Study of Ecotourism Sustainable Development Strategy of the Cinsibu Atayal Tribe in Taiwan

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Abstract. This study aims to analyze the processes and measures of the sustainable tourism development of indigenous tribes, and explores the policies of governmental departments, in order to serve as reference for the development of tribal tourism. This study treats the Cinsibu Atayal Tribe in Taiwan as the subject and conducts qualitative research. According to the findings: (1) Policy guidance of the government and clergymen in the tribe are the main forces to promote sustainable tribal ecotourism development. (2) Tribal ecotourism can effectively carry out ecological conservation and maintain and pass on culture. (3) By the creation of job opportunities in the tribe, the people can be self-sufficient, which results in sustainable development in the tribe. According to the results, this study proposes suggestions for the development of tribal ecotourism.

1. Introduction
In order to boost the economy in the tribes and enhance the quality of life of indigenous peoples, upon the policies of “community construction” and cultural restoration in the recent 20 years, Taiwan’s government has developed various new tourism sites and different types of tourism activities. In the process of promotion, the outcome was insignificant in some tribes; however, some tribes enhanced sustainable tribal development by their unique culture and ecological resources, and created local job opportunities [1]. The Cinsibu Tribe is one of the most remote tribes in Hsinchu, Taiwan. With the policy guidance of the government, people’s lives have changed from the self-sufficiency of the past to the cultivation of various fruits and vegetables. Due to the inconvenience of transportation to the external world, nowadays, it still remains an ecological environment of primitive forest and cypress forest as national treasure. It is the only primeval cypress forest in Taiwan and a precious asset for the Cinsibu Tribe to develop ecotourism. Nevertheless, after the construction of external transportation and the reports of media, it attracted a great number of visitors, and the revenues resulted from the tourism industry (mountain climbing, B&B, food, and tours) seemed to be the turning point of tribal development. However, it was a challenge for ecological conservation and cultural inheritance, as the ecology in the mountains was particularly influenced. This study analyzes the sustainable development strategy of indigenous tribes in Taiwan, and treats the Cinsibu Tribe as the case study to explore the strategies of tribes to implement sustainable ecotourism development, which can serve as reference for the ecotourism development of indigenous tribes in Taiwan and foreign countries.

2. Policy background of sustainable development in indigenous tribes of Taiwan
In 1994, the Council for Cultural Affairs, Taiwan introduced the policy “total community construction” to construct community culture, enhance common consensus among community members, and
establish the concept of community as new thought and policy in another category of cultural administration, which is a bottom to top system that emphasizes community autonomy and resident participation. Basically, this policy aims to play the role of a pilot instead of the mission role of traditional manipulation. According to some simple social universal values, this policy proposes a vision of social development that leads to the engagement and realization of different private forces. The government provided the space, offered and installed the resources, and established the rules [2]. In 2002, the Executive Yuan, Taiwan proposed “Challenge 2008: National Development Plan”, which included two movements for total community construction: “new homeland movement” and “new tribe movement”. During this period, the development of the social movement of indigenous peoples in Taiwan was the most severe, and some intellectual indigenous peoples insisted on “becoming their own planners”, and encouraged tribal residents to be conscious and change from the role of being “the manipulated” to “participants”. The claim constructed the collective consciousness to rejuvenate and revive the tribe, and such advocacy was identified by most of the participants of the indigenous movement. The “New tribe movement” has become the new direction of the indigenous movement, and is intended to return to indigenous hometown and meet the trend of “total community construction”. Total community construction was launched by cooperation among local government, academic or professional groups, and tribal elites, and a large amount of funds have been invested in indigenous communities. In 2004, the Executive Yuan, Taiwan passed the “community construction statute” draft, and legalized community autonomic construction and citizen participation as the criteria for administration units and community residents.

In 2004, Mr. Chen Chi-nan, who undertook the position as chairman of the Council for Cultural Affairs, stated that “cultural industry and environmental reconstruction are the only solution to revive indigenous tribes.” He argued that one of the most significant problems of indigenous areas was the reduction and emigration of residents. Therefore, the purpose of community construction is to reconstruct an “attractive” environment; while “tribal rejuvenation is based on proud tradition.” Thus, he suggested “integrating the primary industry of indigenous tribes by the total community construction strategy as a fourth level industry, meaning an intellectual industry”. Upon culture and learning, the principles of independence, autonomy, and originality by rich imagination creates local characteristics to develop new communities and industries, and thus, fulfill the “new tribe movement” [3]. The “Sustainable development plan of indigenous tribes”, as implemented by the Council of Indigenous Peoples, was based on the framework and spirit of the “six-star plan implementation project of Taiwan’s health community”. This plan was enacted between 2006 and 2009; through industrial development, humanistic education, social welfare medicine, tribal safety, landscape, and environmental ecology, it implemented overall tribal development. This project relied on the cultural history and current development of the tribes, and enhanced the common consensus for development through tribal conferences. The tribes proposed the objectives and demands of different phases, developed their plans, and implemented tribal construction of the previous six dimensions. Through the tribes’ active demands and a company of professional teams, it effectively enhanced the sustainability of the tribes [4].

From 2012, the “sustainability plan of indigenous tribes” was renamed the “revival plan of indigenous tribes”, where the main purpose was to create environments with characteristics suitable for indigenous peoples. This plan aimed to develop tribal autonomy competence, cultivate talents of tribal autonomy, construct tribal self-rescue ability for disasters, restore traditional culture and ceremonies, fulfill tribal aesthetics and greening, and reproduce tribal traditional sharing and the collaborative mechanism. In addition, according to the “sustainable development and landscape reconstruction plan of indigenous tribes”, as the traditional residential areas of indigenous peoples are remote places with inconvenient transportation, they are the marginal and inferior areas for structural development of territorial space, and the residential conditions are disadvantageous, thus, in terms of overall development, “tribes” encounter difficulties [5]. A “Tribe” is a political subject and the living center of indigenous areas, and it coexists with nature. In order to maintain the public safety, public transportation, and public health of indigenous areas, and enhance landscape improvements and the construction of tribes, the Council of Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan treats “tribe” as the basic subject of future development and planning through development strategies, “sustainable development of
tribal environments”, and “tribal landscape reconstruction”, thus, it enhances the core values of the indigenous peoples to reconstruct their tribal environment, revive their tribal economy, and pass on their tribal culture [6, 7].

3. Process analysis of sustainable development of the cinsibu tribe
Cinsibu is located two kilometers south of the Shin Kong Tribe, on the left bank of Taigang Creek, and on hillside on the east side of the Bei Zou Ji Summit of Jinaji Mountain, and its elevation is 1700 m. According to legend, it was constructed by Sehu-buta, the son of the well-known boss of an Atayal tribe, Buta-krahu, more than 400 years ago. At present, there are around 200 residents in the Cinsibu Tribe, including more than 20 households. The residents are mostly Atayal people. The Cinsibu Tribe is the earliest constructed in Xiuluan Village, Jianshi Township, Hsinchu County, and one of the important bases of Atayal people emigrating to the north. The emigration of Atayal people was from Lihang Village, Ren’ai Township, Nantou County to the north. They passed through quri-sbayan, the northern crest line of Dabajian Moutain, Xinaji Mountain, and hbun tunan, and settled near the Cinsibu and Shin Kong tribes. (Figure 1, Figure 2)

![Figure 1. Cinsibu Tribe's entrance.](image1)

![Figure 2. Shin Kong Elementary School (Shin Kong Tribe).](image2)

Giant trees are the main attraction of Cinsbu, and behind the mountain of the Cinsbu tribe, between Jinaji Mountain and Mawang Mountain, there is a primeval forest of 50 square kilometers. The trees are Taiwan Red Cypress, Taiwan Cypress, and Formosan China-Fir, and some are more than 1000 years old. Currently, in the Cinsbu tribe, there are two giant trees zones, A and B, and 2 hiking trails are organized. Between 2008 to 2011, there were a total of 162 tribes in Taiwan that participated in the “sustainable development plan of indigenous tribes”. Among others, four tribes in northern, central, southern, and eastern Taiwan, meaning the Cinsibu Tribe of Hsinchu County (Atayal), the Da-an River Tribe of Taichung City (Atayal), the Gaoshih Tribe of Pingtung County (Paiwan), and the Cilamitay Tribe of Hualien County (Amis), respectively, were graded as excellent tribes in community construction with “sustainable tribal spirit”. In the Atayal language, Cinsibu means “the first place with sunshine”, which shows the importance of its location. Community construction in the Cinsibu Tribe can be generally divided into 2 phases, “inauguration of church” and the foundation of the “tribal sustainable development association”; in other words, before the founding of the association, the church was the core unit to implement community works (Figure 3). The first pastor, Pastor Tali, emphasized tribal culture and education. Thus, many Atayal cultural totems remain both in and out of the church. The second pastor, Pastor Atung, was devoted to transportation and ecological conservation, and he was the first person to launch the window of the Cinsibu Tribe to the external world [8]. In 1991, with the discovery of the giant trees, the government provided guidance to improve tribal living conditions, the helped the residents with better financial capacity to begin the development of tourism, and with the assistance of experts, the residents started operating B&Bs (see Figure 4). Initially, as the roads to the tribe were very rugged, the number of visiting tourists were few; however, with the promotion of the tourism policy by the government and TV journalists’ reports of giant trees, it gradually attracted more visitors.
Regarding the product promotion of tribal tourism, the most important was the foundation of local associations. In 1991, two tribes founded the “Jinaji Cultural Tourism Industry Association”, where the main task was to establish marketing channels for tribal agricultural products, develop tribal tourism, plan the system of autonomy for B&B businesses, and their collective operation, integrate B&Bs with related industries into package tours, and successively change the operations of the B&B industry in the tribe from respective management and operation to “collective management and respective operation”. In addition, through this association, they actively contacted the public sectors and the government to gain resources and business for the tribes. Although the “Jinaji Cultural Tourism Industry Association” was subordinate to the Shin Kong Tribe, resource investments and distribution were shared with residents of the Cinsibu Tribe, and the funds were mostly applied to public construction. For example, the Walnut Trail is a short cut from the Shin Kong Tribe to the Cinsibu Tribe, and it was successively completed within ten years; the entrance image and the Jinaji Hiking Trail leading to the community were executed with association funds. The “sustainable development association of the Atayal tribe of Hsinchu County” was founded in 1999, and it was the only window the Cinsibu Tribe had to gain public sector resources. Although the reconstruction of roads and the arrival of visitors led to positive economic effect for the tribe, it showed negative impact on the ecology of the giant tree areas. After recognizing this situation, the pastor of the tribe recruited people from the Shin Kong and Cinsibu Tribes, and in about 300 working days, successively surrounded more than 20 Chinese cypress with fences made of natural local materials found in the national forest land governed by the Forestry Bureau to protect them from the damages of tourism. Thus, they conserved the attractive giant trees for the world, which became important assets for the Cinsibu Tribe and Shin Kong Tribe to develop their tourism industry (see Figure 5-7).
In addition, the sustainable development association of the Atayal tribe emphasized educational training, and launched courses for tribal development and second profession specialties, in order to create more job opportunities for the tribe. The various courses, such as river conservation, ecological industry, tourism industry, tribal tours, ecological industry, agriculture, and folk plants are intended to assist local residents to transform their local industries, and result in more economic outcomes. A partner of Cinsibu community construction is the “Jinaji Cultural Tourism Industry Association”, which is shared with the Shin Kong Tribe. The main directions of these two associations are industrial creation, cultural inheritance, and tourism development. The Presbyterian Church also holds education camps, cultural growth classes, and native language classes for children and teenagers.

4. Discussion
Since the Council for Cultural Affairs implemented total community construction in Taiwan in 1994, the developments of community policies of different governmental departments have been significant. The “2008 challenge of new hometown community construction plan” of the Executive Yuan was thoroughly focused on local culture and community. The Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan complied with overall policy direction and measures, and proposed the “construction plan of learning tribes”. After a cabinet reshuffle, in 2005, the Executive Yuan proposed the “six-star plan of Taiwan’s new communities” and adopted industrial development, health care, community safety, humanistic education, landscape, and environmental ecology as community evaluation indicators. Moreover, in order to enhance complete and diverse community development, regarding the development objectives and related demands proposed by the community, it integrated the original plans and resources into the current related departments of the government, and provided guidance to assist with their development of the different phases, and the “Sustainable development plan of indigenous tribes” was actually launched, and through the open new vision and local action model of the tribes, it implemented the comprehensive tribal reconstruction movement.

Total community construction is the most significant breakthrough cultural policy in Taiwan in recent years, and the most important national cultural life learning movement, as it specifically integrates the social forces of Taiwan and governmental resources, and adjusts the traditional cultural policy thinking from top to bottom. It combines private voluntary forces, and thus, with the challenge of the time, it reflects the interaction between cultural policy and community residents and guides Taiwanese society to ponder the issues of space, culture, and industry. Community culture not only refers to artistic activities, it also includes change and the reconstruction of the physical environments of communities. In addition, community residents should voluntarily cooperate to create new community environments, such as cultivating their fields, meaning indigenous culture policy encourages tribes to reflect on their own culture, develop their identification, and actively construct the tribes. Community culture construction does not simply trace back the past life styles of tribes, but aims to enhance the
people’s identification and engagement with the tribes by group learning to reconstruct their specific modern tribal life culture with unique characteristics. Social change reveals the impact on the traditional culture and life habits of indigenous tribes. As identification with traditional tribes is successively reduced, the common issues in the collective tribal consciousness are few. In addition, since they are financially supported by the government for long-term, they are accustom to the “from top to bottom” interaction model, which lacks characteristics when tribes implement community construction.

As suggested by Pastor A-non in the Cinsibu Tribe, “at present, the most significant obstacle to implement community construction is the residents’ expectations of more direct personal assistance when new resources are engaged in the tribes. This short-sighted concept is certainly associated with the rapid development of tribal tourism. Although it is extremely important to promote industrial and economic development, we should be always cautious; “when walking on mountain trails, as quickness might result in unexpected danger” [8]. In addition, the “early purpose in constructing a church was to serve as the center of tribal mother language instruction, community activities, and cultural inheritance. At present, the church is still the main place for tribal exchange. In addition, according to tribal residents, some residents do not participate in the operation of the tourism industry, and they simply cultivate their agricultural products for the tribe. After harvest, some of these agricultural products should be transported to be sold on the plains, and when this does not occur, cultivation costs are significantly increased. Incomes are influenced by natural disasters or the low prices of agricultural products, which indirectly affects the residents’ lives. After tourism was developed in the tribe, the agricultural products were no longer transported to the plains, as they could be purchased by tourists visiting the tribal areas, which lowered the cost risks. Thus, with tribal tourism development, the residents’ incomes were significantly improved, and they promoted tribal tourism through various channels.

5. Conclusion and suggestions

5.1 Conclusion
1. The government plays the most important role in the sustainable development of indigenous tribes, and such tribal development policies are the main reason for indigenous peoples to return to their hometowns (tribes). If they cannot survive after returning to the tribes, it will reduce the cultural groups; therefore, governmental policy, fund subsidies, and promotion of tribal associations are the keys to sustainable tribal development.
2. Churches and clergymen are the main force to implement sustainable tribal ecotourism development in the indigenous tribes of Taiwan. This study shows that, in the Cinsibu Tribe, the churches and clergymen of the tribes fully provide guidance and integration to promote sustainable tribal development, preserve local culture, and conserve ecology.
3. Regarding ecotourism development, Cinsibu conducts ecological conservation, and preserves and passes on its culture. As it creates job opportunities in the tribe, the people can be self-sufficient, and this is the key factor of sustainable tribal development. The development of ecotourism creates job opportunities and increases incomes for tribal people.

5.2 Suggestions
The most significant assets of the construction of indigenous tribes refers to indigenous peoples’ unique cultural characteristics, language, religion, customs, crafts, group life, and their ancestors’ life wisdom and philosophy. Therefore, total tribal construction is more than the basic establishment of a tribe, meaning it aims to reconstruct the tribal social culture according to the measure of the tribal culture. Therefore, for other countries and areas, one of the important tasks to promote sustainable tribal development is to focus on the generalization and transformation of original tribal knowledge traditions and contents. Tribal investigations can generalize the humanistic characteristics, ecological resources, and features of the tribal peoples. Through local industries, the tribes interact with the external world through small-scale B&Bs, workshops, and tours combined with local ecological environments and resources. Thus, in the process of the accumulation and transformation of culture
and industry, indigenous tribes will recognize the direction of sustainable development for both indigenous culture and industry.

6. References
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