

**Geographies of Community
Resilience:
Navigating Cross-cultural
Differences in Recovery Planning
after Typhoon Morakot**

Shu-Mei Huang

Assistant Professor, Graduate Institute
of Building and Planning, National
Taiwan University

Rethinking some normative terms adopted in post-disaster planning

What is a “permanent house (永久屋)?”

Settlement

Relocation

Displacement

Dispossession

*Research period: Dec 2006- Feb 2016

**Research partners: NTUBP, NTUBPRF,
Communities at Rinari, Valagas Gadeljeman.

Existing research on post-disaster recovery planning

- Recovery after disasters: achieving sustainable development, mitigation and equity (Berke et al. 1993).
- Existing research looking at cross-cultural differences in risk perception
- Considering “social repair and structural inequity” (Aijazi 2015)
- How the built environment can foster social network to improve community resiliency (Carpenter 2015)

- **“Nontraditional Participation in Disaster Recovery Planning”** (Chandrasekhar, Zhang, and Xiao 2014)
- **An Asset-Based Approach to Enhancing Adaptive Capacity Before a Disruption:** focusing on a broad combination of goods and services provided by built, natural, and social capital to differing degrees and at different (Freitag et al. 2014) .

A gap in study on post-disaster recovery

- How to navigate cross-cultural differences in the process of recovery planning?
- How does geography matter in understanding community resilience?
- How is community resilience shaped by cross-cultural relationship?

Assumption: a community is more resilient than others if it is better connected with other places in the region (in terms of ethnic connection and socio-economic connection)

>>the capacity of adaptation is ecologically and politically important as well.

migration/relocation/extension

- Historical migration/displacement as a collective adaptation to changes
- Cultural differences are simultaneously sustained and blurred in the course of migration that has been shaped by the state and community decisions in the 20th century
- Contemporary displacement as a traumatic event

How the government responded to the disaster?

Identify the disaster areas

Allocating 1,165 hundred million NTD

Establish the Morakot Post-disaster Reconstruction Council to provide mechanism to match investments (220 hundred million NTD), NGOs, and communities in need (2009-2014)

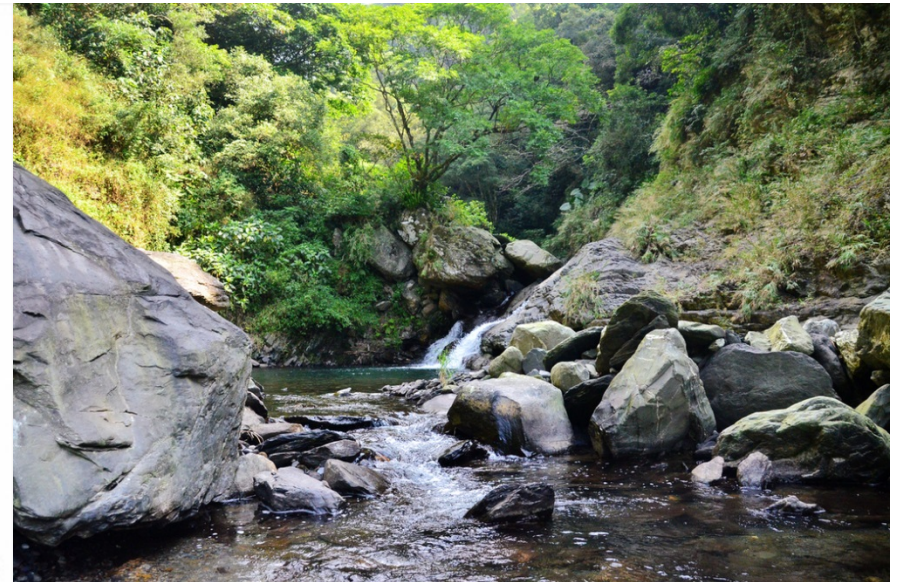
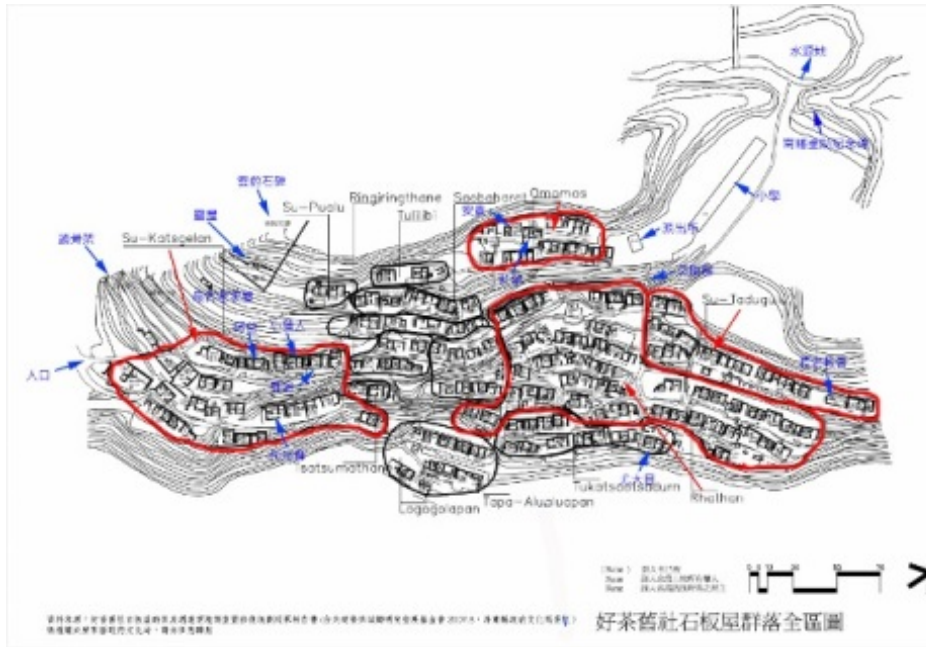
Providing public lands for relocation projects

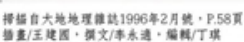


Two ethnic groups: Paiwan and Rukai

Three ancient tribal communities:
Makazayazaya, Kucapungane and
Tavalan

Relocating from the mountainous
villages to a whole new environment



[illegible]

根據千禧年的測丈記錄：「傳統的潘坡家屋是平面地形，寬 10 公尺，深 8 公尺，屋高 1.25 公尺，前面牆高 1.85 公尺，屋脊高 2.85 公尺。」高美樂再訪時發現，屋頂和牆面都已經加高，大門從右側移至左側，牆面改成斜角——本圖是根據李建國的屋架測量，並非參考高美樂的描述，繪製成「想像中的屋架」。

屋宇的平面佈局，與大門一樣，也是應傳統熱氣的傳統秩序，即「前門」用青石板鋪成，大門的手邊連通後山，用青石板鋪成，後山之上有一片竹園的綠意，而兩邊在兩山之前後兩側，鋪設兩面石牆，對照到正堂之左右山牆相照應，中間開一門洞，正堂的中間又有一條正柱，正柱和兩側之間是闊的 40 公分的石牆，兩邊沒有石牆的神龕，也可以兩側無照應而無柱，或兩側有柱無照應。

上面講青石板，屋宇之內是光面，在舊粉面石牆和青石板地，屋頂則是黃泥灰面上面鋪設石板直鋪柱，上鋪木條，再鋪泥灰面，使灰泥石面鋪柱，「青瓦黑柱」的佈局比石面鋪柱，屋宇的佈局是更富以柱的。

屋中的地面也是用青石板，並設有石

坐墊的石檯❶，院子也是圓，曬小米❷或玉米❸的地方，通常會有一個柵欄❹；院子中央只有一個石板立枱❺，和屋內的木質立枱一樣，都是讓回家拜馬的擺設。

成。上面繪有象徵木犀科植物型的圖案。傳統立柱呈扁平狀，厚度的 12 至 13 公分（後來由力大克斯雕刻的立柱則為堅立的半圓柱形）。柱頂與主樑相連的部分，厚度加大。若從側面看，立柱頂部有往前傾斜現象。

稱為「男人石」，主要是象徵
臺灣的地圖；其中德型、質地
較軟的石稱為「女人石」。可以
跟「男人石」一起得稱雄。



Challenges in approaching towards an Integrated Post-disaster Planning

- Withdrawal of public investment (since 2014)
- Cross-culture community development (Paiwan and Rukai)
- Aging population
- A lack of farmlands (and/or connections to farmlands)
- A lack of community-based economic activities
- Uncertain future of how to deal with former settlements left behind



Where

22°42'12.45"N 120°38'56.32"E

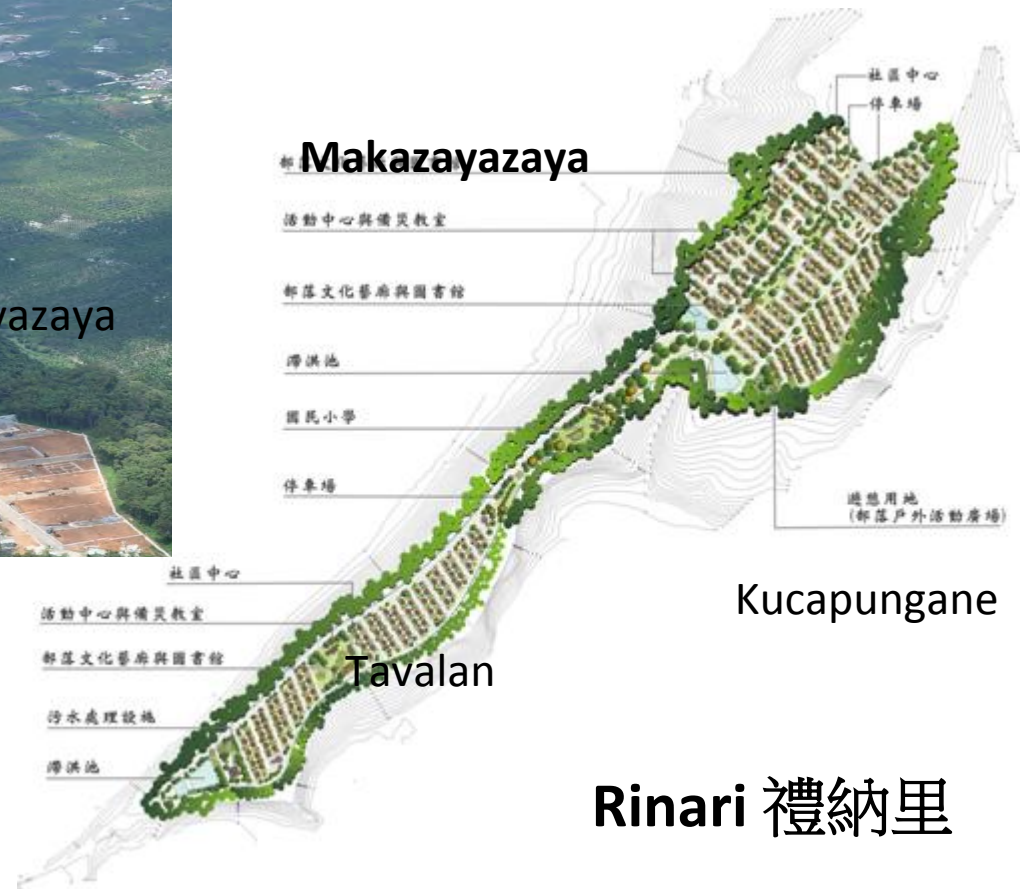
About 16 km to the center of Ping Tung City, about 4 km to the nearest grocery/market



After the relocation in 2011

Site: The site measures about 27.8 hectare.

The World Vision supported the reconstruction projects of the three tribal communities, including 132 houses for Makazayazaya, 177 houses for Kucapungane and 174 for Tavalan



Rinari 禮納里

Table 1. Reconstruction villages in Ping Tung County (as of December 2010)

Reconstru ction sites	Charity Partner	Tribes relocated	No. of applicants (household)	No. of allocation (house)	
Rinari	World Vision	Kucapungane	186	177	483
		Mazakazaya	141	132	
		Tavalan	183	174	
Changchi	Tzuchi	6 tribes in all	408	254	
Ulaluz	Red Cross	Taiwu	197	117	
Shinglaiyi	Red Cross	4 tribes in all		239	
Old Kausi	World Vision	Kausi	45	22	
Central Rd.	World Vision	Central Rd.	51	31	
			1,624	1,146 (total houses reconstructed in PT)	

Cross-cultural dynamics before the disaster in 2009...

Living with one another is not a new issue but...

- A series of policy that promoted relocation in the 1950s that created “multiple marginalities” in the region (Chen and Su 2004)
- The planned relocation is a combination of discipline and state-led development (rather than particular responses to a particular natural disaster)
- Living in San-Ho in the 1950s: the formation of the three villages within the larger context of the planned colony.

San-Ho village: 2,000 residents

A

B

C

**Rinari:
1,600 residents**



Ping Tung City Center

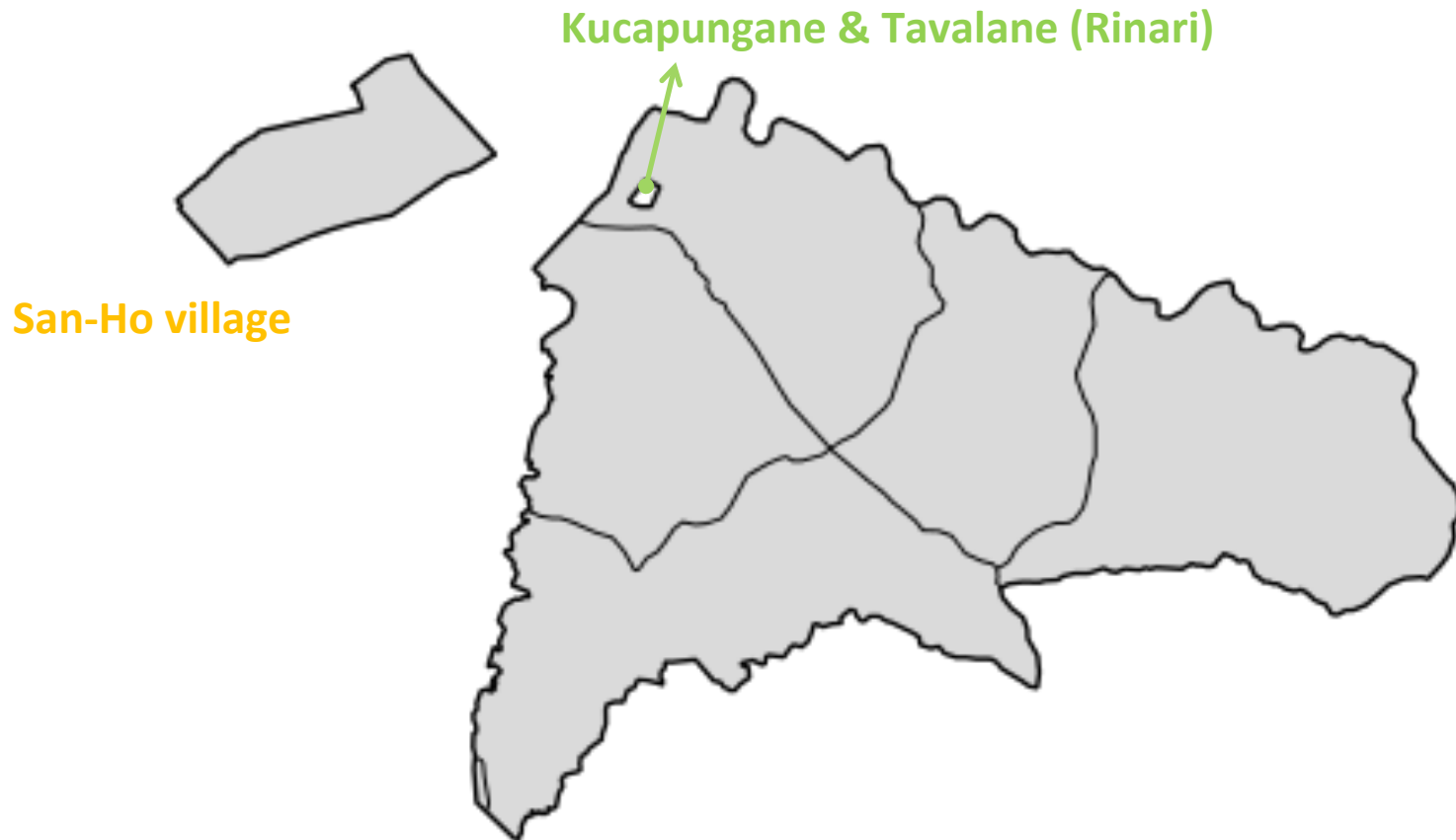
A, B: Paiwan people (some of them were from Makazayazaya)

C: Rukai people (some of them were from Kucapungane)

Living with one another is not a new issue but...

- The density is much lower; the settlement is much more scattered; the ways of building were more organic.
- The linkage between the old and the new has been always important.
- The degree of connection substantially shapes the formation of the new settlement.
- Ethnic enclaves within an enclave

- Majia township: ethnic enclaves within an enclave



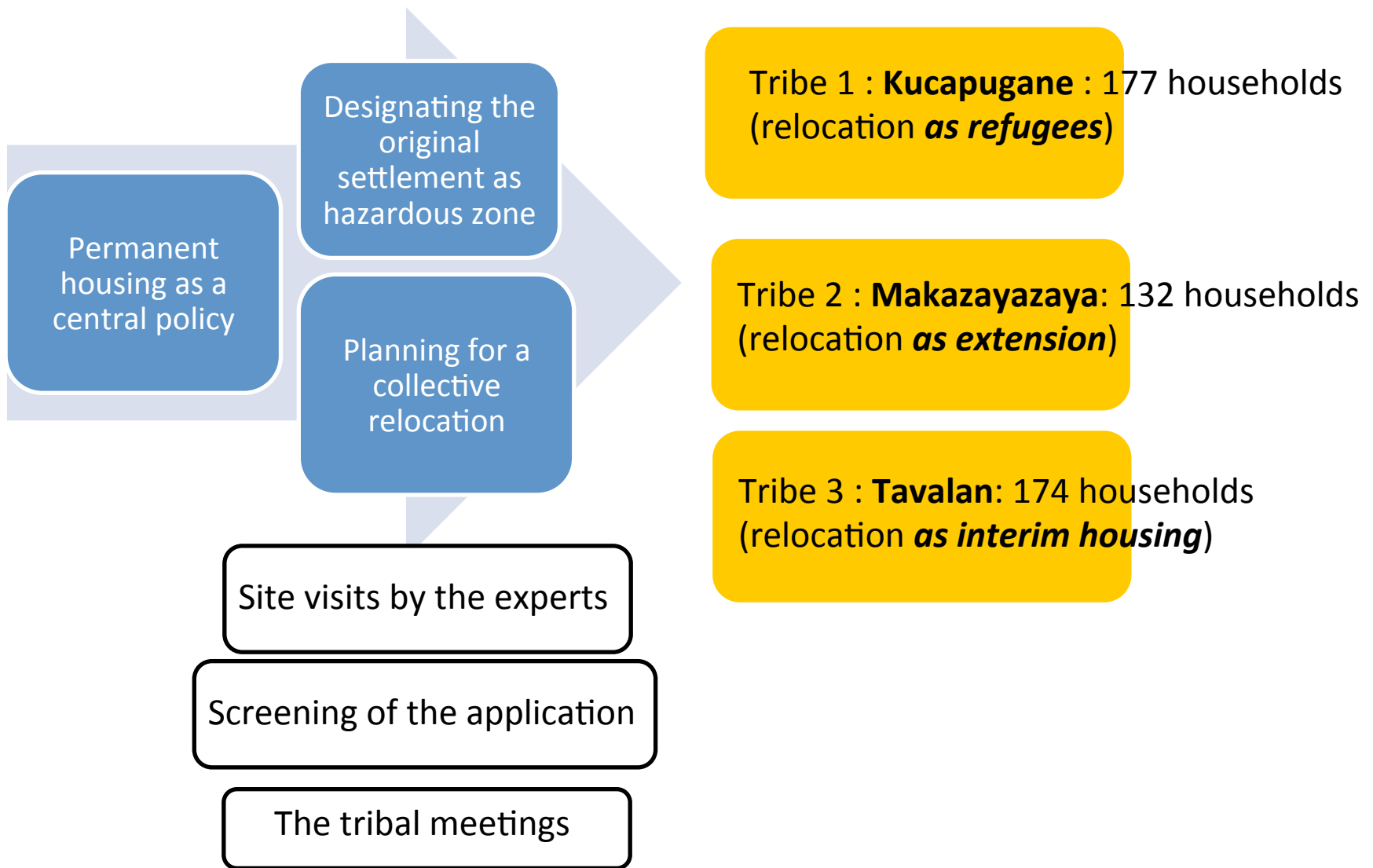
Migration/relocation & territorialization

- San-ho village as a site of connection/disconnection
 - San-ho village as a forefront of connection/disconnection or an extension of relocation
 - Migration/relocation is integral to the indigenous way of territorialization and reterritorialization.
-
- But migration/relocation without a careful, incremental, collective process of decision making would become displacement.
 - Both Kucapungane and Tavalan were discussing about relocation before the disaster and had been working on their own plans (Gadeljeman, 2014).

Comparison: the planned-relocation during 1950s-70s and 2009-2011

	San-Ho (1950s-70s)	Rinari (2009-2011)
Driving force	Discipline and development	Response to natural disaster
Resource	The central government and local administration with a short-term assistance by USAID	The Reconstruction Agency under the central government and disaster relief fund from several international and domestic charities
Forms of migration/ displacement	Voluntary base	Forced-relocation
Land use planning (with allocation of farmlands)	Yes	No
Population/households	Ranging from 72 households to more than 1,000 households in the 1970s	483 houses
	Model resettlement (a planned colony) (示範移住地, Iziuci laulauzang)	Model re-construction village

*The sense of tension increases both across and within ethnic groups



Source: Adapted from Valagas Gadeljeman, 2014, p. 57

How the differences are constructed and sustained

- Cultural differences (regarding their cultural values and social hierarchy)
- Eco-economic differences (regarding their material loss and sense of loss)
 - > connected to their differences in biographies/
memories of displacement
- Spatial differences (regarding their connectivity, such as distances to previous settlement)

Differences in understanding the disaster and displacement displacement

- Loss of properties and tangible heritage (treasures, belongs, photos, etc.)
- Loss of possibilities to sorting out things from the past
- Loss of footholds (the talking about the ground being totally washed away)

Sense of territory has been reinforced on a daily basis



Similarities in their responses to disasters and displacement

- Heavy reliance on family, friends, and neighbours through informal social networks enabling mutual aid, communication, improvisation, and flexibility (like the case of Neah Bay in WA, Freitag et al. 2014)

Differences in their responses to disasters and displacement

It seems that the “differences” are related to their capacities of adaptation (closely related to their connectivity - connections with significant places) rather than essential cultural differences.

Differences in their histories/experiences of participation in tourism: Kocapungane has a longer history of engaging in eco-tourism than the other two tribes.

Sites of negotiation I:

Locating farmlands for economic recovery



Quinoa growing in **Makazayazaya** and Kucapungane

By William Lai

	Makazayazaya	Kucapungane
Sources of farmlands	Old Majia	Old Kucapungane or/and Sanhe village
Place identity and farming	The whole Majia Township	Unclear
Marketing strategies	Branding In partnership with ecological tourism agencies	Unclear

Sites of negotiation I:

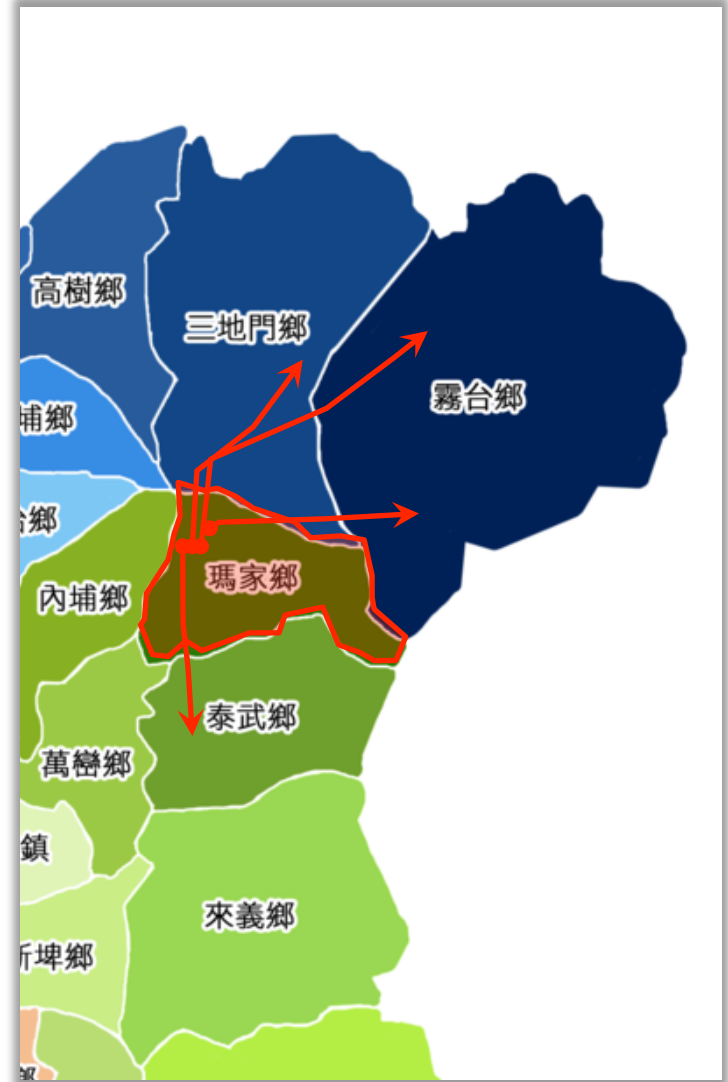
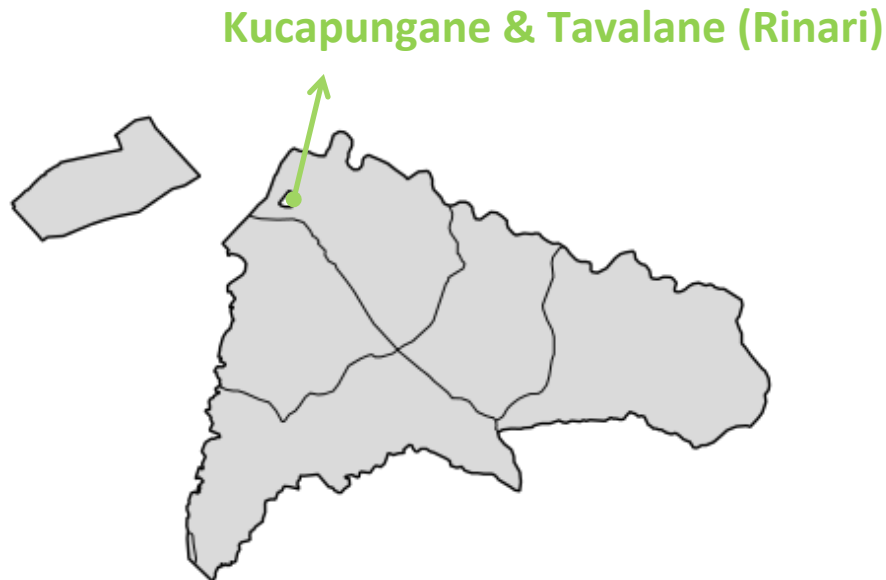
Locating farmlands for economic recovery



Coffee growing in Majia and Kucapungane

	Makazayazaya	Kucapungane
Sources of farmlands	Old Makazayazaya and other villages	Old Kucapungane
Place identity and farming	The whole Majia Township	Unclear
Marketing strategies	Branding In partnership with ecological tourism agencies	Unclear

- The Paiwan network of coffee growing has been extending



Sites of negotiation II:

Locating cultural resources to regain local pride and sense of place



By William Lai

	Makazayazaya	Kucapungane
Sources of cultural resources	Old Makazayazaya and other villages	Old Kucapungane
Place identity	The whole Majia Township in which Makazayazaya is a <i>gateway</i> to the origin of Paiwan people	Kucapungane as <i>the focal treasure</i> of Rukai people
Marketing strategies	Eco-tourism	National heritage, with a recognition by World Monument Fund



WUTAI TOWNSHIP, TAIWAN

..... DID YOU KNOW?

The migration of the Kucapungane Rukai and the erosion of their traditional craft skills and beliefs is causing all evidence of their heritage to be slowly lost.

Sites of negotiation III: Performing Tourism

The Community Development Center and some community-based initiatives in the making

Craftsmanship, ethnic food, performance, eco-tourism, homestay program.....?



Sites of negotiation III: Performing Tourism

the Homestay Program in Kucapungane and Majia

Makazayazaya	Kucapungane
About 10 families	About 40 member families
A lack if interest	A making of culture that focuses on religious values and hospitality
A lack of organization and collective identity; A lack of distribution and redistribution	An experimental model that tries to create a sense of collectiveness
N/A	A focus on companionship
N/A	Mobilizing external resources to support the program

Conflicts over the homestay program

- The leadership
- Distribution and redistribution
- Community politics > more than two homestay programs in one tribe



Inter-referencing, competition, and cooperation

- To qualitatively change the way differences are sustained? from a cultural one to a economic one?
- It seems that the “differences” are related to their capacities of adaptation (closely related to their connections with significant places) rather than essential cultural differences.

Geographies of community resilience

- The navigating of cross-cultural differences is also a geographical process.
- In the course of negotiating for opportunities and locating resources, the community can extend geographies of community resilience.
- It is important to enable the relocated communities to sustain diversified connections with other places, including their previous settlement or “settlement by extension”, that is, geographies of community resilience.

