of their unfair treatment, the stories helped people to adjust, adapt and heal. When a person is exiled or moved to a different place, the space-time journey thus becomes extremely complicated and people fall into the dilemma of displacement. Moreover, Trinh stated how stories expand people’s imaginations and how they have the potential to transform wastelands (Trinh 1994:10-11). The charisma of telling stories lies in when anyone is telling the travelling experiences of others, they are actually making an interpretation of themselves (ibid. 20-25).

Nevertheless, according to the version of Trinh T. Minh-ha, those were not American or humanism interpretations, but stark-naked, painful experiences: “For people who have been dispossessed and forced to leave for an uncertain destiny, rejected time and again, returned to the sea or to the no man’s land of border zones; for these unwanted expatriated, it seems that all attempts at exalting the achievements of exile are but
desperate efforts to quell the crippling sorrow of homelessness and estrangement. The process of rehabilitation, which involves the search for a new home, appears to be above all a process by which people stunned, traumatized and mutilated by the shifts of event that have expelled them from their homelands learn to adjust to their sudden state of isolation and uprootedness. ... Dispossessed not only of their material belongings but also of their cultural heritage, refugees lead a provisional life, drifting from camp to camp, disturbing local people’s habits, and destabilizing the latter’s lifestyle when they move into a neighborhood.” (Trinh 1994:12)

Trinh’s description captures the sentiments felt by the Shihmen Reservoir immigrants, who were treated with indifference and ignored by authority who were unable to understand the trauma caused by the entire migration process. As described in the article, the spatial map and journey was filled with many displacement images bearing witness to the mass migration caused by economical infrastructure development. The aim of the article was to evoke empathy for those subjected to forced migration, roaming, and nomadic stories. Among these migration stories, lies the root difference: one is the force and refusal; the other could be selected a) once one leaves, they cannot come back again b) one can freely choose whether they wish to leave or stay.

In those stories, we can see collaboration between immigrants from Ahmuping to Datan in irrigating, exchanging labors, harvesting, and interflowing together in community. Also, with common religious beliefs (the Earth God, the Bidding Family Name activity), the immigrants built social, economical and religious relations, which meant that the residents were no longer missing their homes. In other words, Datan had already become another home in their lives. In the example of the Shiyifen areas, Mainlanders generally felt superior at first but then, due to the passing of time, the Mainland culture of the Shihmen Administration community gradually blended in with the local culture of the Shiyifen areas. For example, because the children in the area all attended the same school (Shihmen Elementary School), they shared benefits with each other, such as movies and indoor swimming pools, without being divided into different nations or groups. In the modernization process of Taiwan, without a doubt, the Shihmen Reservoir of the 1960s and the Ten Major Constructions of the 1980s represented an important progress index. Through the theoretical discussions, Deleuze & Guattari, Michel de Certeau, Iain Chambers (Cresswell 1997:360-368), and Tim Cresswell attempted to used these three theories to discuss the profound meanings of the migration stories resulting from public construction.

7.2 The nomadic and sedentary roles of immigrants

In the whole displacement process, the construction immigrants played the roles of refugees, nomadic people and exilic people. Also, during the 1960s and 1970s the Shihmen Reservoir Shiyifen area, and in 1979 after the opening of the international airport, the roles of the economic immigrants, engineer technicians and many tourists that were attracted from all corners of Taiwan. In the discussion of Deleuze & Guattari (1987), their roles were like the nomads and migrants of post-modern times, continuously moving until it became daily ritual to them, nothing was sedentary. They thought the romantic process of nomadic people was the highest-level of geographical metaphor. Moreover, the scholars’ depiction and analysis of nomads has become central to post-social and cultural theories, thus, by using the metaphor of nomadic people, it has also become the key center to understanding the post-modern world.

In the beginning, due to the bad environment in Datan, the new immigrant village, when there was insufficient harvest, some of the immigrants would run back and forth from Ahmuping to Datan, hoping to continue cultivating before Datan was completely submerged. This proved to be a particularly taxing strategy and a very rough beginning of the migration movement. There was a conspicuous contrast between the Datan immigrants and those living...
in the American-style Shiyuan First Village community, where residents could enjoy swimming in pools, playing tennis, living immobile and idle lives. Through mobility, the Datan immigrants crossed over the restrictions on immobile places so that the “place” expressed a type of nomadic and non-sedentary environment. In the example of the Shiyifen areas, we also saw how former Shihmen Administration resident Lin Wen-Chi overcame the pressure of reality, in two years, “besides having fulltime jobs, my wife and I also had part-time jobs. Every day, my wife would ride a bicycle back and forth from Yiyuan to Shanziding, which was extremely tiring.” (Lin 2008:56). Also, Chen Qin-Huei of Shiyuan Fresh Fish Restaurant would rush about from Shiyifen areas to Taipei every day, thus, allowing “place” to express a nomadic and non-sedentary environment.

7.3 The process from deterritorialization to reterritorialization

In early 1980s, G. Deleuze & F. Guattari’s theory of deterritorialization became a very popular topic of literature and cultural criticism (Kaplan 1996:92). The deterritorialization and reterritorialization concepts formed through physical displacement can be used to understand the Datan migration. The Datan migrants were first subjected to deterritorialization at the time of their original upheaval, but over time, underwent reterritorialization as they began to feel at home in their new location.

The local residents of the Shiyifen areas were not allowed to enter the Shiyuan First Village and the Shiyuan Second Village restricted areas in which their family dependants of the Chung-Shan Institute of Science & Technology were located. Furthermore, the Mainlanders of the Chung-Shan Institute and the Shihmen Administration generally felt superior to other groups. There was a substantial difference in the living quality and welfare of the Chung-Shan Institute and Shihmen Administration, and the Hakka residents who lived around them. The Hakka residents of the Shiyifen areas had to accept this disparity and succumbed to their deterritorialization. The Mainlanders of Shihmen Administration, who had originally wanted to reconquer Mainland China began to come to terms with and adapt to their new living environment. Eventually and gradually, they blended in with the local culture of the Shiyifen areas, and began to accept the Shihmen Administration dormitory and surroundings as their other hometown. They were beginning to reterritorialize. Therefore, the displacement process of the Shiyifen area residents, that had begun as a deterritorialization process, slowly became a reterritorialization process.

7.4 Strategies and tactics

In the book “The Practices of Everyday Life”, Michel de Certeau considerably quoted the metaphor of nomads. In his opinion, power is linked to territory or frontiers. Michel de Certeau used strategies and tactics to represent the strong and the weak respectively. The strong apply strategies, to use accurate methods such as classification, division and segmentation to standardize space. On the contrary, the weak use tactics, and in this case, they use mobility against territorialization, representing refusal of spatial domination. Therefore, tactics became the weapon for the weak, and also the art of urban nomads. As de Certeau says: “they circulate, come and go, overflow and drift over an imposed terrain, like the snowy waves of the sea slipping in among the rocks and defiles of an established order.” (de Certeau 1984:34) Walking in the streets, nomadic people used unpredictable tactics against those who dominated urban space through their use of strategies (de Certeau 1984:31-34). For de Certeau, the nomad represented an urban hero/heroine akin to a post-modern version of the 19th century flâneur. In fact, way back in the 1950s and 1960s, during the so-called Martial Law and the Suppression of the Communist Rebellion period, the immigrants had to. Under the strict atmosphere the government enveloped the nation with, communities were powerless to question the demands of authority as they began their displacement journey. The weak
continued to use their tactics against the strategies of the strong, however, the discrepancy between power remained largely unnoticed as the tactics used by the weak to deal with their ordeal, namely moving somewhere else, reflects compliance to the wishes of stronger powers. Had there been an organized, collective community stand resulting in an incident visible to more people, perhaps the migrants woes would be better reflected in historical records.

It was still the Martial Law period at the beginning of the Datan cadmium pollution incident, yet, the government still used power and authority to communicate and coordinate with farmers (Sheng 1996:1). Finally, during 1988, the residents could not take that kind of treatment anymore; therefore they chose to use violence to protest. In fact, the lifting of the Martial Law was also a key factor. None the less, in Datan, there were factories that were able to provide prosperity and job opportunities for the local place and people, but when the target they were protesting against were their own parents, it formed an interesting picture of conflicts both internal and external, of the factories: the younger generation striving to earn money in the factories, and the older generation insisting to surround the outside of the factories. This image showed that they had no choice and their struggle between reality and ideality, also declaring the inevitable results of immigrants taking the journey of displacement again. Unfortunately, in this conflict, the villagers still did not use de Certeau’s theory of the weak/tactics against the strong/strategies, which resulted in the main culprit of the cadmium pollution incident—the newly established Coin Chemical Industrial Co. in Datan industrial area, continuously enjoying the benefits of future construction developments. On the contrary, the Datan Ahmuping immigrants roamed and walked about in the streets, this was no longer the art of urban nomads indicated by de Certeau, instead becoming the sorrow of exilic people, roamers, and drifters.

The story of the Shiyifen areas gave us a completely different impression. Lin (2008) pointed out that when the Shihmen Construction Committee acquired the usage authority of the Shiyifen area land in the 1950s, the tea trees were eradicated and flattened out in order to make space for the committee office area. The spatial planning of the entire area was generalized into three elements: (1) Divisions (architectures and grass lands) (2) Axes (3) Roundabouts. The basic plan would include roundabouts joined to axes, and axes segmenting divisions. It seemed as though, in the entire space of the office area, the mobility of the district was distributed according to the roundabouts, thus controlling the direction of any individuals, the living pace of new immigrants would also revolve around the roundabouts. There were a total of four roundabouts in the Shihmen Administration office area, and every roundabout had a different spatial meaning according to their different scales and positions:

(a) The small roundabout of the bus stop: this was the entrance of the Shihmen Administration, and it also seemed to be the sign of spatial power. Spatially, this roundabout represented “entry” or “arrival”.

(b) The big roundabout of the office hall: the core and center of the Shihmen Administration, and also the midpoint of the axis. The roundabout was positioned directly in front of the office building, managing six intersections. Spatially, this roundabout represented the “manager” and the “core”.

(c) Shiyuan roundabout (north): the big roundabout in the Shiyuan restricted area. People, in general, did not have the chance to reach this roundabout (including Shihmen Administration staff), thus, spatially, it represented inaccessibility to the “high-class” or being people “too far to reach”.

(d) The big roundabout of the water tower (south): this roundabout was named because of its proximity to the big water tower that provides the community water, and it is the main route when headed to the Shiyuan Second Village. However, the Shiyuan Second Village was not yet built at the beginning of the project; therefore this roundabout spatially meant “frontier” or “outer-edge”.

24
De Certeau’s theory applies well to this scenario. The strategy applied by the strong (Shihmen Administration), includes methods such as classification, division and segmentation to standardize space, which represents the domination of urban space by strategies. (de Certeau 1994:31-34)

In the 1970s, small restaurants using fish as their theme started to appear in local areas, slowly becoming a distinguishing feature of the area. Though the core district was the urban space dominated by strategies, the fish restaurant phenomenon changed the space structure of the Shiyifen areas. Big and small Shihmen fresh fish restaurants began densely appearing near the Shihmen Administration Shiyifen areas (Feng 2004:42-46). Some twenty fresh fish restaurants were completely free from the Shihmen Administration, and were the defilement of an established order.

7.5 The origin of returning home

According to Iain Chambers’ theory of nomads, the return of the Lius was a post-modernist occurrence. In the nomadic culture, every drifter has their own special baggage and history, crossing over to the territory of uncertainty and neglect (Chambers 1990:14). The conscious form of travelling often refers to leaving from one place and then returning back the origin place. Nevertheless, in the discussion of post-modernism, whether metaphorically or from a substantial perception, travelling no longer has the implication of leaving and returning, instead, it may include an even broader journey. The broader journey may refer to a period of continuous mobility, or repeated displacement processes such as those experienced by the Lius (Chambers 1994:245-246).

In 2008, the Taoyuan County Government mapped out plans to develop business in the surrounding areas of the International airport and to expand the land usage from 1223 hectares to 6150 hectares which would mean the displacement of some residents. The residences of those who were forced to move might become luxurious houses of others who may move into the area. In addition, those newcomers would also be tempted by International Aerotropolis, attracting the business immigrants from foreign villages and townships.

According to I. Chambers, travelling is not just about setting out and returning back, it is about an even broader journey, which is, in other words, a repetitive and endless displacement process (Chambers 1994:245-246). In the future, the government should be careful as to not instigate another repetitive displacement process in the Taoyuan International Aerotropolis district.

8. Conclusion

Usually after major constructions have been completed, a pyramid is built mentally in people’s hearts and minds. Major development projects promote and develop national economies and also increase the confidence of the populace. Politicians often choose to use major development projects to show their governing achievements and capture the hearts of the people. Early in the 1940s, the Shihmen Mountain was a spot with beautiful scenery that saw a humble number of tourists. In the 1950s, large reservoir construction began developing, likely pushed forward by Governor Chen Cheng who wanted to leave a legacy in the political world. At that time, the many migration stories caused by construction projects was something politicians did not consider at all. However, the establishment of the Shihmen Reservoir promoted the Shihmen area as a popular sightseeing spot, which helped attract a mass of domestic and foreign tourists to the Shiyifen areas from 1960 to 1970, creating the peak of Shihmen Reservoir tourism. The first to invest in Shihmen was Chang Ke-Dong, who invested in the 5-star Sesame Hotel with international standards. Then, overseas Chinese invested in the Asia Garden followed by the Window on China Theme Park and Leofoo Safari Zoo Village. Moreover, tourism investments such as Fresh Fish Street, Hotel Cloud, Hotel...
Daoxingcun, Fairy Tale World, and the cable gondola were stationed in Taiwan, thus making the area around Shihmen Reservoir prosperous and very popular, also benefiting civil organizations. (Lin 2008)

This economic prosperity attracted more and more investment and immigrants to the Shiyifen areas and the reservoir immigrants that had previously been pushed to the frontier of the Taoyuan seacoast were all but forgotten. At that time, the Shihmen Reservoir was a major national public construction. Thus, once again, land requisitioning caused a large number of residents to migrate, which resulted in the recurrence of a repetitive displacement processes among the construction immigrants. In recent years, in order to promote economic development, the “Taoyuan Aerotropolis Development Regulations” of Taoyuan County was discussed enthusiastically.

Iain Chambers (1990:57-58) once quoted Paul Virilio’s words to explain that the international airport will become a future urban city: The Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) system connects millions of people together and planes fly from one megasuburb to another. As he said:

"Enter a modern airport and you can see what inspired Virilio’s prophecy. With its shopping malls, restaurants, banks, post offices, phones, bars, video games, television chairs and security guards, it is a miniaturized city. As a simulated metropolis it is inhabited by a community of modern nomads: a collective metaphor of cosmopolitan existence where the pleasure of travel is not only to arrive, but also not to be in any particular place..... to be simultaneously everywhere. This is a condition experienced not only by the contemporary traveler but also by many a contemporary western intellectuals: the flaneur becomes a planeur."

Travelling and displacement issues can be discussed as post-modern space issues. We can query the structure and proliferation of modernism (Kaplan 1996:2-5). For instance, the Tayal people of the Shihxiu Plain submerged area. In the research of Lee Hui-Hui (Aho Batu), it is pointed out that their cognition of lands and cognition of the modern society is different. In the modern world, property is referred to as changeable assets in capitalism. On the contrary, in the opinion of the Tayals, it was not simply assets or products that they have lost, but the place in which aborigine culture is cultivated and identification is held together. (Lee 2007:62) Furthermore, when the migration movement happened in Datan, the solution method authorities pondered on was still the capitalism-style cash compensation. At the moment, requisitioned land is sited as the Datan Coast Special Industrial District, becoming the first step of manufacturing Taoyuan County Golden Coast plan. This is in fact the standard of modernism structure and proliferation method, yet, it was the land where the Datan residents cultivated culture and maintained identification that was sacrificed.

Therefore, the displacement problems resulted from the Shihmen Reservoir construction can be divided into two aspects for observation: one aspect is the population that moved out, and the other aspect is the population that moved in. In general, the former is most probably the group of people deeply affected negatively by the reservoir construction; this paper places emphasis on observing the problems and meanings caused by the entire displacement process in history. On the other hand, the latter refers to the population that volunteered to move in on their own, changing the inhabitant structure of the Shiyifen areas from a Hakka-majority area into an area that consists of a mixed population of Southern Fujianese, Hakkas, and Mainlanders. The Mainlanders that came to Taiwan, especially, experienced the breakups and deaths, cross-strait mass migration and political power alternation in less than ten years. Therefore, their homesick and desire for stability was naturally stronger than any civilians living in Taiwan. From the historical perspective, those civilians, who were affected more on the positive side, also included foreigners, Mainlanders, and Taiwanese. In other words, they were the ones who gained the benefits and advantages. Even so, although their displacement
stories are not as solemn and tragic as those that moved out, they still had little grief and sorrow. Perhaps it was something every civilian living here in Taiwan, a migration island, had to deal with and accept—and that is fate.

Regarding the migration process resulted from major constructions in Taoyuan County, this paper mainly adopts the personal stories of immigrants to declare in addition. Moreover, all these travelling stories are the most common and ordinary experiences of everyday lives. Even though the stories are described in extracts and fragments, they are the most authentic and genuine descriptions, and they also contain many significant meanings. The social culture researches in recent years said that stories have already become a highly important role. On the other hand, in anthropology, stories are the important pathway to understanding culture. In psychology, stories are the bases of identity. In history, stories provide the tropes to understand the past. For psychoanalysis, stories provide the narrating truth for analysis. For philosophy, stories are the foundation for creating new worlds and new communities. In fact, even economics recognize its storied character (Plummer 1995:18). In addition, Trinh T. Minh-ha further indicated, for the speakers, the narration itself is considerably contradicted, because the speaker has to determine between “here and there, home and abroad, third and first, margin and core” (Trinh 1994: 20).

In addition, besides describing various influences of the reservoir immigrants in Taoyuan County and the construction migration problems, this case study uses the mobile travelling metaphor to examine the entire migration and displacement process, which was undoubtedly a difficult and painful experience. However, through the metaphor of mobility, the whole displacement process actually also has a positive and constructive aspect. All these are expressed through the words and true stories personally told by immigrants, just as Trinh T. Minh-ha said: “every voyage is the unfolding of a poetic: the departure, the cross-over, the fall, the wandering, the discovery, the return, the transformation.” (Trinh 1994:21) If the specific characteristics of this group of immigrants and their significant meaning in Taiwan’s society, history and culture is not profoundly introspected and reflected on, the entire displacement process will come to a stop, and future migration stories can only turn to written records of individuals.

References (English)


References (in Chinese language)


Daily Papers (in Chinese)
Liberty Times (1998) 7 November.