Representing Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan: The Role of Museums

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis situates the issue of representing minority groups in the debate over the role of museum spaces in the contemporary society. In particular, the thesis explores the shifting relationships between the indigenous peoples and the wider Taiwanese society which is considered to be influential in forming indigenous representations.

I conducted fieldwork in case-study museums, which are considered to be leading museums that are more resourceful and influential, and places beyond museum spaces, such as local cultural centres, indigenous communities and public occasions.

In this thesis, I suggest that indigenous representations cannot be understood without considering the power relationships between the represented subjects and their surrounding parties, for example, colonial history and political changes. Because of the nature of museums, this thesis has shown that although there are limitations of museum representations, museums still play a symbolic role in Taiwanese society.

I also expanded my examination of indigenous representations beyond museum spaces. I discovered that compared to museum representations, these representations are more responsive to the needs of both indigenous peoples and their audience. I also argued that although indigenous peoples obtain a greater autonomy in self-representing, internal power relationships and hierarchy also play a critical role in these self-representations.

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ATA	Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines
BOCH	Bureau of Cultural Heritage
CAA	Council of Aboriginal Affairs
CCA	Council of Cultural Affairs
CIP	Council of Indigenous Peoples
DEIC	Dutch East India Company
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
ILO	International Labour Organisation
KMT	Kuomintang
MOC	Ministry of Culture
MoCA	Museum of Chinese American
MTAC	Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission
NMAI	National Museum of the American Indian
NMNS	National Museum of National Science
NMPH	National Museum of Prehistory
NMTH	National Taiwan History Museum
NTM	National Taiwan Museum
NTNU	National Taiwan Normal University
PRC	People's of Public of China
ROC	Republic of China
SYM	Shung Ye Museum for Formosan Aborigines
UN	United Nation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNPO	Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation
UNWGIP	United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations
WCIP	World Conference on Indigenous Peoples

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In the developed world the museum has long been recognized as a space for exhibiting cultures; not only one culture, but of many, representing histories of both positive and negative relationships between states and ethnic groups. As McDonald and Fyfe (1988) have argued, it is the ownership, display and narratives of material objects associated with communities past and present which are often the subject of contestation. Such issues are not only concerned with property rights and legalities but also with the ways objects can carry a symbolism, which may still have active political consequences. The role of museums as representing cultures and peoples of the past may be open to academic discussions, but when they are also representing cultures and peoples in the contemporary world there is inevitably greater scrutiny on such forms and narratives of representation as well as social and political influences. Consequently, what is included in museum collections, how objects are presented, what narratives are produced and in counter-point, what objects and stories are excluded, generates debate beyond the

museum sector itself. Indeed, it raises questions about the role of the museum as an institution of representation not only of the past but of the present.

The thesis takes as its starting point the ways that the present indigenous peoples of Taiwan are represented through its museums, and, in particular, the National Museums, which are both explicitly and implicitly accorded with the role of representing the history of the nation. Taiwan has sixteen recognized indigenous tribes representing some 2% of the population. They have long been in the background of Taiwanese society and, as with Aboriginal communities around the world, they have troubled histories and have commonly been represented as being 'frozen in time' and commodified. At the same time, they have pressing social, economic and political needs, and also aspirations and a need for recognition whilst maintaining their identity.

In the past two decades, Taiwan has begun to recognize its indigenous cultural heritage, hence the issues of indigenous rights have gained momentum. Several milestones that can be considered to be the official responses to the need for greater recognition. For instance, in 1996, the Council of Aboriginal Affairs (CAA) was established to better represent and improve the conditions of the indigenous communities, and in 2005, a specific indigenous television channel to assist the promotion of indigenous culture was established; then, of great significance to them, on 1st of August, 2016, the newly elected President, Tasi, I-Wen made an apology to the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, thereby officially acknowledging the injustices they have suffered over the years. The statement was followed by promises of increasing the autonomy of indigenous peoples

by practicing 'Indigenous Basic Law' and solving controversial issues, such as land issues and the recognition of indigenous identity (China times, 2016).

At the same time, there has also been increasing commodification of indigenous ways of life as part of wider cultural policy and tourism development. Furthermore, the ways in which the indigenous communities of Taiwan are represented to the rest of the population and to tourists is varied and spans both the material and immaterial dimensions of their cultures. Taiwan's museums, therefore, have been, and still are, of course implicated in the politics and practices of representing the nation and its multiple constituencies but their precise role in representing the indigenous communities has not been fully examined.

This study focuses on the ways in which the indigenous peoples in Taiwan have been represented within museums and also the extent to which this reflects not only their historical position, but also their contemporary social political standing in the society. There are over four hundred[1] museums in the country (MOC, 2014) but my starting point for this study was to focus on the National Museums, given that they are well established and have a significant influence as to how Taiwan and its cultures are represented to civil society and to the increasing number of tourists. The study consideres museums as political spaces and institutions that leave themselves open to different, and often conflicting ideological reading. As my research progressed, I

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[1] Museum numbers reached the peak at 748 in 2011 but declined to 476 in 2014 due to the changes of the definition of museums (Cultural Statistic website: http://stat.moc.gov.tw/HS_UserItemResultView.aspx?id=6, accessed: 04/03/2017).

became aware of the importance of situating the representations of the indigenous communities within a wider context of both the spaces and agencies that lie beyond the museums. Consequently, my research has revealed the significance of indigenous representations in terms of how they act as a way of signaling a need to frame the representation of particular groups and communities within the wider socio-political context and within recognition of other media and institutions.

In this introductory chapter, I outline the way I have situated my research at the interface between museum practice and the politics of wider representation and construction/maintenance of indigenous identities. I will then outline the study's aims and objectives and general research methods, and I will also outline the structure of thesis at the end of this chapter.

1.1   The Indigenous Cultural Heritage in Taiwan

Indigenous cultural heritage in Taiwan faces some common challenges that also concern indigenous peoples in other parts of the world; these involve the difficulty of preserving indigenous cultural heritage, the dilemmas of managing indigenous cultural heritage in the contemporary administrative system, and their rights to interpret indigenous cultural heritage, together with other peripheral issues.

The tension between intangible and tangible cultural heritage is a particularly contentious issue in Taiwan. This tension cannot be separated from some related issues, since it involves the history of suppressive colonial policies, the relationships between indigenous peoples and the mainstream Han Chinese society and the increasing awareness of indigenous peoples' rights. Since the Qing dynasty, the indigenous peoples in Taiwan has been marginalised because of the large scale of Han settlement, and during the Japanese colonial period, the 'backward' and 'primitive' labels became firmly attached. Traditional aspects of indigenous cultures had been emphasised in order to distinguish them from either Japanese or Han Chinese and some traditional indigenous rituals have been adversely interpreted and some have been abolished. The circumstances of indigenous cultural heritage also became endangered when the Nationalist party, the Kuomintang (KMT), took control of the island in 1949. With such suppressive policies and education, indigenous peoples suffered from both the loss of their native languages and their diminishing sense of identity. More recently, however, the importance of indigenous cultural heritage has been acknowledged, nevertheless, preserving and valorising indigenous cultural heritage has become a challenging task.

The tension between intangible and tangible cultural heritage also reveals the fact that there is a gap between indigenous cultures and contemporary governmental system. It is understandable that the current system of managing the Taiwanese cultural heritage places most of the emphasis on the heritage of the majority, however, the under-recognition of indigenous cultural heritage requires attention. Similar to the challenges other Aborigines are facing throughout the world, where administrative systems do not

rely on written Chinese, oral history is one of the most distinguishable characteristics of indigenous cultures. As a result, it is not surprising to find conflicts when managing such different cultural heritages where institutions work to regulations based on the mainstream culture. In addition, apart from language barriers, one of the difficulties that indigenous cultural heritages have in the administrative system is the 'fluidity' of their cultures. Many indigenous tribes can share the same traditions, but because of their differences from each other, their different localities and histories, there can be many interpretations and perspectives of a specific tradition. Furthermore, in spite of their marginal status, indigenous cultures are likely to have been influenced by the mainstream cultures, as a result, heritages that contain influences from other cultures is often regarded as not authentic enough to be recognised officially.

Since museum representations mainly consist of material objects, the criticism of under-representing intangible culture heritages, such as spiritual heritage and festivals, is not uncommon. Recognising the gap between administrative systems and indigenous cultures, the criticism of museums being under-representative of the indigenous populations is due to the nature of the museum system, that creates an the imbalance in the power relationship, hence minority cultures are commonly represented from an outsider's perspective. The above discussion suggests that the issues of indigenous heritages in Taiwan have been influenced by the political and social status of the indigenous peoples, therefore, in order to examine how they are represented, it is important to examine the political relationship between indigenous peoples and the wider society.

The number of self-representations presented outside museums has also increased, and some of them have shown different perspectives and approaches from those presented by the museums. Therefore, in order to explore how the indigenous peoples are represented in and out of museum spaces, and what influences the relationships between those representations and indigenous politics, this study will also draw on the literature in order to identify some of the key themes that relate to Taiwan in particular. Such an exploration will include the ways in which indigenous communities are commodified, how they are organizing themselves politically, and the tensions that exist within indigenous groups themselves in relation to the efforts they are making to preserve their heritages (Lien and Davison, 2010).

1.2   The Representation of Indigenous Peoples in Museums

There are studies which have examined the ways indigenous peoples are challenging the former appropriation of their culture by examining ways of museum representations through international legal conventions and by asserting new political relationships through their material culture (Hendry, 2005; Wiessner, 2011). Ashton and Hamilton (2009) have also explored the ways in which museums are complicit in the processes by which Aboriginal voices have been marginalised in the narrative of nations. However, there are relatively few studies that look directly at the relationships between existing museums, the museum sector and indigenous communities. In part, this is a reflection of the fact that indigenous cultures are minority cultures. Nevertheless, this study will

explore several areas in which collaborative works have been created together with indigenous communities in order to discover how Taiwanese museums represent indigenous peoples.

Regarding the marginal position of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, museums in Taiwan, especially national museums, share many of characteristics with museums in other parts of the world, such as being close to the authority, playing an educational role and have privileged status in the society. As suggested by Bennett (1995, 1998, 2004), drawing on Foucault's idea of 'governmentality', museums play a role in forming civil society through the arrangement of their spaces; thus, by visiting them, the public will then develop self-surveillance. Thus, museums are considered to be part of the authority and supporting and reproducing dominant power structures. In Taiwan, not only do educational and public characteristics of museums help the recently established authority form a civil society, but also they also assist in developing an image of state modernity. Over the years there has been an expansion in the number of museums many of which present different aspects of Taiwanese history and culture, which is highly complex, since it has been closely related to a large extent to Chinese and Japanese colonial heritage. As Hooper-Greenhill (1992) recognized, museums have the power of shaping knowledge, distributing power, and empowering people through their collections and exhibitions; consequently, the histories and narratives they offer can make some communities more visible than others. As a consequence, not only do they have certain social responsibilities towards their communities, they also play their part in redefining their communities.

Relationships are now being renegotiated between museums and indigenous peoples and these reflect the ways power is shared with them and the way they are represented in exhibitions. As Healey (2008: 133) has argued

> Museums could be thought of as working through the complex issues which result from collections and institutional practices deriving from a colonial world that now exist in a postcolonial world where indigenous people have recognised rights as citizens and cultural custodians. They seem to have made the transition from being memory machines for colonialism and race to being memory machines for a postcolonial future.

Museums have now to take on the responsibility for represent diversity of society. As the result, involving indigenous peoples in the process of representation is a common way for museums to pursue social inclusiveness (Sandell 2002a, 2007; Witcomb 2003; Watson 2007b). However, despite the fact that some museums, like the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa which has a bicultural partnership between its indigenous and non-indigenous culture, only a very few museums place as much emphasis on its indigenous cultures as on its mainstream society. Most museums, therefore, are following a gradual process that will lead to their indigenous peoples finding their own places in their structure.

The democratization of museum spaces and increasing social inclusiveness are also gradually being emphasised by the museum industry, which not only reflect social changes, but also is a response to an international shift in the expectations placed on

museum spaces. For instances, in Taiwan, the representation of its indigenous peoples within its museum spaces has become an expectation. However, in spite of this, the actual content of their permanent exhibitions has shown no great changes, since the perspective that sees indigenous peoples as being 'others', together with presenting representations in brightly coloured clothes and canoe are still commonly found in its museums. Changes, however, are being seen mostly in temporary exhibitions, where the numbers of indigenous representations have significantly increased, as well as the diversity of the subjects, such as sport athletes, family histories, and ritual ceremonies.

Such museum representations are generally considered to be reflections of the status of indigenous peoples, in their representations as cultural others, or as symbols of social inclusion in an era when social diversity is celebrated. Consequently, twenty-first century museums now show a very different aspect of indigenous life in that they have become more responsive to their audiences and by taking their communities into concern. Hooper-Greenhill (2007: 1) describes the emergence of these as

> 'Post-museums' […] one of the key dimensions of the post-
> museums is a more sophisticated understanding of the complex
> relationships between culture, communication, learning and identity
> that will support a new approach to museum audiences; a second
> basic element is the promotion of a more egalitarian and just society;
> and linked to these is an acceptance that culture works to represent,
> reproduce and constitute self-identities and that this entails a sense
> of social and ethical responsibility.

Both social and political changes have also caused museums to be more concerned about their communities, and this can be seen not only in an increase in the number of co-productions between museums and indigenous communities, but also in the growing power of indigenous peoples to represent their own cultures. Instead of how indigenous peoples' past used to be over-represented, thus effectively reinforcing the idea of them being alienated from the majority population, some museums have begun to bring more contemporary aspects of their lives into representations in order to show their traditional practices have been transformed in order to allow them to be sustained in modern day social fabric. However, even though museums have been changing, it is notable that some critical parts of the lives of indigenous people are missing in museum representations, such as land issues and educational and economic disadvantages. In the same ways that museum representations can reflect the raise of indigenous rights, these missing elements can be regarded as evidence that indigenous peoples still hold marginal positions; hence, the power to represent indigenous cultures is still very much held by the political authority and mainstream society.

1.3   Representing Indigenous Peoples Beyond Museum Spaces

As mentioned earlier, indigenous peoples in Taiwan share many similarities with those in other parts of the world, such as less privileged social status, lack of resources, having suffered from cultural loss, and struggling for identity recognition. Fraser (2001:

27) considered 'misrecognition of identity' to be a matter of injustice since such people are denied

> the status of [being considered as] a full partner in social interaction and prevented from participating as a peer in social life as a consequence of institutionalised patterns of cultural value that constitute one as comparatively unworthy of respect or esteem.

Apart from representing indigenous peoples in formal spaces, such as museums, it is not uncommon to find that they wish to solve the problems of social and economic status by correcting misrepresentations and claiming the right of self-representations. Since representing indigenous peoples is not exclusive to museum professionals anymore, with increased recognition of their cultures, indigenous peoples do have an opportunity to represent themselves in whichever ways they prefer and give their versions of history, which may be different from what may be found in museums. Consequently, many of their representations take place in various other places and on different occasions, such as in the market of souvenirs, entertaining business and national events. However, the differences between indigenous representations in and beyond museum spaces can be significant; for instance, museum representations are assumed to be serious and educational, whereas indigenous representations in tourism centres and in the entertainment business are intended to attract people's attention, as a result, stereotypical images are quite commonly found.

However, representational images of minority group people have been considered to be a means of sustaining their heritage to such an extent that contemporary indigenous society has been dramatically changed; consequently how traditional cultures might establish a place in modern society has become a critical issue. For example, communities involve their own members in presenting their history to the point where their heritage becomes a community business to be marketed; consequently, they see this as an opportunity for their younger generations to learn about their past, which is not taught in formal education. Therefore, representations beyond museum spaces are usually created with intentions that may not prioritise authenticity or correctness, but simply the financial interests of their communities. Looking into these various representations and their purposes leads to further issues and challenges for Taiwan's indigenous cultural heritage.

Indigenous artists also play an important role in some representations which not only show the fluidity of their cultures by combining their ancient traditions with modern elements, but widen the audiences of their representations and increase awareness of both the general public and tourists. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, unlike museum representations, these are often considered to be carefully created, the representations outside museum spaces can sometimes be controversial and stereotypical, thus become the subject of a debate. Although the diversity of these representations can assist in increasing recognition of indigenous cultures, support their identification and enhance indigenous rights, it cannot be denied that some similarities exist between museum exhibits and non-museum representations, which greatly rely on traditional aspects of

indigenous cultures, such as museum-like examples of clothing, or the adoption of museum style representations of tool-using techniques, or the presentation of artefacts that appear in display cases. This study will therefore seek to investigate the balance and tension between institutional and self-representations of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan.

1.4   Aim of the Research

In the context of addressing broader questions of how museums represent different social groups and particularly the more marginal groups in society, and related to this, how such groups are able to represent themselves within cultures that have institutionalised the museum and the material culture it serves, I focus upon the indigenous communities of Taiwan. Themselves a heterogeneous group, they have historically been positioned at the margins of Taiwanese society. In this research my aim is to examine how the indigenous peoples of Taiwan are represented in its museums. I understand the museum not only as a place of display but also as a political institution and space of social and political engagement. Though I focus primarily on the state-sanctioned 'national museums' I also seek to understand how these fit within wider tropes of representation and relationships that indigenous peoples have with other modes of display and how these shape notions of indigenous identity and the status of the indigenous peoples in Taiwanese society.

To address this overall aim, this study has four inter-related objectives:

1. To situate indigenous representations and relationships within the national policy context and within the wider politisation of indigenous peoples;

2. To examine the inter-relations between the indigenous communities and the national museums of Taiwan;

3. To understand how these representations and relationships are manifest in the collections, displays, exhibition and communication strategies of the national museums;

4. To explore the extent to which the museum is the most appropriate space for the representation of Taiwan's indigenous peoples and the agency of the indigenous communities in creating different modes of representation/identification.

This first objective will consider the changing influences of national policy regarding the recognition of indigenous peoples with the challenging narratives of Taiwanese identity. This concerns both the historical and contemporary political context that shapes indigenous rights and the socio-economic and political status of their

communities. In addition to the historical trajectory of indigenous representations I also emphasise the influence of globalization and how indigenous peoples are highlighted through popular culture.

The second and third objectives will provide insights into the perspectives that the museums hold toward the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Since the political status of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan has been changing in a different era, through looking into the relationships between the museum and the indigenous peoples, the shifting stance of the authority will be revealed. Furthermore, how indigenous peoples are regarded by the authority is essential for museums, especially national museums, when they form indigenous collections, exhibitions, or working with indigenous peoples on co-productions. These relationships will also influence the responses from indigenous communities as well as how the indigenous peoples in Taiwan regard the role of the museums. Through these two objectives, I will be able to explore the role of museums in contemporary Taiwanese society and consider the necessity of museums in terms of representing indigenous peoples.

The last objective will draw the attention onto the perspectives of the indigenous peoples toward the role of museum spaces in Taiwan. Through looking into the representations that are created by indigenous peoples, it identifies the different concerns and the limitations of museum representations. The characteristics of the representations beyond museum spaces may be varied, the intentions of these indigenous representations will also be examined as well as their approaches. Through

addressing the representations beyond museum spaces, the concerns of social issues, such as economic disadvantage and lack of educational resources, may also be revealed and will provide a better understanding of the solutions and strategies that indigenous peoples adopt to tackle these issues. The last objective provides an alternative perspective of indigenous representations by putting them back into the social context in order to achieve a better understanding of the role of museums in representing indigenous peoples.

1.5   Overall Research Methodology

The methodology adopted for the study will be discussed in Chapter 4, which provides details of specific approaches, methods and techniques. I adopt a 'mixed methods' approach to examine the inter-relationships between indigenous communities and museums in Taiwan. I started the research by selecting case-study museums and indigenous communities that have the necessary qualities required for achieving the study's objectives. The methodology also involved both participant and non-participant observations in the selected museum spaces and the indigenous communities. I also used in-depth interviews with key actors in both research categories. Alongside formal interviews, I gained valuable material from informal conversations while I was conducting my fieldwork. The research methods also involved narrative analyses of the museum's displays and exhibitions. Initially, through non-participant observations, I examined the ways in which indigenous communities are represented in the leading museums of Taiwan, which involved the identification and analysis of the objects and narratives on display. I also examined the selected indigenous cultural centres and self-

representations in order to compare them with how the museum's approached the same material. I also interviewed some of the key activists in the indigenous communities in order to discover their view about the chosen museums in particular and the museum sector in general regarding their representation of their culture heritage, as well as their social and political issues.

In addition, I examined cultural representations beyond the museums that are aimed at the tourist industry in order to assess indigenous people's own approaches to commercializing representations of their cultures; for example, tourist brochures, posters and other visual materials. These will have been created with different intentions from those presented by museums and indigenous communities, for instance to explore the marketing possibilities in order to address their economic and political needs. The research methodology is designed to study the relationships between indigenous peoples with other corresponding partners in order to elaborate the political characteristics of the representations of indigenous cultures.

1.6   Thesis Structure

The content of the following chapters will be as follows:

Chapter 2 will review the literature and provide a conceptual picture concerning indigenous rights, the museum representation and building the national identity as well

as the indigenous identity. It draws on insights into the critical arguments on multiculturalism, cultural appropriation, and museum inclusiveness that lead the research attention to international indigenous awareness and the shifting responsibility of museums. The chapter will explore the issue of representing indigenous peoples with regard to those in other parts of the world to broaden the academic debate and to highlight the powerful role of politics and how museums have been a useful tool for governments to engage with the public through their management of spaces and narratives. The second half of the chapter will emphasise the rising awareness of indigenous rights by presenting cases of self-representations from Aborigines across the world. Hence, the chapter will not only demonstrate the responsiveness and diversity of indigenous representations, but it will also identify local influence and the different attitudes between generations.

Chapter 3, which will examine indigenous affairs in the Taiwanese context, will include the history of colonial representations of indigenous peoples, the influence of historical colonial politics, contemporary indigenous politics, and the changing relationships between museum professions and indigenous communities. The chapter will look at the changing status of indigenous peoples from the colonial periods, to the present, how representations of them are seen in terms of present day politics. By examining representational history, light can be cast on such issues as indigenous rights, identity recognition, land rights, and their current economic and educational needs, and so on. The importance of examining indigenous representations in terms of their social status will be a theme throughout the chapter by demonstrating the influence of international

organisations on raising the awareness of their human rights, revealing the ambiguous status of Taiwan as a country and revealing its desire to define and construct for itself a distinctive national identity.

Chapter 4 will begin with the consideration of the study's philosophy in terms of the theoretical position as it relates to the research question and objectives, outline the methodology used, explain how research problems were identified and defined in relation to its methods and analyses, and demonstrate the rationale and appropriateness of using mixed methods for generating and collecting data. The chapter will end by addressing both the practical and ethical issues involved in researching indigenous peoples, including the strict adherence to confidentiality and the researcher's approach and position in the fieldwork and also to the limitations of the methods adopted.

Chapter 5 will present the study's findings, analyse and discus the fieldwork undertaken with the chosen indigenous groups alongside an assessment of findings that resulted from the examination of the case-study museums, as well as discuss the various relationships established between the museums and the indigenous peoples they have chosen to work with and represent. It will also address the issues according to the data generated from the fieldwork by way of non-participant observations, ethnographic note-taking, and semi-structured interviews with museum professionals and indigenous individuals. The chapter will present the findings on the shifting role of museums in relation to them being part of the governing authority and, thus, the requirement that they be responsive to the community as a whole.

Chapter 6 will provide an analysis, findings and discussions from my fieldwork that involved the case-study indigenous communities and the local cultural centres, as well as examine the indigenous communities' own representation in the tourist industry, popular culture and public space. The emphasis of this chapter is to identify the differences between museum representations and self-representations, and consider the role of self-representation in neighbourhoods and in other public spaces, with the intention and expectations of building appropriate images of their own indigenous communities. The chapter will also consider indigenous representations that are examined in this study with the indigenous policies in order to have a better understanding of the relationships between the epresentations and indigenous politics.

Chapter 7 will discuss the findings of this research at both the theoretical and conceptual levels. It will identify the political characteristics of the museum space and examine the shifting inter-relationships between museums and indigenous communities. The chapter will also discuss the negotiation process between indigenous peoples and museums in terms of ways of representing indigenous peoples in the light of museums' practice of inclusivity. The limitations of the museum are shown with the examinations of self-representations that are created from the perspective of indigenous communities. The issue of the power relationships between indigenous cultures and the larger community will also be addressed, particularly in relation to local politics and the internal social structure of indigenous societies. The chapter will end with a review of the contributions and limitations of this study and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.1   Introduction

The main objective of this research is to examine how a marginal society, such as indigenous peoples, can be represented in contemporary national museums. The social status of indigenous peoples is one of the important conceptual issues and also influence the definition of indigenous identity. The status of indigenous people also reflect the

the stance of national museums, as Anderson (1983) points out, in order to construct the power, the identity of a nation is especially crucial, in which the boundary of 'other' and 'insider' is commonly found in order to construct a collective identity (Bauman, 2004). Nevertheless, not only the identity and social status of indigenous peoples are fluid, but also the social role of national museums. As indigenous rights have risen, multiculturalism has become a focus in academic research, such as in anthropology (Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Clifford, 1988, 1997; Henry, 2005), and museum studies (Bennett, 1995; Hall, 1997; Message, 2006, 2009; Peers and Brown, 2007).

'New museology' as Vergo (1989) defined it, instead of insisting on its authority and educational roles, museums started to take their communities' perspectives into accounts, and build a much equal relationship with the public. Democratising exhibiting spaces has also influenced exhibiting spaces outside of museums, such as cultural centres and indigenous communities, where indigenous self-representations are not uncommon. Exhibiting spaces become a platform for two-way conversations which not only present the 'hidden' or 'the other side' of the story and can challenge the existing system (Golding, 2013). The shifting roles of museums and the rising awareness of indigenous rights have also resulted in the various means of representing indigenous cultures. Commercialising indigenous representations is particularly notable on the issue of 'how' to represent indigenous cultures which relate to the debate of 'appropriating' indigenous cultures and the definition of 'authenticity'.

In order to map the conceptual interweaved relationships between indigenous peoples, the representations in historic colonial context and contemporary society, as well as museums, this chapter will review previous research on the topic of the representations of indigenous communities to and in the wider social world. The first section will give a definition of 'indigenous peoples' and the characteristics of 'indigenous identity'. In addition, in order to understand the reasons for indigenous peoples being distinguished from the hegemonic public, especially in the colonial era, the concepts of 'representation' and 'otherness' and methods used to represent will be discussed.

The second section will then bring the discussions of 'representation' and 'indigenous peoples' together to examine the forms and the purposes by which the communities are represented as 'other'. In order to understand the impact of these representations on indigenous communities, the discussion will include several issues that are commonly encountered, such as the role of cultural preservation, territorial elements and tourism representations. Towards the end of the section, the discussion will firstly extend to which indigenous peoples have sought to gain control over representing themselves as contemporary socio-cultural groups, and secondly, it will examine the ideologies of the strategies of representing indigenous peoples.

Finally, the discussion will move to bring these subjects together through a consideration of how indigenous communities are represented in museums. The discussion will focus on how indigenous cultures are represented within what Vergo (1997) describes as the 'new museology', which draws on similar themes to

Macdonald's (1998) notion of building 'democratic museums' and broadening power sharing relationship with communities. Especially, in Taiwan, many museums have changed their images based on this new museology, for instance, national museums, which were established to enhance the practice of colonialism, are now used to present the uniqueness of indigenous cultures and as a means by which indigenous peoples may claim their identity. This study sees museums as Macdonald and Fyfe (1998) described them as 'active actors in forming social systems', rather than as the 'products of a social system'. Since the ways museums represent indigenous peoples are also the product of social interactions, I will also look into the role of the museum, such as its social status, its political relationships, and how it influences society through the subjects it presents, particularly the cultures which are not considered by society to be mainstream, and the parts its material collections can play in constructing a sense of 'otherness' in minority communities and societies.

The last section of the discussion, therefore, will address the transformation of museums traditions, which affect the ways of representing indigenous peoples of Taiwan, and examine how local museums have been established specifically to work with local communities by cooperating with their communities.

2.2   Defining Indigenous People

The following definition is adapted from UNESCO's category (2004): 'Indigenous peoples' refer to people who are non-territorial minorities or nomads, groups with no particular attachment to a territory, and often in a vulnerable position on negotiating their cultural and religious presence in a particular society.

The definition emphasises the social status of indigenous peoples and identifies the imbalance in power relationships between them and the dominant cultures, but possibly underplays the importance of territorial elements, which will be elaborated upon in more detail later. Often as minority groups, indigenous peoples are regarded as an 'underclass', which, according to Bauman (2004), includes people who are excluded from the main society as they are deemed not to be authoritative members, consequently, such people often suffer from 'identity abuse'. Hence indigenous groups have little autonomy to speak for themselves and it is common for their identities to be misunderstood and misrecognized. However, in order to seek support and recognition, indigenous peoples have brought their concerns and demands to international forums such as the Unrepresentated Nations and Peoples Organisation (UNPO), the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples (WCIP), the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

The definition of indigenous identity is critical in this study, so I shall start by considering some definitions that appear in the above named international organizations.

One of the most recognised of those – from UNWGIP – affords indigenous peoples autonomy by insisting that they should have an unlimited right to describe themselves legally and politically as 'indigenous peoples'. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State (UNWGIP, 2007).

A rigid definition of indigenous identity is also given by the ILO, whereby people should be recognised with indigenous identity when they fulfill certain conditions. The identity of indigenous peoples applies to:

> *(a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulation; (b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization of the establishment of present states boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions (Article I of ILO Convention number 169).*

Here ILO draws a clear line between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous peoples with a list of relatively objective definitions. Furthermore, both ILO and UNWGIP acknowledge self-autonomy and emphasise "self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of the Convention apply" (UNWGIP, 2007).

It is not unusual for the terms 'indigenous peoples' and 'tribal people' to be used interchangeably; for instance under the UN system, they are used as synonymously, in that they share some common characteristics, for instance, they emphasise the importance and power of kinship. Passing knowledge by oral history and ritual ceremony are also characteristics shared by both tribal and indigenous people. Nevertheless, there are different opinions regarding them as being synonyms, since, in anthropology, 'tribe' usually refers to a society that existed before the development of states, and often with the idea of a linear evolution. In the colonial past, especially, the notion of 'tribe' was conveyed with a negative perspective of a timeless and unchanging past (Fried, 1975), as a result, anthropologists have replaced the term 'tribe' with 'segmentary society' in order to eliminate negativity, which does not deny the characteristics of a society with strong connections to a territory, and which considers it as a fundamental element for building economic and political systems (Bacon, 1970).

Rather than seeing territory as the critical factor for the development of a society, instead of 'tribal' people, different institutions' definitions of 'indigenous' peoples place more emphasis on cultural aspects. Consequently, the term 'indigenous people' has

become a well-known category that indicates populations that are culturally distinct from the dominant society, and contains a stronger sense of being colonized and marginalized by a later but dominant population or state. In this context, 'tribal people' does not necessarily refer to the same population as 'indigenous people', since here are many instances of tribal peoples not being indigenous peoples, in that they have not lived in a region longer than other populations and they may have no pre-dominant history. Therefore, since this study will examine the representations of indigenous peoples, which may or may not include territorial criteria, in this research, and without denying the significance of territorial factors in indigenous cultures, 'indigenous peoples' will be considered to be culturally separated from other groups in the population, including tribal people.

2.2.1   The nature of indigenous identity

It is problematic to define 'indigenous identity' in terms of the bureaucratic system of a state since most current administrative systems are alien to most indigenous cultural systems. In the US and Canada, the recognition of indigenous membership lies within the indigenous groups themselves (Corntassel and Primeau, 1998). Therefore, in order to claim a certain indigenous identity, individuals should obey the regulations, requirements and expectations of other members who share this identity. As Durham (1993: 245) states, "[i]ndigenous identity is connected to a sense of peoplehood inseparably linked to sacred traditions, traditional homelands, and a shared history as indigenous people". Although in the 2007 UN Declaration, individuals have the right to self-identify as an indigenous people, it also states that this status should be defined by

the group. As Balibar (1995:174) points out, to have cultural identities 'indigenous peoples' require boundaries for its members to recognize, which include such identifiers- as "linguistic facts, religious facts, facts of kinship, aesthetic facts in the broad sense (for there are styles of life just as there are musical or literary styles) and political facts". These identifiers not only help members to organise their lives, understand their surroundings and live their social lives, they also offer exclusive opportunities and support, for instance, against threats that may arise, help them to build a sense of belonging, and give their actions meaning, since actions are contributions to the community (Audard, 2001; Jenkins, 1996).

For instance, according to Gaski (1993), in order to maintain cultural integrity, the Sami of Norway require an individual who wishes to claim a Sami identity, to speak Sami as their first language, and the other is to show proof of having parents or grandparents who speak it fluently. For the Sami, rather than rigid blood-lines, it is more important that members show they belong through cultural and linguistics ties. This suggests that rather than relying on objective facts, indigenous people prefer to define kinship in terms of a 'relational worldview' that emphasises a sense of community is a matter of relationships and commitments (Hart, 2010). Thus, as Gaski (1993) states, a close internal relationship gives groups the right to establish their own criteria regarding rights of membership, which means that in order to become an insider a prospective member is required to follow the group's regulations and meet this expectations, also, acceptance by a group allows the individual to practice its culture and beliefs. Therefore, self-identification is clearly not enough to become a member of an indigenous group, as

the UNWGIP suggests, but full membership requires the support and recognition of group members.

From the discussion above, it can tell that indigenous identity as any other identity is influenced by the society they are in, recognitions from the wider society as well as indigenous society play critical role in indigenous peoples' self-recognitions. In this study, the indigenous identity will be addressed with the emphasis on its social status and the recognition from the state and other social groups, but without denying the importance of self-recognition. The conflict and inconsistency between indigenous peoples' self-recognition and how the society recognize them will also be explored.

2.2.2 The concept of representation

Because some social agents are more powerful than others within a collective of identities, there exists a hierarchy among communities rather than equality. Not only do other's opinions about us affect our identity, the opinions of the group we belong to have a similar influence. Rather than constructing an identity based on how a group sees itself, the perspectives that are held by a dominant social group could influence how other marginal groups consider their social status and identities. Yeung and Martin (2003) observed that the notion of a 'looking-glass self' suggests that we learn to see ourselves through others' perceptions of us, thus the perspectives and reputations of groups are also related to how we see ourselves, since our individual identities are also formed by our collective identities. Therefore, a group's social surroundings play an

important role in creating its image and representations. In this study, therefore, the concept of representation consists of various social and political influences, which affect not only how the society regards the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, but also how indigenous peoples identify themselves. Seen within this context, the reasons that indigenous representations are built in certain ways and the influences of these representations may be much clearer.

Hall (1997) suggested there are three approaches to understand 'representation', (i) the reflective approach, (ii) the intentional approach, and (iii) the constructionist approach. The reflective approach functions like a mirror, in which descriptions reflect the facts. With the intentional approach, the representation is created and functions according to the author's intention, while in the constructionist approach, the subject is represented with the considerations of cultural or social meanings, therefore it becomes meaningful for people who share the same culture. However, these approaches are very unlikely to have clear boundaries between them as Hall suggested, because all representations are created by social actors who have different social statuses that will affect their viewpoints toward the represented subjects. Woodward (1997:14) points out the significant influence of social codes and sees "representation as a cultural process [that] establishes individual and collective identities and symbolic systems constructs places from which individuals can position themselves and from which they can speak."

Therefore, when a group occupies a low hierarchical position in a society, there is more chance that its representations may be influenced, or even created, by others who have a higher status; a dominant group will have more resources to be more likely to have their

representations accepted. Thus, the examination of their social position is crucial to understand of how the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, as a marginal group, is represented by and to the wider society.

2.2.3 The various forms and formats of representations

There are many ways to create representations of indigenous peoples, such as through literature, images, landscapes, music and performance; among them, visual representations are popular and able to reach a wide range of audiences since there is fewer language or geographical barriers, therefore, the study will put more emphasis on representations through images, such as exhibitions, posters, and photography.

As Hall (1997:25) points out, "it is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others". Language is a social system that could help to contextualize objects, events and peoples, and also to express them to others as concepts or opinions. Through contextualization, and with cultural understanding, words become narratives that form discourses only understood by people with shared qualities, such as those from the same generation or occupation, who share the same memories or are familiar with specific terminologies. Therefore, when words are formed into stories, poems, or news, it is necessary to understand not only the language but also the social context. News, for example, reveals events that are happening that offer connections for societies; therefore,

it is necessary to be able to read and decode it, so written news may be seen as a privileged information source, also, reading newspapers gives the readers prestige (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). Consequently, the elite position that news holds means it becomes more influential. In the entertainment industry, for instance, it is common to find stories that were created according to news. However, as a mode of representations, the news is also socially, culturally and politically constructed. As Caldas-Coulthard (ibid: 277) states, "news is not an objective representation of facts – news is a cultural construct that encodes fixed values", therefore, journalists have to follow specific criteria and evaluations, such as "reference to elite nations" or "personalization and negativity", in order to select newsworthy events to publish.

Photography is another influential method of producing representations that are seen to be 'objective', since, as iconic symbols, photographs not only "visualize" conceptual understanding, but they also illustrate abstract and complex ideas through a single image. The value of documentary films and photographs is mainly based on the concept of 'seeing is believing' that Whittaker (2009) suggests offers an objective representation as well as evidence by way of 'true' images. Therefore, unlike paintings or other created artworks, photography and films are often regarded as mirrors which present facts or truth, especially when they are presented as documentary, since they are often considered to be true recordings, hence they are seen as objective history. However, similar to news 'selection' plays a critical role in documentaries, Hamilton (1997) points out that photographs or film are also subjective interpretations, which presentations present scenes based on personal experiences or their particular

paradigm's evaluations. Barthes (1977), nevertheless, said that film scenes cannot be considered as objective histories, but rather as selected representations, which could also be seen as "structured significations", which vary depending on the photographers and filmmakers' experience, institutional interpretation and a subject's social positions.

Because representations are selected according to certain lenses and presented with specific interpretations, some perspectives have more emphasis placed on them than others, such as with advertisements where readers are directed by images or texts to focus only on the chosen information (Barthes, 1977). Misrepresentations and stereotypes occur when characteristics are over-emphasized or inconsistent with the self-images that are held by the subject communities. As Kasfir (2007:308) argues, representation is a dual process, "it is sold and consumed", therefore, stereotypes only succeed when the audience accepts the perspective and allows it to be repeated. For example, as Frankland (2009) points out, in the films of Colin Turnbull, believing that Pygmies should be savage and relate to their natural surroundings, events such as hunting and honey collecting were repeated in several other films; as a result, Pygmies are often believed to have exotic bodies and have a romanticized relationship to nature. Hence, the visual media has portrayed them as iconic savages. Consequently, when only small parts of their characteristics are taken to be the whole by exaggeration and simplification, their representations become stereotypes. Bhabha (1996: 29) also suggests that stereotypes lead to false representations that are adopted in order to deny the differences among different groups for fear of conflicting arising between them.

Thus, more possibilities exist for stereotyping when power is unbalanced, and then stereotypes are used to exclude 'others' (Hall, 1997).

2.3 Representations of Indigenous Peoples

2.3.1 Representing indigenous peoples as 'others'

The role of culture in representations not only produces meanings and shapes understandings, but it also functions as a means of identifying differences and distinctions between groups and individuals. Both dominant cultures and indigenous peoples choose to display their differentness in order to indicate their particular 'otherness' and be distinguished from each other. In the case of dominant cultures, opposite perspectives would be adopted in order to draw their boundaries to exclude indigenous communities. For example, Corbey (1993) pointed out that world fairs were often regarded by western countries as influential and famous occasions for representing different cultures, where many objects and products, which were frequently collected through colonial force, were presented to show progress in a variety of fields. Not only were material objects presented in these fairs, but using the ideology of social Darwinism, native people were also on display as proof of linear development to demonstrate the advanced nature of the colonizers (Benedict, 1983). The exhibited people were strictly controlled, and they were required to present, in specific scenes, the characteristics of differentness, exoticism, or even barbarity in order to convey the contrast between wildness and civilization, nature and culture.

Due to the history of regarding people in colonized areas as being backward or uncivilized, some indigenous people who live in Western countries still carry these negative labels. Therefore, because indigenous cultures are recognized to be distinct from the dominant cultures, differences often result in conflict that is used as a means by which the majority group can maintain its authority. Indigenous peoples also often present themselves as struggling to survive cultural erosion by external and modern societies. Representations of 'otherness' can also be found in some indigenous self-representations, which are created with the attempts to integrate into dominant cultures. For example, some adopt labels that have been attached to them whether they are true or not. As Berlo and Phillips (2007) state, some Native Americans allow dominant institutions to exert hegemonic control through the schooling system by accepting primitive stereotypes which present them in exotic clothes.

However, cultural awareness has been promoted in order to reduce the harm caused by negative labeling as well as to construct the recognition from members of indigenous communities, as self-representations for themselves, and outsiders. A common self-representation is to include historic experiences, especially from the 'glorious' past, such as historic victories; as Woodward (1997) states, this could suggest that they are facing difficulties defending and claiming their cultural identity in the present. However, as with those representations created by the dominant group, in order to exclude them from mainstream society, stories of past glories can distinguish them from other groups; so, instead of preventing indigenous peoples from participating in the mainstream society, the honorable past can actually assist in their positive recognition and enhance

their culture and traditions. Representing indigenous peoples as an 'other', therefore, becomes a strategy for both the dominant society and the indigenous communities to distinguish indigenous peoples from the majority; however, whether it would be more beneficial for them to claim their places in contemporary society is arguable.

2.3.2   Cultural preservation

Because indigenous groups have been considered to be culturally different from their dominant groups, their position in society makes them vulnerable and they also have less autonomy regarding representing themselves. However, as McGuigan (2004: 34-5) states, based on the principle of civic equality, a cultural right is a 'peoples' right to access cultural resources and participate in the society as both users and contributors'. Once a culture becomes vulnerable, though, it is possible that they lose the right to speak for themselves. As Kreps (2003) points out, when a culture is devalued, it may not be possible to understand the world and sustaining lives will become difficult, being socially and culturally marginalized may pass down for generations.

Cultural preservation of marginalized groups is not only maintaining their diversity but also empowering them to preserve and promote their customs. As Dicks (2004) points out, heritage is a resource for helping people to claim a unique identity, and motivate local authorities, communities and the people themselves to participate in development or redevelopment. Furthermore, several authors noted cultural preservation does not just place emphasis on material collections, or conservation, but it also involves knowledge,

traditions, customs, and values (Cruishand, 1995; Handler, 1992; Kaepper, 1994; Kreps, 2003). Therefore, the importance of preserving one's culture is not just about telling about its history, it also includes the vital elements that sustain it and its future development. As pointed out by Pearce (1992), preserving objects is one of the most important ways for a community's heritage conservation, since an object's original context allows it to function like words do for effective communications. Furthermore, preserving material objects in their original contexts highlights the importance of intangible heritage, objects can be continually 'living' and imbued with further meanings and histories; especially when they remain in their original situation, they can be protected by the cultural and traditional values and practices.

Memory also plays a critical part in preserving intangible cultural heritage, as Fentress (1992) mentions, memory is formed by language, symbols, events and surrounding social backgrounds. Collective memory not only functions as a past record, it also provides people's understanding of the world or their beliefs. Huyssen (1995: 6) stated that memory is often seen 'as [a] cure to the pathologies of modern life', hence, as Schwartz (2000) notes, it becomes 'factual' material for maintaining the social and political order. As Szacka (1997) points out, changes in how the past is viewed relate to social surroundings; for instance, attitudes toward the communist party in Poland changed when the power collapsed. The decision about what is remembered is strategic and political, as Burke (1989) mentions, 'forced forgetting' was critical to enable communist countries to build national identities; indeed, as Cohen (1999: 27) stated, they 'went to great lengths to create new myths and to instill these in society

through…political socialization mechanisms'. Oppressive strategy includes rewriting history and destroying places of memory, therefore, 'the struggle against power is the struggle against forgetting' (Kundera 1980: 3). Lowenthal (1998) indicates that for indigenous communities, whose history is shared and transmitted orally, preserving shared memories means sustaining group cultures and identities, unlike in literate societies' that have printed histories. Thus, preserving intangible cultural heritage can not only prevent the losts of indigenous traditions but also balance the situation that tangible heritage is over-emphasised in many contemporary states.

2.3.3 Intangible cultural heritage

The concept of intangible cultural heritage can be found in various UNESCO documents, such as in its 1973, *The Possibility of Establishing an International Instrument for the Protection of Folklore*, and its 1989 *The Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore*. In 1992, the UN Convention on Biological Diversity specifies the importance of indigenous peoples and the traditions and knowledge of local communities. For instance, in 1993, the Republic of Korea recognized and protected the value of talented tradition bearers by establishing the Living Human Treasures (UNESCO, 2002). From 2001, the *Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* was published by UNESCO and it has been updated every two years. In 2003, through the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the awareness of intangible cultural heritage was raised to a new level.

In UNESCO's 2003 Convention, the term 'intangible heritage' is defined as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO, 2009b: 4). In addition, UNESCO (2009a:3) suggests a range of aspects of cultural heritage as intangible heritage, which consists of: (1) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; (2) performing arts; (3) social practices, rituals and festive events; (4) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and (5) traditional craftsmanship. Although the nature of intangible heritage can be broader than what has been listed above by UNESCO, the convention has helped in raising awareness of over-emphasising material culture, as well as the needs of safeguarding intangible cultures.

Intangible heritage is distinguished from previously defined cultural heritage, which was intended to refer to physical monuments and collections, with the characteristic that "includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants" (UNESCO, 2009c: 3). The convention also indicates that it is more appropriate to safeguard intangible heritage rather than conserve it, since conservation aims to ensure the continuance of cultural heritage, whereas intangible culture would be more responsive. Thus, by safeguarding intangible heritage, the intent is to ensure its continued viability and transmission. In addition, one of the common characteristics of intangible heritage is that they may represent a community's collective work, therefore ownership is difficult to define, since the concept of intellectual property is difficult to

apply to indigenous cultures. Furthermore, UNESCO (ibid) highlights the influences of globalisation, especially on minority communities, which increases the numbers of interactions between them and the different cultures and communities they co-exist alongside. The increasing interaction between different cultures makes preserving intangible heritage even more valuable, since some of them may be struggle to find their places in the modern society and be forgotten eventually.

Prior to the convention on safeguarding intangible cultural heritages, UNESCO had invited its members in various areas to define 'intangible cultural heritage'. Different characteristics were suggested by various countries that responded, however, some were recognised by many; for instance, folklore was put forward by Madagascar, Kuwait, Austria, the Republic of Macedonia, Romania, Spain and Finland. Finland specifically defined 'folklore' as an oral and traditional form. 'Literature' was recognised by Madagascar and Zimbabwe. The connections between communities were specifically referred to by Zimbabwe, which described intangible cultural heritage as traditional culture and folklore used in a community to represent its identity, which includes language, literature, performances, games, myths, rituals, and customs, especially those that are verbally passed down over generations.

Ritual and spiritual elements were also main characteristics of intangible cultural heritage recognised by Ethiopia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Myanmar and Israel, which described intangible cultural heritage as "traversing national borders and extending over time from antiquity to the present" (UNESCO, 2009c: 4), and giving

examples such as images of Jewish people, religious and secular buildings, and ritual objects, since they "include the archival information and any sources of documentation on eradicated Jewish monuments" (ibid). For Ethiopia and Indonesia, intangible cultural heritage is "[something that] cannot be felt by hands" (UNESCO, 2001b:1), obvious examples would be oral knowledge and history, as were pointed out by Madagascar, Lithuania, Finland and, Venezuela. The definition of intangible cultural heritage included Artistic aspects, which was put forward by Argentina, Peru, and the Republic of Korea. In some countries, definitions were more conceptual, for example; Croatia defined it as "a complete way of life and thinking of a human community" (ibid: 3), while Cyprus, saw it as 'the ways of life, thinking in the society' (ibid).

The complexities of interpreting what is actually intangible heritage is also true for the indigenous peoples in Taiwan, where the UN concept offers great opportunities for its preservation. Unlike the dominant society's attitude toward it, the indigenous peoples value intangible heritage much more and rely on the concept to preserve their cultures, since, by being encouraged to produce more open and inclusive representations, is much more likely that it will be able to protect their heritage.

In 1997, UNESCO had recognised the value of intangible cultural heritage in its *Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity*. Arizpe (2004) believes that since then cultural diversity and intangible cultural heritage have had more attention. Especially since intangible cultural heritage cannot be separated from its historical and social context, intangible cultural heritage

can also be considered as a form of community identity. However, Byrne (2009) disagrees, claiming that the UNESCO 2003 Convention is not suitable for every cultural situation in that indigenous people may not want their cultures to be documented, since some community knowledge, which is sacred and can only be held by certain members, may lose its meaning.

Supported by iconic international organisations, the value of intangible cultural heritage has been stressed, but definitions of intangible cultural heritage vary in different societies, and how to put UNESCO's concept into action also varies in different countries. It cannot be denied that the UNESCO 2003 Convention has been highly influential in heritage affairs, as well as in other related matters, for example, UNESCO (2001a) indicated that gender aspects tend to be undervalued when viewed from traditional perspectives, which are predominantly male dominated. Sutherland-Addy (2012) also shows the role of females in the state developments in Africa, and encourages women to become further involved in heritage preservation. Hung (2008) cites cases in both Japan, regarding that country's 1905 law for the Protection of Cultural Properties, and in the Republic of Korea's 2005 Revision of the Protection of Cultural Properties Act. Both of these cases illustrate the relationship between government and civil organisations with regard to indigenous people's cultural property rights.

2.3.4   Representing territorial elements in indigenous culture

For indigenous peoples, landscapes symbolise their knowledge, history and culture. As Ashworth et al (2007) points out, once landscape has been connected with memory and social factors, it plays a critical part in memorialization and commemoration. It is also used in the formation of identities, such as national, regional and group identities. Hence, landscape is not neutral in nature, but it is usually combined with cultural practices; thus it becomes a symbol of culture and social belief (Crang, 2001). For many indigenous communities, the meaning of landscape reinforces their verbal knowledge, and not only in a spatial sense; for instance, according to Basso (1988), in the US, to the Western Apache the importance of land lies in specific geographical spaces in their ancestral history. Consequently, through utterances, they build not only emotional connections with the land, but they receive guidance and rules for their society from it. Particular territory, therefore, not only informs the Western Apache's knowledge and memories, but it also sustains their present community, by being a vital part of their identity.

Therefore, a demand to maintain power over the land is not only a desire for a place in which to live, but also a motive to defend and exercise authority over an area. Convention 169 of the ILO, mentioned previously, not only stresses the recognition of indigenous people's social, cultural and spiritual traditions, but also introduces the concept of territory and habitat. One of the most significant definitions was written by Jose R. Martinez Cobo of the UN, who brings the issues of land and political oppression together:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems (1987, Para. 378).

The importance of territory for indigenous communities has been emphasized and recognized with regard to their identities. Therefore, taking landscapes into account when producing representations of identity may be considered to be a political move, since landscapes will inevitably be included by groups when negotiating with the authorities.

2.3.5 Tourism and indigenous peoples

Tourism has been regarded as a positive development for indigenous peoples that could preserve their cultures and objects, improve their political power, and bring economic profits. 'Authenticity' is one of the main characteristics that tourists seek when they opt for indigenous tours. As Dicks (2004) states, rather than simply viewing the landscapes,

this experience-led tourism leads them into the surroundings. Therefore, in the indigenous tourist industry, because the visitor has the advantage of economic capital, there are many opportunities for the private sector to participate; however, since the private sector possesses little indigenous cultural capital, the involvement of indigenous people themselves becomes critical. Furthermore, indigenous communities are not only concerned about economic components but they are also aware of the social and cultural influences that affect the development of indigenous tourism. For example, when outsiders visit their communities, some transformations are bound to be required, such as the type of music they produce, the clothes they wear or the languages they speak, all of which may require them to adopt elements from other communities, whilst other consequences may be the loss of certain traditions, such as festivals or religions, when the community prioritise the needs of the tourists to maximize the tourism profit (Dicks, 2004: Ryan, 1991).

One of the dilemmas that indigenous communities encounter when developing tourism is heritage ownership. In the process of tourism development, indigenous heritage resources are shared by professional outsiders, such as planners, souvenir producers, and indigenous peoples who wish to represent their own culture and identity. The issue of ownership often arises with the representation of indigenous culture on souvenirs and commercial products. Take Canada as an example, as Graburn (1976, 1989) argues, Canadian indigenous culture has become a national symbol of Canada and is regarded as a 'borrowed identity'. In order to satisfy the tourism market, many mass-produced 'indigenous' craftworks created by non-native entrepreneurs are labeled 'native' or

'authentic'. Todd (1990) also mentions that when native signs become national symbols, these symbols become less powerful in distinguishing indigenous peoples from the majority. Many Inuit artists are very sensitive to the issue of their cultural forms being so widely represented, since they associate authenticity and quality with pride of their craftworks, consequently they find poorly-made mass-produced works highly offensive (Todd, 1990). Although there are arguments for 'freedom of expression' which supports non-natives to become producers of indigenous representations, inexperienced souvenir producers often represent indigenous works as images of the past rather than how they live today (Doolittle, Elton and Laviolette 1987; Danzker, 1990). Indigenous representations are not just heritages and heirlooms of the whole community, some of them are also personal experiences and family histories (Johnstone, 1998). Because most mass-produced representations are created to attract tourists and generate financial benefit, the issue of the right to appropriate indigenous culture causes a major tension between native and non-native people, especially when the subject of the representations is based on a specific personal or family experience.

Regarding the development of indigenous tourism, Crang (1994) suggested that heritage is a shifting process rather than a finished work in that the transformations of indigenous culture and representation does not only occur when interacting with outsiders, but when social and political attitudes toward their cultures change. The Peranakans of Singapore are an example of this change; Henderson (2003) points out that their descent is traced to Chinese traders who in the 17th century married Southeast Asian women. Their characteristics, therefore, is a cultural mix of Chinese and Malay

cultures together with some European and Indonesian; furthermore, during the colonial period, they allied themselves with the ruling elites and established a relatively high socio-economic status. The mixture of cultures can be found in their houses, which follow a European style, but are decorated with authentic Chinese forms and patterns. However, during the colonial era, they had difficulty in sustaining their identity and cultural markers, and as a result some of their traditions were abandoned. Until the mid-1990s, the Singapore Tourism Board's strategy, which encourages the maintenance of the diverse ethnicities, restored and reconstructed buildings and restaurants with Peranakan themes (Herderson 2003). However, although it has been criticised as being unauthentic, due to this popularity among visitors, the Peranakan culture has become a part of national identity and as a result has had a chance to be sustained; therefore, through being influenced by tourist interests, awareness of the Peranakans and their past, has resulted in the establishment of further development of their culture in many different ways (Herderson 2003).

2.3.6 Self-representation

Self-representations are considered to be the principal way for cultural groups to express themselves and their various cultures. For marginal groups, such as indigenous peoples, self-representations are specifically regarded as exercising their rights to claim recognition; whereas representations propagated by the dominant group can be especially problematic since they are often based on assumptions and stereotypes (Appadurai, 1988; Handler, 1988). As Murray (2001) puts it, many indigenous peoples with less power than their surrounding mainstream cultures no longer have sovereignty

over representing themselves. If, however, they are situated within a modern society, although such groups are in a relatively vulnerable position, it does not mean they are completely passive, since there are still opportunities for them to make their voices heard. As Moore (2001:70) points out, "power is not a one-way street, Native writers can also redistribute powerlessness across the colonial divide in the name of reversing the present and past".

Inverting the image of indigenous communities is a common reason for them to pursue self-representation. Hall (1997) points out three ways to free themselves from the previous impressions imposed by the dominant culture. Firstly, to build alternative representations in order to counteract the current ones. Thus, it does not necessarily deny the binary structure of categorization but it does avoid such communities from being trapped in existing systems. For example, the impression that they live in primitive and simplistic ways, and that their peoples move to cities to seek more opportunities and lead better lives, which can be counteracted by emphasizing the positive qualities of life in indigenous communities. Secondly, instead of saying indigenous peoples need to move away to enjoy better lives, the advantages of living within the communities should be emphasized. Thirdly, to draw attention to the imbalance of power at a global scale, especially through contemporary art, which will make people consider the issues seriously. This method, which is now a popular way to present indigenous concerns, is different from the previous two, which appear to deny the existing meaning, it admits the existence and that issues have become familiar to the public.

As Shanley (2001:225), suggests, "changing the hearts and minds of readers habituated to see 'Indians' as exotic Others requires a shift in mainstream worldview". Murray (2001) points out that significant characteristics, such as the romantic nature and idealization of the simple life, were applied to emphasize their 'otherness', artists in both America and Europe were interested in Indian culture, however, their representations of Native Americans, because they posed a threat to state authorities, described them as being 'separate, primitive and timeless'; in addition, apart from the romantic notion of their being close to nature, they were also portrayed as being 'backwards and barbarous'. In order to have the society to take their issues seriously, the same characteristics were used by indigenous artists and creators and include their societies' difficult past, such as genocide, and their present difficulties. By applying these common characteristics, which can also result in the exclusion of others, can draw the attention exclusively onto indigenous societies.

One of the critical issues involved in the representation of indigenous cultures is their tradition of oral history. It is not uncommon for them to speak different languages from the dominant society. Furthermore, as discussed above, instead of written history, relying on intangible heritage, such as oral history, is another common characteristic shared by indigenous peoples in different parts of the world. Therefore, the issues for self-representations regarding whether or not to represent their cultures in their own or the dominant language is critical. Thorley (1996) argues that although those Australian Aborigines who live in remote areas might not be fluent in English, they exercise control over both language choice, and their knowledge about customs. However, they

also form the least literate group, so it is the senior men and women's responsibility to pass on knowledge. Therefore, language barriers only exist when the audience for their representations consists of outsiders. On the positive side, the language barrier may be considered as a means for assuring the survival of their knowledge and culture.

The difficulties of presenting indigenous identities in modern society would become much clearer by examining the position of indigenous artists. The examinations are useful in considering that what strategy indigenous people would take to find the balance between market and self-recognition, especially when the power to create their self-portrait is not solely in their hands. The marginal characteristics of indigenous peoples often connect self-representations with economic factors, such as representations in tourism or art market. It cannot be denied that many indigenous peoples are aware how they are perceived, for instance, they are often portrayed as 'traditional' and 'historic', however, it is also often possible to find these perceptions are reproduced even by indigenous peoples themselves for economic interest or for gaining resources.

Furthermore, there is a clear boundary between Western and primitive art, which has resulted in arguments about 'aesthetics', which underlies early ideas that Western art is 'civilized' and that it is made for viewing and pleasure. By contrast, the objects created by 'primitive' societies were often viewed as being practical and functional tools (Morphy, 1994). Although non-Western artworks are now recognised, they are still regarded in the same light and one of the most common functions is seen to be linked

with 'identity construction'. As Schneider (1996:187) points out, this occurs "in particular places and regions, when they are seeking a recreation of 'roots' and reinvention of ethnic identities, often as part of a critical revision of homogenous national identities". In addition, indigenous artworks also seemed to have been imbued with a magical or sacred ritual context that is different from the Western system, which confined Western artists to be considered incapable of presenting it (Schneider, 1996).

In the process of globalization, many indigenous peoples have moved to urban areas, although most still maintain strong connections with their origins and communities and some artists produce traditional work. However, the binary view as described in the previous paragraph is now challenged, since some indigenous artists are engaging in Western contemporary art; for instance, apart from adopting Western techniques and styles, there are indigenous artists who are trained within Western institution. However, it is not easy for what the mainstream imagines about indigenous peoples to change. For example, indigenous artists at art events are still very often identified as 'native artists' rather than simply as 'artists' (Anthes, 2009). Therefore, in order to preserve a greater visibility, some have chosen to return to indigenous people's representations and homeland landscapes. Yet, as connectors between traditional communities and the metropolises, they have taken advantage of traveling between different locations by including some of their original indigenous identities in their works.

Indigenous peoples are represented for several reasons, such as to exclude as 'others', to maintain power and to create a new image of their communities. They are also

represented in various ways, in photos, in films or in texts. These media having specific effects in order to achieve different goals. Thus, in order to express certain perspectives, representations need to be different from, or even contrast with each other; however, for vulnerable indigenous peoples, more effort is needed to create representations freely, such as without political or mainstream artist influences. Because such representations are inarguably authentic, and are not 'steady' they may be refurbished or reconstructed when the social context changes. Hence, mainstream societies may get a clearer picture of the lives of indigenous peoples and the issues and relationships surrounding them, especially those who either live in traditional communities or who travel from place to place. Consequently, representation creators are a critical element in terms of recording changes in social contexts. The above discussion makes it clear that even if indigenous peoples may have more autonomy on self-representations, these representations are influenced by various factors, such as their social statuses, the perspectives others hold toward them and how their issues are addressed locally and internationally. Furthermore, those who have been given the responsibility, power and resources for building such representations are also critical elements in the way the issues are understood. In the following section, I will explore various institutions' responses to indigenous representations by considering their position in the society and how these institutions can influence the indigenous issues.

2.4   Museums as Sites for Representing Indigenous Peoples

2.4.1   The museum as exhibition, social and political spaces

As many personal private collections grew and opened to the public, the meaning and purpose of museums has shifted because of the complicated political and social elements that come into play. For instance, when referring to Foucault's conception of discipline, Bennett (1995: 69) suggests that museums are places for displaying power and order, in that they not only arrange objects into order but also provide a mechanism for the transformation of 'the crowd into a constantly surveyed, self-watching, self-regulating public and, as the historical record suggests, consistently orderly public – a society watching over itself'. Going to a museum is not only for looking and learning but also for seeing and being seen; it is an exercise in enacting the behavior of a civilised society. Therefore, the production of, and visits to, exhibitions are how notions of quality, worth, and other social values and meanings are formed. Therefore, as noted by Clifford (1997), museums are not only vehicles for popular education but also useful ways for mainstream authorities to shape and organize their national culture and taste as well as to define group identity from the top down. As Parry (2007: 80) points out, a museum's objects are not displayed as physical things alone, they provide information about social, cultural or political practices; as such they are "a molecule of interconnecting [equally important pieces of information]".

Museums are recognized as symbols of modernity which include a wide range of objects, which were displayed to show the hierarchy between different societies, visiting

museums is seen as a way to participate in a civilized society. Consequently, their symbolic status gives museums the power to educate people and authenticate the objects they collected (Ames 1992, Bazin 1967, Kreps 2003, Pearce 1992, Walsh 1992). Since their objects also have the necessary authenticity to represent particular cultures, ethnicities and identities, museums play a part in representing and shaping identities (Gable and Handler, 2007). As Simpson (2007) stated, heritage museums, especially for newly independent nations in the post-colonial period, have become increasingly important for preserving cultural traditions in order to construct a new national identity. As Foucault (1979) argued, power and knowledge are mutually implicated, especially in terms of the politics of knowledge as they are reflected in exhibition-making and with competing intentions and interests. For instance, as Haraway (1992) pointed out, natural history museums have the effect of naturalizing particular histories, since it is clear that they are actually places of politics, which are intended not only for the public to learn about themselves and others, but also for a nation, to exclude certain people in order to define its 'national' community.

Because a community's exclusion can be achieved by limiting such museum presentation, such a biased history means every culture is not equally respected (Crooke, 2007). In China, for example, many provincial museums focus on regional cultures and histories, however, instead of promoting local cultures, they promote national culture, which means increasing national integration (Varutti: 2010). In other countries, also, it is not uncommon for regional museums to illustrate how local cultures contribute to national culture, and to impress people with a nation's slogan such as, "Unity in

Diversity" (Kreps, 2003:26). On the other hand, however, chances are that they will not convince their audiences, as Appadurai and Breckenridge (1992) point out, people do not visit museums as 'cultural blanks'; before they enter them they may have seen articles about them on television or in magazines and newspapers. Consequently, how a museum presents its viewpoint becomes a very important task, which it will attempt to achieve mainly through the arrangement of its displays and collections.

2.4.2   Construction of the 'other' through material culture

In terms of displaying objects that have mainly been collected from the objects' original culture, the colony is likely to present its more important objects in international exhibitions or at world fairs. The very first of these was the 1851 Great Exhibition in England, where numerous objects from various countries, particularly India, which was given a dominant place, since the British had wrested control from the South Indian king, Tipu Sultan, and Indian objects, because they were associated with control, had become not only the subjects of connoisseurship, but also a symbol of Empire. In this way, Indian everyday things had been transformed into, in Breckenridge's (1989) term, '*spectacle ocular*'. For instance, its carpets, which were intended for use on the ground, were being hung vertically not only for viewing, but as if they were rare and uncommon, expressions of European civilization and British Imperialism, which was rapidly advancing in India. More importantly, though, it was done to provide the justification for the British taking over large tracts of land across the world (Sardar et al, 1993).

As Beaudary et al (1996) and Dudley (2010) suggest, artifacts are tangible symbols that represent social relationships, behaviors, attitudes, and beliefs that can trigger and contribute emotional engagement and cognitive associations, which enable museum visitors to understand the stories that they are intended to represent. Such symbols may be invented, adopted or transformed by different groups in order that they may compete with each other on ideological grounds; therefore, objects carry meanings that can be seen as reflections of, or negotiations between, various cultures or groups. (Beaudary et al. 1996, Bennet 1995, Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992). As social actors, people may be influenced to understand the world by certain 'ordering' principles that surround them, thus, objects in museums may be regarded as collections that are formed with the interests of dominant societies, which, being imbued with inadequacies displayed by winning groups neglect, ignore, misunderstand and stereotype minority groups (Miller, 2007). Therefore, influenced by the political ideology of the dominant authority, collections in national museums may be used to propagate certain political identities. Similarly at world fairs, indigenous cultures are displayed in such a way as to exemplify European civilization, also in national ethnographic museums, political identities may be strengthened by exhibiting 'others'. Thus, as Dicks (2004) states, material cultures from marginalized communities may be displayed together with excuses claiming 'cultural diversity' and 'social hybridity'; nevertheless, the collections usually conceal the motives of certain political interests as well as hiding unpleasing social issues such as power imbalance and structural inequalities. However, Dudley (2010) describes material objects in museums as being arranged to illustrate neutral information and national identity and to invite the public to learn new knowledge and construct the boundary of citizenship at the same time. It is not uncommon to find museum

professionals share Dudley's stance, which emphasise how museums can invite their audience and initiate conversations, nevertheless, the influences of museum collections on indigenous peoples and the perspectives from indigenous communities are under-examined.

2.4.3 Re-claiming indigenous identity in museums

As Hooper-Greenhill argues (2007), the meanings around objects are often fluid, since they can change within social contexts and circumstances, or viewers' personal experiences. Museums are not just places that house material objects, which are embedded within many complex contexts, such as cultural meanings, emotional connections and political stances, museums themselves also contain political intentions. For example, some museums were established to illustrate the boundaries of citizens and the ideas of civilisation from the perspectives of social Darwinism, in addition to justifying colonisation policies of others. Nevertheless, with the awareness of the rights of indigenous peoples, take the Canadian Museum of Civilisation in Hull, Canada as an example, it holds many artifacts from minority groups in Canada that have been displayed in order to show that the identity of 'Canadians' has been formed harmoniously between all internal groups (Delaney, 1992). Such collections are displayed to create images of inclusiveness rather than to show any inequality between the various marginal groups, they do not solve conflicting relationships among groups when museums simply function purely as containers of internal differences. Museums have been challenged about their roles in contemporary society and are often requested

to develop broader social practices and to pay attention to the influences their collections may have (Golding, 2013).

Since the 1990's, new museology has focused on museums relationship with communities, therefore, regarding indigenous representations, many of their communities have become source communities for museums. In the belief that indigenous artifacts play a critical role in indigenous cultures, the communities may often regard themselves as authorities of their own cultures and material objects. Since indigenous communities have both moral and cultural ownerships of the collections, thus they may actually share power with museum staff (Peers and Brown, 2007). Ames (1991) stated that, instead of offering consultations, which give indigenous peoples little power over museum arrangements, indigenous peoples have adopted a 'museum perspective' that could have indigenous peoples been regarded as museum professionals, thus, give them more room to represent themselves, more power to represent their cultures, gives them the ability to protect themselves, the capacity to sustain their traditions, and the opportunity to recover knowledge about the lives of their ancestors. Such empowerment is critical for saving them from the marginal status they have been deliberately consigned to in attempts at assimilation. In such ways, indigenous peoples work with museums not only deals with museums' colonial legacies, but also to help indigenous peoples to solve present day challenges. In addition, Simpson (2007) suggests that working with museums in order that they might present authentic displays might assist them to preserve their identities. For indigenous communities, apart from storing material, artifacts and archives, museums could also be used to pass on

knowledge and to help communities to reclaim their identities and to be accorded cultural esteem.

Material objects clearly play a vital role for indigenous peoples in their cultural development, since these objects are considered to be cultural icons that symbolise traditions and histories of cultural significance, thereby not only helping them to form internal unity, but also to seek wider visibility and greater political rights, and autonomy (Anderson, 1991; Dicks, 2004). However, for cultures that do not rely on written records for passing knowledge and experiences on as narratives, objects become much more significant, although many of them have contexts that cannot be illustrated by museum labels that describe their purpose and appearance. For example, some collections are often presented as natural historical specimens or functional cultural artifacts in order to show the museum's encyclopaedic quality. However, Ames (1992: 79) states, since "the 'Native point of view,' and voice is increasingly being heard, the attitudes and policies of anthropologists and museums are changing", therefore, such objects from indigenous cultures may be presented differently in present museums.

Within this context, as described by Stanley (1998), collections were created in an attempt to integrate communities' traditional lives and their contemporary lives. As objects were originally created in the communities and are presented alongside texts that illustrate the community's perspective, their continuous history and cultural truth (Clifford 1991; Jonaitis and Inglis 1994, Berlo and Phillips, 2007). For instance, the Balanga Museum in Indonesia takes a step further, where its objects are not just

displayed in museums, but can be borrowed by local people for ceremonial purposes and performances at community events like festivals (Kreps, 2003). By putting indigenous collections back into their original communities, not only the context of the objects can be better demonstrated, but also the objects can be 'reunited' with their original culture. Therefore, with the original contexts not only indigenous collections can be better understood, these contexts are also important components in indigenous cultures and critical elements in claiming indigenous identity.

Such acts of 'reunification', which bring objects back to their culture can invest them with different layers of relationships, so that not only do artifacts in museums have meaning, museums can also be embedded within political purpose in order to connect with communities in a wider social context, thereby enabling indigenous peoples to claim their identity and political power. As minorities, indigenous peoples may tell very different stories than the authorities; however, as Chang (2008) suggests, 'false representations' may be formed out of ignorance, or due to 'selective attention', in order to achieve certain political aims, especially to gain prestige by achieving new-found recognition. Displaying indigenous artifacts may assist in undoing such misleading representations, and, as Hall (1997:261) argues, they may also mean creating "new discourses, new kinds of knowledge, new objects of knowledge, [and⋯] shape new practices and institutions".

According to Message (2006), instead of showing the encyclopaedic characteristic of museums, museums that were built since mid-1990s function as cultural centres, which place more emphasis on specific local communities and minority groups. For instance, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa does not just understand minorities, it presented the Treaty of Waitangi as the museum's principal object in order to work on representing the image of new a national identity of biculturalism. Leading museums, such as that, rather than just storing objects, act as political agents and play an advocacy role in the reconstruction of cultural identity and the promotion of cross-cultural dialogue. On the issues of indigenous rights of the Maori as *Tangata Whenua* - the original people of the land – the museum plays a crucial part in New Zealand politics by connecting, as well as negotiating between cultures, the state and the citizenship. New museums, therefore, could embody a progressive approach and understanding. As Clifford (1997: 218) states, 'In a global context where collective identity is increasingly represented by having a culture (a distinctive way of life, tradition, form of art or craft) museums make sense'. Therefore, by emphasizing the issue of Maori rights, the new museum plays an important role in completing the decolonization process.

2.4.4   Co-production of indigenous representations in museums

As Hooper-Greenhill (2000) argues, tangible objects as cultural symbols have the power to form cultural identities; in museums, the displayed objects are regarded as the identity of communities and individuals. However, May (2002) states that this contrasts to object-based learning theory, which believes that objects cannot form a 'community' on their own, the role of museum staff is considered to be critical in interpreting the

knowledge. Without the collaboration of indigenous peoples in museum representations, it is not uncommon to find representations are closer to stereotypes or are even misrepresentations. Recent literature shows that some museums have a more open and inclusive attitude toward their communities by encouraging indigenous peoples to participate as representatives of the source community in order to achieve a better reflection of the complexity of indigenous issues (May, 2002; Mesa-Bains, 2004; Sellers, 2002, Peers and Brown, 2003). The claim that co-production can assist museums to become more inclusive is problematic, since, instead of their position being considered equal to that of the museum professionals, it is not uncommon to find them merely being asked to review the displayed content in order to ensure the accuracy of the exhibitions. Freire (1981) argued that community participation in museum representations is a way of encouraging its community members to understand their roots and thus strengthen their self-recognition and build a strong future. However, as Smith et al. (2011) and Davis (2007) both suggest, examining the participations with the wider context is necessary, otherwise such involvement can become a 'box-ticking' exercise, since in collaborative museum work, both community representative and museum professionals face pressure from their own communities. Onciul (2013: 92) also points out that "building and maintaining relations ensures engagement is not just tokenism or a new form of collecting, but a genuine and potentially empowering and transformative experience for all involved". These observations suggest that co-productions between museums and indigenous communities go beyond simply collecting information but are an important process of negotiations.

Peers and Browns (2007) state that co-productions are important for several reason, one of them being that direct dialogues are opened up between museums and the represented communities, and another that there are some communities who are found to be authorities of their own culture and heritage, thus they play equal roles in collaborative partnerships. Harrison (2005) also states that collaborative partnerships build positive relationships between museums and communities which can lead to further support and development; whereas Kahn (2000: 72) is of the view that true equal partnerships only occur when the West "wakes up to see that it is part of many cultures, rather than at the center of culture". Kahn also states, however that true and equal partnerships mean co-productions are processes of continuous negotiations, and may not always be harmonious, especially if that process is significantly time-consuming; also, shared understandings need to be mediated. Although involving indigenous communities allows museums to have a better, or an alternative, understanding of their collections, it also requires museum professions to make some compromise. Similarly, in indigenous societies, because their members carry different powers, they may also lead to different relationships or outcomes with their co-producers. Harrison (2005: 196) asks, "is it possible for museums to really ever escape the 'distance, difference and opposition' of the exhibition?" He is clearly referring here to the Western viewpoint assumption of superiority. What also seems clear is that, apart from being 'contact zones' (Clifford, 1997), museums are also political spaces where power interactions take place.

2.4.5   Representing indigenous cultures in local museums

According to Kreps (2003), since the 1970s the political agenda has commited museums to play a role in tackling social issues; consequently, some exhibitions have attempted to break existing images of seriousness in order to attract wider audiences or to present new elements that tackle sensitive issues; or to indicate different ways of seeing familiar issues and perhaps to challenge how they have been seen in the past. Since museums no longer only serve national authorities, their meanings have also changed; for instance, community-based museums give marginalised communities more power than before to compete against dominant cultures or political ideologies. It is clear from previous research that the rights of indigenous peoples have been ignored and that this has led to misleading representations of their marginalized communities. For example, several debates have centred on issues of ownership, during which differences between Western and non-Western ownership traditions and laws have emerged. This has led to the authority of Western ownership being challenged, for example, by the demands that artifacts and human remains indigenous peoples be repatriated. Rather than simply returning objects, the debate on the notion of ownership has put museums in a controversial position regarding their moral and social obligations (Clifford 1988, Riegel 1996, Fyfe, 2006). Local museums as cultural centres also offer opportunities for communities to bring up issues such as indigenous rights and self-determination, which "has brought with it a strong desire to re-identify with traditional culture and history" (Kreps, 2003: 64).

Vergo's (1989) 'new museology' connects with communities by considering museums to be social actors involved in social issues. For instance, across the Pacific, indigenous cultural centres and museums now play critical roles in movements of cultural revitalization and heritage preservation, and cultural centres and museums provide venues for promoting local cultures as well as strengthening cultural identities (Kaeppler, 1992). As Macdonald (1998) stated, by recognizing local cultures and voices, museums shift the power from producer to consumer, thus becoming more democratic. In addition, the establishment of cultural centres regards indigenous communities as heritage 'stakeholders' and not just as 'consultant' and broaden the power sharing relationships among indigenous peoples and museum staff (Peers and Brown, 2007: 521).

2.5   Conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed previous research on the subject of the recognition of indigenous peoples by museums and what influences there have been on past and present representations of them. I have also considered the intentions and roles of museums when they make such representations, and the role museums have been played in wider society, such as constructing 'otherness' and educating the public to integrate with different cultures and communities. From the information that has emerged from this literature review, it is clear that representations are closely connected with power, especially when it comes to the representations of marginalized communities, such as

indigenous peoples. The representations in museum spaces, unlike private sectors, may more likely to be influenced by the authorities since they are often considered to be educational and powerful institutions and politically ideological, thus exhibiting material collections that are often highly selective. As Crane (2006) points out, rather than through the perspective of cultural relativism, which sees every culture equally, it is very likely that the hidden side of the story will end up being forgotten. As there is hierarchy amongst all the various cultures, therefore some may not have a chance to contribute to collections, while others might be displayed unfairly.

The literature has revealed another significant change that has come about regarding the representations of indigenous peoples, and that is the idea they should be seen 'from the native point of view' (Boas, 1988). This concept is most important, since it helps to situate indigenous material in their cultural contexts. According to Clifford (1997), museums are not only for exhibiting material objects but they have become 'contact zones' for objects and people from different places and cultures. "Rather than simply educating or edifying a public, [museums] begin to operate – consciously and at times self-critically – in contact histories" (Clifford, 1997: 204). There are many tribal objects in museums that are seen in different ways; for museum experts, tribal objects may represent the symbols of certain communities, whereas, for tribal people, those material objects may be seen as records, law, and occasions for them to recount their histories and memories and to tell their stories, which may refer to their past or to their current difficulties.

In new museums, such as the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) and the Museum of Chinese American (MoCA) that aim to extend inclusiveness, the focus of reform has more recently shifted away from issues of social inequality to programs of cultural diversity that encourage tolerance of racial difference. Cultural diversity has been a dominant feature of international exhibitions, bringing with it an awareness of how social reform and imperial ideologies have been transformed into an ideology of multiculturalism, new museums not only represent the connection of people and places via material culture, but they also encapsulate a culturally defined method of ordering and controlling the world through objects (Message, 2006).

As Goode (1901a: 249) describes "[a museum] should be much more than a house full of specimens in glass cases. It should be a house full of ideas, arranged with the strictest attention to system". However, it is unlikely that museums are able to keep their distance from politics and sensitive issues, since they are not just there to display cultures but they are actively involved in the process of creating cultures. In addition, they are often regarded as 'icons of civilization', since when an object is displayed it tends to be attached to a 'real' label and therefore must be considered as a 'piece of fact'. Therefore, because of the characteristics of museums, not only will 'outsiders' use them to 'authorize' their views about indigenous peoples, but also indigenous peoples can rely on their qualities to convince the visitor that their side of the story is supported by both the authorities and the academics. On the other hand, indigenous communities can also use museums' symbolic impression to construct and authenticate their own representations. Not only do these representations change indigenous communities'

images and identities of themselves, but, by offering objects that are used in everyday life to present different perspectives on cultural groups, they also change the museum's meaning. Therefore, community-based museums that display objects within their original contexts, not only preserve them and their traditions, but also construct cultural identities for those communities (Konare, 1995).

In this chapter, I have shown how previous researchers have viewed the issues of representing indigenous peoples in a variety of contexts. I have also described the shifting roles of museums and examined the relationships between them and the authorities together with the political relationships and how they influence the representations of indigenous peoples. This study also revealed that although a number of studies have focused on the indigenous peoples of North America, Australia and New Zealand, very few have considered those living in Taiwan; hence, this study will examine both the wider and the more specific contexts of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. In the next chapter I will discuss the issues of the representing indigenous peoples in the Taiwanese context and their relationships between indigenous peoples and foreign colonial powers. I will also examine these issues within the wider indigenous community, and their shifting status in Taiwanese society as a whole.

CHAPTER 3

The Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to elaborate on the representations of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan in contemporary society by examining their continuous interactions over the years with other groups, such as various colonial authorities and the Han people. The first part of the chapter will begin with an overview of Taiwan, including its geography, its history and its colonial periods since the 17th century, which is considered to have been the first time indigenous peoples came into contact with an incoming population. The chapter will also introduce the country's different indigenous peoples, offer

information on population, distribution, and distinctive characteristics, and explore the relationships among different groups of peoples in each of the following colonial periods: the European period (1623-1662), the Koxinga period & Ching period (1662-1895), the Japanese period (1895-1945), and the Republic of China period (1945-). In each period, interactions will be explored between the indigenous peoples, the various colonial governments and other social groups, such as missionaries in the European period and Chinese settlers in the Japanese period.

The second part of the chapter will start by examining the historical policies that particularly concerned the indigenous peoples with regard to the attitudes of the colonial authorities toward them. For example, during the rule of the Ching dynasty, the government was overwhelmed by numerous rebellions, indigenous peoples were separated from the larger population and restricted from certain geographic areas in order to avoid being exploited. Under the Japanese, though indigenous peoples were forced to enter into their education system in order to cultivate pro-Japanese power against the Han. Policies in the colonial periods prior to the Republic of China (ROC) will be divided into two sections, focusing on the conflicts between various groups, for instance, indigenous peoples, Han Chinese and colonial governments, and the policies that were developed by colonial governments in order to smooth tensions and assimilate all the peoples of Taiwan, especially the indigenous peoples. Policies published after 1945 will be discussed in the context of modern society.

Although the political atmosphere has changed since the 1970s, the composition of Taiwanese society is similar to previous periods, for instance, the dominant population is the Han, and Mandarin is the official language. The discussion about contemporary indigenous peoples will include several aspects that are the most common challenges for them, such as regional development, educational issues and the representations of indigenous cultures. Since the 1980s, people have been more comfortable claiming indigenous identity, since issues of indigenous human rights, land rights, and indigenous representations have been widely publicized, so, rather than as before when they were either opposed to or ignored by society, there are more and more occasions in which they can participate. For example, since 2007, in order to empower indigenous communities, many local indigenous cultural centres have been built, although a number of have been criticized due to the lack of interest both from indigenous communities and others. The controversial cultural centres lead the discussion onto issues of indigenous representation, such as cultural appropriation and indigenous autonomy.

To assist the understanding of the intentions and strategies of each colonial and contemporary authority as they related to Taiwan's indigenous peoples the following section will examine the roles indigenous peoples play in various stories and collections which form part of the representations created by the political authorities, which might be considered as segments of collective memory (Simon, 2007). In this way they will be shown to have very different political interests, goals and struggles from the larger population. In this chapter, by examining the whole continuous context in Taiwan, the position of indigenous communities will be presented and this will lead to further

discussions about the challenges that are faced in preserving, appropriating and representing indigenous cultures.

3.2 Taiwan

Taiwan, officially named the Republic of China (ROC), is a nation in East-Asia, its neighbouring states include the People's Republic of China to the west, Japan to the northeast and the Philippines to the south (Figure 3.1). The territory includes the islands of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, Matsu and other minor islands. Taiwan is about 36 thousand square kilometres, which is 85 miles across at its widest point and 260 miles long, with an area under 22,500 square miles.

Figure 3.1: Map of Taiwan. Adapted from
http://apieceoftaiwan.files.wordpress.com/2010/10/taiwan1.jpg

The island of Taiwan, which was called 'Formosa' by the Portuguese - a name
commonly used afterwards - was mainly inhabited by indigenous peoples until a Dutch
settlement was established in the south-west near present-day Tainan by the Dutch East
India Company (DEIC) in 1624. The Spanish also landed in northern Taiwan two years
later, but only remained for eighteen-years. In this period, the DEIC developed an Asian
based triangular trade route with the Ching Dynasty in China and Japan. In 1663, the

pro-Ming loyalist, Koxinga (Cheng Cheng-Kung 鄭成功) expelled the Dutch and founded the first Han-ruling authority. However, a year later, the Ching Dynasty also became a ruling power and in 1683 conquered the island completely. Until 1895, the island of Taiwan was ceded to the Japanese according to the treaty of Simonoseki on April 17, 1895.

At the end of World War II, the island of Taiwan was given to the ROC, which had been established in 1912. During the Chinese civil war (1927-1950), the Communist Party of China obtained control over mainland China and founded the People Republic of China in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek, who was the President of ROC, relocated the government to Taiwan. Since 1945, the island has been ruled by the ROC government, although it exercised martial law then until 1987 during which time the political atmosphere was very different from how it is now. Because the Spanish and Koxinga settlements had only occupied the island for a short period, and both settlement areas had been limited to specific parts of Taiwan, this chapter will consider the Spanish colony with the Dutch, and the Koxinga with the Ching Dynasty and divide the settlement history into the European period (1623-1662), the Koxinga Ching periods (1662-1895), the Japanese period (1895-1945), and the ROC (1945- to date).

3.3 The Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan

There are two main arguments surrounding the origin of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan: one states the indigenous peoples in Taiwan are from the Malay Archipelago, and the other argues that they are from Southeast Asia (Wang, 2006). The evidence for the former is that, because New Guinea is home to the most diverse Austronesian languages, linguistic assumption considers the area with the most numerous similar languages to be the likely area of origin (Bird et al., 2004). The second argument, which based on cultural characteristics as measured in historical material, states that the indigenous peoples of Taiwan most closely match the description of the 'Beiyue' (百越) peoples of Southeast Asia (Li, 2011; Hu 2007). However, the first argument, because it is based on linguistics and supported by archaeological and biological evidence, carries the most support (Blurst, 1999).

The indigenous peoples of Taiwan are recognised as a branch of the Austronesian peoples, who are also found in Madagascar, on the Easter Island and in New Zealand. The relationship between the indigenous peoples in Taiwan and other Austronesia people is confirmed by the Taiwanese governmental organization in its literature as, "the indigenous peoples in Taiwan linguistically belong to Austronesian and racially to Malay". According to linguistic research, the first signs of indigenous peoples arriving in Taiwan can be traced back over 6,500 years, while the latest arrivals, the Yami peoples, arrived no more than 500 years ago (CIP website).

Of all the evidence that indicates how indigenous peoples differ from the current dominant population, the Han Chinese, the strongest is the linguistic characteristic compared to the Chinese. There are many similarities among the different indigenous peoples though. For example, the Buno and Rukai call their father '*tama*', '*ama*' for the Thao and Yami, '*wama*' for the Amis, '*tamah*' for Saisiyat. The Tsouic peoples refer to mother as '*ion*', which is '*ina*' in Thao and Yami, '*tina*' in Rukai and Buno, and '*wina*' in Yami. The similarities of these words and because they also share cultural similarities, for instance, living in stilt houses, having tattoos, and the presence in their folk-lore of flood myths suggests that the different groups may have similar origins. It is not uncommon to find some similar customs in both Chinese and indigenous cultures; however, since the late 17th century Taiwan has been dominated by the Han, therefore a degree of social and cultural interchange will have taken place. Nevertheless, many indigenous customs continue to be practiced. Just as the dominant Han celebrate Chinese New Year, the biggest events for most indigenous tribes are their own festivals. However, the various tribes hold these at different times, celebrate them in different ways and for different purposes; some sing traditional songs, some dress in clothes with traditional patterns, and others consume certain foods.

3.3.1 Highland indigenous peoples and plain indigenous peoples

There are two categories of indigenous peoples in Taiwan. From the Ching Dynasty, they have been separated as two groups: 'Shou Fan' and 'Seng Fan' (Huang, 1993; Pan, 2002). 'Shou Fan' referred to those who live in plain areas and who have had more interactions with surrounding groups, including European, Han, and Japanese; whereas

'Seng Fan' referred to those who live in mountainous areas and was considered to be 'unfamiliar' or even 'un-civilised'. The 'Shou Fan' and 'Seng Fan' are currently more commonly known in speech and text as 'plain' and 'highland' indigenous peoples. These categories have been adopted for use in this study when identifying the differences between highland indigenous peoples and plain indigenous peoples is necessary.

As mentioned earlier, the highland indigenous peoples had little contact with either European settlements or Han Chinese until the Japanese colonial government administration built up the governance network from 1895. Consequently, most of the highland tribes have been able to maintain many of their traditions, which in effect has meant that there are now more highland tribes than plain tribes (Figure 3.2).
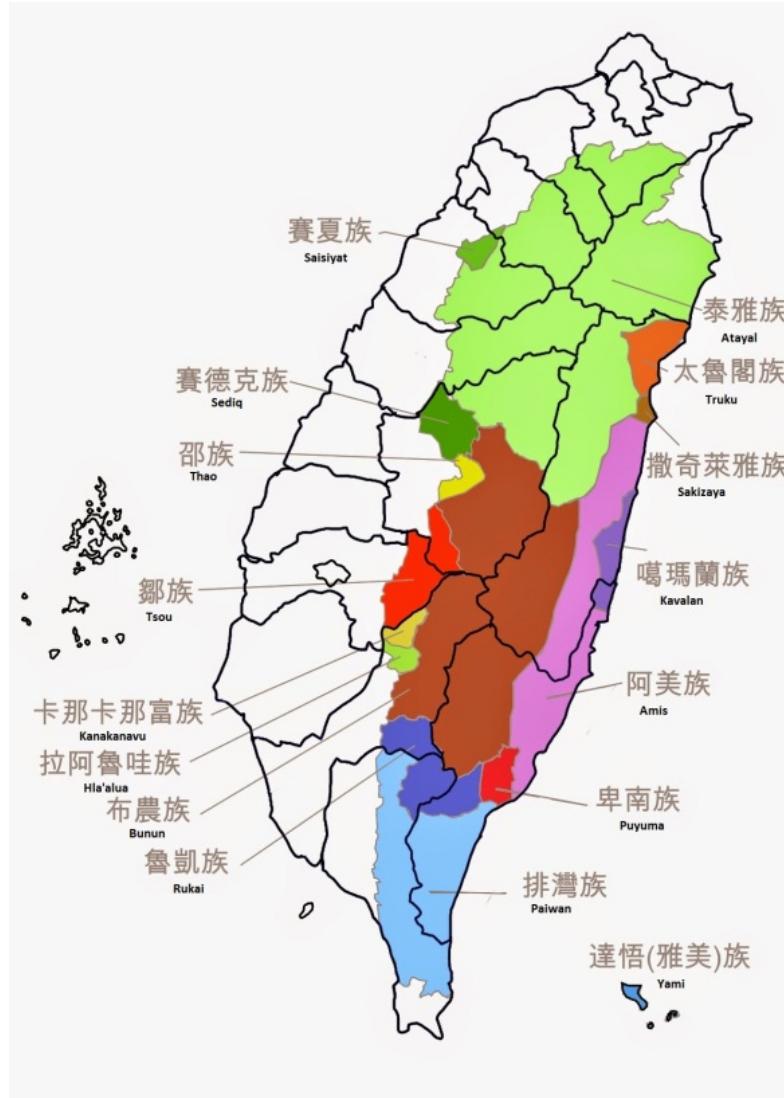
Figure 3.2: Distribution of officially recognized indigenous tribes of Taiwan. Showing the sixteen officially recognized tribes as at 2014. They are: Atayal, Truku, Salizaya, Kavalan, Amis, Puyuma, Paiwan, Yami, Rukai, Bunun, Hla'alua, Kanakanavu. Tsou, Thao, Seediq, and Saysiat. (Adapted and edited from the website: http://taisoci.blogspot.co.uk/2014/09/16.html, accessed 07/12/2016).

The plain indigenous peoples mostly inhabit Western and Northern Taiwan, consequently, because the plains are easier to access, they have encountered all the various incoming cultures, such as Europeans, Han Chinese and Japanese, and adopted some of their ways and also intermarried with them. Therefore, since the 17th century, recognizing plain indigenous peoples has become more difficult than it has been for

highland indigenous peoples. According to population statistics, in the Japanese colonial period there were between forty and sixty thousand. It is argued that because of frequent interactions, it has become difficult to recognize the plain indigenous peoples. Furthermore, when the Council of Aboriginal Affairs (CAA) was established in 1996, only the highland peoples were officially recognised as being indigenous.

Nevertheless, there are some similarities shared by both highland and plain indigenous peoples, for example, the struggle to be recognized in claiming indigenous identity is not exclusive to the plain indigenous peoples, some highland tribes have also had to fight for it. Some tribes are bigger than others, and within the larger tribes, there are several sub-communities each of which may have its own administrative system. Furthermore, some sub-communities do not consider themselves to belong to a particular tribe but consider themselves to be a separate and independent one. Therefore, although at the national level, only 16 tribes are officially recognized, the number of distinct communities is far greater than that. While most indigenous peoples are now in the eastern Taiwan, significant numbers still live in the plains, consequently, being located in such widely scattered areas bring different social issues to many communities, which indicates that relationships among the indigenous tribes are highly complex.

3.3.2 Tensions between indigenous peoples and surrounding groups in the historical colonial periods

The conflicts between the indigenous peoples of Taiwan and surrounding groups of peoples had been mainly over territorial ownership. The first time the whole island of Taiwan was colonized was in 1624 when the Dutch landed in the southwest with a military force and the support of Dutch colony. Chinese settlers also traded deerskins, sugar, rice, and other agricultural commodities with local indigenous peoples, which cased conflicts between indigenous peoples and the Chinese inhabitants which became the biggest problem for the Dutch. However, because they had more advanced agricultural techniques, many Chinese were recruited by the Dutch to assist in producing commercial products on the island. In order to protect the Chinese settlers, the Dutch signed several treaties with indigenous villages, but sometimes they would use military force against them. Apart from soldiers, the Dutch also introduced missionaries in order to smooth the conflicts. According to Campbell (1903), the first missionary enterprise arrived in 1627 in the Hsin-kang area (Figure 3.3) and during their stay their study of the languages, customs and politics of the indigenous peoples greatly helped the Dutch to understand the area and to develop an effective colonial power. For example, according to Dutch census reports, in 1650 there were no more than 50,000 indigenous peoples in the plains under their control. Also according to records, head-hunting, in which indigenous peoples sought out and raided 'outsiders' or 'intruders', was commonly practiced by aboriginal villagers, therefore, the relationship among villages and colonizers was always suspicious and hostile (Shepherd, 1993). Indigenous groups were diverse in other aspects, such as house construction, artistic

decorations, personal ornamentation, burial customs, kinship, family organization, village size and religion (Ferrel, 1969; Chen Chiu-Lu, 1968; Mabuchi, 1960).
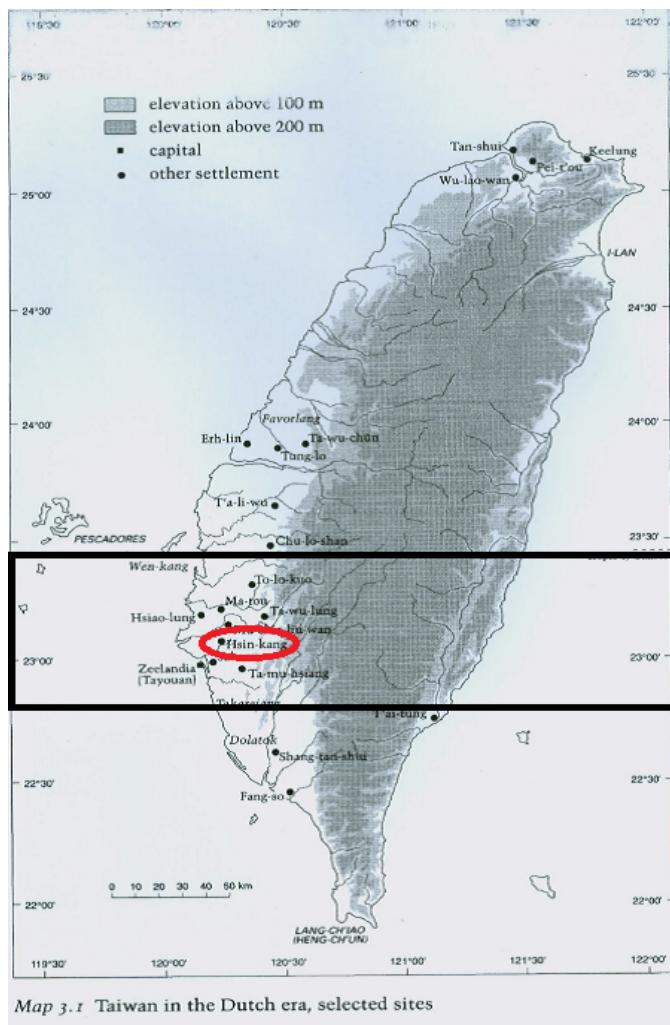
Figure 3.3: Taiwan in the Dutch era, 1624 to 1633.

Figure 3.3 (a): The position of Hsin-Kang in the Dutch era. (Adapted from Campell 1903).

After the Dutch were defeated by Koxinga in 1663, mass Chinese immigration to the south-west of Taiwan began. Some indigenous peoples started to migrate further into the foothills, since they lacked sophistication in the Chinese language, tax collection relied on middlemen, who saw the chance to exact revenue from the aborigines (Shepherd, 1993). However, the colony of Koxinga was not long lasting and was supplanted in 1684 by the Ching Dynasty from which point, Chinese immigrants were no longer the minority in the country (Munsterhjelm, 2002). During the Ching Dynasty's two-century rule over Taiwan, the population of Han on the island increased dramatically. However, due to the construction of the so called "earth oxen" border (Figure 3.4), which ran along the eastern edge of the western plain and restricted access to the mountains, the Han did not have much contact with the highland tribes and what little there was involved gathering and extracting camphor from *Camphor Laurel* trees, a species common to the highlands. The control of land resource was a primary source of conflict between the plain aborigines and the Han and by the early 1770s, indigenous peoples were able to maintain their land rights, since the Ching dynasty regarded them as a useful military force. It was common that indigenous tribes offered permanent 'patents' for Han farmers to use their land therefore the ownership of land is still held by indigenous tribes. This custom was known as 'two lords to a field' (Huang, 2002). However, the indigenous peoples were often either cheated out of the lands that had loaned to the Han farmers or pressured to sell or rent them at unfavorable rates, since, unlike Han farmers who grew commercial products such as rice and sugar for export, indigenous peoples, who lived in difficult circumstances, were considered to be poorly skilled (Shepherd, 1999). Such early encounters often resulted in head-hunting parties from the highland tribes raiding unprotected Han forest workers and these incidents

helped to promote the popular image of violent aborigines. Some disaffected subgroups from the plain, however, moved to central or eastern Taiwan, although most remained in their ancestral locations and became acculturated to or assimilated into Han society.

Figure 3.4: 'Earth oxen'. The trench was created to be the border that prevents any contact between highland indigenous peoples and others. (Source: http://library.taiwanschoolnet.org/cyberfair2003/C0325330303/ox.htm, accessed: 04/07/2015).

After 1895, Taiwan was colonized the by Japanese, and tribal life changed rapidly, many of the traditional administrative structures being replaced by military rule. As Munsterhjelm (2002) points out, in the northern area, the Japanese used a strategy known as 'guard line' against indigenous groups, which included the Atayal, Bunun, and Taroko. The intention of these defense borders was to prevent the flow of arms into

indigenous areas (Barclay, 1999). The Japanese described the indigenous peoples in Taiwan as 'vicious, violent and cruel' because of their head-hunting traditions and also because there had been continuous conflicts between them. Therefore, the military attack became one of the main strategies used by them to conquer the indigenous tribes. There were several large-scale conflicts during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945), such as one of the most infamous incidents - the Wushe rebellion of 1930 (also known as the Musha Incident)[2] - that resulted in a revenge massacre when 10,000 indigenous peoples were killed (Bodley, 1999; Nettleship, 1971; Chiang, 2005). The Wushe rebellion changed Japanese attitude and colonial policies toward indigenous peoples of Taiwan. It shocked the Japanese with the facts that it was led by the people from places that had been praised by colonial officials as the 'most enlightened and compliant'. The attack also caused two indigenous policemen, who were considered to be symbols of Japanese kindness, committing suicide rather than standing by the colonial government (Ching, 2000). As Ching indicates (2000), during this time the Japanese were fighting for their colonial enterprise, so the rebellion changed the attitude of their colonial officers and scholars towards the indigenous groups to the point where they believed that "this is a pitfall of the world; we must get rid of them all" (Kleeman, 2003:20-1).

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[2] Due to Japanese oppression, from 1897 the Sediq were living in extremely difficult conditions and had abandoned their traditional hunting and agricultural life to work for the Japanese. The chief of the Mahebo tribal village led his people and killed 134 Japanese at an event at Wushe Public School on 27 October 1930. The rebellion resulted in a revenge massacre by military aircraft and poisonous gas (Roy, 2003).

3.3.3 Assimilation policies practiced by colonial governments

In order to strengthen their authority over the whole island, all the colonial governments attempted various solutions to ensure peace. In the European period, apart from religion, the DEIC set up an education system to increase their control over indigenous peoples, starting with a church school in Hsin-kang in 1636, where Sirayan children received lectures on religious instruction and also writing their Sirayan language in roman letters (Chou, 2003). This exercise, as Shepherd (1993: 68) points out became the most lasting legacy from the Dutch, since "scribes from Hsin-kang and neighbouring villages (Figure 3.3) produced land contracts in romanised script as late as the first years of the nineteenth century, over 140 years after the departure of the Dutch". This script remained in occasional use throughout the 18th century, however today only fragments survive in documents and carved stones. Because the Siraya tribe was based in the area nearest to the Dutch settlement, they were more significantly influenced by them than other indigenous groups. For instance, in the Sirayan system, tribal custom taught that only married women over the age of thirty could give birth, while younger women would have to undergo abortions. Whereas, Sirayan men were ranked according to their age, and only those who had retired from their grade rank could live with their wives and raise children (Shepherd, 1993). These customs changed under the influence of missionaries, who outlawed abortion and encouraged younger couples to live and raise their children together. One of the reasons why missionaries were so influential was because the indigenous imagination was penetrated by their being summoned to church services by the firing of muskets or cannon—a symbolism not lost on the natives, especially when, once in church, they heard sermons their own language (Shepherd, 1993: 66).

Because the Han regarded themselves as 'the central Kingdom' and whoever did not share their own values were considered to be barbarians and in need of being civilized, the Ching, as the Dutch had, in order to increase their control, educated the indigenous people in the Chinese tradition (Shepherd, 1999). Hu (2007: 197) points out, though, that "from the 17th century, a binary opposition between the indigenous inhabitants and Chinese settlers was adopted and widely implemented", consequently, the Han believed there to be no cultural difference between themselves and the indigenous peoples. Therefore, any failure to adopt Chinese cultural practices, such as commercial farming or accumulating wealth, would be blamed on the indigenous as moral failure, laziness and irresponsible behaviour to family obligations (Thompson, 1964).

During the 17th and 18th centuries, Taiwan experienced three different colonial powers, although there were continuous conflicts between its indigenous groups, the foreign colonial authorities and their cultures. In spite of their frequent use of military force, it is common for colonial authorities to claim their prestige rests on being 'civilized' and of describing indigenous peoples as 'barbarians' in order to discourage any behaviors or cultures that they believed to be undesirable. In 17th century Taiwan, Dutch culture was held in high esteem; for example, some aborigines would wear Dutch clothes and accessories and Dutch coins were used as jewelry and decorations on costumes and the alphabet as taught by the missionaries was a common motif for tattoos (CLHC, 1717; Thompson, 1964 and 1969; TWFC: KAO, 1964; YTHC). However, during the Ching period, Chinese culture became dominant, and in the 18th century Chinese objects were seen as fashionable, for example, there were reports of indigenous men dressing like Chinese by wearing their typical boots and hat and celebrating their holidays, even

though they may not have known their legends or religious beliefs (Thompson, 1969).

However, belief in their native gods is an important factor for indigenous peoples when

they proclaim their distinctions from the Han Chinese. Several authors also recorded

that, from the Dutch period, Siraya rituals reflected Chinese customs and that ordinary

indigenous families adopted Chinese ancestral sacrifices (MacKay, 1895:238;

Pickering, 1898:66; McGough, 1976: 15; Shepherd, 1986 & 1988; Hung Hsiu-kuei,

1973:508-9; Tai Yen-hui, 1941-42).

According to the Treaty of Simonoseki on April 17th, 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan

by the Ching Empire. Under the Japanese rule, the residents were divided into three

main groups, the Han Chinese called 'hontojin' (islanders), the indigenous peoples,

called 'banjin' (savages) and The Japanese were known as 'naichijin' (people from

Japanese land) (Kikuchi, 2007). The Japanese had considered Taiwan to be a natural

and primitive island that needed to be civilized. Japanese indigenous policy focused

primarily on the unassimilated highland indigenous peoples, known in Japanese as

Takasago-zoku. Japanese policy towards indigenous peoples can be divided into three

stages: anthropological studies of the natives of Taiwan, military suppression, and the

reshaping of indigenous peoples as 'Japanese'. Among all the colonizers, as Hu (2007)

points put, Japan was the first to apply scientific methods to the classification of its

inhabitants. The best known is the categorization from ethnographer Ino Kanari who

divided the indigenous peoples into eight tribes: the Atayal, Bunun, Saisiat, Tsou,

Paiwan, Puyumma, Ami and Pepo (Suenari, 2006; Blundell, 2000). Ino divided these

applying five factors: physical characteristics, cultural traits, civilized status, language

and oral histories (Hu, 2007) from which it can be seen that he placed more emphasis on

appearance and visual factors. Nevertheless, the categorization proved useful, since the boundaries between the different groups became fixed and are still influential nowadays in relation to the government's official recognitions.

In order to have thorough control over Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government conducted other researches into the location of the indigenous tribes and their languages and customs, which were used to categorise them in even greater detail for the 'civilizing' process (Suenari, 2006). Matsuda (2003:181) also records that, with the notion of social evolution, "the Japanese portrayed and catalogued the indigenous peoples in Taiwan through a welter of statistical tables, magazines and newspaper articles, [and] photograph albums for popular consumption". As a consequence, the indigenous peoples of Taiwan were placed at a lower level of the evolutionary scale below the Han and the Japanese in line with the colonial government's intention, by the mid-1930s, of assimilating them into Japanese society with the ultimate aim of incorporating them in their Imperial army due to the change in its colonial policies in preparation for what was to become World War II.

The Japanese also introduced a new educational system in order to cultivate a new intellectual power – comprising of those who accepted Japanese education and opposed the traditional tribal system. Therefore, in order to confirm both their colonial power and their civilizing influence on the indigenous population, the new educational policy provided the Japanese with an opportunity to maintain greater control. Any indigenous peoples who wished to improve their status would look to education rather than

headhunting as the new form of power, since those who learned to work with the Japanese and follow their customs would be better suited to lead villages. For example, in the Taroko tribe, which between had been categorized as the Atayal tribe, the elder women share the painful memory about being forced to remove their facial tattoos, which used to be considered as a sign of female beauty and necessary conditions for being married, in order to go to school (Simon, 2006).

The Japanese also organised tours for indigenous peoples who were brought to Taipei in order to be impressed by the civilization and influence of Japanese rule (Sand, 2014). Thus, by a mixture of suppression and education, the colonial government began a political socialization programme to make indigenous peoples accept Japanese customs and rituals and to recognize themselves as Japanese (Chang, 2008). For example, in order to eliminate the head-hunting custom, the Japanese used the story of Goho, who was a Han governor and considered by indigenous people to be a respectful man and who sacrificed himself for civilising savages by trying to get them to give up their 'vicious' customs (Ching, 2000). This tale, which had been was rewritten from an earlier Chinese version, omitted the supernatural elements and aboriginal account in which Goho was actually controversial because he ruled indigenous peoples by exploiting them. The new version was intended to be a message to the indigenous peoples to discard their ancient superstitious beliefs from the Ching era and also to highlight the hostile relationships between the Han and themselves. As Ching (2000: 806) stated, "[in the story's] eventual appearance in the text books of imperialist Japan, the ritualistic and social purposes of head-hunting are entirely left out".

Indigenous representations were to change due to the shifting Japanese concerns later on in their rule. Ching (2000) states that another tale - that of 'Sayon' - was used to encourage their patriotism in order to become loyal imperial subjects. Sayon was a seventeen-year-old indigenous woman who volunteered to carry the Japanese luggage to the mountain during the World War II in 1938 only to sacrifice herself; however, in reality, the Japanese often used brutal methods to ensure indigenous submission (Kleeman, 2003). Due to a mixture of education and propaganda, thousands of indigenous peoples joined the Japanese army during WWII, hence, Japanese colonization is considered by many of the older generations of Taiwanese to have been an influential period, the occupation of The Japanese is essential to their ethnic identity, which is often compared to the Han Chinese, who moved to Taiwan and are also known as 'mainlanders' (Simon 2003).

In the later period of their occupation, the Japanese started to collect indigenous artifacts in general, these objects were regarded as evidence of indigenous classification or their 'primitiveness'. The collections were displayed at various events, such as the Exhibition of the Twentieth Anniversary of Colonization in 1916 and the Exhibition of the Fortieth Anniversary of Colonization in 1935, in order to show Japanese colonial control over native resources. Artifacts had also exhibited in Japan at the Fifth Domestic Industrial Exhibition in Osaka in 1903, the purpose then had been to acquire their public's consent by making them feel superior to the colonized Taiwanese (Hu, 2007). Their purpose appeared to be to represent the indigenous peoples as 'cultural incompetents, morally suspect, and indeed somehow 'fictive' and distinct from the real thing' (Thomas, 1991: 205) in order to justify colonialism. As figure 3.5 shows, living

indigenous peoples of Taiwan had earlier been exhibited at international events in Western countries, such as the International Exhibition in Paris in 1900, and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904. However, instead of justifying their colonial power, the purpose of these had been to present a distinctive image of Japanese political and economic power, by showing not only their Oriental traditions, but also a high degree of modernization (Thomas, 1991). Thus the Japanese intended to prove their development and be recognised to be as powerful as Western countries, the indigenous peoples in Taiwan were used as exhibitions around the world to demonstrate Japanese capability of colonising other countries.
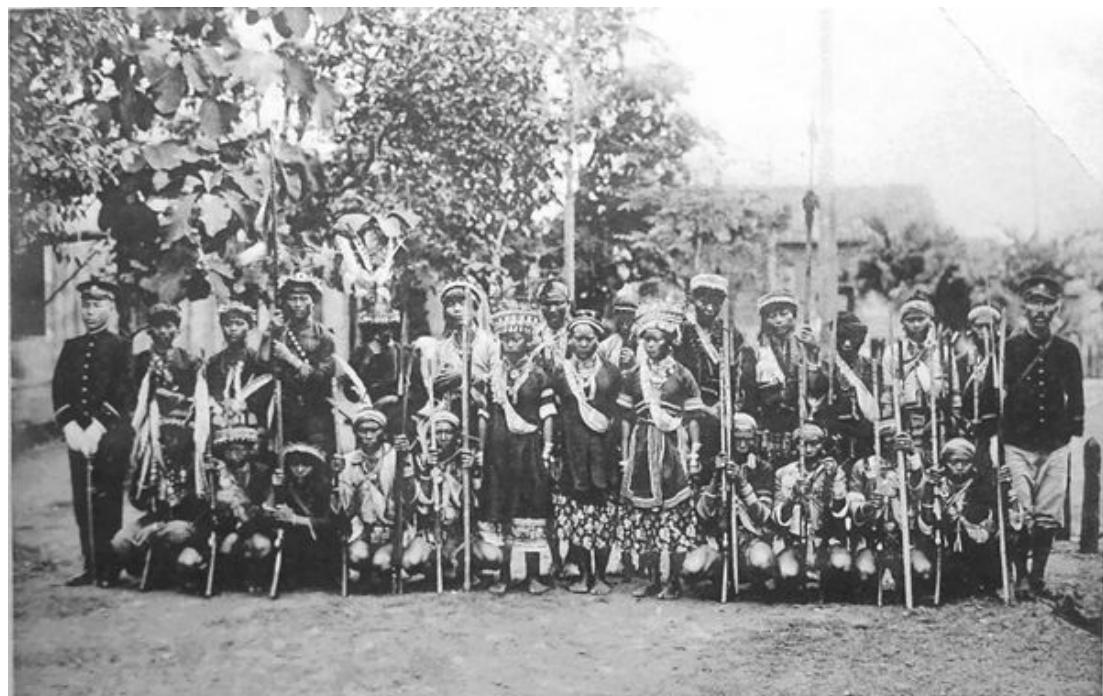
Figure 3.5: The Paiwan indigenous people and Japanese police officers attending the Hapan-British Exhibition in 1910. (source: http://ihc.apc.gov.tw/Journals.php?pid=620&id=775, accessed: 06/09/2016).

While many indigenous customs were eliminated in order to make indigenous peoples 'civilized', there are traditions that were more accepted by the Japanese settles and were therefore maintained (Simon, 2007). The idea of the 'cultural other' plays a critical role in Japanese colony, especially through material representations, objects become evidence for categorising the subordinated position of indigenous peoples by distinguishing the differences between indigenous cultures and Japanese culture (Spurr, 1993). As Bourdieu has argued (1984, 40), creating a collection of indigenous objects, is "made not twice, but a hundred times, by all those who are interested in it, who find a material or symbolic profit in reading it, classifying it, deciphering it, commenting on it, combating it, knowing it, and possessing it." By distancing indigenous peoples, the Japanese would be able to manage the threats and justify their ruling over them.

No matter what the political intentions were, the indigenous artifacts at these exhibitions were also romanticised, since they possessed exotic beauty and craft techniques. As mentioned earlier, although many traditions, such as tattooing, had been eliminated because they were deemed unsavory, some tradition, such as their dress, were actually encouraged if they were not deemed detrimental to society. Nevertheless, at the same time, the Japanese believed they should be modernized and civilized.

The influence of the Japanese colonization has been central for shaping Taiwanese identity, both for families who have been living on the island for several generations and for the indigenous peoples. However, both groups have been affected in very different ways. For the indigenous peoples, their experience has mainly been about

resistance to colonial encroachment, even though, in present day, more influences of Japanese colonization can be found in the highland indigenous tribes than in the metropolitan cities. For instance, in the Bsngan tribe of Taroko, the Japanese language is used in daily conversation, the Takoro language has adopted some Japanese words and shopkeepers still calculate money in Japanese (Simon, 2007). Therefore, although it cannot be denied that indigenous peoples opposed Japan's assimilation policies, they still influence everyday life to a degree.

3.4 Indigenous Peoples in Modern Society

Following World War II, the R.O.C. has governed Taiwan. Over the past 75 years the history of the island has been devided into two parts: pre- and post-martial law- from 1937 to 1989 and to the present day. Since 1989, therefore, Taiwanese society has seen many dramatic changes, especially on issues connected to equal rights and human rights for minorities, which have had a considerable effect on the indigenous peoples.

The country's recent history in greater detail is that in 1949, after being defeated in the Chinese Civil War by the Communist Party, the Kuomintang (KMT) retreated from the Mainland and installed itself as an authoritarian form of government, which introduced several political socialization programs aimed at nationalization and eradicating Japanese influence. However, the indigenous peoples first encountered a Nationalist government in 1946 when the Japanese village schools had been replaced by

the KMT schools in an attempt to eliminate Japanese influences and to emphasise the Chinese language, its history and identity. For instance, a 1953 government report on the mountainous areas stated that its aims were chiefly to promote Mandarin in order to strengthen a national outlook and create good customs. This clause was included in the policy to "make the mountains like the plains" (Lin 2008). However, critics of the KMT's program for a centralized national culture regarded it as institutionalized ethnic discrimination. This policy also caused the loss of several indigenous languages and the emergence of a perpetuation of shame for being indigenous.

After martial law was lifted, however, Taiwanese society entered a democratic era, which was a time of great change for the indigenous peoples, in both positive and negative ways. Increased political and public attention was being paid to their rights and social issues and various movements became involved in social issues, such as poverty, labour rights, housing, and education, as well as actions against discrimination.

The establishment of the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA, or *yuan chuan hui*) in 1984, is considered to have been significant in the indigenous rights movement, giving it a united voice. Being at economic and social disadvantage has always been the main difficulty, so the establishment of the ATA raised a great deal of awareness on such problems as economic hardship, name rights and prostitution (Faure, 2001; Stainton, 1999; Hsieh, 2006). The following section, therefore, will be divided into three parts which are based on the most frequently-discussed issues that indigenous peoples have been arguing for, (i) economic development, (ii) educational rights, and (iii) land issues.

Through the discussion, the social status of the indigenous peoples and the interactions between them and other social groups as well as the authority will be clearly presented.

3.4.1 Request for official recognition

Since the mid-1980s, indigenous social movements have become very active and well recognised. Although international narratives concerning indigenous rights have been employed by some indigenous activists, as Ku (2005) argues, instead of these placing more emphasis on individual rights, the requests for collective identity and recognition seem more appropriate in Taiwan's particular conditions. In order to be recognised fairly, how indigenous peoples would like to be named has become an issue. The term '*yuan-zhu-min*' (people who lives on the island first) was chosen to indicate that the indigenous peoples were the first inhabitants of the island, and that, as such they were, and are, the original masters of the island. However, the term '*yuan-zhu-min*' has been criticised because it suggests uniform recognition of all indigenous peoples and ignores their wide diversity. Therefore, in 1988, the ATA announced a Manifesto of Taiwanese Aboriginal Rights, by changing the term to '*yuan-zhu-min-zu*'(groups of people who live on the island first), which not only recognizes the cultural differences from the dominant Han Chinese, but also their equal citizenship, thereby forming a 'common destiny among the aborigines' (Ku, 2005: 104).

The ATA has been an active participant in the WGIP (Working Group on Indigenous Populations) from the 1980s[3], in efforts to further policies that are designed for indigenous peoples in order to demonstrate 'appropriate citizenship'; therefore, this is not an unfamiliar request for the indigenous peoples and government in Taiwan (Lima, 1991; Maybury-Lewis, 1991; Peterson and Sanders, 1998). However, when the KMT government came into power in 1991, it was implemented that indigenous peoples were to be referred to as either 'mountain compatriots' and 'plains compatriots' in the new Constitution instead of '*yuan-zhu-min-zu*' as they wished. Because unequal treatment of ethnic minorities can still be found in governmental structures, many indigenous leaders and activists have demanded the abolition of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission (MTAC)[4] and the establishment of an official organization that is particularly intended for indigenous peoples (Ku, 2005).

This request can also be regarded as a shift in the concerns of Taiwanese society, instead of seeing Taiwan and the People's Republic of China (PRC) as a nation, issues concerning the 'Taiwanese' society have been emphasized. In 1996, the Council for Aboriginal Affairs (CAA) was established, and was renamed as 'the Council of Indigenous Peoples' (CIP) in 2002. Because this organization falls under the direct jurisdiction of the central government, it could be seen as a success for indigenous social movements, since it potentially strengthens their political status, in that they were

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[3] Sponsored by German churches through the international network of the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan (PCT), members of ATA have participated in WGIP of the UN from the 1980s and have attended annual meetings as observers from the 1990s (Ku, 2005).

[4] According to Sun Yat-Sen's 'Three Principles of the People', Chinese nationality (*zonghua minzu*) constitutes five major groups - Han, Mongols, Tibetan, Muslim and Manchurian. Among these groups, only Mongolian and Tibetan were considered to be minorities; this means that the minorities in southern China are included in the 'mainstream' Han Chinese (Gladney, 1996).

officially recognised as separate and distinct groups from the Han Chinese in the 1977 ROC Constitution. Also, in the final version of the constitutional reform Aboriginal Act, the term 'zhu', which refers to ethnic groups, is mentioned three times; furthermore, the issue of land rights was also included (Yapasuyongu, 1997). As a consequence, therefore, in official state policy the rights of indigenous peoples have been secured and are stronger than before.

In 2000, when democratic political power first shifted from the KMT to the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), Taiwan's main political parties in Taiwan, was when the indigenous peoples began to be recognised in the country. Because the new Taiwanese identities were incorporated into Chen Shui-Bian's presidential electioneering, and they have also been included in national and international events – for example, indigenous singers were invited to lead both the national anthem on Taiwan's National Day in 2000 and at the 2002 New Year's Day flag-raising ceremony – the Taiwanese society has become more aware of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. Furthermore, since indigenous groups have become more politically influential, and politicians have started to wearing indigenous costumes at public occasions, joining indigenous events appears to have become a necessary way to win political support.

After the CIP was promoted at ministry-level in 1996, the indigenous movement has made several achievements, for example, in 1998 the official school curriculum was changed to include more frequent and positive biographies of indigenous peoples. Also, the right to use an indigenous name with romanised spelling, rather than a Han Chinese

name was recognised in The Name Act of 2003. Furthermore, children born with mixed indigenous/Han parents may choose their own official designation, hence there are more and more people are claiming their indigenous identity. The population of indigenous peoples has increased by more than 90,000 in the past decade, with the numbers of aborigines between the ages of 15 and 19 increasing more than any group (Ministry of Interior, 2014). The Secretary of Indigenous Research and Development Centre, National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU), Pasang Hsiao, referring to this phenomenon, states that this increase in registration indicates that identifying one's own indigenous identity is rising. However, the increasing number of teenagers claiming indigenous identity also shows that those indigenous students have chosen to take advantage of the bonus points allocated for indigenous students who enter for high school and university entrance exams. However, as Mayaw Biho, one of the active indigenous social movement members, points out, although many students would change their ethnic identity for practical considerations, others do so in order to exercise their indigenous rights. Whereas, the Minister of the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Sun Ta-chuan states, the increase in those who self-identify is because of welfare incentives, such as bonus points of entrance exams, subsidies for pre-school education tuition, and so on, which specifically are set up to make up for the disadvantages indigenous people experience in the economy, education and employment (Lin, Lin & Hsieh 2011).

Although more and more tribes and indigenous individuals have been recognised, the majority remain highland indigenous peoples. However, as Poiconu and Pan (2010) indicate, there are at least nine plains (also known as *Ping Pu*) indigenous peoples who

have not been officially recognized. Even the most well-known group, the Siraya, could only acquire county-level rather than national-level-recognition. In addition, the Taroko might become the very first indigenous autonomous region to be recognized following their breakaway from the Atayal tribe in 2005 (Simon, 2006). Being recognized and reclassified more precisely not only assists in the process of self-recognition, but it also gives groups greater autonomy and political influence in their own issues.

3.4.2 Economic development in indigenous areas

As Ku (2005) points out, in the Hai-shan coal mine disaster in 1984, the majority of the victims were indigenous workers, who, in order to survive and suffering from poor economic conditions, were forced to take the risk of working in coalmines which paid dubious attention to health and safety. During the late-1970s to early 1980s, therefore, finding solutions to such difficulties was the main focus of the ATA. Research conducted in 2014 showed that aboriginal household income was more than 50% less than the national average, the unemployment rate was higher than the national average, almost 60% fell below the national poverty line Indigenous peoples also lacked opportunities to boost their earnings. Consequently, 40 % of families were in the lowest group in the country and more than 50 % of primary income earners required government subsidies to survive (CIP, 2014).[5]

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[5] In 2014, the average national household income was NTD 1,213,703, and the average aboriginal household was NTD 497,317. The national unemployment rate was 3.96%, and the indigenous unemployment rate was 4.13% (CIP, 2014 and National Statistics, 2014).

In response to these problems, the government has encouraged indigenous communities to develop tourism, which would not only involve exploring their histories and cultures but would also strengthen their sense of communal unity. As has been shown in the previous sections, prior to the 1990s, there was no official government policy on indigenous rights to natural resources, many indigenous communities suffered from economic hardship, lacked development opportunities and lacked a sense of cultural identity (Tai, 2007). Considered together with the 'ethnic identity movement', which was initiated by indigenous activists and intellectuals in the mid-1980s, many communities began to take an interest in a community-based conservation (CBC) strategy, since this was seen as both a way to establish social and economic development and also to emphasize local networks, cultures, and environment (Adam and Hulme, 2001; Berkes, 2004; IUCN/UNEP/WWF, 1991; Tang and Tang, 2001; Western and Wright, 1994; Yadawuyungana, 2005). For example, as Yadawuyungana (2005) stated, the development of the village of Shan-Mei[6] was limited because it is in the national forest, thus owned by the state; consequently, economic disadvantage, unemployment and underdevelopment were serious issues. Therefore, tourism would be the most popular option for developing as a community. As Tai (2007) points out, due to tourism, Shan-Mei not only had seen its living standards raised, but also job opportunities had increased to such an extent that nearly 300 villagers, who had left, moved back into the village again. Although it is the purpose to solve the problems of underdevelopment, social inequality, and cultural sustaining, not every community would benefit from the development.

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[6] Shan-Mei is a Tsou indigenous community based in the Alishan Township of Chia-Yi County, which is a mountain area in south-west Taiwan. The majority of villagers are farmers, who are suffering from a dramatic decrease in agricultural product prices (Tai, 2007).

However, Tai (2007) also reported that some communities had encountered different draw-backs when developing tourism. For instance, the economic and political benefits gained by some government supported projects may create problems regarding competition for leading positions in the community. Also, after protected areas have been opened up for tourism, in some cases only communities that have the capital to run businesses have been able to make profits. Therefore, it is not uncommon for tourist development to create problems for indigenous communities leading to internal collapse. As Platteau and Gaspart (2003) argued, rapid development may cause a sense of unfairness resulting in fewer community collective events and meetings being held; this happened in some smaller communities considered to have less potential and insufficient external support, such as in Li-Chia in Chia-Yi county, whose development relied mainly on a high participation rate, which was necessary for the Li-Chia General Assembly. In Li-Chia, since the project lacked resources, members' participation was critical and they donated their business profit back to the community for its social welfare (LCACD, 2005).

In spite of internal conflicts, as Hu points out (2007), the reproduction of indigenous arts and crafts has become a critical issue, especially when it concerns the right to appropriate indigenous cultures and making them profitable. It is now common practice for indigenous groups to adopt the global trend of utilizing their status. In Taiwan, given its colonial history it is not unusual to find colonial elements in contemporary art and craft works. Even though such items may be considered to be misrepresentations or stereotypes, they may be taken to be bridges between memories and expectations, they

not only represent their identity, but also reflect their wishes to stand out by representing their 'cultural differences' and 'aboriginal flavors' (Hu, 2007).

3.4.3 Equal educational rights

The Taiwan government is aware of the vulnerable educational situation that its indigenous peoples experience, for many indigenous tribes are located in the countryside or mountainous area where there are few educational resources, such as teachers and equipment. In order to improve educational equality, national policies, such as educational priority areas, and ethnic educational programs, economic support and a student's bonus system, were put in place to encourage indigenous students to continue their studies. Although these policies were intended to increase educational equality and maintain cultural diversity, there have been heavy criticism. For example, in 1994, in order to fill the educational gap, the government selected several educational priority areas that were to receive additional financial support. According to Wang and Huang (1996), however, once the area had been named as a special area, the differences between indigenous peoples and other groups of people became accentuated. Furthermore, there are studies suggested that the policies were not effective since the educational attainments of indigenous students remained significantly lower than that of Han students (Huang, 1998).

There were also criticisms of other policies; for example, the problem with the Ethnic Educational System, which was intended to set up specific classes and schools for indigenous students that although it might appear to be helpful in maintaining cultural diversity and preserving indigenous traditions, it turned out to be a segregationist. Having specific policies for indigenous students has been notoriously controversial, as Yaborsuyong (2003) points out, more and more indigenous people live in cities where the social status gap between indigenous peoples and Han peoples is not so great. Consequently, having policies that only benefit indigenous students simply increases points of conflict and creates misleading images of indigenous peoples, such as their being less intelligent, or lazy. However, it cannot be denied that quite large numbers of indigenous peoples have moved from the country to settle in urban areas, which has affected their recognition. As discussed in the Literature Review, indigenous peoples who live in cities may see themselves as being different from their country counterparts. Therefore, although the need for setting policies that favour them may still exist, considerable amendments are required to counteract the social changes.

3.4.4 Land ownerships and rights

As previously mentioned, many indigenous peoples were cheated out of land, or compelled to sell it, because they lacked knowledge of sophisticated Mandarin. Thus, the issue of land ownership has always been a subject of contention. Consequently, from the 1980s, social movement that centre on land issues have emersed, including the first "return our land" demonstration on 25 August 1988 in Taipei drew over 2000 indigenous peoples in traditional clothes from all over the island in order to claim back

their land. A similar demonstration took place the following year, on 20 September and again four years later on 10 December 1993 (Figure 3.6). These demonstrations were bigger than any other social movements on land issues in Taiwan's history and they raised considerable public awareness about land rights and the indigenous people's suppressive history, which included being forced out of their ancestral lands and suffering great losses of tradition and identity. Even in the present day, the government has become much more aware of indigenous rights and it claims to be dedicated to increasing the autonomy of indigenous peoples, such as the Taroko tribes in the Taroko National Park. However, as Simon (2006) states, the Taroko see the establishment of the National Park in their region as an extension of imperial conquest, since their lands are still occupied by outsiders, and they "have not yet been able to return to their ancestral lands" (Tera 2003: 169).
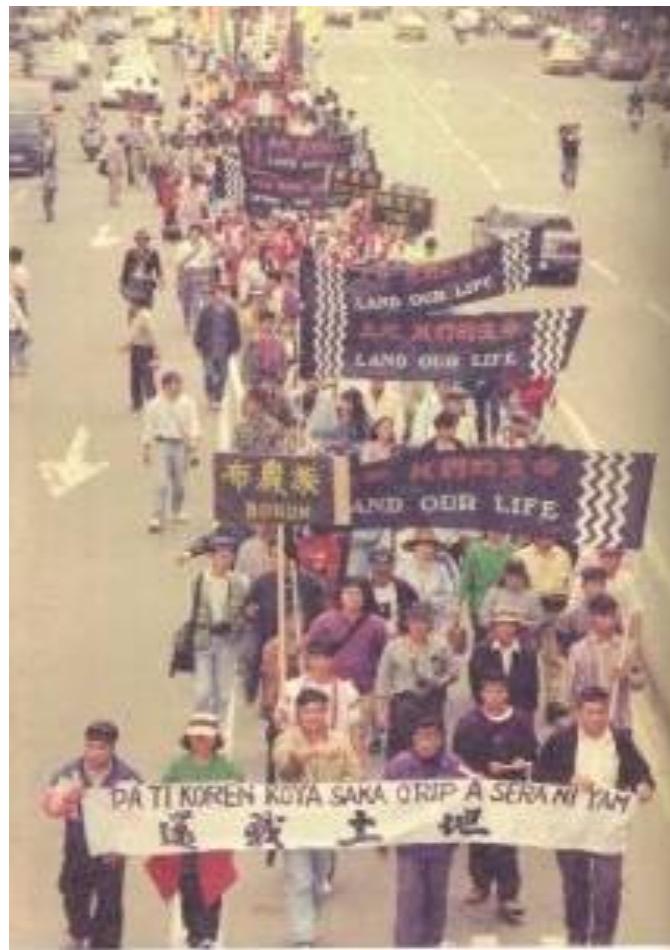
Figure 3.6: Demonstration of "return our land" march - December in 1993. (Icyang Parod, 2008: 880.)

From the discussion above, different versions of legendary stories and changes of indigenous identity impressions, the complexity of indigenous issues can clearly be seen demonstrated in all its various representations. Thus, in the following section, I will examine the process and purposes of making indigenous representations, and also look at how these representations influence Taiwanese society.

3.5 Shifting Representations of the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan

The representations of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan have been presented to the world in many ways and they could be considered to mirror the different attitudes and strategies that the colonial authorities have presented towards them and their needs over hundreds of years. These representations are also rooted into indigenous peoples' self-identities and self-representations. As discussed above, in 1930, the Japanese colonial authority revised its discrimination policies regarding those indigenous peoples, who were no longer considered as savage and who were seen as needly to be civilized but were capable of becoming part of the Japanese empire and who were qualified to volunteer to serve and be loyal to the Emperor. This change of representation indicates the needs of the Japanese colonial power, since, as Kawamura Minato points out, in the earlier stages, the 'savage' characteristics of indigenous peoples were emphasized in order to support the Japanese idea of self-identification with being a civilized and modern nation that could compete with Western colonial powers. In the Japanese version of the Goho story, the activity of 'headhunting' was presented as a simple fact without any further context, such as indigenous supernatural beliefs or social concerns, with the implication that they are brutal, uncivilized others who need to be rescued (Ching 2000). However, 'head-hunting' for the indigenous peoples was more than simply killing; it contained ritual and social elements. Any such deeper meanings were ignored, and the indigenous peoples were consigned to a lower hierarchical position than the Japanese and the Han Chinese; however, the Japanese colonial official, Nitobe, still considered them to be uncivilized, but in need of suppressive Japanese rule in order to eliminate their barbaric customs completely (Ching 2000).

In the later stage of the Japanese colonization, the need to reduce the 1930 post-Wushe effect, the story of Sayon was represented in order to have the indigenous peoples become members of the Japanese empire, because the previous savage/civilized policy had failed to maintain their colonial authority (Ching, 2000). A similar strategic transformation can also be found in the indigenous representations made by the KMT government. In the early stage of its period of rule, in that they characterized the indigenous peoples as 'backward' and in need of being 'Hanized'. However, after martial law was lifted and the idea of 'New Taiwanese' became popular, the KMT began to represent the indigenous peoples as 'the first group of people who protected the island'. For instance, in December, 2005, during the election, the Musha Incident was appropriated by the KMT when its leader, Mona Rudao, was proclaimed as a hero, giving the impression that the KMT wanted to be seen as the voice of the indigenous peoples (Simon, 2007). Such a representation not only won the support from the indigenous peoples, but it also appealed to Chinese mainlanders, who were fighting the Japanese during WWII.

In terms of representing indigenous peoples in museums, apart from them claiming ethnicity, given the political climate of developing a 'Taiwanese consciousness', local history and community cohesion has been emphasized from the 1990s, therefore many local museums were built in order to present local multiculturality (Chang, 2004; Chen, 2002; Wang, 2004). In response to changes in the social climate, developing local areas and working with local communities has become a priority policy. As a result, the number of local museums and cultural centres has increased three-fold from 1996 to

2007.[7] Representing indigenous cultures has become not only a social justice concern, but history and culture has also been emphasized for political purposes, especially when distinguishing 'Taiwanese' identity from Chinese, indigenous culture is now one of the most significant distinguishing characteristics. Consequently, many museums have responded to these social changes by emphasizing the social and cultural diversity of indigenous groups.

Indigenous collections have also become the highlights in regional museums and visitor centres. Despite the fact that indigenous peoples are often represented in museum displays, their participation in museum representations is still limited, and the representations in the majority of museums are exemplified by material items rather than intangible factors, which is critical for societies without written records (Varutti, 2012). There are several instances where intangible cultures can be found, such as in theme parks like the Formosa Aboriginal Culture Village where clothes and lifestyles are presented together with dancing and museums, and in workshops, which take place in some villages in conjunction with the tourism industry. However, in these instances, it is not uncommon for representations to be criticized as unauthentic, and that the original meaning has been obscured, since they were directed at tourists rather than out of tribal traditions (Li, Li, and Chen, 2014).

It is common to find many indigenous communities relying on the tourism industry, although it has been a concern that indigenous peoples might sacrifice authenticity to

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[7] Statistics concluded from Chinese Association of Museums. http://www.cam.org.tw/big5/resource6.htm

satisfy the market, changes in indigenous artifacts and performance might also be seen as a new layer in their history. Because artifacts in the modern day may absorb new elements and change, in order to define 'authentic' and 'traditional', Metcalf (1997) identifies three criteria, (i) the use of traditional craft materials, (ii) the use of traditional craft techniques, and (iii) the act of addressing a traditional craft context. Therefore, as long as the artifacts match the above principles, they could be quite diverse and show with different perspectives, such as new techniques or elements from other cultures, and still be authentic at the same time. Such artifacts would retain their originality and creativity so could be described as 'hybrid', a state that Homi Bhabha (1994) indicates is the result of continuous dissemination in suppressed, colonialised situations. In Taiwan, the hybridity of indigenous works may be formed by unequal relationships with colonial authorities; however, the oppressed history could be turned to empower their identity and position in contemporary society.

Nevertheless, very often in Taiwanese society, indigenous cultures have actually been appropriated, from tourism, performing art and popular culture. For instance, in tourism, especially in theme parks, indigenous elements are selected and used in the way that will be more likely to interest the public and are intended to leave vivid experience. Unlike in tourism where indigenous cultures are emphasised, in popular culture, indigenous cultures sometimes appear to be rather vague, such as in meaningless terms or symbols, as part of the works. In these works, indigenous cultures cannot be separated from other elements and need to be viewed as a whole to appreciate their aesthetics. However, as Young (2010) argues, although appropriation does not necessarily make the artwork inauthentic or harm its aesthetics, appropriation from

indigenous cultures is still often controversial and problematic. Especially in tourism, appropriating indigenous cultures often link to the issue of maldistribution, such as non-indigenous peoples unfairly keeping most of the profit. In other cases, there are fewer problems in appropriating indigenous cultures, usually when the author or performer is indigenous. The US government protects the interests of its indigenous artists with 'The Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990' which made the right of selling 'Indian' products exclusive to North American native artists. Also, the act can now prevent outsiders from profiting from indigenous cultures and it also declares that all works are authentic if they are created by people who have indigenous identities.

Given the fact that indigenous peoples in many societies are commonly in disadvantageous positions, protecting their interests and rights from exploitation is an act of justice, however, it is also common to find that not only indigenous cultures are appropriated by outsiders, but indigenous peoples also borrow elements from other cultures. Cultural appropriation reflects mutual influences and interactions between different groups of people. As Young (2010: 155) points out, cultural appropriation does not necessarily harm the appropriated culture, "cultural appropriation endangers a culture, not when others borrow from it, but when its members borrow too extensively from others". Instead of adopting indigenous cultures, more concern should be shown for the way indigenous cultures are appropriated.

The policies that relate to indigenous museums/representation are more political than authentic; as Brown (2009: 151) puts it, "curators and cultural critics who think of

themselves as progressives see these shifts as inherently democratizing: by putting oral tradition and community sentiment on the same footing as professional expertise, indigenous peoples achieve something like cultural equality". Including indigenous cultures in contemporary museums becomes a way of contributing to a democratic and equal impression. In 2002 the Council of Cultural Affairs developed the project 'Local Cultural Museums Development', whereby museums are considered to be critical places for shaping a Taiwanese cultural identity by re-writing Taiwanese history in which ethnic minorities, in particular the history of indigenous peoples would no longer be excluded. For instance, this involved the Taiwan National Museum, the Museum of Ethnology of the Academia Sinica, the National Museum of Natural Science, the National Museum of Prehistory and the Shung Ye Formosan Aborigines Museum. However, to what extent its history can be re-written simply by including more indigenous representations is highly debatable, since stereotypes can still be re-produced in those existing representations.

Apart from museums and cultural centres, some indigenous visitor centres have been built by local communities and since 1999 setting up indigenous cultural centres has been part of the CIP's published 'six-year-plan for revitalizing indigenous cultures'. In 2007 further policies were published, establishing regional indigenous cultural centres which were essential for constructing local networks, supporting indigenous artists and encouraging tourism. It is also common to find visitor centres in some indigenous communities since many of these used to be the gathering places, for community members to hold their meetings. Indeed, some visitors' centres still function as members' meeting places, and they also include their own representations, souvenir

shops or coffee shops which are set up with the intention of supporting local artists and communities. Although the representations in the majority of visitor centres are created by the indigenous communities, sometimes self-initiated representations could also be challenged if the narrative is considered to be too sensitive or controversial. For example, Simon (2006: 5) reports the Torako tribe – a sub-institution of the national park – creating a representation, which "when the Han park superintendent viewed the exhibit the day before the opening ceremony, she asked the curator to remove the final panel with its oblique reference to the National Park as another colonial power. She said that it risked inciting 'ethnic conflict'".

With the discussions of historical context that concerns the indigenous peoples, and how indigenous representations has been interacting with the social surroundings, I have shown the influences of power relationships between indigenous peoples, authorities and other social groups. Raising awareness of indigenous rights not only leads to diverse representations, but also causes related policies to be re-examined. Therefore, in the following section, I will explore how indigenous cultural heritage is defined in Taiwan as well as issues about definitions and recognitions.

3.6 Indigenous Cultural Heritage

In 2008 'the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act' was published, which covers all cultural heritage in Taiwan - including (1) Monuments, Historical Buildings and

Settlements; (2) Historical Sites; (3) Cultural Landscapes; (4) Traditional Arts; (5) Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts; (6) Antiquities; (7) Natural Landscapes (HACH, 2009). Although the act applies to all cultural heritages, however, as mentioned earlier, relevant material objects are more likely to be used to form the representations of indigenous peoples. From the categories included in the act, it is clear that more attention has been paid to tangible elements, which suggests that of all the other aspects of indigenous cultures, tangible objects are more cared about than intangible heritage.

However, there is no clear cut line differentiating tangible and intangible cultures, since many listed cultural heritages have characteristics from both sides. Until 2010, in order to promote the tasks of preservation, and valorise all types of cultural heritage, the CCA, which was elevated to the Ministry of Culture (MOC) in 2012, classified cultural heritage affairs as consisting of (1) Comprehensive Planning regulations; (2) Tangible Heritage; (3) Intangible Heritage; (4) Heritage Development and Maintenance; (5) Research and Transmission. Furthermore, in 2016, intangible heritage finally obtained a legal status in Article 3 of the revised 'Cultural Heritage Preservation Act', which states, "cultural heritage refers to the tangible and intangible heritage which contains historical, artistic and scientific cultural value". Intangible heritage is defined as "traditional performing art, traditional craft art, oral tradition, folklore and traditional knowledge and practices" (MOC, 2016).

Because Taiwan is not a member of the UN, the guidelines of UNESCO do not affect it, however, in response to the needs of globalization, the CAA established a list of potential World Heritage sites, which now includes eighteen Taiwanese heritage sites. Among these sites, there are three sites in indigenous communities, which are Paiwan and Rukai Settlements of Slate Construction, Beinan Archaeological Site and Mt. Dulan and Orchid Island and the Tao. Also, the MOC developed a list of potential intangible heritage, which contains four indigenous intangible heritages: Atayal myths, Bunun music pasibutbut, the Amis harvest festival, Saisiyat ceremony in hounour of people who preceded them (MOC website). In addition, in order to locate important indigenous cultural heritage sites, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage (BOCH) conducted research and published a list of 154 potential indigenous cultural heritages: 127 of them are tangible cultural heritage and 27 of them are intangible. However, the list does not have any legal power but is only considered as an advice for local government.

From the above lists, it is obvious that indigenous cultures are considered to be of great importance, since they occupy a large number of places in them from which it may be assumed that they have a wider political significance. As mentioned above, alongside dramatic changes in the political atmosphere over the last seventy years, the identity of the Taiwanese peoples has been a combination of incoming and indigenous cultural characteristics. The emphasis on indigenous cultures can be seen in Article 13 of the revised 2016 'Cultural Heritage Preservation Act' which states that the MOC and the CIP need to consult on the management principles of indigenous cultural heritage, especially where the special characteristics of indigenous heritages does not fit into the present administrative procedure. The inconsistency between the current administrative

system and indigenous cultures is therefore recognized, and the consultation process is regarded as its solution. However, to what extent the consultation process speaks for indigenous peoples is open for debate, since instead of consulting the influential actors in indigenous communities as many indigenous communities would do when there are issues need to be solved, the consultations are carried out between two governmental institutions- the MOC and the CIP.

3.7 Conclusion

By examining the colonial history of Taiwan it can be seen that indigenous peoples have rarely been considered by the authorities as being equal either to the colonial or even the other dominant groups, such as Chinese settlers who came later but worked much more closely with the colonial governments. Consequently, indigenous peoples were consistently treated as lower status, or even at times, as sub-human (Chang, 1998). Most of the colonial authorities that had occupied the island with the intention of doing business in South Asia and obtaining natural resources, therefore, compared to the indigenous living style, which is mainly based on hunting and low intensive agriculture, Han peoples with their sophisticated farming techniques became the most preferred group for the colonial authorities to ally with. However, on some occasions, the authorities accepted indigenous people working with them, particularly when there was a need for soldiers, since they were a better military force than the Chinese settlers, since hunting and fighting were traditional in some indigenous communities.

Indigenous peoples had always been the subjects of colonialism; this is not only shown in policies related to them, but can also be found in the representations of them in the Japanese colonial time, as Hu (2007: 203) suggests "the collected objects as a whole became a symbol that signified the subordinated position of indigenous peoples". Representing indigenous cultures has been more about politics, for example, the representation of groups alienated from the dominant society could still be commonly found up to the 1980s when the concept of 'Taiwanese consciousness' was formulated. Since then, indigenous peoples have become significant in their desire to claim a full Taiwanese identity and to be seen as different from the Chinese from PROC. This is not only because indigenous cultures on the island are different from those of China, but also to acknowledge that indigenous rights should allow for the political differences as if each party inhabited two countries. Therefore, Taiwanese indigenous cultures are more than simply resources for proclaiming indigenous identity, they are also an essential part of Taiwanese identity. Furthermore, since the numbers of Taiwanese who consider themselves to be Taiwanese rather than Chinese has greatly increased, the concept of 'Taiwanese consciousness' causes the focus of society to shift to local issues, such as indigenous identity and regional development.

By taking into account the historic context that I have set out in this chapter, I have selected for this study an appropriate methodology, which I will address in the next chapter, in order to achieve my research objectives. Finally, based on an understanding of the historical context of representing the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, I will present my research findings, in Chapter 5 and 6.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this study, the main research question is to understand how indigenous peoples are represented in Taiwan, therefore, it is necessary to develop a methodology that will allow me to conduct the research and achieve my research objectives. Firstly, in order to discuss the research philosophy that has influenced this thesis, in particular its data collection and interpretation, this chapter will explain the objectives and discuss the rationale for the research philosophy. Secondly, I shall set out the methodologies used

in the disciplines, which concern relevant issues and also justify the research methods I have selected, by describing the various approaches to museum studies and anthropology and how these have influenced my choice of research methods. Thirdly, I will present the detail of my fieldwork for this study which explains the research period and describes the location of the case-study sites. The reasons why I made certain choices, such as interviewee characteristics and why I relied on different research methods according to various contexts of the subjects will also be illustrated. Apart from my fieldwork observations and account of the interviews, I will also describe the process of collecting, examining and analysing the textual materials, which is followed by the cross-examination of the interview and observation data. The final section of this chapter discusses other further methodological issues, which will involve ethical considerations, reflexivity and the study's research limitations.

4.2 Research Question and Objectives

In order to develop an appropriate approach to this study, it is necessary to state clearly what I expect it to achieve, which is an understanding of how indigenous people are represented in Taiwan. In order to do this, I will examine the representations of indigenous peoples in the country's leading museums which are considered to be both political spaces, in that they demonstrate the political ideology of the authority and places which illustrate the social status of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. The study

will also address the representations of indigenous peoples beyond those formal spaces, such as in local cultural centres and within indigenous communities.

The central research question is:

How are indigenous cultures represented in contemporary Taiwanese society?

In order to answer the research question, I identify the following objectives:

1. To situate indigenous peoples' relationships in both a national policy context and in the wider area of politicising of their human rights.

2. To examine the inter-relationship of museums and the indigenous communities;

3. To examine how these relationships are manifest in the collections, displays, exhibitions and communication strategies of the museums;

4. To discover how indigenous peoples are represented beyond museum spaces, such as in their local cultural centres and community and in other public spaces.

4.3 Research Philosophy and Paradigm(s)

In this section, I will examine the philosophical assumptions and research paradigms together with the methodological approaches utilised in this study. Research philosophy relates to how researchers gather facts and develop knowledge, which one of two main epistemological approaches needs to be adopted: positivism or phenomenology, each of which stands for different ways of developing knowledge by assuming an understanding of society and of inquiring into the social world. While positivism considers the social world as a singular whole that has an independent existence and that can be understood by objective description and measurement, phenomenology, which is a product of the early twentieth century relies on subjectivity to understand and construct the unique pattern that specifically fits certain surroundings (Silverman, 2001). Positivism and phenomenology require different research methods, while positivism is a deductive, phenomenology is inductive. A deductive approach tests the hypothesis of the theory, while an inductive approach develops theory a by exploring and discovering unknown factors from a specific context (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

In terms of paradigm, as Holliday (2002) states, qualitative and quantitative researches are two different paradigms that see the world differently: positivism is generally associated with quantitative research methods, while phenomenology is associated with qualitative methods. Unlike quantitative research, which emphasises measurement and calculation in order to reveal an accurate reality, this study will rely on qualitative research material that in uncountable, and which is commonly used to study social variations, because society actually consists of multiple realities (Moore, 2006).

Because of its subjective characteristics, qualitative methods emphasise the insider's perspective and experience, which is critical for studying people and phenomena in specific contexts. Richardson (2000: 934) suggests that doing research is like seeing reality through crystals, they not only 'reflect externalities' but they 'refract them within themselves'; hence, certain phenomenan and facts are the product of corresponding contexts, therefore, the conclusion reached in this study may differ when elements of context are changed.

Qualitative research requires researchers to enter the studied context without a hypothesis and to explore social phenomena in the natural state (Mason, 2002). Gorman and Clayton (2005: 3) defined qualitative methodology as a 'process of enquiry that draws data from the context in which events occur, in an attempt to describe these occurrences … [by] using induction to derive possible explanations based on observed phenomena'. As Filipucci (2009: 320) puts it "the use of qualitative methods of investigation is a corollary of this way of conceptualising heritage, as qualitative methods are used to document and analyse perceptions, attitudes and motivations of those involved in the heritage process". This is especially true, since when representing indigenous peoples, museums have to turn their attention to people; hence, qualitative research methods are considered to be the most suitable for studying them. Consequently, such methods are most likely to achieve this study's objectives. As mentioned above, an aim of this research is to explore both the relationships within and between indigenous communities and how they interact with neighbouring social

groups, since such interactions influences how they are represented to the wider society. To achieve this, the most appropriate research methods will be qualitative.

To fully understand the phenomenon a holistic approach involving multiple perspectives and several different methods will be utilised. As Denzin and Ryan (2007: 584) suggest, qualitative researches are "the studies used and consisted of a variety of empirical materials - case study, personal experience, introspection, life story, interviews, and observational, historical, interactional and visual texts - which describe routine and problematic moment and meanings in individuals lives". Therefore, in order to conduct a comprehensive study of indigenous representations, I combine several methods, such as non-participant observation, participant observation, and semi-structured in-depth interviews. Through these methods, I then produce textual documents, audio recordings, observation notes and an ethnographic diary.

4.4 Research Approaches

In order to understand how indigenous peoples are represented in museums and how they are influenced within the wider social context, the following two chapters will address issues involving relationships between museums and indigenous communities and examine those issues from both a social and political influences perspective. Because no single research approach is suitable for every aspect of this research, in order to achieve its objectives the study adopted a mixed methods approach.

Mixed methods research is commonly defined as "research in which the investigator collects and analyses data integrates the findings and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches, or methods in a single study or program of enquiry" (Tashakkori and Creswell, 2007: 3). However, this research focus on relationships between several related parties in the belief that the quality of interactions that happen in the field is the most significant indicator for understanding the subject. Therefore, instead of combining qualitative and quantitative methods, the mixed approach used here refers to the methodologies employed in museum studies in conjunction with methods from other related disciplines all of which look into the interactions between indigenous peoples and mainstream society. Each method has its own assumptions as well as advantages and disadvantages, applying methods across fields could have the benefits of reducing any weakness. For instance, both museum spaces and indigenous communities were observed, however, concerning those sites' various characteristics, different strategies and emphases were chosen. As Denscombe (2003) points out, different methodologies could improve the quality, since the data collection strategy will have been modified to suit the study. However, if a systematic methodology has not been applied, which is considered to be effective for the relevant subjects, the reliability of this study might be challenged. Adopting appropriate methods from different disciplines, though, can prove an advantage. In addition, using different methods can also allow for triangulation of the research findings, as different methods can cross-examine and fill in each other's gaps.

Ethnography as a methodology is commonly found in museum studies, and is an important element in this thesis, it is conducted with the intention to find out how people interpret and give meanings to their experiences. Ethnography is described as "an integration of both first-hand empirical investigation and the theoretical and comparative interpretation of social organisation and culture" (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994; Clifford, 1997; Golding, 2009; Phillips, 1999). Ethnographic works are products based on 'naturalism', defined by Matza (1969: 5) as "the philosophical view that remains true to the nature of the phenomenon under study". Naturalism is a belief that research should seek to understand phenomena in their 'natural' state; thus, by using the technique of observation, the researcher is able both to collect data without disturbing the setting, and obtain information that cannot be acquired by formal information seeking or by using other research techniques that would interfere with the phenomenon. Atkinson and Hammersley (1994: 4) characterise an ethnographic approach as a way of "collecting data in natural settings, in other words in those that have not been specifically set up for research purposes". This approach allows researchers the flexibility of using multiple research methods, which as mentioned earlier can provide triangulation together with various other sources of data. It is especially critical to realise contextual factors that would interpret the phenomenon, therefore, in this research, an ethnographic approach is applied in order to understand the connection between the observed phenomenon and its wider historical, social and political context.

This study also uses a case study approach, in order to explore how a particular museum interacts with certain indigenous communities as well as why indigenous representations are formed in certain ways. As Anderson et al. (2002:9) puts it "the case study is not a local application of an abstract model, or a 'micro' statement of a 'macro' series of events. Rather, case studies are passionate evocations of the world and engagement in it". Furthermore, the case study approach also requires the deployment of appropriate methods for data collection. Unlike quantitative research which generates representative data in order to generalise research findings and produces samples from large populations using certain sampling strategies to avoid bias, the case study approach select studied subjects with 'theoretical sampling' (Silverman, 2001: 252). A case study approach is to select sample cases according to certain criteria, which are intended to develop and test theory and help explain it. I adopted this approach to generate museums and indigenous community cases, my criteria being geographic location and their status in the society. I divided the cases into two categories, spaces that have indigenous representations, such as museums, cultural centres and indigenous communities, and social actors who have engaged in representing indigenous cultures, from museum professionals, and policy makers to community members.

As mentioned above, the use of multiple or combined research methods and strategies have several benefits, most importantly, they produce comprehensive information by "adding depth to the description of the social meanings involved in a setting" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1994: 198). In this study, my research methods consisted of observations, interviews, textual analyses of archives, photographs and other relevant

materials. The benefits and challenges of using these research methods will be discussed in the following section.

4.5 Fieldwork and Data Collection

In this section I will present a detailed account of how I selected sites and recruited participants, how I conducted the ethnographic fieldwork. The ethnographic fieldwork entailed researching how museum professionals interact with indigenous communities, how relationships between museums and indigenous communities influence representations, and finally, show how the social and political contexts influence the representations of indigenous culture.

The fieldwork, which was conducted from November 2014 to June 2015 in Taiwan, involved observations, interviews and textual analysis. In the first part of the next section, I will describe the process of how I selected both my case study sites and study participants, show how I conducted the participant and non-participant observations at the selected sites, and outline how I collected the historic and textual documents that supported my research.

4.5.1 Selecting studied subjects

Selecting sites and participants for any research study are important tasks, therefore before entering the field to gather as much information as possible in the limited time available I had already made contacts with some museums, curators and indigenous community leaders, all of whom were engaged in indigenous representations. By doing this, it also facilitated my understanding of the different roles they played and my initial fieldwork visits. As explained in Chapter 2 and 3, Taiwan's national museums are influential in forming opinions, therefore I started by establishing which of these had permanent indigenous representations and regular temporary exhibitions based on indigenous cultures. This resulted in my selecting five leading museums, four national museums and a private museum, which is the only one in the country specifically, designated for indigenous cultures. From November 2014 to December 2015, I placed the focus of observations on the museums and cultural centres which are in northern and eastern Taiwan. During these three months, I visited the museums as least twice before I contacted my interviewees in order to form the most appropriate interview schedules (see Appendix 1). From January to March 2016, because of a workshop (see the following paragraph), I stayed in Southern Taiwan more regularly and visited the national museums and cultural centres in the area as well as conducted interviews with museum professionals. From May and June, I dedicated my time on researching archive in National Central Library and National Taiwan University Main Library. However, the time of interviews cannot be concluded as above, as they were arranged according to my participants' availability (see Appendix 2).

Regarding selecting case study sites in spaces outside museums, because I did not have any easy access, I relied on the list of indigenous communities that have worked previously with my case-study museums and I adopted convenience sampling (Babbie, 2006), I also had become aware of a CIP project to create indigenous local cultural centres (see Chapter 3). Consequently, I used the list of these cultural centres as a pragmatic way to establish contact with indigenous communities. I also found that snowball sampling was a useful strategy to adopt, since, unlike the museum professionals who were familiar with sharing information in interviews, some indigenous people were reluctant to be interviewed by an unknown researcher. However, I was able to join in a public workshop held in Tainan City, Southern Taiwan, where I made contact with some indigenous community leaders, which proved to be significant for making progress in my fieldwork, since I was now in a position to find out if any of those involved met the criteria for helping me in this study.

I also selected interviewees based on their positions in museums and/or their past achievements, such as having curated indigenous cultures exhibitions or published papers, since professional knowledge is crucial for research purposes (Babbie, 2006). In the interviews I adopted purposeful sampling techniques and afterwards I applied a snowball sampling technique, which allowed me to recruit more interviewees based on recommendations from the museum professionals who I had met earlier.

4.5.2 Observations

Observations in this research were used both for exploring the case-study museum surroundings, especially the public areas, such as exhibition spaces, which contained material collections, and interactions that happened in museum spaces, such as conversations between visitors, or how visitors responded to the displayed information. As Kumar (2014: 173) states "[observation] is a purposeful, systematic and selective way of watching and listening to an interaction or phenomenon as it takes place". Therefore being on site with an open-ended way and recording relevant information, I was able to explore the meanings of the various interactions, both verbal and physical. Because indigenous communities are not evenly distributed across the country, I selected sites from areas where there are greater numbers of indigenous communities and populations.

My observations took place primarily in museums and cultural centres that were mounting representations of indigenous peoples involving object displays and written narratives across the whole of, or parts of the venues' surroundings. In this way I was able to judge the atmosphere of the space together with other factors that affected the visiting experiences. My observations also included special events such as festivals and temporary exhibitions. Observation also involves not just focusing on the material cultures embedded within the representations but also on human behaviours in order to describe and assess how the venues have expressed their perspectives towards indigenous peoples and how indigenous peoples express their own identities in museum and cultural centre settings as well as in their everyday lives.

For my fieldwork experiences I visited twenty-eight places that were representing indigenous cultures: four national museums, one private museum, one art gallery, one university museum, two city museums, thirteen local cultural centres, two theme parks, and four indigenous communities.

I chose the four main national museums that contained indigenous representations because of their characteristics, as well as their specific locations: one in northern Taiwan, one in the west, another in the south and the other in the east, since where they were situated influenced both the methods they were adopting, and the composition of their visitors. I chose Sung Ye Museum because it is the biggest private museum devoted to indigenous cultures in the country, and I chose the thirteen local cultural centres because of their wide experiences of representing indigenous cultures. I chose university museums and the indigenous communities in order to see if their approaches were in any way different from the major museums.'

During my fieldwork, I visited several temporary exhibitions in galleries, city museums and in purpose-built 'theme parks', which are also known as 'cultural parks' where tourists can see examples of indigenous architecture, ornaments and sculptures, however, they do not always consist of fairground rides, as is common in other contexts, so I include them in my observations in order to understand how indigenous peoples are represented in a tourist context.

I applied two types of observations in my fieldwork: non-participant and participant observation. Non-participant observation is used for realizing the physical surrounding of the studied field, in which social activities happen within the context. Hence, it is mainly used in museums in order to understand which objects have been chosen and how they have been arranged since material culture plays such a critical role in the interactions between visitors and the host community and subtle representations can be achieved in this way. For example, by comparing collected objects, museums in the early nineteenth century were trying to form a linear history and create a universal narrative. Therefore, I believe that reading museum objects within their social context is critical in this study. In addition, as discussed in Chapter 2, there are two main categories of indigenous cultural heritage, which are tangible and intangible culture, elements within both these categories can be considered as parts of indigenous representations. As will be explored in Chapter 5 and 6, observations from my fieldwork will assist in revealing how indigenous representations are formed within certain contexts and with various concerns.

I used initial visits to the museums and cultural centres to observe their surroundings, to take photographs of the physical settings and to try to understand the various narratives that were being presented. However, in some museums and exhibitions, taking photographs is not permitted, in those cases, I used notes to describe my visits. In these initial visits, the interactions with other visitors and staff remained limited and conversations happened mostly with the volunteers or guides, who were responsible for introducing the exhibitions to visitors. My observations started from considering where

the museum was located in order to discover how easy it was to reach and who its potential audience might be. For example, a museum located in a city would have larger numbers and more diverse visitors, such as families, foreigners, and school children.

When I entered an exhibition space, I would note the way the subjects were arranged. For example, some museums represent indigenous peoples by their ethnicity while others displayed indigenous representations as a period of history. When I examined the indigenous representations in either sort of museum, I would pay more attention to the arrangement of the displayed subjects. In addition to examining the objects, I would find out as much as I could about the way visitors learned about the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. For example, in some museums, objects were displayed alongside stories of their source community or family, while others displayed objects according to their functions and accompanied by accounts of their social or ritual meanings. The aims of these initial observations, therefore, were both to see them through the eyes of the visitors and to understand what objects and issues had been included and what, if anything, had been excluded. I used some of these observations in my interviews with both museum staff and indigenous people who had worked with museums.

In these initial visits I did not share my identity as a researcher with anyone, or tell people the purpose of my visit, as this helped me to learn the ways that volunteers and guides introduced the representations to a general audience, and also their personal interpretations and opinions about the subjects. I also observed how visitors reacted to the representations by studying their behaviours. For example, I noted what visitors

chose to take photographs of, if they were allowed to do so, or what conservations they had with museum staff and with each other.

Participant observation is commonly used in anthropological research in order to study societies or cultures that we have little understanding of, or have never experienced. Tyler (1986) points out that this research approach has several characteristics, such as broader than testing a hypothesis, placing the emphasis on exploring a particular culture or society. Applying participant observation requires the researcher to a certain extent to be involved in the studied society, as McQueen and Knussen (2002: 11) state "more than any other approach to research, participant observation can be regarded as truly holistic, a form of holism in which even the research has become a part of the whole". For example, in feminist studies in the 1980s, participant observation revealed that the way women perceive the world is determined by their cultures, experiences and gender (Olesen, 1994, McQueen and Knussen, 2002). Therefore, participant observation is an essential fieldwork tool in order to explore how visitors understood the role of the museum, and how it represented the indigenous subjects, as well as the perspectives they adopted regarding who interacted with the representations and how they went about it. In particular, participant observations allowed me to understand how particular viewpoints are formed.

Because not every museum or community welcomed researchers, the opportunities for conducting participant observation often followed after contacts had been made via interviews. Due also to the fact that not everyone I met would either agree to a formal

interview or would be considered as an appropriate interviewee for the study, participant observation helped me to have a greater understanding of people's opinions or feelings by observing their behaviours and responses without necessarily needing to conduct a formal interview. Some opportunities for participant observations came about because some community members and museum staff learning of my study, invited me to visit workshops, other gatherings, or their communities. When attending events by invitation, however, it is very difficult to remain distant and conduct objective observation, since I was also taking part and, out of politeness, needed to respond accordingly. I am aware that findings from participant observation vary, according to the researcher's reactions, thereby impacting on objectivity. Therefore, when I was in such situations, I realised that keeping my distance meant that I might not be able to understand the meanings of some actions or people might prevent me from sharing their thoughts or understanding them. For example, in some occasions, such as indigenous ritual events I was invited to, there were certain meaningful actions and some pieces information that it was clear were not intended to be shared with a stranger. However, after I had visited the interviewees' community several times, community members began to see me as someone who had a genuine interest in their culture, which made them more willing to teach me about their history and culture. Sometimes they even shared some of their difficulties with me. This means that eventually I was able to develop some much deeper conversations than would normally be the case. However, it was also clear that shows involving negative impressions about their communities remained limited or were expressed as problems that had since been solved.

4.5.3 In-depth interviews

The open-ended interview is another important method this study relied on for collecting data; open-ended subject-oriented interviews are often used in order to understand people's views and feelings, especially when the phenomenon is little known (Bryman 2008). Rather than an interviewer introducing certain assumptions into the interview, participants will feel more encouraged to share their thoughts and feelings when they are engaged in open-ended interviews. Rosoff's (1998) in his study took into account native perspectives by in-depth interviewing both native and non-native museum staff at the National Museum of American Indian (NMAI). Such an interview technique is important for understanding participants' viewpoints and feelings. As Cook and Reichardt 1979 described, conducting open-ended interviews is a process of discovery, the responses are not expected to fit into any category, hence there is always a chance that an unexpected answer might be given.

Since society is built by people engaging with one another, I decided that interviews were the best way of understanding how they respond to each other. Therefore, by focusing on people's interactions, the relationships among participants are critical for understanding how communities work (King and Horrocks 2010). In order to have a comprehensive knowledge of the context of a situation, rather than maintaining a neutral stance, being compassionate during interviews is important for understanding the participants' perspectives (Madill et al., 2000). However, becoming too close to interviewees is not necessarily a good strategy, since their responses may be judged and

interpreted by the research in a way that is against them. The trust between the research and participants will then be jeopardised.

I completed eighteen interviews: eight with national museums curators, two with national museum guides, one with a private indigenous museum director, one with a township governor of indigenous affairs, two with local cultural curators, one with an indigenous community leader, two with community activists, and one with an indigenous artist. I interviewed museum curators because they were experienced at representing indigenous cultures. Also, after my first few interviews, I was aware that some possessed different qualities, such as those who have the indigenous ethnicity or who were in various positions of seniority in the case-study museums. This meant that they had quite a wide range of experiences to recount from different perspectives. Through these curators, I was introduced to two museum guides they worked with who they considered would be helpful in my research because they interacted with their museums' audiences. Regarding local cultural centres, which are governmental projects, I found the details in their project documentation, and I contacted curators from those centres that ranked both towards the top and the bottom of official the annual evaluations table in order to examine the influences of the valuation system, different management approaches and various of challenges these centres face. Unfortunately, however, many were reluctant to be interviewed, although some referred me to other people they felt would be helpful, such as a community leader, a local governor, and an artist. As mentioned above, by attending a public lecture, I was also able to recruit as

interviewees some people who had previously worked in indigenous representations in the research.

The in-depth interviews, which were semi-structured (see Appendix 3) contained some introductory questions that could be answered by almost all participants. For example, in order to understand the museum's stance on indigenous cultures, I asked participants what they considered was the definition of indigenous peoples and how would they expect their audience to view them. Most questions, therefore, were open-ended and I encouraged interviewees to express their thoughts as much as they wished. In this way, the interviews were flexible and relaxed so they could feel comfortable about sharing their knowledge. The follow-up questions depended on the previous answers or their contexts and I skipped some questions, which I felt were no longer relevant or necessary, such as those about their past experiences or which became irrelevant to the topics.

As mentioned earlier, my interviewees had been recruited according to their particular roles or professional qualities, such as whether they were museum curators or community members, therefore, I had devised several versions of interview schedules before entering the field, consequently, for each interview, I used a particular version and edited according to the interviewee's background. In this way, those with similar qualities would be asked the same questions in order to allow comparison with others. However, as Merriman (1991) argues, adopting comparable questions guides the responses into certain forms, which could be restrictive thereby making it difficult to explore the topic further. Therefore, in order to select the most appropriate questions

that would allow for comparisons, before conducting an interview, I would research the specific institution, and curator, and examine their organisation's past exhibitions, as well as historic events that had been represented by their institution. As well as general questions, I asked each interviewee questions that were specific to them.

As Breakwell (1990: 81) points out "the interview approach relies heavily upon respondents being able and willing to give accurate information". In order to explore how people feel about representations in museums, the surroundings that make the interviewees feel free to express themselves are very important, especially when the interview touches on a controversial issue. Therefore, apart from the questions designed by me, the interview components of the interview were arranged as the interviewee wished, such as time and venue. They were also free stop to the interview or recording at any point and raise questions or concerns during the interview. Giving interviewees this degree of control also assists in managing the balance between the researcher and the participants.

At the end of the interview I always promised to give the interviewees a transcript and informed them that if changes need to be made they should contact me within a certain period. While I did this to ensure accuracy, I was also aware of my relationship with the interviewee, which depends so much on mutual trust. The balance of control between interviewer and interviewee is a common researcher's dilemma. As Sorensen (2009: 176) suggests, "interviews are about engagement, and in conducting them one's questions have to invite a response and if needed, clarification". Because the interview

was to be my main method for collecting data, I was conscious that I needed to seek a way to maximize their quality and minimise the pressure on a, perhaps, reluctant interviewee, since qualitative interviewing can be, as McCracken (1988: 27) described, "time consuming, privacy endangering, and intellectually and emotionally demanding". Thus, the process of interviewing should be a cooperative enterprise between the researcher and the interviewee.

Apart from formally arranged interviews, I also included some informal interviews when I was invited to events and had conversations with others. In these informal conversations, of course, there was no structured interview schedule; these were no more than ordinary conversations that would occur according to the context. I did not always reveal my role to everyone but, of course, some people who had participated in my study earlier knew what it was. Therefore, to record these conversations, I relied on note-taking, pictures and videos, or materials from the event, consequently, those people will remain anonymous.

4.5.4 Textual materials

Documents collected in my fieldwork include policy documents, historical records, and brochures. Cross examination of these materials was necessary both to double check the accuracy of information given by interviewees and to produce further contextual data, such as historic records and museum archives. I gathered most official documents from the government's online database, in the National Taiwan University's library and at the

National Central Library in Taipei City. During my fieldwork, I took notes on every activity in which I had been involved, from visiting museums, community centres and communities to interviews. In these notes, I not only described what I saw, such as the arrangement and content of exhibition, but also my own judgments and feeling toward the events, conversations and interviews. Also, together with my notes and the interviews, I used historical records, newspapers, reports and policy documents in order to cross examine findings in my fieldwork.

Critical relativism suggests that an individual's behaviours and viewpoint are influenced by social structure and economics, thus the interview as a social interaction, consists not only of the interactions between the researcher and the participant, but also their social statuses, which influences both of them. When dealing with indigenous peoples in history, researchers must remain aware that they were colonised and dominated by various authorities; consequently, their words will almost certainly tell very different stories from official documents. Therefore, comparing different types of materials helps the researcher to understand the different sides of the stories. As Rorty (1979) states, conversations with others are framed by our experiences and understandings of the world or incorrect memories may also show the participants' experiences and perceptions of those experiences as well as their social circumstances. With that in mind, in my interviews, I included information I had obtained from examining historic documents, some of which I introduced as background in order to get additional information more efficiently; for example, in order to learn how museums deal with conflicts between the CIP (see Chapter 3), local communities and local cultural centres.

I also used textual material both to confirm information I had obtained from interviews and to assure interviewees that I would not ignore any conflicting accounts arising from historical records. This was particularly true for people with regard to contradictions and conflicts regarding the Japanese colonial government, which are still contentious issues for indigenous communities (see Chapter 3).

Semiotics, i.e. signs, imagery, information boards and brochures that are applied in museum spaces and community-based tourist centres, was also a useful research tool for analysing the narrative (Culler, 1988, Rakic and Chamber, 2008). I used this approach in the study to gain some understanding of a museum's perspective by reading their descriptions and studying their illustrations, furthermore, the research approach is also helpful for understanding how indigenous peoples like to be seen by visitors. However, on some occasions, circumstances were such that I was unable to take note, I completed my records later the same evening in order to retain the accuracy of my observations.

4.6 Analysing the Collected Data

In order to explore the research questions, it is necessary to analyse the material I have collected from my fieldwork; this consists of photographs of case-study museums, observation sites, information collected at events, audio recordings from interviews and events, written notes of interviews, transcripts of interviews and observations and ethnographic diary and related images, such as posters, brochures and press statement.

The first stage of processing collected data, according to Taylor and Bogdan (1998), is similar to editing in quantitative studies, I went through all my notes and examined them alongside the audio records and visual images to ensure I had reflected each particular event or situation correctly. In order to avoid recall errors, I took notes as much as I could while on sites. Taylor and Bogdan (1998) suggested sharing notes with participants and asking for confirmation of their accuracy. However, because, for me, noting a situation was selective, it was bound to contain my personal judgments and decisions, hence, because chances were that I might not fully agree with my interviewees, I decided not to share my notes. Regarding interview transcripts, since interviewees might be named they were shared with each interviewee in order to ensure the accuracy and obtain approvals.

In order to code audio records, I transcribed all completed interviews minus interjections and repetitions, and I typed every conversation detail, with interview notes in brackets to illustrate situations and anything that needed to be noted, but had not been expressed verbally. This allowed me to work with visible text, so I did not have to return to the recordings when I was writing. I sent every transcript to the interviewees to verify the content they have said. Some interviewees asked to make some changes, however these were all minor; all changes are documented to take account of any influence they might have about transmitting certain items.

All the interviews were conducted in either Mandarin or Taiwanese[8], all transcripts were typed in Chinese and to write up the thesis, I produced English notes from these transcriptions. The English notes may be considered to be a second filter for abstracting information from the interviews, which is considered to be useful in the research.

Richards (2014) suggests three ways of coding in qualitative research- descriptive, topic and analytic. Descriptive coding is like quantitative coding, since it deals with objective information, while topic coding is the first step of interpreting data, as it labels the data according to its subject, while analytical coding is a step further than topic coding, in that it both categorises information after the meaning is extracted and may also generate new ideas. According to these principles, all data was initially coded with primary descriptions, such as instead of coding with the gender of the interviewees, I coded with role descriptions or types of co-productions. Coding by topic is mainly used to code interview transcriptions. Since all interviews were semi-structured, I used the topic codes based on interview schedules. I asked several questions either to every interviewee, or to everyone in a similar role; for instance, I asked the question 'What is your experience of working with indigenous communities?' to every museum curator and I coded the question and answer within the topic 'cooperating with communities'. Such common questions allowed me to compare interviewees' responses. McNeil (1990:112) defines content analysis as a 'method of analysing the contents of documents or other non-statistical material in such a way that it is possible to make statistical comparisons between them'. Therefore, in order to analyse textual data and

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[8] Taiwanese: in this chapter this term is used to refer to one of the dialects that is spoken by the majority of Taiwanese citizens, it is a variant of spoken Hokkien.

interview content, I grouped these materials into different categories according to their relevance to the subjects of my interview questions, although some of them had to be adjusted to fit into the categories, or needed to be accompanied with notes in order to ensure the accuracy.

Apart from the questions that can be compared, I also put questions that were only asked to a specific interviewee, which means that, I needed to consider most of those responses within their unique context and interviewees' characteristics. In addition to analysing the responses, the context of the question also needed to be examined. Ely (1991) suggests there are two types of content that researchers should pay attention to- one contains meanings that run through most of the analysed data, and the other suggests emotional or factual impact. By coding the interview transcripts within topics, I was able to discover contrasts and similarities between interviewees. I also employed a topics coding approach when analysed the collected textual material.

4.7 Ethics in the Research

Considering the voices of vulnerable parties has become a way of readdressing power balances in society (Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Fabian, 2012). However, as House (1993: 168) states, "some of the most intractable ethical problems arise from conflicts among principles and the necessity of trading one against the other. The balancing of such principles in concrete situations is the ultimate ethical act". Unlike in the past,

where tribal remains could be excavated without obtaining the tribes permission, the methods used in producing anthropological knowledge have been debated, since these researches were conducted without the voices from their studied subjects. When researching indigenous cultures in particular, colonial history and power imbalances are inevitably difficult issues. Therefore, in order to avoid any potential harm to participants and the wider community, research is guided by the ethical principles that are set out by the University of Birmingham (2014). Hence, all materials used in my fieldwork to recruit research participants were subject to review by the research ethics panel at the University, such as the recruitment letter and the participation consent form (see Appendices 4 and 5). The fieldwork for this research could not commence until the approval of the panel was granted.

Furthermore, as Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 662) note, research ethics codes emphasise on three main areas "informed consent, right to privacy and protection from harm". Therefore, researchers are required to obtain participants' consent after giving a comprehensive explanation of the purpose of the study, to ensure the identities of participants remain anonymous (under requested), and to prevent them from being harmed in any way while participating in the study. During my fieldwork, I was in some observation sites where I did not reveal my identity to everyone as mentioned above, although some few key staff and community members, such as leading characters of the event or the community, were informed and were aware of my research activity beforehand. During my observations it was my intention to access and examine physical spaces and activities that everyone can access; consequently, there was very little

possibility that the information I noted on those occasions could have caused harm to any specific individual. On the other hand, acquiring consent is obligatory for conducting interviews, so prior to interviewing, research consent forms were sent to the interviewees, specifying how the interview materials would be stored and accessed. It also asked for their agreement for me to use the information obtained from their interviews, and their willingness to be named in the research.

Other ethical issues were confidentiality and anonymity, as Piper and Simons (2005: 57) put it, "confidentiality is a principle that allows people not only to talk in confidence, but also to refuse to allow publication of any material that they think might harm them in any way". In this research, not every participant chose to be anonymous, since most were known public figures who frequently spoke about issues related to this research. For those who wished to be anonymous, signing the consent form was a crucial process, since it was important for them to understand that they could be recognised by people who were familiar to them and who knew about the subjects discussed. Therefore, anyone who wished to remain anonymous was given a code to replace their name to be used on all related materials, such as my own interview record, notes, and this thesis, etc. Several other actions were taken to protect their privacy and anonymity, such as the list of interviewees and the consent forms, which contained personal details, were never to be mentioned in this study and could only be accessed by myself.

At the beginning of the interviews, the interviewees were invited to read and sign the consent form, which gave them the chance to ask questions about the research in

general. The consent form also informed interviewees that if they wished to stop the interview at any point or withdraw their participation after the interview within three months, they were free to do so and were not obliged to give any reason. It was explained that if they wished to withdrew from the research, their information would be destroyed immediately. The consent forms were all signed at the beginning of each interview, however, some interviewees requested to leave the decision about whether to participate in the research anonymously dependent on what was discussed, therefore, some consent forms were collected at the end of these interviews.

4.8 Positioning and Rapport

To develop an awareness of how my personal position would inevitably influence the way I conducted the research was, in itself, a critical part of the research. Therefore, in the following section, I will address issues of how my position affected my fieldwork, the methods I developed to reduce any potential influences and also the reasons why I chose not to attempt to alter the effect.

As Hamersley and Atkinson (1994: 15) state,

> the concept of reflexivity acknowledges that the orientations of
> researchers will be shaped by their socio-historical locations,
> including the values and interests that these locations confer upon
> them. What this represents is a rejection of the idea that social
> research is, or can be, carried out in some autonomous realm that is

insulated from the wider society and from the biography of the researcher, in such a way that is findings can be unaffected by social processes and personal characteristics.

As a citizen of Taiwan, I was able to access the majority of the materials in a Taiwanese context, also, during the fieldwork, I could approach every participant directly without there being a language barrier. I live in Taipei city, the capital, which has few original indigenous communities, therefore, I had to travel to other parts of the country in order to do the fieldwork, which meant that the time I had available for visiting museums and communities was limited, especially for those neither in or near Taipei. Because of my familiarity with Taiwan's history and my general knowledge, while I was doing observations and also interviews, I was expected to have a certain level of knowledge about the indigenous history, therefore during the fieldwork, some conversations developed based on this assumption. Because in some cases, I was familiar with the specific issues, the conversations would become very detailed, however, some conversations became confusing because I had not come across the information mentioned by the interviewee. In such instances, I had to stop the interviewee, or confirm the information with them after the interview. Because of my identity, educational background and ability with languages, I was able both to quickly build up conversations and also to explore issues in a sophisticated way, however, not being an indigenous person myself, I was considered as an 'outsider' in terms of indigenous issues, especially since I was not even a resident of my case-study community.

Regarding my fieldwork, as Duijnhoven and Roessingh (2006: 124) state, the strategy of hiding or revealing my identity as a researcher, since such identity could have different impact on different people. In order to avoid difficulty and prevent any harm to my participants and my research, my position in the fieldwork remained flexible. I chose to reveal a certain amount of the information about me according to the context and the people I was encountering. I would usually only introduce myself as a PhD student in the University of Birmingham in the UK, however, on some occasions, I would give other background information, such as which university I went to as an undergraduate or which city I lived in. I also often found that interviewees would tell me more about themselves and assume I would understand their situation or opinions, because we went to the same university or had a similar educational background. In some cases, participants became more willing to introduce me to other potential participants because they felt we shared a connection.

However, when I was in local communities, because I had no indigenous ethnicity, I felt able to ask questions from the perspective of a relative outsider, which I may not have been able to ask if I had belonged to that particular indigenous community, for instance, information about rivalries with other communities or other families. However, it also meant that I was not expected to understand community politics or family or community relationships, therefore, some of their responses may have lacked subtle details. Therefore, I had to use different ways to discover information that I could not get from interviews. When I met people from indigenous communities, often our conservations would start with some very basic information, such as a well-known

specific period of history, or news that had been widely discussed; consequently, conversations tended to be casual and less focused than the interviews with museums curators. I realised, therefore, that in order to gain their trust and create opportunities to explore the issues I wanted to understand, I needed to spend more time in the communities.

Because I was aware that my responses would influence the interviewees, in every interview I asked questions about the experiences of working with other institutions or communities, although, when discussing issues about competing relationships or conflicts with others, I would not comment or show my either agreement or disagreement. I used follow-up questions to obtain details about these experiences only because I needed to have a clearer picture about their working practices and experiences, however, they often interpreted my interests as supporting their position; consequently, I seldom declared my stance or pointed out their misunderstandings.

4.9 Research Limitations and Alternative Methods

In this research, I encountered several practical limitations, the first one being language. During the Japanese colonial period (1895-1949), the government had done a significant amount of research on indigenous peoples, but it was all in Japanese. Without any Japanese ability, I had no choice but to use second-hand interpretations of research. Hence, information I used in this study from the 1900s mainly came from

previous researches, in Chinese or English. Therefore, in order to avoid mis-referencing or mis-interpreting, I selected materials from those researches considered to be most authoritative.

Indigenous languages are not spoken by every indigenous person, so my not being able to speak any indigenous language was not the biggest difficulty, but there were few occasions when it proved to be a problem. In indigenous cultures, languages are used to refer to concepts that are difficult to explain in any other language. Therefore, most of the time the indigenous interviewees chose the closest terms in Chinese to express the finer details of their cultures to me. Since I had never come across some of these concepts, I did not feel I understood them sufficiently well, especially when they concerned religion or the social system. As a result, I found language barriers sometimes prevented me from developing further discussions as I would have liked. It was clear to me, though, that if I had been able to speak any of these languages, I may have been able to form relationships and perhaps I might have been seen as more of an "insider".

The fieldwork phase stretched over seven months, however during that time I was not always able to follow many of the temporary exhibitions I had become aware of in the planning stages right through to their opening, as that could take many months or even years. During the time I stayed in Taiwan, although there were many relevant exhibitions already taking place, I was not able to become involved with any of their preparation and planning. This lack of involvement in museums preparation meant that I

had to rely on my interviewees' knowledge of the processes since I could not cross-examine their responses with my own observations.

I would have done this research differently, if I had been able to recruit most of the participants in advance, since I would have had more opportunities to witness some of the museum's preparations for their events and exhibitions, and it would also have enabled me to have firsthand observation and greater access to material to better understand the cooperation among indigenous peoples, museums and other involved groups during these stages. Also, my observations might have differed from what museums curators or community members have told me in our interviews. Yet, had I taken this approach, I may have had to devote my fieldwork to either a single, or a relatively few museums, and I may not have been able to achieve the same scale of fieldwork as I eventually was been able to. Every research method has its particular advantages and disadvantages, therefore, instead of choosing multiple case-study sites, if I had focused on one or a very few museums and indigenous communities, I might have achieved a much more detailed result, but it would have meant that I may not have been able to meet people from such a wide range of places, neither would I have witnessed such a depth of materials nor such differing perspectives on indigenous cultures. It would also have prevented me from discussing the roles of museums, community groups and other institutions that create representations of indigenous peoples across the whole Taiwan.

4.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the research objectives, and the qualitative research approaches and other research methods that were considered to be appropriate for achieving the objectives of this study. I also discussed the philosophy of the disciplines to which this research belongs, together with the philosophical concerns, and the research approaches that have been appropriate for research the topic of indigenous peoples and the ways they are represented.

Based on the discussed philosophy and research approaches, I described in some detail my seven month's fieldwork in Taiwan. I described the methodology of this study was through qualitative case studies of selected museums, cultural centres and other relevant sites and my reasons for choosing it. These case studies were contextualised using documentary sources involving semi-structured interviews, participant and non-participant observations. I then illustrated how I went about analysing the collected material, from categorizing to coding the data, together with an account of the position of the researcher which can be influenced by the interactions during the fieldwork as well as the degree of objectivity required for interpreting the collected data. The ethical issues were also discussed, especially regarding the sensitivities of the indigenous peoples, who are considered to be a valuable group in Taiwanese society, and who played a critical part in this study. The approaches that were adopted to avoid the possibility of damage that the research might have caused were also explained. In the last section, I discussed the issues of how my subjective influences might have affected the research, and the limitations of the research.

In the next two chapters, I will present the findings from the fieldwork and discuss the issues related to indigenous representations in museums and local cultural centres as well as beyond formal spaces, such as in indigenous communities, festivals and events.

CHAPTER 5

The Representations of Indigenous

Peoples in Taiwanese Museums

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss how case-study museums represent indigenous cultures in Taiwan, the discussions will be based on my fieldwork in the following case-study museums: the National Taiwan Museum (NTM), the National Museum of Natural Science (NMNS), the National Museum of Taiwan History (NMTH), the National

Museum of Prehistory (NMPH), and the Shung Ye Museum for Formosan Aborigines (SYM).

The chapter starts with the examination of the visibility of the representations of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. An examination of the visitor orientation maps in the case-study museums will help to understand the different viewpoints held by the case-study museums toward indigenous representations, since the physical context may influence the visitor experience (Falk and Dierking, 1992). For example, putting indigenous representations at the end of a museum building might suggest that they are not part of the main exhibition. Also, museums are set up for certain purposes and missions, so they all have different objectives and concerns when they represent indigenous peoples, unlike the content of temporary exhibitions that are frequently changed, the permanent physical spaces in museums tend to reflect the original purpose of the museum.

The next section will describe the various ways the selected museums represent indigenous peoples, firstly in their permanent exhibitions, for instance, whether they rely heavily on material objects, such as traditional clothes, hunting tools and canoes. Museums also use other media in their representations, such as films, music and shows. Through these forms they either deliver intangible cultural aspects or they use them to interact with their visitors. Therefore, in this section, I will examine various types of objects, and different media that museums use in order to represent the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. In addition, museums sometimes represent indigenous peoples

outside the traditional museum spaces, such as in festivals or more general public events. On these occasions, in order to attract visitors, indigenous peoples will be represented in very different ways. The different ways of representing indigenous peoples, therefore, is indicative of how each museum view them, and, most importantly, what message it gives to its visitors.

Many actors contribute to exhibitions in museums, and it is becoming increasingly common to see indigenous peoples involved in museum representations, therefore, as regards human rights, being in different positions in the hierarchy means that they possess different degrees of power or influence as to how they are represented. Therefore, I will examine the various roles they played and I shall discuss their particular relationships with the museums. For instance, indigenous people may work either as consultants, part of curator's teams or be fully responsible for the whole representation. Since it is still not very common for indigenous people to be a museum staff, curators play critical roles in any co-productions. However, because curators speak on the museum's behalf, their attitudes are likely to greatly influence any cooperation with indigenous peoples.

Museums, as educational institutions, represent the indigenous peoples of Taiwan in order to fulfill their responsibility to represent the 'whole' society. On the other hand, indigenous representations, the co-operated works in museums, are in a position to unite their communities, as well as discover histories that have been forgotten or misunderstood. Therefore, I will examine how representing indigenous peoples would

influence their communities. This section will consist of two main viewpoints, one concerns the benefits that indigenous peoples would have from being represented in museums, and the other is how indigenous peoples grasp opportunities to be represented in museums. Through these viewpoints, I describe the relationships that develop between the museums and the indigenous peoples from both these perspectives in order to give a clear picture of how indigenous peoples of Taiwan work with museums and how these representations influence both parties and what the advantages and limitations are for them.

5.2 Visibility of Indigenous Peoples in the Case-Study Museums

5.2.1 Museum space

It is important to look into the aspect of museum spaces, and examine the messages behind the location of indigenous representation in the case-study museums. As Goulding (2000) argues, there are limitations to memory capacity and the ability to process information, thus, museum visits are constructed by a museum visitor's sense of the physical (Ryozo, 1991). Also, by examining the degree of visibility of indigenous representations in museum spaces it is possible to obtain a better understanding of what they want their visitors to believe about them, since their position in society will be reflected in both the locations of the representations and what is contained in it. Museums built during different periods present indigenous peoples in different perspectives; for instance, museums that were established in the period that regarded the Han Chinese as superior to any other group and considered indigenous peoples as

primitives, and tend to place their representations after the prehistory representation. Because the distribution of museum space is seldom reconsidered and rearranged, there is arguably a risk that the visitor will receive an outmoded message about how that particular museum views the indigenous peoples of Taiwan.

The SYM, which is the only museum in the country dedicated entirely to indigenous cultures, is notable in this respect. It is the only museum that has indigenous representations actually built into its architecture design (Figure 5.1). The museum was built in an era when the issues of indigenous peoples were receiving more attention, the indigenous elements on the museum architecture can also be regarded as a symbolic reference to this. However, regardless of the status of indigenous peoples, and the periods in which museums are built, indigenous peoples are rarely represented in the architecture of most national museums, since they are not the only cultures in them.

The entrance of the SYM represents an indigenous totem and a board with carved feathers, both of which expresses the indigenous theme, and the front walls are constructed from the sort of material commonly used in indigenous architecture.

Figure 5.1: The entrance of the SYM. A mixture of different indigenous designs that give an impression of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. (SYM website: http://www.museum.org.tw, accessed: 14/02/2016).

In other museums, the buildings may be impressive but without any indigenous elements. Therefore, when there is a temporary exhibition, it is common to see museums put up temporary signs or posters to promote them (Figure 5.2). Unlike permanent architecture could express the history of the period when they were built, temporary posters would have less connection to the museum's past strategies. For example, the building of the NTM was built in 'Greek/Roman classical' style by Japanese colonial government, as they considered it to be an icon of modern culture (Liao, 2004). On the other hand, temporary displays and collections, and their publicity and information, are easily replacable, as are the subjects they represent, unlike a museum's architecture, which must remain as it was at the time it was conceived.

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Therefore, compared to indigenous exhibitions, the influences of the posters are very limited to timely attracting or informing museum visitors.

Figure 5.2: The temporary poster outside the NTM. The poster is about the exhibition of Atayal cloth and Paiwan glass beads in the NTM, it was placed at the gate fifty metres from the museum. The design does not relate to the building and is easily replaced for a new event. Source: The Author.

Within the case-study museums' buildings, apart from the SYM, the exhibitions of indigenous peoples are limited to certain spaces. In the NTM, the NMNS and the NMPH, the indigenous peoples are represented in a separate area or room from other subjects. For example, the NMNS categorises the representations of indigenous peoples into the 'Human Culture Hall' (Figure 5.3).
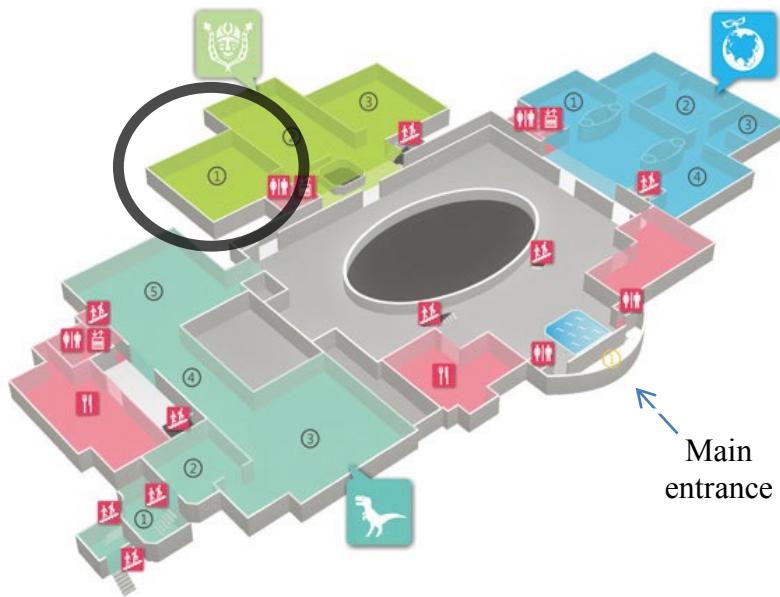
Figure 5.3: The NMNS second floor map. The exhibition of indigenous peoples in Taiwan is circled. Indigenous peoples are represented in the area called the 'Taiwan Austronesian language group', which is grouped together with 'Spiritual Han Chinese' and 'ancient Chinese' in the 'Human Cultural Hall' (NMNS website: http://www.nmns.edu.tw/common/02visit-images/map2011/map_2F.jpg, accessed 14/02/2016).

Since the most popular subject in the NMNS is natural history and scientific activities aimed at school children, thus, compared to the Life Science Hall, which exhibits the collections of scientific subjects and natural creatures, the representations of indigenous peoples occupy a relatively limited space. The Human Culture Hall is divided into three rooms, two of them are about Chinese medicine, technology and agriculture, and the other represents the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. The floor map gives the impression that the museum puts more emphasis on Chinese cultures than on the indigenous cultures of Taiwan. One reason may be that Chinese culture is shared with the majority and taught more in schools.

The NMPH was built with the intention of preserving the nearby excavation site where archaeological research is conducted. The museum dedicates a floor to the representation of the prehistory of Taiwan, while the other floor houses the 'Natural History of Taiwan' and 'The Austronesian Language-Speaking Peoples'. In the NMPH, the indigenous peoples are represented in the left wing at the back of the second floor (Figure 5.4, the halls for indigenous peoples are circled). In order to visit the representations of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan, visitors have to walk through other prehistoric exhibitions. Although there is no fixed visitor route, it is suggested that visitors start their visit from the prehistory exhibitions then proceed to the second floor, where the representations of indigenous peoples in Taiwan are. The suggested visiting route may express the notion that the history of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan is a linear history, especially, the section of 'The Austronesian Language-Speaking Peoples' with the contemporary life of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan locates in the later visiting route. The approach of representing indigenous history as an independent history separates indigenous peoples from other groups of peoples in Taiwan and may be read as the history of 'others'.

二樓

臺灣自然史
Natural History of Taiwan

誕生
Birth

冰期
Ice Age

新世代
New Age

臺灣南島民族
The Austronesian language-
Speaking people

社會人群關係
Social Relationship

工藝 生計與社會
Technology,Subsistence
and Social Organization

祭儀與精靈觀念
Ceremony and Spiritual
Concept

樓 梯
STAIR CASE

電扶梯
ESCALATOR

電 梯
ELEVATOR

服務台
INFORMATION DESK

入口
Entrance
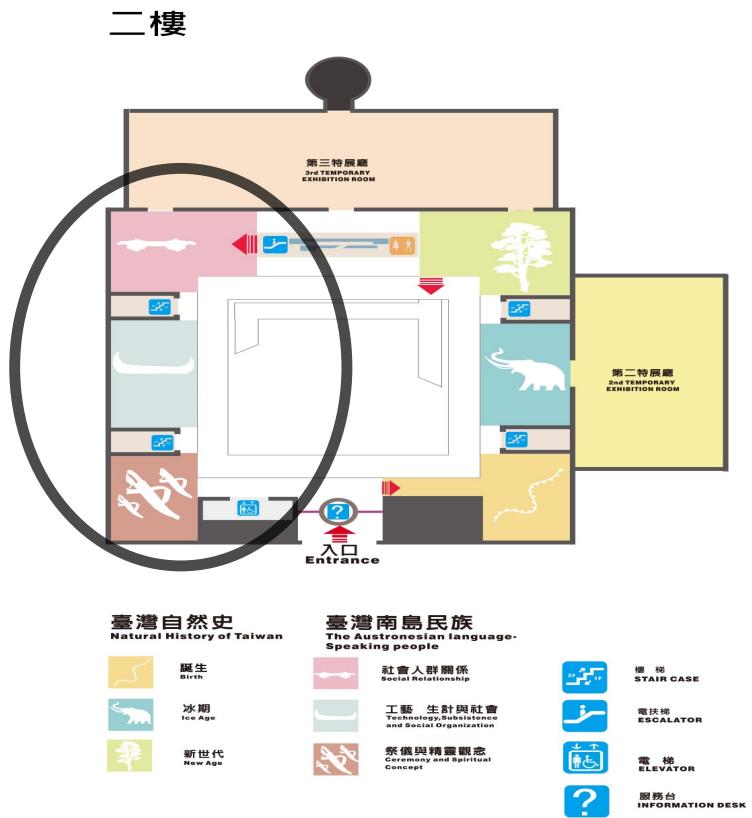
Figure 5.4: The second-floor map of the NMPH. Indigenous peoples are represented in the area called 'The Austronesian Language-Speaking people' with subthemes: 'social relationships', 'technology, subsistence and social organizations', and 'ceremony and spiritual concepts' (NMPH website: http://www.nmp.gov.tw/img/floor02-l.jpg, accessed 16/02/2016).

Examples of indigenous peoples being represented chronologically alongside with other representations can be found in other museums. The NTM, for example, represents indigenous peoples within a timeline that starts from prehistoric times, since this is the earliest sign of human residence found in the country so far. The exhibition was built before the number of indigenous groups grew to sixteen; the exhibition has been updated and has become crowded as it now covers most indigenous groups (Figure 5.5). Compared to prehistoric representations, the space devoted to the indigenous societies is very crowded and most of it focuses on their traditions. Perhaps the biggest positive

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advantage of the NTM is the great number of historical artifacts; in that respect its display strategy puts more emphasis on the museum's great collections, as the result, the permanent representation builds on old objects rather than contemporary development – i.e. emphasizing the past rather than the present.
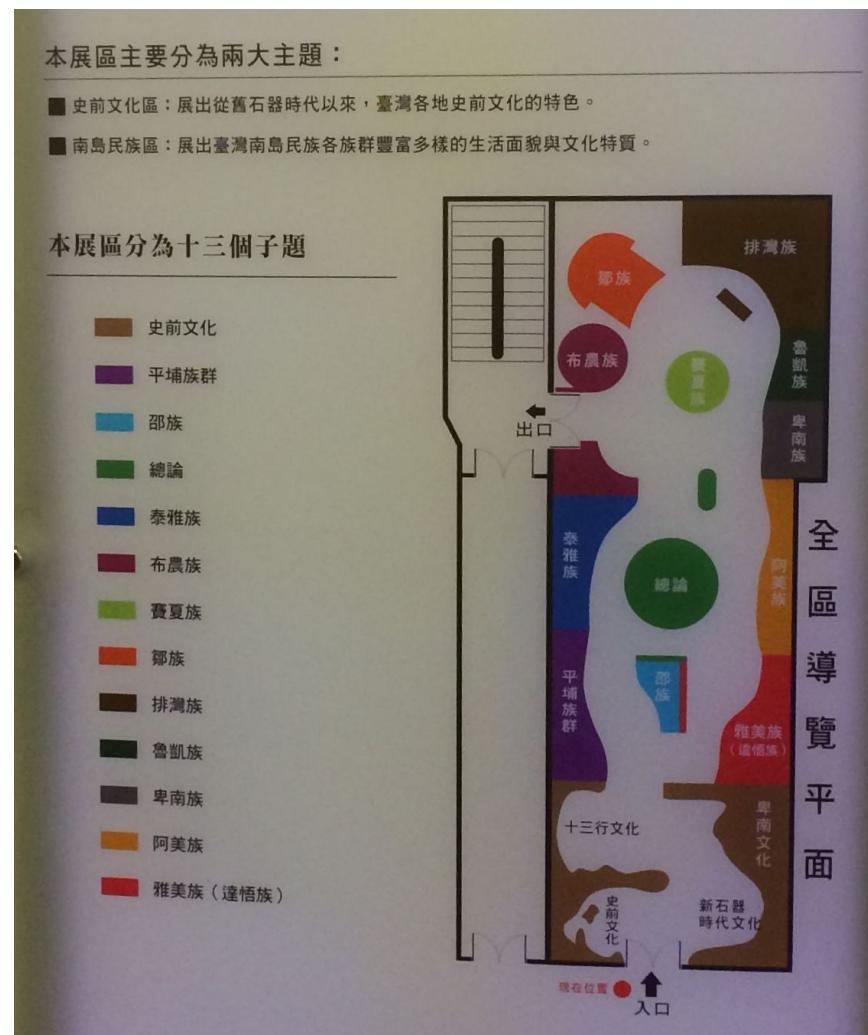
Figure 5.5: The Gallery of Indigenous Formosa in the NTM. Indigenous peoples are represented in the hall 'Indigenes of Formosa'. The exhibition starts with prehistoric representations followed by a general introduction, which consists of ten indigenous tribes and plain indigenous peoples. Source: The Author.

In the recently built museum, the NMTH (Figure 5.6), the indigenous peoples are represented as chronologically integrated with other social groups, like Han Chinese and Hakka. In the permanent exhibition a linear storyline, which shows the development of Taiwan, the indigenous peoples are mainly represented in the 17th century with the the arrival of the foreign business companies and missionaries. When the timeline moves towards the 1940s, indigenous representation greatly decreases, although the museum does represent the history when the tribes were threatened by the Japanese military and the Chinese government. Apart from the permanent exhibition, there are small audio rooms at the corners of the space, which plays films about indigenous languages and stories and in the lower level, there is a performance space for enacting historical events some of which involve indigenous peoples.

Figure 5.6: The gallery map of the NMTH. The indigenous representations are circled, from right to left are the representations of the 'first encounter with foreign business companies', 'indigenous people's lives in the 17th and 18th centuries' and 'the encounter with the Japanese colonial power' (NMTH website: http://www.nmth.gov.tw/excontent_116.html, accessed: 10/04/2016).

The floor plans in the case-study museums show the representations of indigenous peoples are seldom arranged in the larger exhibiting spaces or the areas of easiest access; on the other hand, it is very rare to find a museum that has no indigenous representations. However, those that do recognise the importance of indigenous representations still regard it to be less important than other subjects, especially Chinese culture. As mentioned earlier, different ways of organising space in museums will affect visitor understanding. The various concerns of museums can be found from the way they allocate spaces to indigenous representations, for example, in the NMNS, its specialised subject is natural history, thus representations such as the age of dinosaurs would have the most accessible space. Or, in the newly built NMTH, integrating indigenous peoples into the main storyline rather than in a separate place reflects the fact that indigenous cultures have become an indispensable part of Taiwanese society.

5.2.2 Museum shops

Museum shops are common places to find indigenous representations. Each of the case-study museums has a shop, which is usually located close to the exit. In the past few decades, the function of the museum has been broadened, since their objectives have expanded from curatorial concerns to commercial development and management (Alison and Coulter, 2001; Caldwell and Coshall, 2002; Scott, 2005). At the same time, the museum shop has begun to play a more significant part in the visitor experience. Skramstad (2004, 38) states that museums should realise they are in the experience business, therefore, the shop enhances the experience by its environment and its interesting products. It also gives a focus to commercial benefits and management

strategies and this I found in all my case-study museums, which suggests that 'branding' has become an important element in museum management (Design Week, 2004).

As Phillips and O'Reilly (2007) points out, the museum experience is a shopping experience, visitors will choose objects that remind them of their personal experience in the museum as well as things that connect any experiences in the past (Cumming and Lewandowska, 2000). Museum shops, therefore, give visitors the opportunity to extend their museum experience by buying some souvenirs. However, very few of the museums had indigenous souvenirs either of their own brand or reproduced from items in the exhibitions, therefore, it is not uncommon to find similar products in other museums, since these products are from the same brand; they are sold in many other venues. From the proportion of indigenous products on sale, it shows the importance of the representations of the indigenous peoples in the case-study museums. In the NMNS, indigenous representations are not the most vivid experience for visitors; the most recognizable objects are the giant dinosaur and other scientific exhibits. Therefore, it is not surprising to see more products on sale representing dinosaurs or even insects that are aimed predominantly at children.

However, in the SYM shops, alongside typical souvenirs aimed primarily at tourists, products created in indigenous communities are sold. These products, found principally in these museums' shops, not only provide opportunities for visitors to connect personally to the exhibitions, but they also help to evoke more compelling images for

visitors as well as effectively representing indigenous communities (Moscardo, 1996). Buying a physical object created by indigenous peoples will not only give the visitor a lasting memory of their experience but it will also help to support the craft-people in the represented communities economically and serve to recognize the true value of their culture. Unfortunately, though, because curators are not responsible for what is in their museums' shops, most of those I interviewed appeared not very concerned about them; a typical comment being, "products in the museum shop are related to whichever company wins the bid, and that does not effect exhibitions much" (interview, INMPH1, 2015).

As mentioned above, visiting experiences can have longer effects through the purchase of related products. Indigenous representations, both in the exhibitions and in museum shops, may be disconnected or unrelated to the actual culture they supposedly represent. Another reason why museum shops are not regarded as critical spaces for representing indigenous cultures can be found in the NTM visitors' questionnaire (2013), which shows that more than half its visitors did not visit any of its shops, whereas most visitors to the shops had satisfactory experiences. Therefore, it is not uncommon to learn that apart from profit and management benefits, museum shops contribute little regarding the representation of indigenous peoples, since they objectify visitor's visiting experience and prolong the memory that visitors like to walk away with.

5.3 Ways of Representing Indigenous Peoples in the Case-Study Museums

5.3.1 Material representations

All of the case-study museums have permanent collections that represent indigenous people, and the museums perspectives toward the indigenous peoples are expressed in different ways – in particular, by the way they arrange their objects. By looking at their permanent exhibitions it is easy to see how the case-study museums regard the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. The manner in which these stances influence co-productions – that is combined indigenous representations and museum professionals - in each museum will be discussed later in the chapter.

There are two main ways that museums arrange representations, one is according to the official category of indigenous tribes (see Chapter 3), and the other is by various themes, such as ceremony or agriculture. In newer museums, some combine the two, although there is another way – through storylines. The NTM, which possess the greatest collection in the country, has the longest history of all the case-study museums. It was established in 1908 by the Japanese both as an expression of its colonial power and for academic research. According to its director, it also has the oldest permanent exhibition. Its current indigenous exhibition is a traditional anthropological style representation that accords with the official categories of indigenous peoples (interview, INTM1, 2015). Yet in the NTM, although there are sixteen officially recognized indigenous categories, there are only eleven categories in the exhibition. The exhibition

includes several types of traditional clothes, tools for certain occasions, such as hunting,

agriculture or weddings and also architectural models. All the objects are accompanied

with narratives on text panels (Figure 5.7 and 5.8).

Figure 5.7: Narratives on indigenous traditional life in the NTM. Representations of the Atayal tribe. This includes an introduction, the tribe's geographical location, its legendary origins and its social system. Introduction of hunting tools and how they are used are in the glass case. Source: The Author.

Figure 5.8: Clothes and hunting tools of the Atayal tribe. Each object has a name tag and year of collecting. Source: The Author.

The NTM places indigenous groups at the end of the human evolution timeline, which starts from the earliest primitive human beings. However, there are no representations of indigenous life in modern Taiwanese society, even though museums are considered to be public and educational institutions (research note ONTM2, 2015; Bennett, 1995). The NTM representation suggests that indigenous people only lived in the past and only those visitors who visit some of the temporary exhibition downstairs will learn about the contemporary lives of indigenous people. In my interview with the curator of NTM, he responded to this issue and accepted that the traditional representations in the museum have been criticised on grounds that indigenous peoples are portrayed as 'others' by being placed in a passive position. However, there is a plan to renovate the exhibition in 2016, in which indigenous peoples will not be represented separately by their groups but integrated into the broader Taiwanese history (interview INTM1,

2015). The change suggests that singling out indigenous peoples by highlighting their differentness would no longer be an appropriate way to represent the history of Taiwan, since the involvement of indigenous peoples is now considered to be as important as others. However, the renovation plan did not take place as the director promised, consequently, the permanent exhibition, which was installed in 2008 still remains the one in place.

The other main way of representing the indigenous peoples is by theme, a method that can be found in several museums. For example, the permanent exhibition in the SYM represents them according to subjects, such as ornaments, craft-work, clothes, and so on (research note OSYM1, 2015). Each subject is represented by objects from all the different indigenous groups. However, as the director explains, due to obvious space limitations, visitors will not find sixteen different ornaments under every subject; also, their collections have been put together from personal collections, so they are influenced by personal interests and not by a desire to see every indigenous culture represented. Thematic styles are also found in the NMNS and the NMPH, which represent indigenous peoples according to architectural styles, hunting cultures and religions by grouping all groups of tribes into main themes. For example, the Saisiyat, Tsou and Bunun are represented under 'ceremony and spiritual concepts', consequently, visitors would only see few characteristics of certain groupings. One of the curators explained that the whole exhibition was deliberately arranged in that way so visitors would be more likely to interact with guides, in order to connect the themes across the tribes to obtain a bigger picture about the various national cultures (interview INMPH,

2015). On the other hand, visitors who visit the museum as individuals may not have the opportunity to see a more complete picture. In these museums, the reason for having an indigenous permanent exhibition is to introduce the indigenous cultures. The NTM and the SYM in particular, draw most of their visitors from foreign visitors and school trips, who will have very limited knowledge about the subject, hence they would only expect to receive a basic understanding of it. Furthermore, in these museums, the representations are designed to be an independent exhibition, thus, they appear displayed in a separate space, so visitors would be aware that it would only be about indigenous peoples.

In the NMTH, the country's social changes are shown in its most recently built branch, which presents the country's history chronologically to represent indigenous peoples and the important parts they played in its development, an innovation rarely found in other museums (research note ONMTH1, 2015). In its permanent exhibition, because there had been no foreign incursion, the representation of indigenous peoples occupies most of the space from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. However, despite the dominant representation at the start of the exhibition, in later years, indigenous peoples gradually lost their place in history; consequently, the museum's representations are dominated by the mainstream groups. The reason for the museum's descision, in the words of the curators, is:

> Because of the limited space, it is a difficult decision to select what
> can be displayed and what cannot. Especially in the era that Taiwan
> society was rapidly changing, from economic growth to political

democratization, the representations of indigenous peoples are relatively less. We still mention indigenous peoples' involvement in the era but the representations of those social changes are more notable. What we can do is to deal with indigenous issues in a more comprehensive way in the future temporary exhibitions (interview INMTH1, 2015).

As this interviewee mentioned, much detailed and diverse indigenous history is represented in temporary exhibitions, for instance, during the time of my fieldwork, the museum mounted them on the history of several indigenous families in order to demonstrate their continuity and involvement in Taiwanese society. However, the fact that they became less significant and visible in the more modern-time representations suggests their minor and vulnerable status.

In the NMTH, there is another aspect that shows national museums are closer to the public than they used to be. The significant proportions of representations of Siraya peoples can be seen as the museum's friendliness toward them and the intention to build a positive relationship with the indigenous community although they are not officially recognised indigenous peoples. The NMTH is located in Tainan, a city in southern Taiwan where an indigenous group – the Siraya- is based. Since this group has not been officially recognised by the government, they can only be represented either as an ethnic or cultural group in national museums. Hence, they are seldom found in any national museums. The reasons why they are considered only to be as 'plain indigenous

people' is because they had encountered Han Chinese both early on and frequently, so they had adopted non-indigenous cultures more than those who base in the mountainous area (see Chapter 3). However, according to the curators, because of the importance of their history in the area of the museum, it became obvious and reasonable that the Siraya people should be represented more prominently than others, in spite of their not being officially recognized (research note ONMTH1, 2015).

5.3.2 Multimedia representations

Apart from material artifacts, in order to enhance the visiting experiences, all of the case-study museums apply various media, such as various lighting on exhibitions, which helps to centralised or highlight particular objects, and audio technology, which has become a very popular means of encouraging visitors to engage with exhibitions (Muller, 2010). As Fahy (1995: 93) argues, "computerized interactives could, in theory, be an ideal tool for allowing the public access to information which has not been 'processed' by the curator". Although similar to material representations, the content of video or music is also selected or produced by museums with the intention of representing indigenous peoples in different ways and to improve visitors' understanding of exhibitions.

Most of my case-study museums use various media in their representations, animations, documentaries and shows. The argument for enhancing the visiting experience by media has been strengthened by the knowledge that intangible cultures, which are difficult to

represent through material objects, are important in indigenous culture. Video is the most common media representations and it is used in four of the case-study museums. The subjects include ceremonies, verbal histories and stories by elders, or dancing and singing. Also, contemporary lives have been recorded in film, particularly of indigenous communities that have experienced serious natural disasters, or major events, such as social protests. Most films are used as supplementary material in representations alongside material collections. Film can help to deliver, or connect, contexts, in order to assist audiences to understand spiritual concepts or personal feelings while looking at objects in a cabinet. Furthermore, instead of being represented as peoples who lived in the past, their continuous history and contemporary life can readily be delivered via video.

Animations are also a popular option for museums when they represent indigenous cultures. These are different from documentaries, which are usually used to assist visitors to understand the information that is not on display, most animations are created separately for younger visitors. For example, in the SYM, the museum, in a video created for a very young audience, indigenous people are represented as a homogenous group living on the island, practicing the 'hunting wild boar' rituals, becoming adults, being recognised as community members, then becoming a modern-day baseball players and wining respect and applause from the mainstream Taiwan society. I did not understand it very well because the connection between characters in different period was not obvious enough and the museum director accepted that school children had problems with it. However, only few raised any questions about it, although museum

guides had been instructed to explain when asked (research note, OSYM3, 2015). In the NMTH, instead of in a separate audio room, an animation was played with indigenous figures in order to illustrate the history of seventeenth century Taiwan. This represented an encounter between indigenous peoples and foreigners. In order to help school children understand the message, most of these animations had simplified histories that were represented by a single storyline. Therefore, in these animations, it is common to find them focus on the most recognizable characteristics of indigenous cultures, such as their hunting cultures, or their glorious athleticism. Over-emphasising these elements runs the risk of enforcing stereotypes, and suggesting by such restrictive attributes that indigenous people cannot take a full part in Taiwan society.

Music is a critical element in indigenous cultures, "it is history, people sing about their lives, history and surrounding natures (interview, ICL, 2016)". As discussed in Chapter 2, intangible cultural heritage plays a critical role in indigenous cultures, thus music, in some, stores their traditions, specific knowledge and history. However, although there has been some research into indigenous music, in the case-study museums, music does not receive much attention. Indeed, only the SYM has included music in its representations – in a corner on the first floor entitled 'indigenous music'. Hence there is a large collection of records, from indigenous pop singers, to traditional festival music. Although music is used in some museums as background or to enhance the atmosphere or represent the actual surroundings (IMNS2, 2015), it is uncommon to find a museum in Taiwan that includes music in its indigenous representations. It can be argued, therefore, that music is an under-represented element in indigenous

representations, therefore, if they wish to understand more about indigenous music, either more effort needs to be put in by museums, or people wanting to know more about it will simply have to turn to alternative places.

Representing indigenous peoples through media can be both helpful in overcoming language barriers and effective in presenting intangible indigenous cultures that are difficult to show through material objects. With a screen, museums can present a variety of subjects, however, in order to watch a whole of a video, visitors would have to stay from a relatively few minutes to well over an hour. Although it has been argued that media enhances the visiting experiences, because of the limits of available time, visitors often skip those sections. The NMTH, for instance, has a diorama style permanent exhibition, which makes media section less popular with the visitors. "During my time in the NMTH, there were two school trips and other individual visitors. Visitors stayed in the area that has a big boat for pictures the most, various figures were also popular with visitors" (research note, ONMTH3, 2015). "School trips rarely stay for information that is on the screens or in videos, maybe because they have museum guides or time limits" (research note, ONMTH3, 2015). Audio sites are often at the corners of museums, which suggests the subjects represented by media are more optional extras; the assumption being that they do not affect visitors' understanding of indigenous cultures to any significant extent.

5.3.3 Interactive representations

Research quoted by the British Audio Visual Society shows that people only remember 10% of what they read, but remember 90% of what they say and do (Bayard-White, 1991). Some museums emphasise the value of interactive visiting experiences, as Adams and Moussouri (2001) stated, the interactive experiences can have visitors actively involved physically, intellectually and emotionally, and as Roussou (2010) remarked, visitors are able to modify and test their ideas and existing perceptions, and even engage in solving problems and critical thinking. In the NMTH, regular live performances target primary school students by enacting Taiwan's historical events to show them how a different history could be if different decisions were made and alternative things happened. Enactments help them to understand the dilemmas that indigenous people have faced due to the various decisions and actions taken by various colonial and governmental authorities, as this interviewee explains:

> Through the interactive show, we encourage school children to think about the presented history rather than accept it. In the show, we keep asking questions for kids to make decisions. For example, having a tattoo on the face needs some conditions, as in some tribes, they will not become a person until they have the tattoo, but it was prohibited in Japanese colonial period, because of hygiene concerns. We presented as the kid learned these concerns from Japanese education as well as the parents about their traditions. Both sides meant well, but how would kids make the decision. Through this

way, we lead children to think instead of to accept the history (interview NMTH).

Representation by way of live performance has received positive feedback from museum curators, in particular: "nowadays people are overwhelmed by information, not many people would read the narratives, thus through shows to interact with visitors could be better than exhibitions" (interview, NMTH). The interviewed curators also point out, "there are parents who rely on their own knowledge and imaginations to interpret the exhibition, sometimes it could be a prejudice about indigenous peoples and has no connection to the exhibited information" (interview, NMTH). Representing indigenous people through interactive performance can also offer different perspectives on history and challenges the narratives that many people have learnt in the formal educational system. To present the other side of the stories mostly depends on museum staff's interpretations of various historic materials that may not be officially recorded. Without a written text, the indigenous perspectives are generated from interviewing indigenous elders and the knowledge of museum curators. Although there may be some assumptions in these representations, it is still to be believed that presenting the alternative perspectives can encourage visitors to have a better understanding on the dilemmas that were faced by indigenous people in historical events,

To maintain the authenticity of indigenous representations through shows, therefore, require much effort and resources; hence it is still uncommon in museums. The most common interactive way for museums to represent indigenous people is through various

events, festival stalls. Almost all the case-study museums hold these regularly; even when sometimes the festival is not about indigenous cultures, there are often some stalls that focus on indigenous peoples. For example, during my fieldwork, I attended a Children's Day celebration in the NMPH (Figure 5.9), although the festival did not feature indigenous cultures, the theme was touched on by way of activities and games and the majority of the stalls were fronted by indigenous community members. This meant that visitors could learn how to make indigenous style snacks or ornaments, etc. Consequently, the festival was also a business opportunity for the communities, since members were able to sell clothes and accessories as well as food and drink.

Figure 5.9: Children festival in the NMPH. The museum organized a station in the festival where visitors were shown how to make traditional indigenous snacks from rice. Source: The Author.

These events are usually popular with visitors, instead of receiving information passively, they can actively engage with indigenous communities and could have vivid experiences of encountering new cultures. It is also a great opportunity for museums to build good relationships with their communities since hosting an event needs various resources and participants. Especially, it is more complicated to conduct any business in national museums' shops, which they may have to go through administrative processes, such as public bidding and negotiating contracts, as a result, bigger scale businesses are likely to have the advantage in the process. Indigenous people who sell their products, at these events and festivals could benefit their communities directly economically and also make positive links with their local museum.

Also, in order to be interesting and popular in events and festivals, only recognisable indigenous elements will have more chance be represented. For example, at the children's day in the NMPH, "indigenous related activities are snack-making, weaving, arrows game" were planned since they are popular with families and children (research note, ONMPH2, 2015). Although indigenous children may not spend their free time on such activities, they are seen by the wider public on many occasions and are very popular. These interactive activities usually target youngsters who get to know indigenous peoples in a relatively simple way, which gives them a brief idea about their different ways of life. Similar to the museum exhibitions, these events and festivals, activities and products, are more the tropes of indigenousness rather than their actual life-style. Therefore, compared to contemporary indigenous issues, which are considered to be more sensitive and complex, only the historic aspects are represented.

However, without knowledge of the contemporary lives of the indigenous peoples, it is debatable whether these public activities actually help the younger generation to see them as being part of contemporary society as they understand it.

5.4 Representing Indigenous Peoples as 'Others'

The case-study museums, especially the national museums, used to have close relationships with authorities and academics, for instance, the NTM which was built in the Japanese period as one of its colonial institutions, and the NMPH, which was established in Taitung to preserve the archaeological excavation sites of Eastern Taiwan. Therefore, academic research dominated the representations of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Accuracy and "objectivity" were two very important principles, as the director of the NTM points out:

> National museums like the NTM, the NMNS and the NMPH, they all present the indigenous peoples as outsiders. The leading museums tell an objective story about the indigenous peoples to their audience, instead of seeing the indigenous peoples as one of us or offering the indigenous peoples' perspectives (interview INTM, 2015).

The insistence to represent indigenous peoples with accurate information and unarguable facts can be seen in most case-study museums, therefore it is common to

find that indigenous people are represented according to their official tribal names and many of their traditional clothes and objects to illustrate their cultural differences. The representations are also accompanied by narratives with basic, but descriptive information about the objects displayed (Figure 5.10). Additionally, it is common to find them represented separately from those of other groups of Taiwanese.

Figure 5.10: Indigenous representations in the NMNS. Indigenous peoples were displayed according to several sub-themes, the picture shows the 'daily life and arts' of indigenous cultures through arranging clothes from various tribes. Source: The Author.

The information in museums during the Japanese colonial period was usually authored by academics, in order to have thorough control over Taiwan by conducting comprehensive research into the indigenous peoples (see Chapter 3). In order to control the spreading infectious disease as well as with the belief of social Darwinism, the Japanese conducted various thorough research, took many pictures, created portraits and collected artifacts. As Anderson (1983) stated in 'Imagined Communities', the museum is one of the important tools for an authority, to form the notion of citizenship, especially when it is in an early stage of the establishing power. Consequently, many of the works of anthropologists, archaeologists and colonial government officers were displayed in museums, such as their sketches, and photos, not just for the benefit of the public of the time but also become the evidence to draw the boundaries different groups of peoples, which is why the artifacts became the basis for indigenous representations (research note ONTM1,2015).

Although it is rare to find museums put up exhibitions in order to convince the public that indigenous peoples are 'primitive' and need to be 'civilised' by the state power any more, representing indigenous peoples by displaying their artifacts and disseminating information about the sources of tribes, the names and purposes of objects, and the date they were created and collected is still common in national museums. One particular curator, of the several interviewed responded to the question about the conflicts between the represented indigenous peoples and his museums, stating that, "for the museum, I do not have to tell one story, I can tell a story from Han Chinese' perspective and

another from the indigenous peoples (interview INTM, 2015)." Another typical response was:

> I will not give any suggestion or offer any help to the represented groups. What a museum can do is to describe the present situation for the audience to understand, and leave the audience to make their own judgments. We will not tell the audience what to do or what to think (interview INMNS2, 2015).

In the eyes of most of the interviewed curators, national museums are educational institutions that can help visitors learn about the indigenous peoples of Taiwan by offering them as much information as they can, but, unlike the museums of the past that told the stories the authority wanted them to tell, museums nowadays present indigenous people's viewpoints and encourage their audience to understand history in different perspectives. Temporary exhibitions allow museums to focus on specific topics in much more detail. Through them, more community knowledge that has been passed down between generations is represented, which is considered to be the indigenous voice, however, whether their viewpoint is really presented is debatable, since they may not have the power to select or edit the content. Especially since in museum representations, being authentic and accurate is emphasised, many representations are formed by the objects that were collected in order to show the superiority of the dominant social groups. Therefore, to what extent the represented narratives can be regarded as a truly indigenous voice is dependent on the quality of the

working relationship created by both parties and this will be discussed in detail in the following section.

5.5 Indigenous Peoples in the Case-Study Museums

The awareness of indigenous rights has increased hugely since martial law was lifted in 1989. Many protests took place pleading with the wider society, as well as the authorities, to recognise indigenous human rights (see Chapter 3). Museums are very important institutions for representing a civil society, since they connect the authority and the public (Ross, 2004). After 1989 some important changes were made the country's social structure, one of which was the way indigenous peoples should be seen and how they ought to be represented. Therefore, since museums are there to educate people about their past, and because it is well known that the country's indigenous peoples have been lacking control over their lives and opportunities to represent themselves, all the case-study museums have shared their authority with them by inviting them to various degrees, to become involved in the preparation and representations. Gella (1997: 151) terms this participation as a 'strategic partnership'. Therefore, an examination of the roles that indigenous peoples play in museums can help to understand the various strategies the museums adopted in response to such radical changes.

5.5.1 Consultants

All case-study museums have been working to update their permanent exhibitions, however, as stated above, it is unlikely that indigenous peoples have the power to lead or play influential roles in them. Many permanent exhibitions were created in the period when museums' remit was considered to focus predominantly on being educational institutions and when they not only lacked indigenous staff but they were unaware of such things as indigenous human rights, hence, they were managed by authorities or academics without any indigenous input. This resulted in a situation where, instead of an official acknowledgement that history has different perspectives and could be debatable, or appear to oppose the established authority; museums produced descriptions of indigenous peoples in terms of their different clothing, ritual ceremonies and social systems. Therefore, representing all indigenous peoples by pointing out their differences from the majority Han Chinese has been practiced since colonial times. Although this way may have been useful for educating the public, it separated indigenous peoples from other groups and led to their participation in the history of the country being neglected. This was particularly true during the period of conflict, when because of the suppression they suffered, only the mainstream perspective had the chance to be heard. They have been represented as 'others', being seen as frozen in the past or even being seen as society's enemies.

However, as discussed in Chapter 3, the awareness of the cultural right for indigenous peoples to speak for themselves has increased and is set out in indigenous Basic Law (2005), Since when almost every case-study museum has worked with indigenous

communities in a process of renovation, and indigenous people have been involved as consultants in museums, where they have been asked to examine and confirm representative information, especially in temporary exhibitions (interview, NTM1, NMTH2, NMNS2, SYM1, NMPH3, 2015). Furthermore, it is also common for indigenous peoples to be involved in creating their traditional architecture, such as a gathering house or in recreating ritual surroundings within the grounds of established museums. The SYM appears to be especially aware of the differences between the different indigenous groups as well as within each group, this they have done by identifying the names of the contributors, together with their ethnic groups, on information boards (interview ISYM1, 2015). In this way the museum's visitors are made aware that the information not only applies to specific groups or tribes, but also to the diversity of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan and gives them credit for taking on the responsibilities of creating the representations.

Every curator who was interviewed acknowledged that there is more room for indigenous people to express their views and local knowledge and to pass on stories, which are only known to certain communities and are not taught in school. Therefore, they consider that it is more appropriate to represent all the indigenous peoples firmly within Taiwan's mainstream history, since until recently most of its history has been told from Han Chinese viewpoints. One of the main concerns for museum curators is the museums' audiences, most of them are situated far away from the indigenous public, the majority of visitors are from non-indigenous backgrounds who have little knowledge about their cultures. Therefore, the information contained within permanent

exhibitions are often considered to be the first stage of understanding indigenous peoples. As one of the interviewed curators explains how their permanent exhibition can help their visitors to have a better understanding on indigenous peoples:

> Concerning the limitation of space, the museum puts its focus on introducing the characteristics of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. On the first floor, we have the whole picture to the Austronesian peoples and to show people who live in the mountain area and seaside are different; on the second floor we have their lifestyles and the female world on the top floor and the ritual world on the bottom one. After visiting all the floors, our visitors would have a clearer general idea about the indigenous peoples in Taiwan (interview ISYM1, 2015).

In addition,

> Through the main story to present the general history of Taiwan could give visitors the idea of the indigenous peoples' status and positions at that time. It cannot be denied that some aspects will be excluded but we could deal with those issues in more detail in later temporary exhibitions (interview INMTH1, 2015).

Because it is impossible for museums to cover all aspects of indigenous cultures, since too much detailed information is hard for the public to take in, the most common way for museums to represent indigenous peoples is by giving general information and not by describing their recognisable differences. However, these general representations can

be developed into temporary thematic exhibitions that can give more specific information and more detailed insights into the differences in the social lives of the different tribes.

Although it is now very common to find co-productions in museums, it is rare for indigenous peoples to actually propose those representations, therefore the most common way they are currently involved is being asked to build traditional houses on sites chosen by the museums to create artifacts or to perform traditional dances or ritual ceremonies to accompany the various exhibitions. None of these positions gives indigenous people the authority to create their own representations, since they are only expected to complete tasks allocated to them. However, although museums may claim that indigenous consultants are fully involved in the whole process, in reality they are not involved in the decision making process.

5.5.2 Curatorial team (Indigenous peoples as temporary curators)

It is uncommon for museums to invite indigenous peoples to curate their own representations, therefore, in this section I will take the NTM as an example in order to describe the building of a curating team that incorporates indigenous artists. The relationship between indigenous curators and the NTM are different from those museums that regard indigenous peoples as 'consultants', since a curatorial team gives indigenous curators some control over their own representations, rather than being passively represented. This is especially true for the case of the NTM, since the

indigenous artists concerned, rather than leading the process as curators, were considered only to be co-ordinators.

The situation was that in 2014 the museum held a temporary exhibition involving two indigenous artists, an Atayal, Yuma Taru and a Peiwas, Remereman. Yuma was to demonstrate the techniques of traditional cloth weaving and dying and Remereman's specialty was making traditional glazes in a modern style. According to the director, this was the first time the museum had invited indigenous artists to become curators (interview INTM1, 2015). Four curators worked as a team for the exhibition, the other two were museum employees, who were responsible for the administrative and clerical work, such as writing the gallery texts and interpreting the artist' ideas. Consequently, the artists were responsible for how to present their works and what they would present. It was thought that because the exhibition concerned artworks, it would be unlikely to lead to conflict, therefore the museum director thought that the most difficult problems would be combining the artists' opinions, how to allocate the budget and arranging the exhibition space. The director explained that, from the museum's point of view, working with indigenous curators is an educational process, since he knew that the way they usually liked their work to be presented would be different to how the museum would do it. Working with indigenous guest curators took the museum a significant time and effort, especially with some artistic insistencies that required more negotiations than if the exhibition was entirely arranged by museum staff. However, the curator considered that the curating process is more about having a better understanding on how indigenous peoples wish to be represented (interview INTM1, 2015).

It seems clear that sharing authority with indigenous peoples presents a huge challenge and it is understandable that museums are reluctant to relinquish their authority, even temporarily, because of the potential conflicts it invites. Some museums see themselves not only as educational institutions, but also as representatives of indigenous communities attempting to deliver what they would like the public to know about their way of life. It is also true that some indigenous participants hold controversial opinions, or even incorrect ones, and this can give museums a dilemma – do they accept indigenous peoples' self-recognition or insist on remaining 'accurate'? For example, both the Paiwan and the Rukai tribes specialize in pots, for them, pots are not only functional, they are sacred symbols. When the museum collected an object from an artist he believed to have been from his tribe, it turned out it was actually from another tribe (interview INMNS2, 2015). Although museums will indicate that it is the artist's opinion, it still has to face the criticism and loss of credibility if it turns out to be wrong. As Golding (2016:2) has shown museums and their collections can help different parties to engage and "becomes a spatio-temporal site for acting in collaborative effort with other institutions, which provides a creative space for respectful dialogical exchange for promoting critical thought, for questioning taken-for-granted ideas in general and for challenging racist and sexist mindsets". The incident shows that although there are great differences between tribes, because of intermarriages, traveling and other interactions, indigenous peoples have adopted and learnt from other tribes and even other ethnic groups. Thus, when working with indigenous artists who have been influenced not only by their own tribal traditions but also by contemporary aspects, museums should be able to represent the 'fluidity' in the indigenous cultures, since indigenous tribes are seldom isolated from others, as this interviewee shows:

The interactions happen very often between different communities and tribes, especially for communities who live at the tribal border, they could be much closer to other tribes. These communities would do business with their neighbouring tribes, exchange objects, or even pick up each other's languages (interview INMTH1, 2015).

Thus, many artworks may be regarded as evidence of such interactions, so it gives museums opportunities to exhibit their historic collections in new ways that may be especially interesting to their visitors.

On the other hand, as the director of the NTM states, when it comes to representing indigenous peoples, there are not many things museums can insist on, even when they are aware of errors, they tend to go with the indigenous community's decision, as in the following case:

There is a stone coffin we borrowed for an exhibition in Feng-Bin community but not sure how it ended up in our collection. Gavalan people came to us for repatriation years later, and claimed they had seen that coffin in their childhood. But according to archaeological research, that coffin has nothing to do with Gavalan, that was the heritage of Megalithic Culture three thousand years ago, and Gavlan was actually based in I-Lan but has moved to Hua-Lien because of Han dominance. But the museum gave it back to the Gavalan peoples in the end.

Because the recognition of an identity cannot be objective, we had a

committee for the issue, everyone agrees that the Gavalan people

were wrong about it, but since they take the coffin as their material

identity, as long as the object will not be ruined, museums in Taiwan

tend to treat issues of the indigenous peoples and minority in the

most tolerant way (interview INTM1, 2015).

Thus, for staff who believes national museums need be accurate and objective, working

with indigenous communities can lead to challenging negotiations and dilemmas.

5.5.3 Museum curators and museum guides

Museum curators and museum guides are important in representing indigenous peoples

and connecting the exhibitions to the public. When museums represent an indigenous

culture, because the museum curator is responsible for creating a close relationship with

the co-producer, he or she comes into a close contact with the community. Some

curators insist that the museum should take a neutral stance on sensitive issues while

others believe it is important to deliver the represented peoples' perspectives. Also, the

stance taken by museum curators can influence both the subject and the content together

with what messages should not be delivered. However, since it is associated with the

authority, a museum claiming to be objective and neutral, can come across as having a

distant approach that may create some tension between a curator and the represented

communities.

Being represented in a national museum can lead an indigenous community to see the collaborating museum as its ally, and ask museums to support whatever message they include in their representation. It is not uncommon for a museum to receive a response from indigenous peoples like "Our peoples felt really happy and honoured that a museum in Taipei would tell our story" (interview ISC2). On the other hand, some curators regard being a community's ally quite differently, such as "they see themselves as victims, and the museum would have to stand with them and tell the history they believe" (interview INMNS2, 2015). Thus, insisting on neutral museum stance may create tension. It has been pointed out in an interview that when community members are invited to present their own perspectives, they tend to do so in a self-pitying way by emphasizing their oppressive history. One interviewed curator stated, "This emotional way of story-telling makes many of our museum guides feel uncomfortable, since their experiences may not be shared by the majority. Some of our museum guides have been working here for years, they are professional at it" (interview INMNS2, 2015).

Roussou (2010) points out that, the skill of museum guides is critical, they dramatically affect visitors' experiences. They are the bridge between the displayed information and the audience as they are familiar with the languages and narratives that visitors understand. Being in the front line, they play a critical role in structuring and delivering the interactive experience as they help visitors see different perspectives of the subject; how they interpret the displayed material can affect visitors' understandings. The opinions museum guides have about the represented indigenous communities is crucial in visitors' experiences, as it is common to find museum guides deliver their personal

understandings and opinions while giving the represented information (observation note, ONMTH2, ONTM3, 2015). Therefore, inconsistent perspectives between curators and guides on the displayed materials and the way of delivering information can affect exhibitions in a negative way.

Most museum guides are volunteers, so they are often retired citizens, most are Han Chinese and only very rarely are they indigenous. Director Li of the NTM referred to the museum's concerns regarding its visitors and their perceptions about the local indigenous population. For city based museums, he said, the majority of visitors, who are predominantly school children and tourists, are unfamiliar with indigenous cultures, so having indigenous guides would not make much difference to the quality of delivery or visitors' understanding of the exhibition. Also, being a museum guide means having a good deal of spare time and being prepared to expend considerable effort for no financial reward, all of which factors work to the disadvantage of indigenous people who live in different social circumstances to the majority of Han Chinese. Therefore, it is less possible to have many indigenous volunteers to be museum guides.

As in the following quotation, the interviewed curator addressed the issue by drawing the attention to the wider structural problems:

> Although there is definitely room for having more indigenous
> peoples to participate in the museum, apart from having an
> indigenous identity, class issues may have significant impact on

museums representations. There are also educational and economic differences among the indigenous peoples, people who have a similar educational background to a museum curator might share a similar perspective with a museum curator or maybe represent themselves in the same way that a museum curator would do (interview INMTH1, 2015).

As far as museum employees are concerned, representing indigenous cultures could be done by anyone, as long as representations meet professional standards, the identity of who delivers it has little to do with the quality of the representations. However, the director of the NMPH commented,

As an indigenous person, I think my indigenous identity still has some influences. Based on my experiences, to some extent, the way we represent the indigenous peoples is different from people who are not. However, on the other hand, I also believe that having the passion toward the indigenous cultures may be a critical factor for having good representations of indigenous cultures (interview INMPH1, 2015).

The perception that indigenous curators are likely to curate indigenous representations differently is shared by other indigenous curators. However, perhaps the only major difference between indigenous and non-indigenous curators is their perspective toward indigenous cultures, which clearly reflects on the process, such as the amount of time an indigenous curator is prepared to spend with the represented community compared to

his other non-indigenous colleagues and also the ease with which he or she might be accepted in it.

Furthermore, in museums, and especially in national museums, there are very few indigenous curators. This could be because of the strict regulations for becoming a museum staff, for instance, a person must be a qualified civil servant or have obtained an equivalent qualification, which will be addressed in more depth in the next section (Shiue & Shiue, 2004). With general educational disadvantage, it is not surprising to find very few indigenous museum staff in national museums. Even those who are entitled for some bonus points on entrance exams because of their indigenous identity, or taking special indigenous special civil servant exams, may still find it difficult to overcome museum employment hurdles (MOE, 2001). Therefore, only very few indigenous peoples can have influences on permanent exhibitions. Due to the generally positive changes in Taiwanese society, however, indigenous representation is being addressed by museums, nevertheless, the extent of indigenous involvement is still minimal. The limited indigenous involvement reflects the fact that although the voice of indigenous peoples is more widely heard and more frequent in case-study museums, the co-productions with indigenous communities may still be dominated by the museum because of its privileged status in the society.

5.5.4 Indigenous peoples as official curators

The NMPH is the only case-study museum that has indigenous curators who are full-time members of staff rather than temporary curators, and as such are able to fully access museum resources. Therefore, theoretically, they will have more influence when representing their own cultures. Curator Lin is one of the few indigenous curators in the national museums who I was able to interview. Between himself and his indigenous colleagues in the museum they show that, by building closer relationships with represented communities, they can sometimes be seen as a member in the communities they work with and may also share more power with them than other non-indigenous curators.

As mentioned earlier, because the NMPH is located in Taitung county, which has the most indigenous communities compared other parts of Taiwan, it has the advantage of offering deeper and more detailed perspectives when representing those cultures, hence working relationships are very different from those in cities, so their temporary exhibitions involve representing communities in ways that rarely happen in museums elsewhere in Taiwan. For instance, in each of its exhibitions, by focusing on a specific community, it allows the museum to present many details than it would not usually be able to do and also work more thoroughly with the represented community. It also allows curators to spend more time in indigenous villages prior to the exhibitions and to build their own networks for future exhibitions.

One of the interviewed curators stated that he develops exhibition ideas from daily conversations with groups of community members. Then both parties conduct research based on history, stories or traditions. In this process, elders play critical roles and the communities will be given the authority to set up both the exhibiting space and the draft narrative. The curator's role is to help the community to reach the museum's professional standards and to meet its requirements, such as the agenda of the exhibitions, budget control, and review and finialise the exhibited narratives. Here he acknowledges,

> I have some insistences when representing indigenous peoples, I insist that it is necessary to report to the represented communities, it takes a great amount of time to communicate, and I would like to be recognised as one of them by the represented community. Especially with the indigenous community, there is content that would come out better if I wait long enough. Therefore sometimes my colleague would complain that I shorten their working time for another process (interview INMPH2, 2015).

Judging by this interview, it seems that a curator in national museums is given the resources and the authority to put together representations independently. Furthermore, he says that everything used in a temporary exhibition, such as narrative boards and traditional tools they made for the exhibition is passed back to the local community so that they can also use of this material again if they wish. In the next extract, he points

out some of the differences between exhibitions curated by indigenous and non-indigenous staff:

> Unlike other curators, I am always willing to represent indigenous communities even I only have very small amount of budget, as long as I can pay those indigenous peoples who work for the exhibition, I still want to do it. Because of this, sometimes my exhibitions may not be as sophisticated as my colleagues', my exhibitions would be done by ourselves with some cheap material sometimes, but if I can afford it, I would also want to hire better materials to help the communities to put exhibitions together (interview NMPH2, 2015).

It is not unusual to find indigenous curators believing that if national museums are representing indigenous peoples they should provide sufficient support and resources to the represented communities. As Philip (1992) states, museums have the potential for forming new identities and new connections between vulnerable groups and their own past. By working with national museums, the curator sees his role as a bridge that can help indigenous communities to reach the resources from the state. Although the experiences of the NMPH curator cannot speak for all indigenous curators in Taiwan, their friendliness to the indigenous communities and cultures should be considered to be an important factor in exhibiting indigenous cultures.

5.5.5 Indigenous community curators

It is rare to find any indigenous people who are not formal museum staff being given full authority to represent themselves in national museums, therefore, as a private museum, the SYM is able to have a more flexible arrangement whereby indigenous communities can create their own exhibitions. The SYM invites one indigenous community each year into the museum to build its own exhibitions, offering them a certain amount of budget and exhibiting space. The invited community is responsible for deciding the theme of the exhibition, collecting the objects, and setting up the exhibition hall or space. According to the director, the only thing the museum insists on controlling is the budget, however, he comments that it is very rare for the museum to intervene in the preparation (interview ISYM1, 2015). The idea for this type of representation has been developed from one of the museum aims, which is to take advantage of being a private museum and do things that government run museums do not do. In this way the museum helps the communities come together and to understand their precious history and cultures.

However, these special exhibitions have limitations. Because they are completely managed by the represented communities, they have been criticized for not being professional or efficient enough in delivering a sufficiently representative message. It is pointed out, though, that the special tribal exhibitions have been broadly welcomed by indigenous communities, since many community members visit those exhibitions, or volunteer to represent their own communities, on the grounds that they rarely have an opportunity to make their own decisions on almost everything, including the way they

represent themselves. In spite of this, though, tribal special exhibitions have not drawn much attention in Taiwan, one of the main reasons being the museum's location opposite the National Palace Museum, which, compared to other leisure destinations, is far from the city centre. Hence, the SYM may not be the most popular destination for the public.

Nevertheless, the SYM has the advantage of not being limited by restrictive policies, thus it can present controversial or sensitive issues. As a consequence, it attracts communities that like to present controversial issues or represent themselves in unusual ways. For example, the museum has represented the Siraya people who, as mentioned earlier, are considered as a plain indigenous group. Although they claim to have genuine indigenous ethnicity, in national museums, instead of being represented with an indigenous identity, they can only be represented as a 'cultural group'. However, in the SYM, because it is a private museum, they are free to proclaim themselves as an indigenous group (Figure 5.11). This is what a community member had to say about the Siraya exhibition:

> The purpose of the exhibition is to tell people who we are, unlike the representations in the past that plain indigenous peoples belong to history. I want to connect our history and our life in the representations together. Let people know we have always been here (interview ISC1, 2015).

Figure 5.11: Representations of contemporary aspects in Siraya tribal special exhibition in the SYM in 2011. The picture shows the signs that the Siraya peoples used in their protests requesting government recognition as an indigenous tribe. Source: Duan, 2011.

As Galla (1997: 151) argues, the "project is initiated either by the indigenous community specialist or the external anthropologist" and both are co-workers on the project participating in shared decision making on the development, implementation and evaluation of the project, which "creates a framework for the empowerment of the community to participate in the mainstream" (Ibid: 152). These self-curated representations not only offer opportunities for indigenous peoples to speak for themselves, but also allow them to present issues that are not presentable in national museums. By having full authority to represent themselves, it gives them confidence and also pride, since they did not just participate in the exhibition by performing their traditional dances or rituals, but they led the whole exhibition. Indeed, in one

exhibition's opening ceremony, the community leader commented. "The most valuable part of the exhibition is to see the beauty of our communities, how our people connect together closely. Being able to show these in the museum and to other people makes me feel really satisfied" (observation note, OSYM, 2015).

However, as the Siraya cultural history office founder accepted whilst preparing the exhibition they still needed to seek professional help particularly around exhibition design and object presentation (interview ISC1, 2015). Although more and more indigenous peoples obtain better education than ever before, it is still rare for any of them to have carried out historical research about themselves, or to have produced narratives for use in representations. As the director states, these tribal special exhibitions have shown many novel ways of representing indigenous communities. For these communities, the uniting process is more important than bringing great numbers of visitors. Therefore, these tribal special exhibitions were created in ways that the communities like their visitors to know about themselves.

5.6 The Benefits and Limitations of Representing Indigenous Peoples in Museums

Museums represent indigenous peoples for several reasons, such as political pressures, social change, or to reflect public concerns. As mentioned earlier, most museums,

traditionally, are government institutions, hence over a long period of time, they have seen indigenous peoples as 'others' or 'savages', which caused those communities and their sense of identity a great deal of harm. However, more commonly museums now declare them not to be 'backward' or 'primitive' anymore but regard them as an integral part of Taiwanese society, and as such, equal to any other group. However, very occasionally, their representations can still carry negative connotations, albeit inadvertently, therefore, in some instances, they leave behind a discreditable impression.

The process of recruiting museum staff is worth examining. Especially in national museums, museum staff are usually recruited by civil service examination. These are standardised tests created by the authority, so it is not uncommon to see stereotypical or prejudicial language toward certain groups in them. However, it is now common to hear museum staff talking of learning lessons from their represented groups and have their preconceived notions changed as regards indigenous peoples. Concerning the general educational disadvantages for indigenous peoples and prospects of them working in museums, it is not a popular job consideration, hence few museum curators come out of their communities. As described in a previous section, indigenous curators are arguably more adept at making connections with indigenous communities, as one indigenous curator commented, "even from different tribes, indigenous museum staff would be more willing to spend much time with us. We are all indigenous peoples, for some reasons we could understand each other better (interview NMPH2, 2015)".

However, as the legacy of the authority and government, museums are still considered to have more resources and skilled staff to be the best institutions to communicate with other institutions, especially foreign museums and universities, on matters connected with indigenous representation. For example, several objects from the Yami community were collected by a Swiss anthropologist several decades ago. When the Yami found out and wanted to bring them back to the community, however, they had to rely on the NMPH to negotiate on their behalf since they did not have the resources to do it for themselves (interview NMPH1, 2015). Missionaries and colonial governments also took many objects out of Taiwan and it is common to find the indigenous collections in other places of the world. However, when they have been recovered, instead of them being repatriated to their communities of origin, many were received by the case-study museums, since they are considered to be safer and more reliable custodians.

This notion that museums are more eligible and secure partner to work with is shared by some indigenous peoples, as they recognise that museums are sufficiently professional to look after their objects and display them properly even though the thought that their belongings had been taken by others is still offensive to them (interview INMPH and ILC3, 2015). This is particularly true for those communities that went through natural disasters, such as typhoons and fire. Apart from preservation concerns, some indigenous interviewees had little confidence to request museums to repatriate those objects. For example, one of the interviewees responded to the question regarding whether he would like to have objects sent back to the community by saying:

Museums are really professional on preserving objects. If those objects stayed in our community they would be damaged in natural disasters. Although we would like to have them back, it is not possible for us to just ask the museum to give them back, they won't listen to us (interview ILC2, 2015).

However, some appear to accept a compromise as long as their objects are being properly protected, and they are allowed access to them (interview ILC3, 2015).

Although museums now are much more willing to represent indigenous peoples, more and more representations are taking place in places other than museums space. Although, as has been shown, Taiwan society's view of indigenous peoples has changed dramatically since the 1980s, however, changes in museums have been slow, if gentle. The consequences have been that many indigenous peoples are eager for change so that they have sought alternatives ways of being represented.

One of the main reasons why traditional museums are not the most appropriate places for representations is that they rely too much on material objects, in spite of the importance of intangible elements being given legal status in the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (see Chapter 3). In addition, museum representations, particularly the permanent ones, freeze indigenous peoples in the past to the extent where the impression is given that they only existed in the past, and have always been 'uncivilised'. As one of my indigenous interviewees put it, "we are not living that life

anymore, it is also important for others to know we live in a modern way" (interview ILC1, 2014). In most representations and as suggested above, traditional clothes and architecture have very predominant places. As Onciul (2015: 165) argues, "essentialising can be a strategic and political act to achieve a specific goal or a by-product of the logistical inability to tell the 'whole story'. Although these objects are the most recognizable and well-known elements of the indigenous cultures, representations that rely on material objects have been challenged." Traditional museum representations, therefore, over-simplify the indigenous people's lives and deny their participation in Taiwan's history, as another interviewee stated, "It cannot be denied that these artefacts are important in our culture, however, outsiders will not understand us by looking at these things. Culture can only be understood by experiencing it, it is an invisible concept rather than objects" (interview ILC1, 2014). Therefore, it is not surprising that museums find it difficult to represent indigenous peoples differently, since intangible elements are hard to represent alongside material artifacts.

Some museums do attempt to represent the spiritual and meaningful process in indigenous cultures and these are more likely to reach a wider audience since they, together with some indigenous communities, recognise that, apart from school visits and people who come by chance, indigenous representations can attract people who come specifically for the representations, including some from the represented communities. For instance, the NMNS's representation of the creation of a Yami canoe; for this, the Yami community was asked to demonstrate the whole process, which took three months to complete. According to the curator, some members of the public came

frequently to the museum in order to follow its progress and also to learn about the Yami culture.

Research shows that representing indigenous peoples can empower their identity and their recognition (Coria and Calfucura, 2012; Labonte, 1993; Sofield and Li, 2007; Voyle and Simmons, 1999). Similarly, through my fieldwork experiences I found that when community members are involved in the representations, not only indigenous peoples are able to build more positive relationships and connections with museums but also to promote local tourism, raise their publicity in the country and recognised from the authorities. My fieldwork also revealed that practical influences play a positive part in motivating indigenous communities to work with museums, such as them being able to access historical objects that had long been lost. Also, being represented by museums is a way to promote themselves by attracting visiting tourists. In addition, apart from these tangible outcomes, working with museums assists them to recover history that was previously only known to their elders, and also to identify certain traditions that had been taken from other cultures. These works become valuable material for them in the education of their younger generations or in order to create opportunities for further community development.

A number of my interviewees believed that the experience of working with museums had been generally positive. While museums pay most attention to their audiences' needs, communities that have been represented are more strategically aware, in that the relationship can be the beginning of positive developments for themselves, such as to

record and preserve their histories (interview IC3, 2015). Many indigenous communities face challenging times, such as economic and educational disadvantages, younger members moving to work in the cities and the loss of traditions and languages. As some interviewees stated, simply by preparing for museum representations, they were given a chance to re-examine their cultures and discover pasts that has been lost or, not even known, since traditional knowledge is largely oral and is rarely recorded. The process also brings people together and encourages a sense of place and identity (Duncan, 1994). Being represented in museums, especially national museums, is also considered as being recognised, or even supported, by the government. Therefore, it is not uncommon to find members of represented communities making comments like "Although the working process had not been smooth, and the exhibited representations would be different if I were in charge […]…… generally speaking, the community was happy that our culture was represented in a national museum (interview ISC1, 2015)".

Museums are effective, therefore, for allowing indigenous people to be heard so that they are no longer invisible to people who barely knew they existed. Also, it is common for museums to work with a team of community members who have already been gathering their own historic materials and have been reviving their traditional cultures. Take, for example, the Siraya's Gabuasua night festival, which in 2013 had been entered on the list of the Important National Cultural Heritage. Previously, a community revival team, which was well-recognised by the museum and academics, had been working with several museums. Chen, the curator who worked closely with Siraya community, pointed out that by being represented by the museums, the Festival

was brought to the attention of the government's Cultural Division; consequently, the festival received nationwide recognition (interview, 2015). Although Gabuasua had been holding 'Night Festivals' for decades since its inclusion in the Important National Cultural Heritage list is now known to people who previously not aware of the Siraya culture. Being represented in museums has not affected the meaning of the 'Night Festival', but as Chen states, his museum did play a critical role in promoting the festival more widely. Although the 'Night Festival' has not been experienced by the majority of Taiwanese, the importance of the festival has definitely become widely recognized. However, the leader of the community team, Duan disagreed with Chen's argument; he believes that the festival was already publicly recognised because of its known importance to the Taiwan society (interview ISC1, 2015). Nevertheless, both parties agreed that working with museums helped the team learn how to create professional representations, such as how to write narratives, which assisted in having their festival being listed and empowering the community's self-recognition.

However, regarding sensitive issues, such as identity or land claims, when they become part of a representation, the museum may be restricted by the political implications, since it is a governmental institution and should not become involved. As mentioned previously, the educational role is still one of the crucial roles museums play, thus many curators agree that it is more appropriate for them not to have a stance in controversial issues but only present facts and leave the judgement to their audience. However, conflict with authority has been an important part of indigenous people's history, as one indigenous curator commented:

Museums have been used by the government to suppress the indigenous peoples, now the indigenous peoples understand how to use museum representations. Therefore, when we have the opportunity to create our own representation, this part of the history would need to be visible (interview INMPH1, 2015).

Thus, those people who adopt this perspective may not believe that museums are the best institutions to represent them.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter is primarily an exploration of the relationships between indigenous peoples and museums, in order to examine how representations are produced and what the positive and negative affects of the relationship are. I have discussed these relationships in detail by referring to the material gathered from my case study interviews with museum staff and indigenous community representative. I have also examined the advantages to indigenous communities of being represented by museums as well as the frustrations they experience when sometimes they are unable to present their culture or issues from their points of view, and I have also described some of the restrictions of museum spaces when they represent the indigenous peoples of Taiwan.

In my fieldwork I have taken into account the feelings of indigenous peoples regarding the historical colonial and national governments, particularly in authoritarian eras, when they were represented as 'others', as uncivilised tribal people, as 'noble savages' or even as 'disloyal enemies'. This form of representation over the years has fixed indigenous peoples firmly in the minds of the majority as being 'others' and not part of the greater society. Therefore, it is not uncommon to hear indigenous people say something like:

> I did not know I had an indigenous identity when I was a kid, but because of where I lived, my schoolmates teased me by calling me 'huan-a' [uncivilized person in Taiwanese]. I asked my parents or grandparents if that is true, I was told to shut up. I confirmed I am an indigenous person many years later (observation note, OSC5, 2015).

I showed in this chapter that those museums that have been built with awareness of indigenous rights present very different styles of representations of indigenous peoples, in that their contemporary lives are emphasized more, as is their participation in Taiwanese society and history; for example, the NMTH represents them as being firmly in the country's history by stating that they have played a critical part.

Bennett (1995) argues that museums are places to practice power and form disciplines to govern a society, for instance, through object arrangement a social order can be learnt. He also suggested that museum spaces are not only places for members of the public,

they can be places for surveillance where people can be watched. Especially when museums take on an educational role and become easily accessible to the public, they can potentially involve the whole population. As has been shown in this chapter, being represented by museums can attract a wider audience for indigenous cultures and potentially break the barriers between disparate groups of people. However, Taiwan's museums could be different from those Bennett (ibid: 29) describes "as institutions in which the working classes […] might be exposed to the improving influence of the middle classes", because no public museum in Taiwan is free of charge. Only people who visit museum would be more directly influenced by the museum representations. I have already mentioned that few indigenous people visit them, therefore, as far as they are concerned, Bennett's argument that seeing how objects are displayed can influence the public regarding social order, seems particularly far-fetched. Especially concerning the geographic locations of the case-study museums, indigenous society is unlikely to be directly influenced by the representations since while who can afford and have the specific interests and who consequently visit will be affected by museum representations, the majority of the audience may not be indigenous peoples. However, it cannot be denied that museums in Taiwan still have some governance characteristics, which can form the voices of the public, as Bennett argues. It is still not uncommon to find museums representing indigenous peoples from the perspectives of outsiders since, as has been discussed in this chapter, prior to 1989, indigenous peoples had always been represented by governments. Therefore, through the approach of differentiating indigenous cultures, representing indigenous peoples in national museums runs the risk of reinforcing their differentness from mainstream society, and also stressing their powerless or marginal status.

In this this chapter, I have shown that more and more indigenous peoples have become involved in temporary museum representations, often as partners of museums, or in some cases, even as leaders and, because the museums are still seen as places of authority, some indigenous communities consider it to be an honour to be chosen to be represented in them, even though they also feel that simply displaying objects is not the best way to show their culture. However, I have shown that the process can be one of negotiation. In Bennett's work, museums are portrayed as government institutions that exercise power from the top down, nevertheless, in my fieldwork I discovered that in some museums, indigenous peoples are not always the subjects of political power. Especially because museum curators play critical roles in creating representations, for those who are close to indigenous communities, the authority of representing indigenous cultures is not considered as a way of ruling indigenous peoples, instead, indigenous peoples sometimes can also share the power with museum professionals on representing themselves processes. In addition, personal interpretations from museum curators, volunteer guides or visitors can either help or hinder the governmental characteristic of the museum. Furthermore, it is now common for indigenous communities to be part of exhibitions, and often their involvement has both led to the discovery, or re-discovery of their history, and has united community members and has helped further their recognition in society. Clifford (1997) stated that, by working with indigenous communities, museum spaces become contact zones for different cultural groups to interact; furthermore, as Golding (2013) points out, such exchanges of views can disturb the existing traditional hierarchy between museum professions and the public. Therefore, social inclusion in Taiwanese museums can be achieved by the readjustment of representing indigenous peoples.

I have also explored how, by working with museums the represented communities gain some practical benefits, such as the promotion of local tourism and their products; also that it is not uncommon to find indigenous representations in venues other than museums and that this is probably because of the limitations of museums. For example, many of my interviewees believe that visitors can gain only a limited understanding about indigenous cultures through their artifacts. As I discovered in my fieldwork and from my interviewees, there are times when museums fail to meet indigenous peoples' expectations, such as relying too much on the arrangement of objects, and by discrediting the importance of their intangible elements that play critical roles in their cultures. Also, from my fieldwork, it is rare for indigenous peoples to be given full autonomy for creating what they believe to be the most suitable representations, as the result, some may argue that it may be more suitable to represent indigenous cultures in other places.

In this chapter, I have shown that museums, especially national museums, in Taiwan are considered to be part of the authority, professional and resourceful in preserving historic objects, and effective in forming the perspectives toward the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Furthermore, it can be concluded that museums in Taiwan now rarely misrepresent indigenous peoples on purpose and that those misrepresentations that remain are more the consequences of historic colonialism. Along with developing the awareness of indigenous rights, some museums have also recognised the unequal status between indigenous peoples and themselves, and they have begun to share some of their power through indigenous representations. However, it cannot be denied that they still

have some limitations when it comes to the allocation of museum spaces, resources and budgets, and these discourage many from considering using museums as the main platforms. There are many alternative platforms for indigenous representations, such as festivals, local cultural centres and within the communities. In the next chapter, I will introduce and discuss representations that happen beyond museums, and the influences that affect these representations.

Chapter 6

Representing Indigenous Peoples Beyond Museum Spaces

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined representations of indigenous peoples in leading museums where they are restricted by physical space, formal regulations or the various museums' particular rules and systems. This chapter will look at representations that take place outside of formal museums, from community spaces to media. These

representations can mainly be divided into three sections; in the first section, I will focus on self-representations in created spaces, such as indigenous community neighbourhoods and local cultural centres, in both of which indigenous peoples are argued to have more autonomy than in museums. In the second section, I will examine representations that treat indigenous peoples as a homogenous group in several areas, such as in popular culture, public spaces, and indigenous television in order to realize how these representations differ from those in museum spaces. The second tier of representations reflects the lives of indigenous peoples in contemporary society, since it illustrates the negotiating processes of representations between commodification, traditions and politics. In the last section, I will look at the establishment of Taiwan Indigenous Television (TITV) in order to realise the different perspectives presented here compared to mainstream media.

The representations in indigenous communities are usually created by themselves without intervention from 'outsiders'. This form of self-representation can be seen as a way to take the power of interpretation back from 'others'. There are several ways for communities to represent themselves, such as through community development projects and displays and demonstrations in local cultural centres. Some of these representations are used to pass down community history to the next generation, others to re-consider the community's narrative history, and others are used to ensure the community's future. This form of examination shows how communities have taken control of their own histories and their present lives and how they have gone about both meeting their own needs and learning how to represent themselves to the larger public.

Representations of intangible culture can be seen as one of the most distinctive aspects of indigenous representations no matter where they take place. As discussed in Chapter 5, it is difficult for museums to present a full account of a ritual event; all they can do is rely on physical objects or short videos to give a glimpse of it. In indigenous communities, intangible cultures such as religion and festivals are part of every-day life, which with some well-chosen illustrations, an outsider might be able to experience and understand. In order to illustrate community traditions and history, many communities use material objects, such as wall paintings, carved decorations or information boards. However, no matter how they represent them, these will not affect how community members understand their cultures, since they are simply considered to be the means of accounting for its history and way of life that has been passed down through the decades.

However, in spite of the increased level of autonomy in representing themselves in their own neighbourhoods, I have noticed during my fieldwork that in the case-study communities some peripheral elements can be affected in such representations, such as the community's relationships with collaborating institutions. As with the role of curator in a museum, a self-representing community will rely on one or more key actors, who will have privileged positions in the community and who are able to motivate other members to become involved in the process. For instance, tourism is a commonly used strategy for sustaining and developing communities, whereby visitors are offered experiences or activities that have proved popular and some communities also take the opportunity to promote their local products. In these particular ways, self-

representations not only help communities economically, but they can demonstrate their traditions to the outside world and keep their communities sustainable.

Apart from self-representations in indigenous communities, there are representations that have become the product of the entertainment business, such as representations through dance and theatre, and also those created for theme parks. Although it is not uncommon to learn that indigenous cultures are tokenised in tourism, through the entertainment business, indigenous cultures are able to reach a much wider audience. Also, as some performance groups claim, by recognizing the cross-over between traditionalism and commercialism indigenous peoples are urged to re-examine their origins and seek ways to preserve the authenticity of their culture and how it can flourish in contemporary society.

Together with formal education, popular culture is one the most effective ways for non-indigenous peoples to know about indigenous cultures. Representations tend to show indigenous peoples as a homogenous group because most are very brief and are limited in scope or space, therefore, only well-recognised characteristics tend to be represented. Also, both authenticity and market concerns need to be taken into consideration when music or television are the chosen media because Taiwanese popular culture has been, and still is dominated by the Han Chinese culture, therefore, indigenous rights regarding the preservation of their culture in the areas of music and dance tend now to be through promotional awards and television programmes.

By implementation of the cultural policies, the visibility of indigenous peoples has arisen, therefore, not only are their traditions being preserved, but they are also being given public awareness in which they can show their individual and communal characteristics. Also, by producing representations in public spaces, such as at the international airport and at the presidential inaugurations and other ceremonies and festivals, how they are seen helps the general public to understand both the differences and similarities between their ways of life. A significant cultural policy for upholding indigenous rights was the establishment of TITV. At the end of this chapter I will examine the programmes' content and differences between reports from mainstream media and TITV during which I suggest that its programmes encourage in indigenous peoples a degree of subjectivity that is more noticeable than in any other mainstream media.

The aim of this chapter is to look into the different ways of representing indigenous cultures, and to try to understand to what extent greater autonomy has made them different from the depictions presented by museums. In this way, I hope to show the wide range of indigenous representations and in the last chapter, I will return to the role the museum might play the contemporary society.

6.2 Self-Representations of Indigenous Peoples

In Chapter 2, I discussed that raising the awareness of the issues is one of the most common options for indigenous peoples to deconstruct the existing stereotypes of them (Hall, 1997), therefore, in order to deconstruct indigenous stereotypes many have sought to have their voices heard. Since awareness of indigenous legal rights began to filter through to them, indigenous peoples have been active, both within their own communities and by various other means beyond them. Self-representation is one of the ways by which they have set about being heard, since it is generally considered to be a way of gaining the right to interpret their own histories, especially because, in Baistow's (1994: 37) words, "[they] have been systematically deprived of power […] and need to reclaim it as a [citizen's] right". Community neighbourhoods are currently the most common places to find indigenous self-representations and some of these have adopted Davis's (1999) idea of the 'ecomuseum' and have represented their culture and history in several places, while others have created museums in the local cultural centres.

6.2.1 Indigenous community neighbourhoods

Recently, some indigenous communities have adopted the idea of community development and many of them now manage their neighbourhoods with resources obtained from government projects. For example, the MOC funds indigenous communities for several types of projects, and the CIP has also developed a project called 'sustainable development for indigenous communities' that funds several projects. Most of these projects target common themes, such as developing local

cultural heritage, enhancing community networking and organisation, and so on. In many of these projects, the representation of traditional cultures is critical for communities to develop and manage their communities. For instance, a well-known Rukai community, Taromak, had no visitor centre or community museum, so its representations were displayed in various places around the community area, each indicating different historical aspects of the community. As Figure 6.1 shows, the community gate displays its Chinese name, since it is called Tung-Shing town on maps. However, this not only reflects the suppressive policies that aimed to turn indigenous peoples into Han Chinese, but also reveals that, even though indigenous rights have been enshrined in the national law, the current administrative system is still dominated by the Han Chinese culture.

Figure 6.1: The Gate to the Rukai Community township of Torumak, named here 'Tung Shin'. Source: The Author.

Self-representations tend to place the emphasis on local history, or characteristics that are only of concern to by the community. For example, because Taromak has gone through several difficult times, including floods and fires, the community set up a memorial monument (Figure 6.2), which most community members pass by, but rarely interact with it; whereas more interactions are made by visitors, who are unfamiliar with the community.

Figure 6.2: The memorial monument, the guardian God of the tribe, showing its indigenous tribal name. Source: The Author.

Unlike Taromak, which, as an indigenous community, has both formal indigenous status and a distinguishable language and history, the representations within the Kabuasua community have a more functional significance. Kabuasua is a Siraya community, which has a history of interacting with different cultures and adopting many of their ways. However, as mentioned in the last chapter, they are designated as 'plain indigenous peoples' and, as such, are considered to be integrated with the Han Chinese. However, they have been struggling to claim their indigenous identity, and adopted self-representations as a way of enforcing their self-recognition.

The characteristics of cultural adaptation can be found in Kabuasaua, as Figure 6.3 shows, there is a Church, a Taoism temple (black circle), and traditional Siraya temples (red circles). Kabuasaua has a community cultural history office that is led by Duan Hung-Kuan, as a well-known activist who returned to the community in 1996 and set up the office in 1998, and the town's development mainly relies on his team's work.

Figure 6.3: Community map for visitors. Source: The Author.

Duan stated that:

> When we started to do something in the community in 1997, we
> have to rely on people from other places, like Tung-Shan township
> office to help us, because we did not have enough people. [...] I
> found that there are great differences between us, also when I was
> little, I used to see many researchers came to our community to do
> research, I did not know we were different from others until I
> started to study and learn from the elders.
>
> There was a researcher who came to our community and accused
> other students who stepped on our traditional temple with shoes I

was shocked, and felt why should we let others speak for ourselves.

This incident made me determine to study our own cultures (interview ISC1, 2015).

There are a great number of representations in various parts of the area; for example, at the Kabuasua gate, there is a large wooden sign to point out the location of the community. Also, in town many wall paintings represent tribal legends, history, and daily community life (Figure 6.4). Some wall paintings were created by school pupils as a way to pass down tribal knowledge and history and also an effective way to build a sense of belonging (interview ISC1, 2015).

Figure 6.4: Old well with new decorations. The well that once supplied the community but is now out of use. In order to show its significance, it has been decorated with painting tiles. Source: The Author.

For Duan, such representations are a way for a community to be connected with its past,

> We started from digging into our history, research results are used to
>
> motivate the elders, have them be willing to pass down the
>
> knowledge, but the initial thoughts of representing the community is
>
> to have others aware [of] our culture and identity. Many people
>
> think we lost our traditions because we have been interacting with
>
> Han Chinese, but this is not true (interview ISC1, 2015).

It is not uncommon to find self-representations in indigenous communities that have been made to inform visitors, thus the process of self-representation itself also encourages residents to understand their own past and cultures. For indigenous communities, self-representations can be an effective way of educating the younger generations and it is common to see educational programmes for school children that include indigenous languages and courses in traditional skills. These programmes are locally designed and are specially intended to sustain tribal cultures, since they are not included in the official school syllabus.

6.2.2 Indigenous local cultural centres

As well as community development projects, the CIP also supports indigenous communities, such as by reclaiming unused buildings and spaces as local cultural centres, which are used to connect local communities to leading museums.

Local cultural centres were built for the indigenous society development project in 1996, in order to help rural communities close the gap between cities and small towns. However, because the project failed to integrate communities with the cultural centres, many fell derelict. Since 2007, however, the CIP has revived twenty-eight of them for use as indigenous cultural centres (Figure 6.5). These centres are governmental institutions that work closely with the CIP, therefore, because they officially belong to local government and not the communities, the relationship between them can be very complicated.

臺灣原住民族地方文化館分布圖
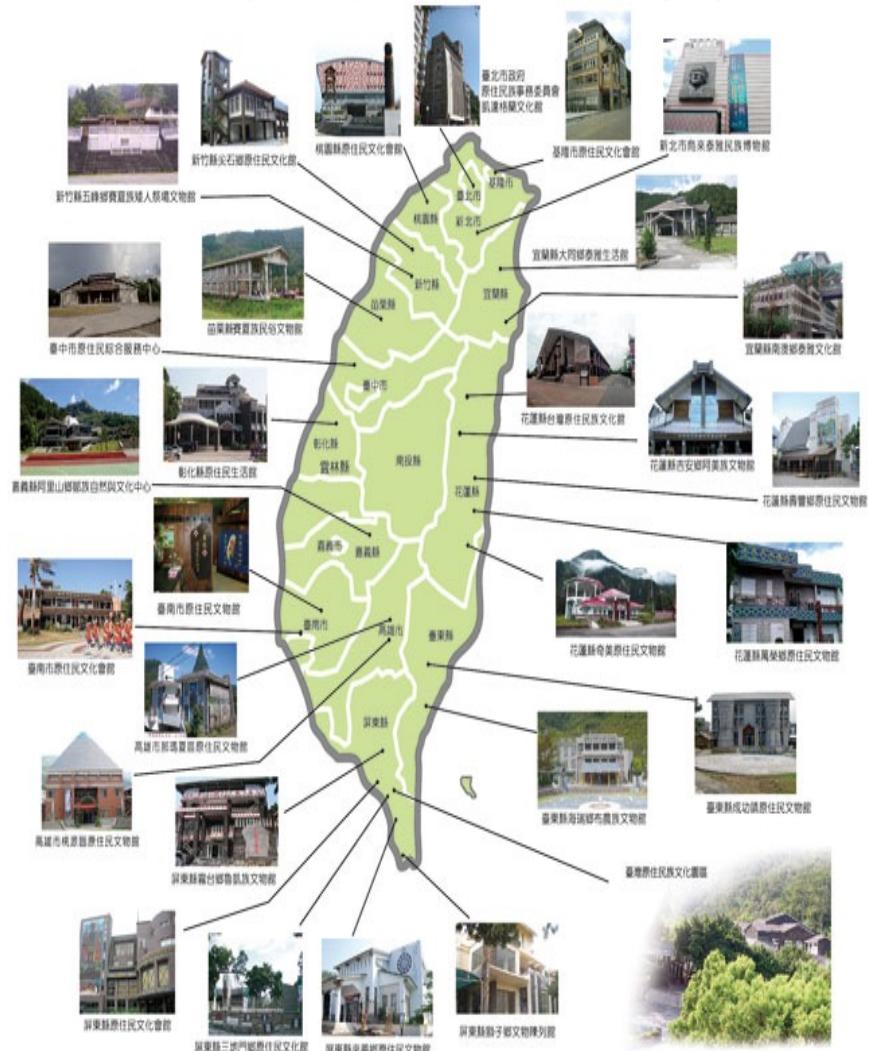
Figure 6.5: The distribution of indigenous cultural centres. (Adapted from the CIP Website of indigenous cultural centres: http://www.ims.org.tw/template/aboriginal.php, accessed: 05/07/2015).

Indigenous cultural centres were set up with the idea of building community museums. Some are now used for different purposes, such as performance centres and theme parks, although most, which function as they were planned, have their own exhibition

venues and collections of objects and clothing. The idea of building them as community museums had been to help indigenous communities to recognise their cultures and past, in addition, it also offers some job opportunities to make links with their communities. It meant that many cultural centres started to build up artifact collections and for those close enough to certain communities collected objects locally, some objects are borrowed, and others are donated. As one of my interviewee's comments, "the cultural centre in our town has nothing to look at because those objects are ordinary tools for us. Although they are important in our life, that is not the most important part of our culture" (interview IC2, 2015).

Unfortunately, these permanent local collections are seldom of interest to their surrounding communities which could be the reason that they are not managed in the best way (Figure 6.6). In many centres, the part community members use the most are the reading and computer areas. Therefore, instead of preserving cultures or representing their histories, many centres play more practical roles for their communities.

Figure 6.6: Display in a local cultural centre. Because of lacking proper training and few resources, displays are uninspiring and lack narratives. Source: The Author.

The project 'big museums lead small museums' was set up in 2007 in order to offer professional training and skills to indigenous communities. Working with leading museums in temporary exhibitions is often welcomed in indigenous cultural centres, since the exhibitions place more emphasis on the communities than attracting outside visitors. It is common, therefore, to hear communities comment about how the exhibition motivated them to re-examine their cultures and increase their self-confidence. For some communities, an exhibition offers an opportunity for further community development. Chi-mei cultural centre in Taitung County is a well-known example. Because it is in a remote location, it is said to be the last modernised indigenous community, consequently, it has preserved much more traditional culture than other indigenous communities (interview INTM1, 2015). The community was

facing the crisis of losing members and culture, as are many other indigenous communities. The curator of the local cultural centre points out, the members decided to develop the community because of their members were scammed in the cities and they started by building a traditional tribal house, which allowed them to bring back some members, since the house required a significant amount of work to be built, the community had to recruit its members back to the community. Then they refurbished the cultural centre, which became an integral part of the community development.

Chi-mei community took part in a series of exhibitions together with the NTM called 'objects back to the community'. The objects exhibited, which were intended to trigger elders' memories, led to the rediscovery of a lost ceremony. In our interview, the curator told me that, even though some people, who had converted to Catholicism, were opposed to bringing back a ritual ceremony, the community was brought together again (interview ISC2, 2015) because the cultural centre is now not only a museum and exhibition space, it is used as a 'window' for the community to tell their stories to visitors. The community also holds camps for group visitors. The community has taken the idea of 'the whole community is a living museum' that although the cultural centre may not be very important nationally, or the most popular destination, it plays a very important part as a place for people to get a better understanding of their community. In a further development, they have also initiated several other projects which intended to solve the unemployment problem, which has been driving their young people away. By representing themselves, the Chi-mei residents appear to have strengthened their self-recognition and confidence and also made their community much more appealing for

their younger generation to stay to make their lives there. It seems, therefore, that the re-development of the cultural centre has been the initiating point for all that they have achieved.

6.3 The Role of Intangible Culture in Self-Representations

As discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, the importance of intangible culture has been recognized by the MOC. While the heritage of the more dominant indigenous tribes is more nationally recognisable, some characteristics of intangible heritage can also be found in many other indigenous communities; particularly important in this respect is oral history, festivals, and the valuable contribution of tribal elders. Whereas Chapter 5 included a discussion about representations in museums relying predominantly on displaying physical objects to illustrate the tangible characteristics cultures in indigenous cultures, festivals and traditional activities are still taking place, or being practiced, in the spirit of their original contexts.

Taiwanese indigenous peoples are known to be talented in dancing and music, both of which play an important part in traditional ceremonies, so it is common to see them perform at public events and also for tourism. Indigenous peoples pick up elements from other cultures and surroundings, these external influences show in their music and movements, so it is possible to see how they regard other aspects of Taiwanese and

other societies, by what they have absorbed and passed down in such intangible ways. As one of my interviewees pointed out:

Music and dance in the indigenous cultures in Taiwan cannot be isolated from their social context, indigenous peoples express their feelings and their surroundings through their music and movements. For example, people used to sing about their natural surroundings but because people moved to cities for job opportunities, and many of them became miners, thus they would start to sing about their lives as miners in cities (interview IC2, 2015).

In museums, authenticity and accuracy play very important roles, however, in communities, history and stories are passed down verbally and are not recorded in writing (Figure 6.7). This means that it is highly likely that their stories differ from the original events. Also, because of frequent interactions with other groups, or through intermarriage, it is common to see different tribes sharing similar, or even the same, cultural elements; however, often each tribe will claim to be its originator. Although these differences of ownership could potentially be the cause of conflict, since it is of little significance to their audiences, a community's stories are seldom challenged.

Figure 6.7: A Siraya community member introduces the tribal religion. A Sirayan resident pointed out a unique symbolic element of his religion, and the history and meaning attached to their ritual ceremonies. Source: The Author.

6.3.1 Festival and religion

Festivals demonstrate the most distinguishable characteristics of an indigenous community. The Taromak have a reputation for preserving traditional Rukai cultures, especially with their harvest festival '*kalalisiya*[9]' in July. This is not only an occasion for celebration by the community, but is also very popular with tourists. It is important to point out, though, that the particular way they celebrate the festival and practice its

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[9] Harvest festival is the most important festival for the tribe, the festival starts with the leader's prayer to the guardian God of the tribe and express their gratefulness with batel nuts and millet. The worriors of tribe will also jump over the campfire in the middle of the festival field in order to dirve away evil spirits.

traditions, is authentic to their tribal traditions (Figure 6.8). The festival also becomes a great opportunity for outsiders to understand more about the communities.

Figure 6.8: Traditional 'swing' in the festival of the Taromak tribe (China Times, http://www.chinatimes.com/newspapers/20130720000514-260107, accessed 05/06/2016).

A similar case can be found in the Sirayan Kabuasua community, whose most distinguishable cultural element, religion, not only influences their self-recognition but also their community's social system. As Duan, the community activist stated in the interview, the community had been interacting with other groups in Taiwan, especially the Han Chinese, for many decades; also, over the years, other cultures have influenced

the ceremonies. "[…] other people celebrate with opera groups […] to please God and Goddess is common […] and in many places in Taiwan, it is considered to be part of traditional Taiwanese culture[10]" (interview, 2015). Therefore, celebrating their Night Festival[11] (see Chapter 5), which in the Sirayan culture is an important ancestral remembrance ceremony, by hiring outside opera groups at first was generally acceptable to the community.

However, when the community requested that the Night Festival to be listed by the MOC as 'nationally important folk culture', some people felt that hiring opera groups was not in the Sirayan tradition, so, in order for it to be authentic, they felt it was necessary to 'clarify' the situation by prohibiting the hiring of opera groups and also removing those elements from the festival that had been introduced from other groups and cultures, Duan continued:

> Although the process was difficult, because people had been doing that for many years, for them, it is an ordinary part of the festival. The office put in a great amount of work to persuade the community that it is not only important for the festival to be listed, the community would also benefit from it (interview, ISC1, 2015).

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[10] 'Taiwanese culture' here indicates the customs of Han Chinese who moved to the island prior to World War II.
[11] Night festival is one of the most events for the community, in which they will offer entire pigs as the sacrifice to their God and the community women will dance and sing to entertain the God.

In 2013, the MOC did list the Night Festival as 'nationally important folk culture', and since then, during the festival period, it has brought many visitors into the community and also on other holidays. Duan also said that some people who had been away from the community for a long time now brought their children to see it. "The festival now brings confidence to the community members, people are proud of their culture because it is recognised as a national important folk culture" (interview ISC1, 2015). The Night Festival influences the community in several ways; it encourages people to take a special interest in adopting the neglected, intangible, parts of their culture, such as speaking their tribal language, and also to take pride in their tribal identity. From the example of the 'Night Festival', it can be told that, as stated in Chapter 2, intangible culture is more about embedded meanings. It is worth noting that hiring Taiwanese opera to celebrate the festival does not appear to have negatively affected how the community views its culture and beliefs. However, as Young (2010) points out, there is still a barrier that prevents outsiders from understanding the authentic meaning of the 'Night Festival' hence a 'clarified Night Festival' might be of more benefit to outsiders to understand Siriya culture than it is for community member themselves.

6.4 The Role of Material Culture in Self-Representations

The improvement of permanent collections in local cultural centres or community museums might not be taken top priority for people working in indigenous communities, nevertheless it is common for them to represent themselves through material items, such as by depicting legends by artworks, or imbuing certain objects

used in festivals with spiritual character. Similar to museum representations, material objects play an important role in representing entire indigenous cultures. However, it is possible that different communities within the same tribe have developed their characteristic heritage due to differences in geography. Take Shizi Township in Pingtung as an example, in southern Taiwan. In 2012 its cultural centre worked with the NTM on the project 'objects back to the community', as introduced above. According to the NTM director, the project was initiated because people from Shizi visited the museum and asked to seek for their objects and their identity.

The Shizi community belongs to a subgroup of Peiwan, however, there are certain differences between subgroups of the Peiwan tribe. Because Shizi township had been interacting for a long period with Han Chinese when they were moved by the Japanese colonial government, their traditional cloth patterns and noble social system were lost. The inhabitants of Shizi Township have been wearing clothes that actually belong to central Peiwan communities, who are not of their own culture. Consequently, they went to the storage of the NTM to see if there is any their object in particular the traditional clothing they wore for important events, with the intention of having them returned to the Township. The director explained that, in order to put the emphasis on the community, instead of referring the matter to the Shizi Township local governors, the museum invited the community's elder noble members to receive the items, on loan, and to show them in an exhibition in the Township. Subsequently, members of the community conducted research into the items which were displayed in the exhibition. When the elders were interviewed, the community's history was revealed publicly for

the first time. For instance, they told about the flag in Figure 6.9, which had been given by the Japanese military to signify that communities had given their consent for Japanese occupation, whereas it was flown by them in order to protect the community – in fact, to ensure the people's survival (Kung et al., 2014).

Figure 6.9: The Japanese 'flag of alliance and protection'. This flag was given to Shizi Township by the Japanese military at a time when they militarily engaged with other communities in 1874 (NTM, http://www.ntm.gov.tw/tw/public/public.aspx?no=153, accessed: 04/06/2015).

Apart from objects that are embedded in history, it is also common to find material representations in indigenous communities that have been created recently. For example, in Figure 6.10 a community painting in Kabuasha features the local plants and animals on a wall with their names written in the Sirayan language. This type of representation cannot be collected by museums, however, such indigenous paintings and narratives representing people and their environment may be regarded as authentic. Unlike

examples discussed previously, where physical objects from the past represent identity and culture, the pictorial representations in Kabuasua are contemporary expressions of self-recognition. The paintings are the work of community pupils, organised by Duan's team, not only to pass down community history and traditions, but also to introduce its culture to a wider audience.

Figure 6.10: Duan shows a community wall-painting to visitors. The picture shows Kabuasua staple foods together with wild animals, named in the local language, to illustrate every-day life and the area's natural history to a group of visitors. Source: The Author.

Although outsiders might not understand the meanings or histories of indigenous cultures, representations such as these offer a very different perspective of an

indigenous community than artifacts in a museum. Similar to how museums rely on material representations, objects in indigenous communities are also valuable in assisting representing indigenous cultures. They are not only considered as symbols of their identity, but also function as the results and outcomes of government funded community projects or cultural centres annual evaluations (as explained below).

6.5 Politics of Self-Representation in Community Neighbourhoods

Every indigenous local cultural centre has to be evaluated annually by a committee formed by members of the heritage fields and professions. The evaluation, which is designed to support the centres by offering professional training and advice, entails the completion of a form that covers all aspects of the operation of centre, such as its number of opening days, what facilities it offers, how many visitors it has attracted, how many temporary exhibitions have been held, how many seminars the curator has attended in the past year and what has been the level of cooperation between the centre and local government.

The teams that manage these centres are well-known for being passionate about their communities' development, however, past annual evaluations have resulted in few centres being awarded as the best running cultural centres (CIP, 2013). Although the evaluation system might be rewarding for curators, who put great effort into their work, their effectiveness is debatable, since contrary to its original stated intentions, it adopts

the standard that is used to evaluate leading museums. For example, connections with the majority or indigenous community, which was one of the main intentions of the project, is barely examined and does not appear in the evaluation sheet. One of the reasons could be, of course, that such relationships are difficult to evaluate. Also, the facilities members of indigenous communities use most are not the exhibitions, but the computers and the libraries, and this fact is not obvious from the evaluations. Therefore, against the project's initial intention, only communities that are able to satisfy the evaluation system are likely to be awarded, and it is the award that improves a centre's reputation, which means the community will have more chance of receiving further funding, or partnerships with other institutes. The evaluation system does reveal, though, that not every community has enough resources to manage its cultural centre to the standards required; so only communities that are able to manage the administrative work and negotiate with the various relevant parties can do so. For some cultural centres that do not have sufficient resources, the unstability of the curators is the main difficulty to overcome, even they recruit community memebrs to encourage the participation of local communities.

It is noticeable that in the communities, representations usually rely on key actors, who either are responsible for the project or have the power to initiate the whole group and community and can be influential regarding the success of projects. As mentioned above, in the Chi-mei community, the curator is one of the key members in developing the community. As the curator points out, "we started the whole thing from building our traditional house, and because it is a big thing that needs many people to complete,

therefore, we rely on community's 'age system' [12] to call back many members"
(interview IC2, 2015). It is clearly an example of the value of being able to use the
social system to unite its members and to give the community a more positive
reputation by encouraging its members to work with them (interview INTM1, 2015).

A similar situation can be found in Kabuasua community, the representations mainly
rely on the cultural history office founded by Duan, who had worked outside the
community before returning in 1996. His family had been involved in the religious life
of the community and his family's legacy gave him the advantage of status and an
influential network within the community and its affairs. He had also worked with
academics and museum professionals, so when the Siraya tribe was mentioned in
academic circles, Duan would frequently be mentioned (research note RSC1, 2015).
Therefore, with these social advantages and his academic reputation, Duan's
interpretation of Siraya culture had been highly influential regarding the strategy the
community adopted for its development. However, the community consists of other key
actors who have less influence on community affairs, for example, "it is very difficult to
work as the cultural centre curator, because there are other organisations in the
community, it is difficult to bring people together" (interview IC3, 2015). For key
actors who have less influence, relying on local government becomes an alternative
option, since the local government manages various community resources, it is highly
accessible to community members, as stated by one of my interviewees "our staff in the

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[12] Age system: An 'age system' is a social structure in the tribe, Amis, tradition. Male members are
required to enter the system for education and training. In Chi-mei, the system has sixteen levels, each
with different responsibilities, and members are upgraded through the levels every three years (interview
IC2, 2015).

local government are very supportive, I have made some suggestions when I was exhibiting my works in the cultural centres, they listened and tried to cooperate in the best way" (interview IA1, 2015). Because of the privileged position of certain individual key actors, some communities not only have more chance than others in the same tribes to be seen, it also means the community is more competitive when requesting resources. Also, if key actors are respected in the communities, it is easier for communities to work together. Equally, if key actors have good connections with local government, it is easier to obtain government support. However, if key actors have little power, or their positions are unstable, their projects are unlikely to be successful.

The relationship a key actor maintains with local politicians, therefore, is absolutely crucial for community projects, because political responsibilities have to be prioritised. This is especially true at election times; since cultural centres come under local government control it means that the curator is a local government employee, hence due to the terms of his/her contract, the position becomes unstable. Liao (2011) pointed out that, because of this, curators have to develop various management strategies, such as focusing on relationships with just the immediate communities or short-term outcomes that can be claimed as political credits for both curators and local government, otherwise they risk losing their jobs if control moves to a different political party. Another factor that adds to the uncertainty of their position in most cultural centres is, there are very few other employees in them, so a single curator is responsible for every aspect of managing a cultural centre, which often includes a wide range of facilities and activities, from managing collections, proposing and organising several temporary

exhibitions every year and so on. The curator of a cultural centre, therefore, is in a position that carries a great deal of pressure, especially during election and annual evaluation periods.

The bureaucratic and restrictive characteristics of cultural centres, therefore, affects the autonomy of indigenous communities in self-representing. Although the Chi-mei community has earned a good reputation for managing its cultural centre and developing community facilities, its relationship with the local government has been highly complicated. This is because, although the cultural centre is administratively managed by the township leader, the cultural centre is actually a CIP project and it receives its funding from various related institutions and not the township government. However, in terms of budgeting, the particular way the Chi-mei community is financed causes problems with other communities in the area and also with local government. In addition to the complex relationship with the local government, the relationship between the community and other business sectors is not harmonious either. The area is famous in the rafting business because of its geographic characteristics. There are other rafting businesses that have been developing in the area for decades, therefore, the development of the rafting business of Chi-mei community is not welcomed by other business sectors. Because of the many conflicts it has created, in 2015, the township leader appointed a new director for the cultural centre, which caused a heated public debate and became a crisis for the centre due to disagreements about the way the centre was running, to the point where the previous Director had threatened to move the community's artifacts out of the centre.

Not every cultural centre will have to deal with such difficult issues and some receive good support from many quarters. The director of the NTM says that his museum has the most indigenous objects in the country, and that it is described as 'the national indigenous palace museum', so working with it to attract more visitors can be a great opportunity for cultural centres. It is also an opportunity for local governments to add to their political credits, since it can be seen as an achievement in terms of promoting the area and bringing benefits to the whole community. The director also pointed out that when an exhibition was almost led by the local governments, the managing strategy is likely to put the emphasis on promoting the place and thus may have the achievement on the number of visitors. The influences of the exhibitions are different from those were used to unite the community which give less attention to the audience. Communities that build up positive communication networks with their local governments are more likely to receive the benefit of the NTM's support. The cultural centre in Tatung Township is a typical example, the curator is a member of the community, but since the curator has less influence, the exhibition had to involve priests, elders and local government officers, so the smooth running of the exhibition required considerable help from local government.

By studying a number of representations in indigenous communities, it is possible to see that there are serious issues with regard to power and knowledge relationships, since although they are created more with indigenous autonomy, the above discussion supports the argument put forward in Chapter 5 that self-representations are much more strongly influenced by the social status of the creators than by their ethnicity. Indeed,

just like with representations in museums, the preparation for exhibitions in communities are also subject to negotiations that require leaders to possess political capital. However, it also shows indigenous people are able to take on roles that are only played by museum professionals when being represented in museum spaces, furthermore, the diversity of approach, purpose and usage of self-representations can also be achieved inside the indigenous communities.

6.6 The Necessity of Commercialising Self-Representations

The representations in Tarumak community area suggest that placing the emphasis on the traditional aspects of a culture is a key strategy for community self-representation since these distinguishing characteristics help the community stand out as being different from others. As Hendry (2005) suggests, although some objects can be commonly found in every museum, the diverse use of cultural items in indigenous communities reflects their autonomy, which means that making decisions for themselves about what and how to display is the essence of self-representations. On the other hand, it should be accepted that representations need to reflect the common concern across all indigenous communities that these traditions are gradually losing their places in modern-day life. For instance, as Hsu (2012) points out, although a community would like to sell ethnic foods to tourists that it used to consume, these ethnic foods are actually difficult to find in restaurants in the community; instead, these restaurants in the community may be not different from restaurants in other places.

Hendry (2005) notes, though, that it is not uncommon for self-representations to be linked to bringing profits and benefits to the communities, since for some they are considered to be potential solutions to social issues, such as poverty and unemployment. Hence, economic benefit becomes a common incentive for commercialising indigenous representations, since it could assist in sustaining the traditions they depict in modern life. Furthermore, the process of commercialising representations shows the diversity of autonomous actions that indigenous peoples have taken regarding how they wish their cultures to be known and understood.

Developing community-based tourism is a popular choice for some indigenous communities. As Murphy (1985) observes, building community-based tourism can give communities control over their own developments so that they retain much of the economic benefits, and, as has been seen previously, many visitors are attracted to some particular indigenous communities because of their unique cultural features, and this is particularly true for such special festivals as the 'Night Festival' in Kabuasua (Figure 6.11).

Figure 6.11: Brochure of Kabuasua's 'Night Festival'. Kabuasua represents its festival in a brochure to promote both its festival and the community's other tourist attractions. Source: The Author.

Nevertheless, as Duan points out:

> Since night festival is listed as an important national folk culture, the
> number of visitors has dramatically increased, because our festival
> will last all night, people used to leave around 1 a.m. but now many
> people will stay from the beginning to the end. But people just
> watch the festival, not many people will buy our products (interview
> ISC1, 2015).

Kabuasua has become an iconic community in Siraya tribe; it holds workshops and school trips so that others may learn about their culture (Figure 6.12). The community

has not only earned a reputation but it has also created economic opportunities for itself and its people. Because most of the people in the community work in agriculture, rice is one of its main products (Figure 6.13).
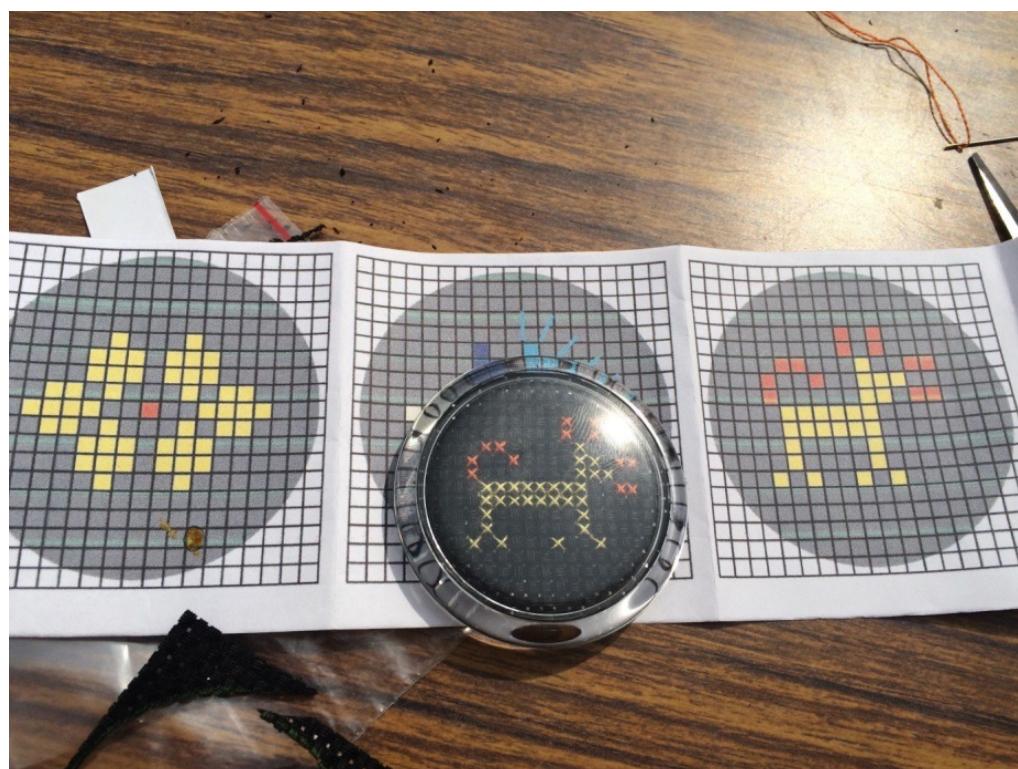
Figure 6.12: Kabuasua runs workshops in traditional embroidery. Source: The Author.

Figure 6.13: Products of the community. Products sold by the community include school bags, cups, books, cards, and towels. Source: The Author.

Even though festivals attract visitors, primarily they are held for the benefit of communities and visitors play a very minor part in the process; therefore communities need to use other strategies to develop tourism, such as day trips. The community map in Torumak identifies some key locations for visitors, such as the church, monuments, the house of ancestral spirits and the tribal leader's house (Figure 6.14).

Figure 6.14: The community map in Torumak. Notice board giving information about the community leader's importance, indigenous names of the leader and leader's families. Source: The Author.

Community maps are not only used by individual visitors to inform their walks around the community, they are also useful to announce when the community offers tours for group visitors. In Kabuasua, the cultural history office team recruits community members as tour guides to lead visitors around the community, illustrate the stories about it, and explain the significance of certain places. By presenting such narratives, visitors are given deeper understanding about the community and its cultures.

Organising activities is also a popular way for indigenous communities to attract and interact with their visitors. Such as having indigenous meals, introducing traditional weaving techniques, or creating artworks. As mentioned earlier, a rafting business has

been established in Chi-mei community and Figure 6.15 shows a brochure that attracts visitors to experience rafting on the river the community used to rely on. The brochure also shows how the community fed itself in the past and explains the idea of environmental sustainability. Developing tourism, therefore, creates job opportunities so its members do not have to move away for economic reasons.

Figure 6.15: Rafting brochure from the Chi-mei community. Chi-mei community established a rafting business in tourism to show visitors how their ancestors relied on the nearby river in the past. Source: The Author.

Kung et al. (2014) argued that building community-based tourism heavily relies on community members' willingness and cooperation, however, as has been described earlier, in Chi-mei many have opposed such changes and such opposite opinions are

impossible to ignore. As the curator stated, their intentions of developing the community have been questioned and his team has been accused of benefiting themselves rather than the community.

It is not uncommon for a team to be misunderstood as in many communities, people have many different political stances and they sometimes present as serious challenges for the team that manages the local cultural centre and tourist development. This is especially the case when a number of residents are not in favour of either representing themselves or developing the community. However, the cultural centre and community tourist team in Chi-mei also promote agricultural products by selling them outside the community. Indeed, the scale of development in the Chi-mei community has been considered by the CIP to be well-planned and it has been regularly successful at attracting resources (CIP, 2013).

Bringing visitors into communities not only helps more people to know about their cultures but also offers community members job opportunities and economic benefits. However, it can also cause conflicts. It is not uncommon to hear that some visitors interrupt festivals, cause damage in the community or disrespect their cultures. Developing tourism in indigenous cultures also risks tokenism, since some visitors will not understand about differences of culture and only find the exotic aspects interesting. Also, as Lin (2004) points out, in order to encourage tourists to take an interest in and purchase products, the indigenous people must develop strategies, such as showing how they weave or make traditional crafts. However, it is, not easy to sell those as the cost

would be too high, since very similar products are imported from China at much lower costs. Therefore, the strategy that community members are making these products at their doorstep or stalls it is only a performance to promote the local tourism, and in order to increase the numbers of visitors, the representations may need to be modified to meet tourists' expectations. Hence the strategies of self-representations are important as a balance must be kept between market concerns and community traditions. Self-representations, therefore, is about managing the tensions between preserving traditions and maintaining community development in a contemporary society.

6.7 Pan-Indigenous Representations

Often the indigenous peoples of Taiwan are represented as a homogenous group. Unlike representations in museums and communities that usually consist of details of specific tribes, in popular cultures and public spaces indigenous cultures tend to be represented by characteristics that may apply to all indigenous cultures. These representations are not intended to show differences between specific tribes, instead, they relate to characteristics that can be applied generically to raise the visibility of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. These representations are often found in the performance arts and other entertainments in public spaces.

6.7.1 Representing the indigenous cultures through performing art

Some performance groups, which have adopted indigenous traditions such as dancing, singing and historical enactments, do so for profit and have become a popular way for non-indigenous people to encounter indigenous cultures, since they can take place frequently at tribal festivals, in tourist destinations and theatres. Compared to representations in museums, performance and events have fewer translation difficulties, thus, most audiences, with little knowledge about languages and indigenous culture, can still enjoy performances that include movement, music, and exotic settings.

In Taiwan several performance groups use specific elements of indigenous culture, such as the biggest group, Cloud Gate, and some strive for authenticity through their performers' indigenous identity. According to a report from the CCA (2001), there are three main groups that represent indigenous cultures, Formosa Aboriginal Song and Dance Troup, Composed Artistes in Taiwan Aborigines, and Taiwan Yuan Yuan. In order to be authentic, the Formosa Aboriginal Song and Dance Troup, which is the best known group, employs anthropologists who research their dances and plays. Young (2003) recounts that, in order to better understand its traditions, members of the troup attended a Peiwan festival and wore Peiwan costumes so they could create a dance that appeared to be as authentic as possible, although certain elements had to be modified for the dance to be performed in a theatre. While the reality is altered through movement and voice together with a realistic backdrop, the context of the dances and music does not necessarily mean that their performances cannot inherit some of the tribe's meaning and spirit.

From the 1980s, because of an increasing awareness of the country's local cultures, indigenous cultures have been featured in the growing tourism industry and more indigenous dancers have been drawn into performing themselves. For in order to attract visitors, some Amis tribal clothes were worn in performances, not only because it is one of the biggest indigenous tribes in Taiwan but also their bright red traditional clothes can be easily recognised, and that it is common to find similar performances and costumes at most tourist attractions (interview ISC3, 2015). As mentioned earlier, though, it is possible to be accused of tokenism and a lack of authenticity. However, by their nature, performances for tourists, which often continue in festivals for several hours, have to fit into tight schedules, so they must be abstracted and modified. MacCannell (1976) argued that tourists seek reality; however, from Lee's work (2008), when visitors of the Taroko tribe were asked whether they can tell which element in the performance is from Taroko, most of visitors admitted they were not able to recognise Taroko elements from other indigenous tribes. Interestingly, though, the visitors of Leader village in Taroko did not consider the performances to be commercial but both traditional and authentic, which suggests that the issue of authenticity seems to be more important to the performers than to the audience. Since, for indigenous performers, expressing indigenous cultures in an authentic way can prevent their cultures being misunderstood, on the other hand, for most visitors, without the knowledge of indigenous cultures, they may not be aware of any misrepresentations.

As Cohen (1988) and Wall and Xie (2005) describe, performing art is a way for indigenous peoples to respond to rapid social changes, since it offers them work

opportunities, and encourages younger generations to continue to be part of their traditional culture. For example, in the Shan-Mei community, one of the intentions of establishing the traditional Tsou dancing group was specifically to solve the problem of unemployment (Chen, 2006). To satisfy the requirements of the tourist activities, certain numbers of performing members are needed, thus not only the traditions are able to be maintained, but establishing the performances also brings in economic profit. In addition, when performers step down from the stage, they can continue with their daily lives. The separation of front and back stage, therefore, can become a viable strategy for preserving indigenous traditions while still allowing members to lead contemporary lives.

6.7.2 Indigenous representations in theme parks

There are two theme parks in Taiwan that feature indigenous culture representations; one is the Formosan Aboriginal Cultural Village (FACV), and the other, the Indigenous peoples' cultural park. These parks offer alternatives to actually visiting indigenous communities. In indigenous communities, visitors will not only learn about a community's history but also about their present day lives, however, in these parks, visitors are more likely to see traditional enactments, such as dances and singing and the wearing of traditional clothes. The strategy of regarding indigenous representations as business is more notable than in the communities.

The FACV, which is the most well-known theme park featuring indigenous cultures, was established in 1986 in Nantou county in central Taiwan. It is divided into three main areas, the 'European Garden', a 'Joy to the World' which has many rides, and the 'Aboriginal Area', which has been developed in the form of a village where each officially recognised tribe is represented. The architecturally accurate traditional buildings, which are decorated according to tribe, contain wax figures showing how people lived in the past and also actors dressed in tribal costumes who interact with visitors, and, unlike in some instances where real-life people might be offended by cameras, photography is welcomed.

Some indigenous activities take place in the 'village', for instance, tourists can make 'mochi', a snack of glutinous rice, or try their hand at weaving, archery or wood-carving. Such interesting characteristics of indigenous culture are obviously emphasised in order to attract as many visitors as possible. There are also performances by dancers and musicians and extracts from festivals and dances.

Since the village is managed by the private sector, not surprisingly, when the characteristic of indigenous peoples fails to bring in enough tourists, the 'village' prioritises economic concerns, by developing alternative strategies. For instance, Japanese animation and the planting of cherry trees for a cherry blossom festival in autumn (Figure 6.16). Although the management emphasises the representation of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, it has introduced indigenous groups from other parts of the world, such as, Native American totem poles and a gate decorated in the Mayan

culture tradition, supposedly so tourists to compare them with the indigenous cultures in

Taiwan (FACV website).

Figure 6.16: The Map of the Formosan Aboriginal Cultural Village (FACV). The theme park illustrated with Japanese animation as a way of promotion. (source: http://news.gamme.com.tw/323765, access: 02/06/2016).

Indigenous peoples are involved in the FACV, mainly as performers or artists, which is

unlike representations in community neighbourhoods where they can take the lead in

what to represent and how to represent it. In the theme park, autonomy and individuality

is rarely found, the performance and the appearance of indigenous representations are

strategically planned. Even though the success of the village increases the visibility of

their cultures, whether the actual representations have a positive affect their image is

debatable.

The representations in the government run Indigenous People's Cultural Park, in Pingtung County, southern Taiwan, which was established in 1987, are considered to be more authentic because it is run by the authorities. Unlike the FACV, which is primarily an amusement park, there are no rides in the Cultural Park; however, there are representations of traditional architecture from each tribe and also traditional dances from each group, these dances were modified from festivals or other traditional occasions; however, the lives of indigenous peoples are principally shown through their arts and crafts. With considerable resources from the government, the park both employs an artist-in-residence and offers indigenous artists an exhibition place to present their works and to interact with other artists from other tribes and cultures.

Collections of significant artifacts are also given prominent exposure, and these illustrate various aspects of indigenous lives, from agriculture and transportation to music and pottery. As the director of the NTM pointed out that the original aim of the park was to offer tourists an authentic indigenous experiences, however, the park did not use its advantage of being surrounded with indigenous communities but has taken museum-like approach and focus on material representations. Unlike other establishments claiming to represent indigenous peoples, the cultural park is managed by influential indigenous governors, and, with little concern about obtaining sufficient resources, there could be an opportunity for the park to present the views of community insiders more than other institutions that have to be concerned with profit and visitor numbers. Instead, the cultural park combines the standard approaches, such as object displays, model architecture and performances. Although, many of these representations

have been challenged by indigenous communities, they are still adopted because they are what the public is familiar with, and they are safer and easier options for a governmental institution to take. By putting two theme parks together, this chapter showed that in comparison to governmental institutions, indigenous representations are more diverse in private business, these representations reflect the perspective of the majority toward the indigenous peoples in Taiwan, and some of them are also more responsive to the concerns of contemporary indigenous peoples.

6.7.3 Indigenous representations in popular culture

For non-indigenous peoples in Taiwan, apart from educational institutions, the most common way to learn about indigenous cultures is through popular culture, such as through popular music, movies and television programmes. Feng (2007) remarks that modernisation happens to indigenous music just as it does to any other, even though different generations may develop different tastes in music. Unlike older generations, who may have used traditional musical instruments, younger ones are just as likely to produce music that includes indigenous elements but in modern or foreign musical styles (Chen, 2000). Nowadays, it is not uncommon to find indigenous peoples participating in a variety of musical fields. For example, some indigenous artists state that although there are indigenous elements in their works, instead of being recognized as indigenous music, they like their music to be considered in other musical genres, such as world music or pop music (Huang 2005). Particularly in the entertainment industry, unlike in the past when indigenous identity had to be hidden, being an indigenous artist has now become advantageous.

Indigenous identities have become more visible due do some exceptionally successful indigenous artists, for example, the most well-known pop star in Taiwan is A-mei whose success has influenced other indigenous stars. It could be especially argued that she meets a typical impression for indigenous female singers, who are expected to have a powerful voice (Hsu 2009). In her works[13], indigenous characteristics are represented with words that are created for indigenous-like atmosphere. Similarities are commonly found in the works of other indigenous singers from leading popular music companies. One of the reasons is that the music industry in Taiwan is dominated by Han Chinese, and so is the market. Indigenous identity is a symbol, since the indigenous elements are used for standing out from the crowd in the market rather than showing the authenticity of their music, pointing out indigenous singers' ethnicity may be unnecessary. However, following the success of a few iconic indigenous singers, the visibility of indigenous singers in general has been greater than they have ever been over the years.

It is not uncommon to find indigenous musicians producing modern music that contains indigenous elements, such as relationships between people and nature, spiritual relationships or experiences of moving away from home. Indigenous singers often sing in their native languages, however, unlike A-mei, who has had great success, many artists, who are considered to be able to express experiences and feelings that indigenous people share, have great difficulties in breaking into the market (Tan 2008). According to one of the biggest radio music charts (Table 6.1), in 2015, 54 Chinese songs appear among the top 100 songs, but only one song was by an indigenous singer,

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[13] In one of her works, 'Sister', in early statge, the traditional indigenous music was included along with the lyrics of the mountainous landscape of her hometown in order to highlight her identity.

and she was AMIT, the other name of A-mei, mentioned earlier. Although AMIT is A-mei's indigenous name, it may be that the song was popular because of the singer herself, rather than because of her ethnicity. From just the small sample included in the table, it can be seen that it is rare for indigenous singers to occupy places in the mainstream music industry, and the success of those who do become well-recognised may have little to do with their indigenous identity.

Table 6.1: 2015 top 100 songs calculated by HitFM. (HitFM: http://www.hitoradio.com/newweb/chart_2.php, accessed: 05/06/2016).

HitFM top songs in 2015	
Chinese singers	54
Korean singers	26
Japanese singers	5
English singers	4
Indigenous singers	1

There are also indigenous musicians like Chen Jiannian and Ara Kimbo who are regarded as exceptional for showing the characteristics of their cultures and who place more emphasis on the music itself and do not have market concerns, since they may have no intention to become popular singers. In terms of fitting into the mainstream cultural scene, it is difficult for indigenous artists to avoid the existing image of

indigenous peoples. For instance, some singers, who won the 'Golden Melody Award'[14] for their exceptional ability in music, still joke in TV programmes about indigenous peoples by using stereotypes such as heavy drinking and unemployment. This perpetuates the 'vicious cycle' between public and mainstream media regarding all the old stereotypes. Nevertheless, the same media has been influential in emphasising multiculturalism in relation to indigenous peoples and this has become a recent political strategy, however, whether these policies are aimed at helping indigenous peoples or primarily for getting more votes from the indigenous population is difficult to say. Although the visibility of indigenous peoples has increased in recent years, their status is always subject to debate when they are seen in public spaces and at national events.

TV programmes and movies are also influential in creating the image of indigenous peoples. According to Wang (1998), they are rarely the subject of news, but when they are, it is usually about negative social issues, such as prostitution, drinking problems, or crimes. These issues are also often aired in entertainment or information giving programmes, such as talk shows and movies. In 2014 the movie 'Seediq Bale' was released describing a historical event in Taiwan during the 1930s. The movie tells the story of Seediq tribal leader, Mouna Rudo, who formed a coalition with other tribes to rise up against their Japanese colonial government. Although it was criticized for its inaccuracy, the movie was very popular, and it raised awareness about indigenous history and the Japanese colonisers. The following year, another movie used iconic scenes from 'Seediq Bale', but mocked the tribe's traditions, such as by using

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[14] The Golden Melody Award is the biggest music award in Taiwan which is held by the government; it contains both popular and traditional music categories.

indigenous names and facial tattoos. This, also, was the subject of general debate and it was blamed for humiliating indigenous people. At first, the producer insisted that the offending scene should be taken lightly, however, she apologised later. This incident shows that stereotype jokes are still taken lightly by society.

The numbers of movies from indigenous perspectives have increased. For example, the movie 'Cape No.7' in 2008, although it had a romantic theme, tackled issues that are common in Eastern Taiwan, where there are many indigenous residents, such as younger generations moving into cities to work and dilemmas between economic development and the natural environment. Another movie, 'Kano', is a well-known example; set in 1931 during the colonial period it is about a high school baseball team taken to Japan for a baseball tournament. It focused on how different groups of peoples interacted. In particular, the Japanese and Taiwanese were segregated as also were the Han from the indigenous pupils. The film reflects the history that although sport might point to issues of segregation and have some effect on reducing inequality; nevertheless, such issues, including economic gaps and uneven resource distribution still exist.

The increased visibility of indigenous people in popular cultures and cultural policy could also assist in preserving and promoting indigenous cultures. Take the case of the music industry, which is dominated by Han Chinese, as an example; since 2004, the CIP and the Council of Hakka held the 'Original Popular Music Awards', which offers a platform for three groups - 'Hokkienese', 'Hakka' and 'indigenous languages' to encourage younger generations to look back to their cultures and languages (Hsu 2009).

Young (2007) pointed out that compared to the other groups, the 'indigenous language' group had fewer candidates due to its lack of resources. Nevertheless, music could be a channel for indigenous peoples to become aware of their issues, such as Gibson (1998) wrote, popular music offers a different strategy for empowerment, while Dunbar-Hall (2006) noted that the development of Aboriginal music in Australia became a way not only to obtain greater recognition but also to gain political requests.

Unlike self-representations in communities, which utilise collective works, popular culture allows indigenous peoples to demonstrate their individualities as well as express their personal concerns, such as their desire to be recognized for their abilities rather than for their indigenous identities. Consequently, instead of emphasizing their indigenous roots, some representations found in popular culture may enhance indigenous cultures in more subtle ways.

6.7.4 Representing indigenous peoples in public spaces

The idea of 'new Taiwanese four ethnic groups' has been widely recognised since the DDP won the presidential election in 2000 (Chapter 3). Representations of these groups can be found on many occasions, such as international airports and national celebrations, in order to express the idea of Taiwan within a limited time and space. Therefore, what characteristics are chosen to be represented reflects and influences how the represented groups of peoples are seen by the public.

The biggest airport in Taiwan, Taoyuan international airport is an example. Shops and spaces in the newly renovated terminals were designed to show the diversity of the country's society to visitors; hence three shops feature various indigenous representations, one of which features a big canoe and wood totem (Figure 6.17). The shop sells a wide range of products such as snacks, clothes, music, and art crafts. Although there are sixteen officially recognised tribes, the indigenous peoples are homogenously represented; even so, differences can be discerned by recognisable characteristics, such as clothing produced in different and brighter colours (Figure 6.18). Although the indigenous peoples appear to most travelers as a homogenous group, the shops may be considered as pan-indigenous, not only indigenous elements can be found in the products, but also the shop workers wear vests with elements relating to different cultures in order to emphasise the impression of indigenous characteristics.
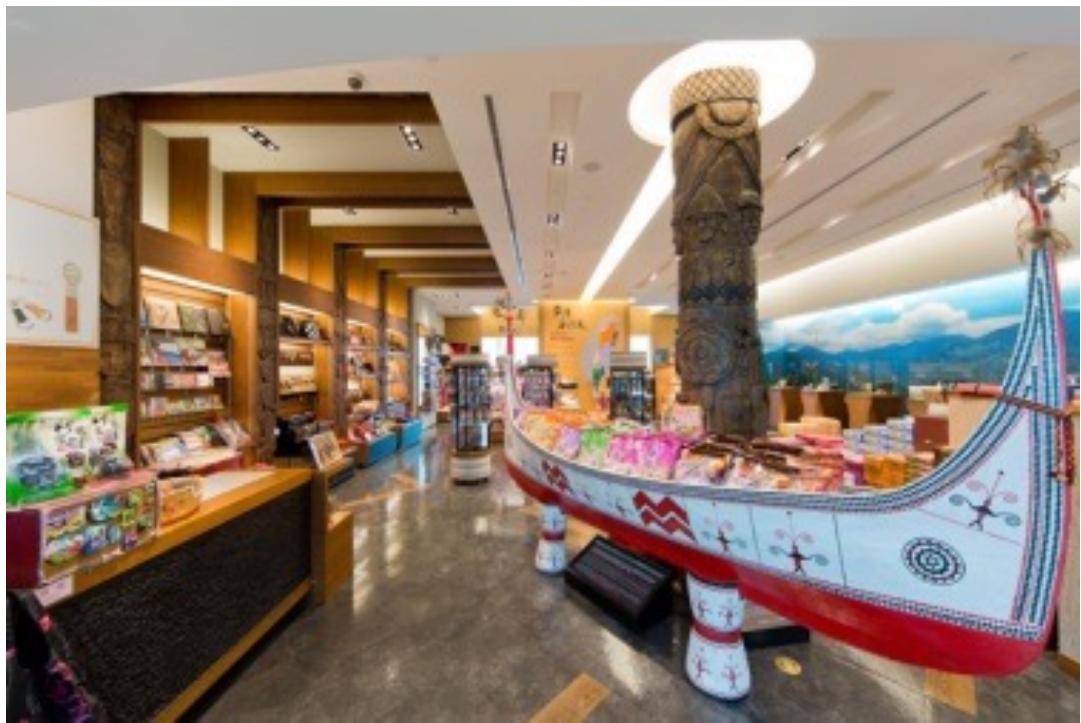
Figure 6.17: Indigenous representations in shops at Taoyuan international airport. (source: http://www.taoyuan-airport.com/english/store1_2/1207, accessed 05/06/2016).

Figure 6.18: Indigenous representations, indigenous figure, clothes and souvenirs in shops at Taoyuan international airport. This shop carries one of the country's biggest souvenir brands – HSIN TUNG YUNG. (source: http://www.taoyuan-airport.com/english/store1_2/1207, accessed 0506/2016).

In order to target tourists, especially foreign tourists, exotic indigenous images are often used for promotional purposes. Figure 6.19 shows indigenous figures as they are represented in Xinbeitou Metro Rapid Transit (MRT) station, which four hundred years ago, used to be the home of Ketagalan tribe, which is now believed to be extinct due to intermarriage (Lee, 1995). Indigenous figures are displayed alongside Japanese colonial architecture; since no depictions of contemporary tribal life are possible, the exotic elements here were most likely chosen both to reflect the site's history and be recognized by tourists.

Figure 6.19: Indigenous figure in Taipei's Xinbeitour MRT station. Taipei city government uses the indigenous culture to promote Xin beitou because it used to be the base of the now extinct - Ketagalan people. Source: The Author.

On occasions when indigenous peoples wish to stand out from the crowd, traditional cultural elements will always be chosen for their representations. Figure 6.20 shows models of people in traditional clothes in the 2015 Lantern festival, together with animals and hunting bows, in Nantou, an area where many indigenous communities are based.

Figure 6.20: The lantern work of students of Feng Ming Junior High school, Nantou County. The picture shows models of indigenous peoples in traditional clothes. Traditional elements were used by the students since Nantou is home to many indigenous communities. Source: The Author.

Indigenous peoples in traditional clothes are also commonly used as a strategy to point out their existence in the country. In national celebrations, such as National Day, they are always invited, either as guests or as performers. Mostly they perform traditional

dances and sing, since those are the most well-known characteristics of their cultures. In the presidential inauguration ceremony of 2016, they were invited, with others, to lead the national anthem (Figure 6.21). The event did not state which specific tribes are represented. Indeed, whenever such events take place in public spaces there is no indication of which tribe the representation refers to, since the intention is only to indicate the fact that indigenous cultures are also part of Taiwanese society.

Figure 6.21: TITV news item about indigenous peoples co-leading the national anthem (middle rank) at the presidential inauguration, 2016 (TITV, 2016).

6.8 The Appropriation of Indigenous Cultures

It is reasonable to conclude, given the discussion above, that indigenous cultures have been, and are frequently being appropriated in Taiwanese society, particularly in the tourist industry, in popular culture and also in the performing arts. Regarding tourism, especially in theme parks, indigenous elements are selected and used in ways that appear to be of most interest to the public and which are most likely to leave vivid impressions. In tourism, also, appropriating indigenous cultures is often linked to the issue of maldistribution in as much as non-indigenous peoples unfairly earn a greater proportion of the profit because they exercise more power and have greater access to the necessary resources required for running a business.

In popular culture, though unlike in tourism where indigenous cultures are heavily emphasised, representations sometimes appear to be unspecific, such as in meaningless terms or symbols, since indigenous cultures cannot be separated from other elements and need to be viewed as a whole to express their aesthetics. Even though, as Young (2010) argues, appropriation does not necessary make an artwork inauthentic or harm its aesthetic, appropriation from an indigenous culture is nevertheless controversial and problematic.

Indigenous people involved in the performing arts have fewer problems with appropriation, primarily due to the very fact that the originator or performer have got indigenous identities. As discussed above, one of the biggest indigenous performing

groups declares its authenticity on the grounds that all its performers are indigenous peoples. In situations such as this, indigenous identity becomes a guarantee of authenticity. This is also true in other parts of the world. The US government protects the interests of indigenous artists through its 'The Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990' which made the right of selling 'Indian' products exclusive to indigenous artists. Although the act prevents outsiders from profiting from indigenous culture, it also serves as an indicator that all works produced and sold by indigenous peoples are authentic.

Indigenous peoples in many societies have been commonly disadvantaged to the extent of having their interests protected by law from exploitation; however, it is common to find that while their culture is appropriated by outsiders, they themselves also 'borrow' elements from other cultures. This reflects the mutual influences and interactions between different groups of peoples. As Young (2010: 155) suggests, cultural appropriation does not necessarily harm the appropriated culture, "it endangers a culture, not when others borrow from it, but when its members borrow too extensively from others". Therefore, more concern should be given to the approaches of how indigenous cultures are appropriated.

6.9 The Establishment of Taiwan Indigenous Television

Liu (1997) and Wong (1998) wrote about the way indigenous peoples in Taiwan have been neglected and falsely represented, however, in 1998, the 'Law of Indigenous Education' was enacted. At the same time there was a plea for indigenous peoples to create their own television and radio channels, since showing their own choice of TV programmes would give them a space to represent their cultures without competing with the mainstream, which would greatly assist in strengthening their identities. In 2004, the Foundation of Indigenous Cultural Business was established in order to protect the independence of those channels from political control.

Indigenous television stations can be found in different parts of the world; from the 1970s, there were some community radio stations in Australia broadcasting programmes for aborigines. Then, after the 1980s, because of satellite communications, English mainstream culture went directly into aboriginal communities (Meadows, 1995). In 2001, an Australian Indigenous Community Television station was established, and was replaced by National Indigenous Television in 2007. In Canada, in the 1970s, also because of the satellite development, the Inuit people started to receive English and French programmes, although there was concern that there was a risk of 'cultural invasion'. Since then, the Inuit have been intent on having their own programmes and broadcasting network. In 1999, along with Indian and Metis in Canada, the Aboriginal People Television had been established, it is the first indigenous national television network in the world (Roth, 2000).

Alongside the government's desire to recognise indigenous rights, the establishment of TITV as an independent channel was criticised as a propaganda tactic because of the impending election in the same year. Also, being a publicly funded channel, its budget is controlled by legislators. Nevertheless, its establishment both increased the number of indigenous interest programmes, and offered them a platform for various political issues. This has been important to the various communities because the mainstream channels treat indigenous peoples as a homogenous group, whereas now the programme list shows how diverse they are in TITV's coverage, even though a number of the programmes are similar to those in the mainstream. However, some, for example, are about social issues that affect indigenous communities directly, such as nuclear waste on Orchid Island, an island off the South East of Taiwan, or about travelers visiting their communities. Although some programmes use indigenous languages in their titles they are predominantly presented in Mandarin or have Chinese subtitles. There are several reasons for indigenous television programmes to be in Chinese rather than in indigenous languages, unlike in Canada or Australia where there is more than one indigenous network, in Taiwan there is only one to cover all sixteen tribes, each of which has its own language, hence to broadcast in all of them would be immensely difficult; whereas, in the formal educational system, Chinese is taught to everyone, making it the most appropriate language for reaching the widest audience. Especially, some indigenous languages risk extinction, and it is not uncommon to find younger generations have little ability in their own languages, so it is unfeasible to broadcast in indigenous languages without the assistance of Chinese.

According to Laping.Taji (2007), indigenous people with a strong recognition of their identity are more likely to tune in the TITV regularly. On other media, indigenous peoples are often the subject of negative news, whereas they are the main characteristic on TITV (Figure 6.22). However, although TITV may reinforce their self-recognition, it does not necessarily widen the audience or raise awareness about social issues, and political concerns. As Figure 6.23 shows, apart from TITV, the main media were more interested in the mayor of Tainan City's personal political career and neglected the requests from Siraya peoples which were the purpose of the press conference.

Figure 6.22: A journalist from TITV interviews the head of Tainan City Indigenous Affairs office. Prior to their high court appeal, TITV frequently interviewed people from protest groups. Source: The Author.

Figure 6.23: The Mayor of Tainan City being interviewed at a press conference. However, instead of questioning him about the recognition of plain indigenous peoples, they were more interested in whether he would be running for Presidential election. Source: The Author.

Although there are various policies set up to secure the place of indigenous peoples, both the media and the entertainment industry are dominated by Han Chinese. Take the reporting of the Presidential Inauguration in 2016 as an example, although indigenous peoples' performing in these national occasions are intended to show the inclusiveness of the country, how much actual difference they make to the existing indigenous society is debatable. As Figure 6.24 shows they were invited to perform together at the 2016 presidential inauguration ceremony as different tribes. Ostensibly, the performance was meant to show how different groups live peacefully together in Taiwan, however, TITV expressed a concern that the performance was obviously arranged for political reasons, since each different tribe has distinctively different dances whose moves have very different meanings and purposes. Hence, the performance was created just for the

ceremony without regard for its false context as was the misrepresented figure and

canoe seen in Figure 6.25.

Figure 6.24: Different tribes of indigenous peoples at the 2016 presidential inauguration (TITV, 2016).

Figure 25: Yami canoe balloon at the 2016 presidential inauguration. The TITV report revealed that the wrong pattern had been attached to the balloon (TITV, 2106).

Table 6. 2: Numbers of news broadcasts of the inauguration by the various news channels.

News channel	Broadcasts of the inauguration	News that mention indigenous peoples in the inauguration
China Television	85	0
Formosa TV	60	1
Chinese Television System	65	0
Taiwan Television	29	1
Public Television Service	25	2
TITV	30	14

Apart from TITV, the participation of indigenous peoples was reported disproportionately, little attention was paid to them in other leading news reports (Table 6.2). In its fourteen items, the TITV news was dominated by criticisms of how they had been misrepresented by the presidential office, such as indigenous balloon figures wearing inaccurately patterned clothes (Figure 6.26) and the design error on the canoe.

Figure 6.26: Indigenous figure balloon in the presidential inauguration in 2016. TITV reported on the indigenous figure balloon wearing inappropriately mixed community clothes at the presidential inauguration (TITV, 2016).

From its website, it is clear that programmes broadcast by TITV are very specifically about indigenous peoples, from cultural aspects to social issues, which, to broaden the audience, include indigenous celebrities. However, interest in these programmes is mostly limited to indigenous peoples or those who have interests in them.[15] However, while the TITV website describes its target audience as being indigenous peoples as well as non-indigenous people, almost all its programmes are focused specifically on their society, it is not surprising that it has a predominantly indigenous audience, thus TITV has little influence on affecting how they are pictured by the wider society.

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[15] In the review of TITV audience, 93.85% of indigenous participants have tuned in the channel, and 32.98% of non-indigenous participants (TITV, 2015).

6.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined self-representations as they are made by indigenous peoples within their communities and how these are produced in different ways, such as by way of government projects, through research by community members that includes common purpose, activities aimed at safeguarding tribal culture by collecting and passing down histories and knowledge and generally promoting the communities. In those indigenous community cases that were discussed, it was revealed that some exercise a high level of autonomy regarding content and also types of representations, which are much more diverse than those mounted by museums since most of the community representations focus on the histories that recount local events, such as natural disasters and colonial repression rather than trying to represent indigenous tribes generally.

Unlike with museum representations, intangible cultures play significant roles in indigenous self-representations; these, such as religions, singing, dancing and festivals can be practiced in community areas. The representations of intangible cultures in communities are seldom made consciously, since they are primarily subjects and more in the mind so that outsiders involved can only observe or must be invited to be part of them. In order to illustrate indigenous cultures, material artifacts are also used by themselves in communities representations. These material representations function in various ways, some communities use them to record the histories that are only passed down verbally, for example, certain histories will only be told with the appearance of an object, and some rely on material objects to educate future generations.

Some indigenous communities become involved in projects in order to represent themselves, so that by working with national museums or government projects these governmental institutions may be seen as allies of the community, and also that they feel they have been recognised by the authorities (see Chapter 5). However, this chapter has revealed that sometimes indigenous communities come into conflict with their partner organisations, such as museums or local government or for others, who have gone down the local cultural centre route, to become entangled in bureaucratic difficulties because of the ambiguities of ownership between the CIP and local government. Because local government may be responsible for more than one community, in order to balance the distribution of resources, it may not be able to satisfy the needs of a particular community; hence conflict can result between different communities. Good relationships with local government, therefore, are particularly important in this process, since with their support communities can negotiate with cooperating organisations and obtain various other resources. On the other hand, communities that do not enjoy good relations with local government find it very difficult to make progress, especially when a representation appears to conflict with a successful private business that has already been established in the area (interview INTM1 and ISC1, 2015).

Some indigenous communities believe that, in order to be understood by outsiders, they have to be able to recognise themselves first by examining their own traditions and that, in this way, its bonds will be strengthened. Therefore, by representing themselves they will not only have their culture understood better they will also attract resources and

assistance. Community-based tourism is one of the most popular options for indigenous communities, bringing visitors into communities can not only increase the visibility of the community but also help these communities on the issue of lacking job opportunities.

In Taiwanese society, misrecognition and maldistribution have created a vicious circle in that the disadvantaged status of indigenous peoples are the long-term result of misrecognition and this has led to an unfair distribution of resources. As Fraser (2003) argues, misrecognition does not necessarily lead to maldistribution, however, correcting misrecognition could solve the problem of maldistribution. Therefore, it is not surprising to find indigenous peoples putting effort into creating self-representations in the hope that they might be understood better and thus solve the shortage of resources. It is also common to find that some indigenous communities commercialise self-representations in order to resolve the challenges that they face, such as turning history into a business is a way for a community to re-examine its roots as well as a way to interest visitors and consume their products. However, as Fraser's (2000) argument suggests, placing too much emphasis on correcting misrecognition would discount the influence of social hierarchy, as has been discussed in this chapter, many community self-representations rely on certain key actors who may have more capital in their communities, to the extent where they play similar roles to museum curators, who have the power to select, and edit, the subjects of representations. It is not uncommon to find key actors are challenged when building self-representations in communities, since what they believe would be the best solution for disadvantaged status may not be agreed to by

other community members. Given that indigenous societies, like all others, are hierarchical, both misrepresentation and maldistribution can be the consequences of internal hierarchy, therefore, better self-representation may not necessarily lead to equal economic and social status for each indigenous member.

Due to the power of pan-indigenous representations, the public has become more familiar with indigenous cultures and aware of issues affecting indigenous people. Unlike representations within indigenous communities, which distinguish the represented community from the others, representations in public places for celebrations, popular cultural occasions or for television programmes, tend to see them presented simply as a homogenous group that is different from other groups. Public representations of this nature can be found in two main forms, one is as performance groups and the other as entertainers. However, both forms draw comments from indigenous communities such as, "nowadays indigenous products are criticised not because they are not good, but because they lack the spirit" (interview, ISC2, 2015). The idea that the degree of authenticity attained is a measure of an understanding of indigenous culture, rather than simply different ways for indigenous people expressing themselves was shared by many of my indigenous interviewees. Seeing traditional cultures as performance material could become a way for contemporary indigenous peoples to retain and demonstrate their cultural roots. Unlike other representations, in popular culture indigenous peoples are involved as individuals, therefore most of their representations focus on personal characteristics, or would be represented differently according to the requirements of the occasion, or the nature of the audience and events.

For instance, representations of indigenous people in mainstream media often involve finding a balance between public expectations and authenticity, since they may be primarily for financial reasons. Nevertheless, such events must also be considered to be the representations of contemporary indigenous people; consequently, elements from other cultures, such as Han Chinese or Western are often found in the performances.

Hence, when public representations are used for expressing the idea of 'Taiwan', similar to most museums' permanent exhibitions, there is limited space and time available for each individual group in these occasions; therefore, it is inevitable that only the most recognisable characteristics will be chosen as representative. This means that the primarily physical identifying features have become clothes, hunting bows tools used in the past, even though people rarely use them nowadays. This leads to common misrepresentations, such as incorrect patterns on the canoe balloon from the presidential inauguration ceremony.

Indigenous peoples are often considered to be prone to negative social issues, such as over-consuming alcohol, and unemployment. The establishment of TITV was intended to be a counterbalance to this and to allow for a degree of autonomy, not just to represent themselves, but also give them the opportunity to become the subjects of the representations. Unlike in mainstream media, TITV programmes concerntrate on indigenous related topics, including the different languages, and this has resulted in significantly increasing the levels of cultural and identity recognition. However, this chapter has shown that their representations are often presented within a limited period

so whether they have any lasting effect, on themselves or on the public, is open for debate.

On the other hand, in order to interest people in a limited time, the diversity of the representations of indigenous peoples is shown much more in their self-representations and spaces outside museums than museum representations that are discussed in the previous chapter. The chapter has also revealed that representations that have been created with full indigenous autonomy most effectively reflect the needs and the intentions of their respective communities, while other forms of representation also present various dilemmas and concerns that appear to be a reflection of the challenges that contemporary indigenous peoples currently face. It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, most forms of representation that have been discussed in this chapter have been made to meet the ongoing needs of indigenous peoples; therefore, given that society itself is changing all the time, these representations are much more responsive and organic than can be achieved by most of the static of temporary representations found in museums.

In Chapter 5, I have demonstrated that the representation of indigenous peoples in museum spaces can, for various reasons, be restrictive and, also, that they are unsuccessful in their attempts to convince indigenous peoples to see them as a resourceful vehicle to represent their respective heritages. I have also described various representations designed to serve different purposes and needs in this chapter, and shown that indigenous peoples have taken on the responsibilities that come with

representing themselves and accepting greater autonomy. It must also be said, though, that some self-representations show a number of similarities to how museums represent them, which suggests that museums are still influential and carry considerable power in both indigenous communities and society in general. Adopting a museum-like approach, therefore, because it is not only familiar to visitors but also because it is professionally impressive, can help communities re-introduce their heritage in order to both preserve it and show it to the public as something that is important for the society.

In the next chapter, I will consider representations that I have introduced in both Chapter 5 and in this chapter in order to give an overall picture of how the indigenous peoples of Taiwan are represented and also, how by discussing representations in museum spaces with those in various other locations and alternative methods of representation together could give a bigger picture about what are the motivations and the influences of representing the indigenous peoples in Taiwan.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1   Introduction

My major research aim has been to examine how museums in Taiwan represent marginal groups like indigenous peoples to the society and how indigenous peoples are able to represent themselves. In order to identify the influences and strategies used to represent indigenous cultures, my examination includes museum representations and those that take place beyond them in local cultural centres, within indigenous communities, and in a range of other non-museum spaces. In addition to exploring the

methods used for representing the country's indigenous peoples, I have also examined the negotiating relationships they have had to develop in the representation process, such as with museums, local government authorities, and tourists. To achieve the research objectives, I have examined Taiwan's history, including the various political changes it has experienced, the evolution of its society and its current economic distribution. My thesis, therefore, presents an examination of the existing knowledge and the contexts concerning indigenous representations within and beyond museum spaces, as well as the key findings from my fieldwork.

In order to understand and interpret the findings at a more theoretical and conceptual level, I have divided this concluding chapter into three sections. In the first section, I will discuss my research findings, which will reveal the limitations of representing indigenous cultures in museum spaces; this will be followed by a discussion about the methods that museums have adopted to address these limitations as well as an examination of the roles played by museum personnel and indigenous community leaders in the process. In the second section, I will present my research findings as they relate to indigenous self-representations, examine the power relationships between indigenous communities, the authorities and other parties, while in the third section, I will describe the contribution my study will make to existing knowledge about how the indigenous peoples of Taiwan are being represented. I will conclude the thesis with a statement about the limitations of this study and recommendations for future research.

The indigenous peoples in Taiwan are in a similar situation to others across the world;

as they have been marginalised and are striving to establish an identity and voice. Also, indigenous peoples throughout the world suffer from disproportionate levels of deprivation, which is very often the result of colonialism. Taiwan is a relatively young country, so museum representations of indigenous peoples have become an appropriate political counterbalance to the past which they are using to create positive relations with authority and the mainstream society. At the time of writing, the DPP, which is considered to be friendlier toward indigenous peoples than the previous regime, has come to power again after eight years and has promised further improvements to progress indigenous rights, therefore it might be expected that representations would prove to be more sensitive.

I have shown in this study the historical interactions between the original inhabitants of the country and the different colonial regimes since the seventeenth century, and I have reviewed the relevant literature. I also relied on non-participant and participant observations in museums, indigenous communities and the various other spaces where representations take place, together with in-depth interviews with museum professionals and indigenous peoples, to address issues of how they have been, and presently are, regarded by the state and how the museums have interacted with them in relation to the production of indigenous representations. I have also examined how indigenous peoples have resisted or negotiated their rights to represent their own heritage with museums and local authorities and how the elite status of the museums has been challenged as a result. Because of the displayed content and the way artefacts are selected, this study has shown that museums cannot be regarded as ideal places for presentations without

taking the 'power factor' into account. When representing indigenous peoples in museum spaces, the 'power' issue is complicated, since it relates to the status of indigenous peoples in the nation, their relationships with museum staff and internal relationships in their communities. This research to some extent supports Anderson's (1983) argument that museums can be used by the authorities to build the concept of 'nation' due to the characteristics of being 'educational' and 'public', which are embedded in the history of colonialism. However, in this research, I have also argued the importance of individual museum staff and indigenous members in the process, since their attitudes, and the strength or weakness of their relationship, will either support or undermine each other's power base.

As discussed in Chapter 2, both the UN (2007) and UNESCO (2001a, 2001b, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c) have recognized that the value of intangible cultural heritage in indigenous communities is significantly different from most administrative systems across the world. Therefore, it is not surprising that the indigenous communities of Taiwan challenged the role of the museum, especially since museums are not designed to accommodate the concerns of indigenous peoples. Therefore, it has been crucial for me to look at indigenous representations within their own communities in order to understand their perspectives. Clifford (2013) notes, people move more frequently in present days, and indigenous peoples, recognising the limitations of national museums, have subsequently searched for alternative ways to represent their developing cultures. Indigenous peoples are encouraged to return to their homelands, and are determined to preserve their origins and traditions as well as their futures.

In this study, I have argued that sometimes indigenous people consider that the representations they have created for themselves may prove to be solutions for certain issues, for instance, some of the challenges they face concern the existing legal and administrative systems. Hence they regard representing themselves as an opportunity both to redress the balance and strengthen their autonomy. Such strengthening of cultural rights may have led to the development of ethnic tourism and an extension to native art and other indigenous representations in museums. As suggested by Tilley (1997: 83) "invented" tradition is cultural life, a process of "continual creativity, diffusion and change in which it is often the combination of different elements, drawn from outside the ethnic group, and being combined and reinvented inside it in new forms, that creates cultural distinctiveness, not their simple presence or absence". In this study, I have also shown the fluidity of the indigenous cultures, such as works that combine indigenous traditions with elements from different cultures or periods, and demonstrated the continuous cultural development of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan.

7.2   Indigenous Communities' Perspectives

This study demonstrates that the majority of museums selected as case studies are still influenced by the legacy of colonialism, in that they lay emphasis on indigenous peoples' traditional lives in the way they represent them in their collections. These forms of representation, however, contrast to the wishes of many of my indigenous interviewees, in that they believe they should also be seen as leading contemporary lives

and that their continued existence today should not be denied. The subject of 'existence' is especially true for plain indigenous peoples, since, because the government does not recognize their full identity as being 'indigenous', they are still struggling to be recognized. Consequently, representations that focus on their past they see as supporting the idea that as both as a tribe and culture they are extinct, since they are considered to have been totally 'Hanised'. Another cause of general discontent amongst my interviewees concerns the issues that locations chosen for indigenous representation are usually not located in the places that have the easiest access, especially compared to representations of Han Chinese history and culture; the bias towards mainstream society is obvious.

The gap between how indigenous peoples wish to be understood and how the public understand them to be has been clearly identified in this study. I conclude that the existence of the gap has been largely caused by the misleading ways indigenous peoples' concerns have been delivered in the past, although this is now being corrected since they have become more powerful in speaking for themselves. During my fieldwork, I discovered differences in the perceptions of museum spaces between indigenous community leaders and museum staff. The idea that museums should be 'neutral spaces' was shared by some of my participants; however, in Chapter 5, my findings support Lawlor's (2006: 5) suggestion that exhibitions are seen as "a public skin, a public face, for non-Indian audiences", as a museum's intention of representing indigenous peoples. This is especially true of national museums, which are more concerned about showing that the museum can be inclusive than about expressing what

indigenous peoples wish the public to know about them. Conversely the indigenous peoples themselves are more concerned about showing 'their side of stories' and whether their culture and identity is represented accurately.

Ways of raising awareness of these issues were described in Chapter 5 regarding my interviews with museum curators who expressed the view that the methods used by some indigenous communities to present their perspectives were inappropriate in a museum context, since they would fail to grab visitors' attention, thus, they believe it is necessary for museum professionals to intervene or re-interpret the presented contents. Onciul (2015: 165) described exhibitions in museums as being points of "strategic communications", for example, "essentialism can be a useful tool for groups who are marginalized to gain an entry point into dominant discourse, as one united voice is stronger and louder than many disparate voices". Despite the concerns that museum spaces may not be the best place to represent indigenous cultures, some of my interviewees also regarded the experiences of being represented in national museums as a positive experience, consequently, they viewed them as being one of several spaces where they could raise the visibility of indigenous peoples, indigenous rights and issues.

7.3   Limitations of Museum Representations

I discovered during my field research that indigenous representations are also restricted in museums by the positions in which they are placed. Examining the locations selected

for museum reveals much about the view toward indigenous peoples. Although all the case-study museums claimed that they consider indigenous peoples as a 'critical part of Taiwanese society', it is common to find they are represented in exhibition spaces that are separated from other representations of Taiwanese people, which not only reinforces stereotypes, but influences how the larger society learns about their cultures. This form of differentiation, which emphasises the 'otherness' of indigenous peoples, also leads to their very low profile when Taiwanese history or culture is represented. 'Limited space' is a common excuse when museums are challenged about this (see Chapter 5), together with assertions about 'prioritising other historical events', presumably associated with previous colonial regimes, and also that 'more relevant social issues require closer attention'. As a consequence, indigenous matters are often dealt with in temporary exhibitions. Other reasons for placing their attention on the historical aspects of indigenous cultures may be due to the nature of Taiwanese national museums, which have accumulated huge collections of historical indigenous objects on which they rely to create their representations and to express their academic and professional status.

The complex nature of contemporary indigenous identity becomes obvious when researching its representation. Over recent years, the geographic distribution of indigenous communities has changed greatly; as both their communities and individual members have migrated toward places that are more accessible (MOI, 2015). The increased the frequency of travelling has influenced not only on indigenous peoples' residential area but also their identity. This was remarked on by Rowley (1970: 173) in an Australian context: "many Indigenous people understand themselves as belonging

not only to the wider Australian society (in which they value their formal standing as citizens) but also enclaves of a distinctly Indigenous social order in which other values, symbols and authorities matter". The consequence of this dispersal is that indigenous people consider themselves to be both 'indigenous' and 'Taiwanese' at the same time, even though the two identities contain contradictory elements of Taiwanese society.

Chapters 2 and 3 addressed the conflicts of land issues between the state and indigenous people. Sensitive issues, such as this, are seldom to be found in museum representations, but they feature prominently in traditional indigenous cultures; therefore, representing indigenous peoples without mentioning these gives the impression that the issues do not exist in contemporary society. Also, because hunting is an indigenous tradition, tribes used to require young males to be initiated as men before they took a place in the community. Although many indigenous communities have transformed the practice into a symbolic ceremony, conflicting feelings about the tradition can still be found, the controversial part being the definition of the appropriate usage of weapons, even though a certain extent of weapon ownerships and usages is protected by The Indigenous Peoples Basic Law (CIP, 2014).

The preservation of indigenous tradition and cultural heritage is generally supported by society, although museum-based representations are unable to reflect the tension between maintaining traditional practices in the light of modern legal or administrative systems, which also gives the impression that the traditions no longer apply. Similarly, the concept of 'landscape' also contains cultural and historical aspects, it is difficult to

refer to specific spaces in museums without the histories and memories that are embedded in the landscape, since many are passed down orally. In Chapter 6, I have described how some communities have developed community-based tourism initiatives by taking visitors to places where their ancestors lived and demonstrating to them the role of the landscape in the community's history and culture. These actual places can be identified in indigenous legends which have been influential in the creation of the tribal story. The importance to indigenous peoples of landscape issues can be found in a presidential statement of 1st of August, 2016, when President Tsai apologised about their rights having been violated and their land plundered by the colonial authorities and she promised to designate indigenous traditional land to them in order to increase their autonomy. Indigenous peoples are commonly represented as living in harmony with the nature, nevertheless, in reality, present land issues, such as the access to natural resources and the oppressive attitude of the present administration system, are very much still dealt with an outdated perspective toward the ownership of land in relation to indigenous peoples.

Although museums have been aware since the end of colonial times of the difficulties of representing indigenous cultures, due to there having been several changes in the country's political systems over the years, they have all had to work to the agendas of whoever is in power, in order to maintain their positions. I have argued throughout this study that indigenous representations are often influenced by political considerations, however, there is little evidence to show that, in these sensitive areas, indigenous representations within or outsider museums have the power to directly influence

political decision making. This, however, will be an ongoing theme in regard to indigenous representations in museums and is why the sensitive issues like land disputes do not have enough attention in museum spaces, since they can only be solved by law, and, because indigenous peoples have little legal power to press their claims, the conflicts between them and the state will continue.

7.4 The Role of Museum Exhibitions

I have argued throughout this study that indigenous representations are closely linked to the attitudes that the state holds toward them; and exhibitions can be seen as a reflection of this mindset; consequently, earlier representations supported the idea that the mainstream culture was superior. Regarding indigenous representations in museums, exhibitions have played the following four major roles:

Firstly, as may be seen in the Literature Review, exhibitions were developed from the idea of 'social evolution' in order to show their primitive and exotic characteristics; a stance which stressed the need for indigenous peoples to be 'civilised' and which were commonly found in museums that was established during the colonial periods thoughout the world. In Taiwan, this approach continued through the KMT period, when the government believed indigenous peoples should be 'Hanised'. This was confirmed in my fieldwork where for museums that were established in the period of

colonialization, representations of indigenous peoples were considered to be evidence of claiming their 'otherness' from other cultures either mainstream or Han. These representations not only were dominated by the mainstream, but also reflected how they thought of indigenous cultures. It is also common to find stereotypes in exhibitions of indigenous peoples, the most recognizable tropes being the canoe and traditional clothes, or in the narratives that include terms like, 'lives in harmony with nature'. In Chapter 5, I have shown that in my interviews, museum curators generally responded to my questions on this issue by saying that the exhibition design was 'aimed at the general public who had only a very basic understanding of indigenous cultures', thereby perpetuating the stereotype.

The second major role of exhibitions constitutes evidence of a museum's inclusiveness, which increases in proportion to the level of participation of indigenous peoples in the preparation of exhibitions. Clifford's (1997) idea of a museum as a 'contact zone' can be found in Taiwanese museum space. As shown in Chapter 5, indigenous peoples have been involved in museum representations in a range of different roles, from consultants to guest curators to qualified professionals. To a greater or lesser degree, these roles allow indigenous peoples to be involved and influence representations. For example, a member of a curatorial team is more able to influence representations than a consultant. However, I found in my fieldwork that the involvement of indigenous peoples is difficult in any of role, because exhibition formats are not regularly changed, they are allowed more involvement in temporary than in permanent exhibitions. Also, the level of their participation is restricted by the nature of the museum's hierarchy; therefore,

instead of opening up every aspect of museums representations, museums are more likely to share their power with indigenous peoples selectively.

Even though there is still little involvement by indigenous peoples in permanent exhibitions, the importance of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan can still be found in some permanent exhibitions, particularly in newly built museums. Compared to museums established during the colonial period, which considered indigenous peoples to be 'primitive', and place indigenous representations near to prehistoric representations, in the newer museums, they are represented as being an inseparable part of mainstream Taiwanese society. However, I discovered in my fieldwork that the representations of indigenous peoples are still limited in the section of contemporary Taiwanese society. Furthermore, while the numbers of indigenous representations have increased, the methods used to represent their various cultures have changed. As I pointed out in Chapter 5, since 2009 when UNESCO officially recognized the importance of indigenous intangible cultures, multi-media interpretations have become popular platforms for museums to present those aspects of indigenous cultures that are difficult to represent through artifacts. However, these representations are used to supplement existing object display and they obtain less attention from museum visitors, either because of limited time for visiting museums or the representations are located in 'out-of-the-way' parts of the museum.

As my fieldwork showed, museums still rely heavily on material collections to represent indigenous cultures, especially with objects that are connected with traditional

life, such as ceremonial clothes, hunting tools and tattoos. As some of my research participants claimed, these objects are the most distinctive part of indigenous cultures and most likely to interest visitors. However, as Ross (2004) points out, museums are under orders to become more accessible to multi-cultural audiences, however, in order to maintain their status in society, it is common to find museums rely on material objects to build their representations since material collections are considered as their professional practices. As one of my interviewees stated, it would be a waste for a museum not to take advantage of its huge collection of traditional and historical objects when representing indigenous cultures.

Thirdly, the above discussions support Bennett's (1995) argument that 'museums are political spaces', however, in this research, I have shown that the museum as a democratic space is not only used by the authorities to educate the public, but also the authorities are guided by that society. Therefore, in an attempt to 'decolonize' museums, instead of museums educating the public, they are now intended to increase community engagement. As Golding (2009) suggests, by connecting collections to communities, museums are able to engage with those people who used to consider the museum as irrelevant to their life. Furthermore, as I explained in Chapter 5 and 6, due to rapid social changes, indigenous communities often struggle to trace their histories, thus museum collections can become memory triggers for previously forgotten events and activities. In Chapter 6, I highlighted the challenging situation for many of indigenous peoples who have been denied the right to speak for themselves about their history of survival after being attacked by the Japanese during their period of colonial power,

when they were represented as traitors, which led to a crisis of identity recognition. Through museum collections, the community is able to restore their history, tradition and their identity, since the artifacts are better preserved in museums than in their original communities.

Fourthly, as pointed out in Chapter 5, being represented in exhibitions of any national museum may be understood by indigenous peoples as being recognized by the authority, even though that may not have been the intention. Therefore, despite concerns that museums may not be the most appropriate places to represent indigenous cultures, the fact that they provide evidence of 'official' recognition enhances a community's sense of confidence and self-identity.

7.5 The Agency of Museum Professionals

If significant changes in museum representations mean that museum have become more accessible, the role of the museum professional has also changed, as Bauman (1987) described, from a cultural legislator to a cultural interpreter who is aware of an audience's diversity and who aims to dismantle the barriers between cultures and social groups as well as recognizing the need to be responsive to the market. However, as Brager et al. (1973) pointed out, being consulted does not necessarily increase empowerment, therefore, involving indigenous peoples in minor roles can merely amount to surface adjustments, the limited participation may relate to the

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professionalism in museums. Reasons that museum professionalism is able to sustain are not only because it is held by museum staff themselves, the consent from the public as well as indigenous communities also assists.

As Ross (2004) argues, the claim of professionalism can be regarded as a way for museum curators to resist the challenges to their privileged position from society and to maintain their professional social identities. Museum staff often state that they play important roles in mounting and overseeing exhibitions in order to guarantee their quality and take responsibility for their representations. This, however, may lead to a hierarchy of relationships when co-productions are being worked on which involve indigenous members joining a curator's team. This, of course, may be seen as a step to museums becoming more socially inclusive, in that, rather than being passive toward indigenous peoples, there is an argument for them to be welcomed as co-workers. However, because of the current hierarchical management structure, which is linked to the mind of professionalism, museum curators believe museums should present accurate information with evidence, such as material objects, instead of indigenous interpretations.

The hierarchy between museum staff and indigenous communities cannot be isolated from the wider social structure. Indigenous peoples in Taiwan amount to 2% of the population whereas, the percentage of indigenous museum staff is less than that, which is probably a consequence of the recruiting process (Chapter 5) or such a position is not seen as a valid career option since the value to the community is less direct than by

working in indigenous communities. However, this study has shown that the identity of museum staff does not significantly affect the content of indigenous representations, furthermore, most museum staff and indigenous interviewees placed more emphasis on the preparation process and the ways of representations than the relationships with the communities. In my fieldwork I found, as Young (2009) argues, that not having an indigenous identity does not necessarily make the work unauthentic, in that having an indigenous identity does not guarantee a higher quality of representations. However, there is possibly a difference in the level of understanding, or feeling, between insiders and outsiders, which can mean that indigenous museum staff can make easier alliances. Also, the indigenous museum staff in my study believe their identity does make some differences to the content of representations because of their greater willingness to spend more time in the represented communities and gain a better understanding of them.

The extent to which the argument of how socially inclusive a museum is depends on how many indigenous staff it has is debatable. As suggested in Chapter 6, the agency of individuals, as well as the influences of internal social status in indigenous communities should also be considered, as a hierarchy also exists within, and between, indigenous museum staff and the representatives and leaders of indigenous communities. Although indigenous museum employees are considered to be closer to indigenous cultures by some of my interviewees, I found that indigenous curators also believe that museum professionalism plays an important role, therefore the exhibited content from the represented communities has to be edited or approved by them. The perspective is also

supported by another museum curator who was questioned about the involvement of indigenous peoples in the museum and responded that, although there is room for museums to increase the level of involvement of indigenous peoples, it is also noteworthy that social class also plays a critical role in indigenous society. The consensus appears to be that indigenous people who have similar educational qualifications to museum curators probably represent indigenous peoples in a similar way, therefore, increasing indigenous staff does not necessarily effect the way museums represent indigenous peoples.

7.6 Valorising Indigenous Heritage

As the literature argued that indigenous peoples have a greater level of autonomy when their representations are displayed outside powerful institutions, such as museums (Hendry, 2005; Kaeppler, 1992; Kreps, 2003), I have shown in this research that indigenous peoples often turn to alternative spaces to represent their cultures. For instance, in Chapter 6, I described community-based tourism as a platform for indigenous communities to take the lead in representing themselves, since Young (2009) found that in contrast to representations in museums, where indigenous identities do not affect the authenticity of indigenous representations. Therefore, as I addressed in Chapter 6, activities presented from within communities will be considered authentic by visitors who can see for themselves the contemporary lives of indigenous peoples, thus, concerns about these cultures being seen to be 'frozen in the past' will be resolved.

Tourists, therefore, will be more likely to obtain a much comprehensive understanding of how indigenous communities change throughout the time because of interacting with indigenous peoples. Chapter 6 described a similar situation in the performing arts, that performers' indigenous identities have been used as evidence of authenticity, despite performances being edited to fit the stage conditions, time constraints and the nature of audiences.

Indigenous peoples in Taiwan share similar challenges, such as economic status and educational disadvantages, with those in other countries. Chapter 6 showed that community-based indigenous representations are sometimes considered to be solutions to these issues, for example, building community-based tourism by bringing tourists into communities requires community members to take on various roles in the enactments which might prevent community members from moving out for job opportunities. Furthermore, in Chapter 6 I stated that representations in performing arts and entertainment are not only the means for indigenous peoples to make profits, they also have a more functional benefit. For instance, because in formal education, indigenous knowledge is taught in a proportionally minor way, younger generations can more easily inherit their traditions through participating in performances. In this research, I have shown that, representing indigenous heritage does not just involve history. Particularly for representations outside museums, traditional elements are often mixed with unusual modern touches, which effectively challenges the idea of seeing indigenous peoples as 'cultural others' and arguably helps to break this stereotype.

As my participants responded, most of the indigenous representations are designed for the majority who are unfamiliar with their cultures, therefore, those in museums can play a significant role in having cultures to reach a wider audience. Nevertheless, the representations in indigenous communities are created to supplement the formal education and often consist of the native languages, traditional domestic techniques and other knowledge owned exclusively by the communities.

Indigenous representations in the entertainment industry are based on diverse motivations and methods. However, as I argued in Chapter 6, indigenous stereotypes persist largely because both tourism and the entertainment business are dominated by Han Chinese culture. Although the diversity of indigenous cultures has been well-recognised, it is still very common to see indigenous peoples represented as a homogenous group, wearing the same patterned clothes and other uniformly similar artifacts, thus denying the individuality of the various tribes. Although some indigenous artists are well-known for expressing cultural characteristics or for bringing to the attention of the greater society issues that lead to discrimination against indigenous peoples, because the market is predominantly led by Han Chinese culture, the 'indigenous characteristics' they depict may not be what the market expects. These artists only occupy a relatively small part of the market, whereas the findings I presented in Chapter 6 regarding indigenous representations in the entertainment industry show that, the individuality of indigenous artists has become more visible and recognisable. This is especially true in popular culture, where individuality is emphasised more than ethnicity, thus, an indigenous singer's personal success does not

necessarily influence other indigenous people.

The diversity of indigenous representations has greatly increased in works that intend to show the individuality of the artists. By examining the works by individual artists, it seems clear that indigenous societies are no different from other groups in Taiwan, since people with different backgrounds face a variety of challenges and manage them differently. For example, those people who wish to be recognised by mainstream society often adopt images that are familiar to the public; similarly, people who focus on showing their differences will emphasise the more modern aspects of indigenous life in their representations, such as combining traditional elements with latest fashion or technology, this Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998: 69) defines as "second life of heritage". The diversity of modernistic, individually inspired indigenous representations reflects rapid social change and also a desire of younger indigenous people to participate meaningfully in contemporary society. In direct contrast to the most recognisable characteristics of indigenous cultures that consist of historical elements and the display of traditional artifacts, these modernistic representations reveal the fluidity of indigenous identity.

7.7   Self-Representation as Means of Transferring Power

It is apparent from the previous section that indigenous peoples enjoy greater autonomy in their individualist and modern representations than those involved in museum co-

productions. As may be seen from Chapter 6, although local cultural centres are intended to provide spaces for self-representations, many act more like local museums, and adopt the display techniques of mainstream museums. However, they differ from national museums by displaying many more comprehensive cultural representations that relate primarily to their local communities. In Chapter 6, I showed that cultural centres serve several purposes, including community museums, gathering spaces, libraries, and computing facilities. Rather than simply representing indigenous communities, facilities in cultural centres are more geared towards general usage by community members as social gathering, cultural and learning centres. Also, their permanent exhibitions are often created from materials and artifacts collected from local communities. Some cultural centres have become part of the tourist industry by offering an introduction of the local communities for visitors. Unlike the socially oriented roles of cultural centre, the cultural centres that are part of community-based tourism are also regarded as educational and open to outsiders who visit the community. Instead of primarily building relationships with their represented communities, the cultural centres may have more interactions with tourists. Therefore, although many cultural centres adopt museum display methods, the representations in cultural centres can be much more responsive to their visitors than traditional museums.

Comparing representations in museum spaces with those in indigenous communities allowed me to identify the complexity of representing indigenous peoples and to reveal that a number of problems were common to both types of representation. I found also that in indigenous communities some key actors play influential roles in a community's

affairs, such as preserving community histories, collaborating with museums and educating the younger generations. As my findings show, similar to museum staff requiring certain professional qualifications, key actors in a community need to have certain attributes, such as a privileged family status, which helps them gain support from their communities. With a privileged social status, key community actors have greater opportunities to develop networks and have some success in community affairs. In Chapter 6, I argued that when representing the community's cultural assets, a key actor performs a similar role to a museum curator, since both can influence the approach and the emphasis of representation.

Representing indigenous cultures is a selective process, since not everything can be included, the decisions of what aspect is more worthy to be represented can be problematic and cause conflicts. Most of the key actors in communities would claim their selections have the approval of the community, and after a while, people recognise the value of their efforts, it is not uncommon to learn that key actors have been challenged at some point by other community members. For example, although most of key actor interviewees believed their work has assisted their communities to re-examine their history, they also acknowledge that there have been occasions when temporary exhibitions become points of conflict, since, as with museum representations, they are highly selective and there is always some information and members that are excluded. On the other hand, as identified in this research, for projects that are initiated by outsider institutions, the key actors may not be as influential as those discussed above. For those who lack the power to motivate the target communities, assistance from

outside will be required; for example, local government can be a reliable partner to some extent, for example, the local governments not only have more resources but can be powerful negotiators, especially when dealing with other businesses. However, as discussed in Chapter 6, they can be opposed to indigenous communities, and tensions between them are impossible to ignore, especially when there are local cultural centres administrative issues, since the ensuing fall-out can damage years of works in communities. Although it is still debatable how much benefit indigenous communities can have from their cultural centres because of the influences of local politics, with greater autonomy, cultural cenrtres could be the place for them to adress those stereotypes and misrepresentations.

However, when I looked into self-representations I came to a conclusion that supports Fraser's (2003) argument that solving misrecognition may not necessarily lead to solving maldistribution. As with museum staff, community members who wish to build representations require certain qualities, thus, although self-representation allows indigenous peoples to take back the power and the right to speak for themselves, not all of them will be capable of doing so. Although I have shown indigenous representations outside the formal museum space to be more diverse and responsive to the expectations of the majority of indigenous peoples, with a combination of hierarchy and maldistribution in their society, the representations may only be responsive to certain indigenous groups or sections of indigenous society.

7.8 Roles of National Museums in the Representation of Indigenous Peoples

In this thesis, I have shown that representations in museums have become more democratic and have responded more effectively to the concerns of indigenous people; however, even though the political atmosphere has recently changed, the concerns of indigenous communities, such as power imbalance, the rights to self-represent and stereotyping have persisted. I also identified an inconsistency between the concerns from indigenous communities and their self-representations. For example, museum representations focus almost exclusively on the past of indigenous peoples, which has always been one of the most common concerns of communities about representations mounted in museums. However, the same features are found frequently in self-representations. The contradiction shows that instead of claiming they are reluctant to be frozen in the past, the right of self-representing is what actually matters for indigenous peoples.

Unlike museum representations, which need to ensure their 'accuracy' and 'authenticity', self-representations in communities place more emphasis on local contexts. Even if there is some inconsistency between local narratives and official records, the representations can still be valuable since indigenous peoples' side of stories can be understood as the consequences of historic events. An example of this was given in Chapter 6, where due to the suppression policies in colonial periods, communities were forced to abandon some of their traditions, which were replaced by others that were foreign to them. The differences between museum and community

representations also enhance the symbolic status of museums, in particular the most of influential national museums. Therefore, the differences can potentially form conversations concerning their individual interpretations and perspectives about the same events and issues, or about different periods of history. In these conversations, the influences of power show clearly since museum representations have been created primarily from the point of view, and the interest of, the authorities, whereas community representations are created from an indigenous perspective. Hence, since the scales of the ambitions are different, the methods of representing indigenous cultures can also vary considerably.

The differences in the size of audiences in leading museums and indigenous community centres must also be taken into account, since museums have their regular visitors, groups, tourists and school children, whereas indigenous towns mostly attract smaller groups and irregular individual visitors. Some museum staff commented that, museum representations provide introductory information with the intention to attract more visitors. With the advantage of having a stable and wider audience, museum representations can play a role that encourages visits to indigenous communities. The connections such as these not only give visitors a better understanding of indigenous cultures, but they represent opportunities for them not only to develop tourist industry, but to enhance their sense of identity. As I have argued throughout this thesis, the museum is not just a building for displaying indigenous artifacts, it both shapes how visitors view certain issues and cultures, and, more importantly, how indigenous peoples regard themselves. Indeed, being represented in a major museum, especially a national

museum, can be seen as receiving recognition not just from museum professionals, but from the state. In this respect, the symbolic nature of museums adds a significant value to their representations that self-representations in their communities, or elsewhere, cannot achieve.

7.9 Contribution to Knowledge

The findings from this study have provided some theoretical contributions to the existing body of knowledge concerning the representation of indigenous peoples in formal museum spaces and elsewhere. Firstly, Chapter 2 shows a number of research studies on indigenous representation, particularly based on native Canadians and Americans, Australian Aborigines, and New Zealand Maori, and others around the world, but very few have focused on the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. Unlike colonialism in these other countries, the Japanese colony in Taiwan was an indirect form of colonial rule, during which the Japanese exercised their power through local systems without immigrants being introduced into the country (Harrison and Hughes, 2010). Therefore, since the 19th century, this unique form of colonialism has had an exceptional effect in shaping the identities and cultures of Taiwan's indigenous population. One of the contributions made by this research, therefore, will have been an examination of how the indigenous population of Taiwan, which has experienced such a different type of colonialism, has been, and is being, represented. The Japanese colonial governance was conducted extensively throughout the island and in the early stages the indigenous

peoples were treated as 'primitive' and then, when the Japanese needed soldiers to fight in the second world war, as 'civilised'. This study has critically discussed these power relationships between the Japanese colonial regime and the indigenous peoples and the way the indigenous peoples were represented by them. In this study, I have also examined indigenous representations both with historical and contemporary political and social circumstances. I argued that representations of indigenous peoples in Taiwanese museums no longer only serve the purpose of the authorities, they also respond to the requests of the civil society; however, the legacy of close relationship with the authority can still be found in their representations.

This study has also re-examined the issues of museum inclusiveness through looking into the different working relationships established between museum professionals and indigenous communities when co-producing representations. I also considered the frequent claims that museum inclusiveness can be achieved in several ways, such as by expanding visitor groups, opening up access for indigenous peoples to collections and increasing the involvement of the communities in producing representations. I also showed how museum professionalism still plays an important role in sharing their power with indigenous communities. In national museums in particular, the ideology and nature of being mechanisms of the state has not only kept them in an educational role, but also has meant that they are inseparable from state in the sense that they are inevitably seen as alternative authorities in the eyes of indigenous communities in their quest to be recognised. Museum inclusiveness may be increased by bringing more community perspectives into formal spaces, although there is a hierarchy in co-

production relationships where museum personnel take precedence. From the examination of co-productions, this study has identified the influence of individual agency in museums, rather than seeing museum professional as a homogenous group, with different stances and approaches taken by museum curators, some perspectives that contract to the official stance may have ways to go around the system and be represented in the formal space.

In addition to increasing social involvement, this study argues that quality representations of indigenous peoples play a critical role in building a national Taiwanese identity. This research has also contributed to an understanding of museums in constructing a national identity. Apart from raising the awareness of indigenous rights, the representations of indigenous peoples have been politically used in order to increase the visibility and recognition of 'Taiwanese identity' in order to be distinguished from Chinese in international occasions. Furthermore, this study has highlighted contradictions contained within indigenous representations, in that, although indigenous representations become important in respect to Taiwanese society, the 'otherness' by which the indigenous identity is often portrayed is still commonly seen in museums. The contradiction reflects an ambiguous and uncertain understanding of 'national identity'. Different social contexts apply different degrees of influence when a relatively new national identity is being constructed. However, this research may contribute to the examination of national identity in other countries where indigenous peoples are seeking recognition domestically and internationally.

This study has also offered a better understanding of the influences of representing indigenous peoples by examining how they are represented in both formal and informal spaces. Also, by studying the relationships between the museums, other social agencies and indigenous communities in Taiwan, I have been able to show the wide range of interests, intentions and concerns when indigenous representations are being created. Furthermore, the study has revealed that commercialism has not only contributed to the generational shift in the strategy of community building, but it may also have added another factor to the complex nature of establishing indigenous identity, which appears to be greatly influenced by rapid social changes and increasing globalisation.

In terms of its contribution to the literature about representations of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan in particular, this study may be seen as an extension of earlier studies that focused on either the museum or communities' perspectives, such as by Hu (1996, 2005, 2012) and Varutti (2013), by examining the relationships between museums and indigenous communities in the latest context of policy changes concerning indigenous and social affairs.

Similar to museum representations, this study has also identified how individual agency plays a critical role in producing representations in their own communities. In addition, the importance of community key actors is also identified, according to their social status in the communities, the working relationships and the various degrees of influences on indigenous representations are also shown. Thus, this study has taken the view that representation structures can be found in indigenous communities, which echo

those in museums. In this sense, key actors play similar roles to museum curators, who have the resources and knowledge to affect the content of representations.

This study has also made other contributions to the representations of indigenous peoples. For example, it has provided a greater understanding of how they can be empowered through relationships formed with museums and the general public, it has highlighted the phenomenon of social class as it exists within indigenous communities, and it has demonstrated the power of self-representations in tackling long-standing disadvantages faced by the indigenous peoples of Taiwan.

7.10 The Limitations of the Research

In Chapter 4, I discussed the methodological limitations of this research, in this section, the overall limitations of the research will be addressed. In this study, because the diverse representations shown in my fieldwork, I have suggested that representations from the indigenous communities are more responsive than those presented in museums and also that they may be regarded as solutions to challenges faced by indigenous societies. However, I chose the case-study communities because they had experiences of working with museums on representations. As the result, I discovered there were several similarities in the way they represented their particular communities, however, representations from the indigenous communities that have never worked with museums remain unknown. As I showed in Chapter 5, although some indigenous

communities consider the experience of working with museums to be positive, museums are not regarded as the best place for representing indigenous cultures. Therefore, for those communities that have never worked with museums, there may be approaches to representing indigenous cultures that have not been examined in this research.

Another limitation of this research is that it does not fully present the ideology behind indigenous policies and how governmental institutions regard indigenous affairs, since I placed most of the emphasis of my research on how the policies are practiced and how they influence representations rather than how those policies are formed. Consequently, instead of investing time arranging interviews with policy makers, I obtained most of my information about indigenous affairs policies from experienced and influential participants who have been actually been consulted or have been or still are members of committes, but have necessarily been involved in carrying out the projects.

7.11   Suggestions for Future Research

In Chapter 3, I presented how much the status of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan had changed since martial law was lifted in 1991, from being a marginalised group to becoming an important part of Taiwanese identity. Since then, between 2000-2008, when the DPP was the ruling party, its 'localisation' policy led to both an increasing awareness of multiculturalism and also a consciousness about indigenous rights. In

2016, when the DPP came to the power again after eight years, with the legacy of emphasising the 'Taiwanese heritage', rather than 'Chinese heritage', indigenous rights received a good deal of attention. President Tsai's apology to indigenous peoples which was recognized to be a start to redressing the wrongs they have suffered over the years. As Wilson and Yellow (2005: 193) argues 'the colonizers must also take responsibility for and own the injustices that they have helped directly or indirectly perpetuate', thus, decolonisation may be achieved by publicly recognising the damage that the indigenous peoples have had. In the statement, the president also acknowledged that the 'plain indigenous identity' issue and promised to re-examine the policy by the end of September 2016 and on the 7 October 2016, the review of 'Status for Indigenous Peoples' was enacted. In spite of such an ambitious step forward, President Tsai was critised for lack of sincerity, since indigenous peoples were called into her office to accept the apology (Wang, 2016). However, if she keeps her other promises, the way indigenous representations are created may be influenced, since, as my study shows, indigenous representations both inside and outside museums are closely linked to the national social policy. Therefore, it is worth for future research to continue this research topic in order to examine whether indigenous representations in museums will be further reconstructed as a result of the possible new directions indigenous representations might take, or the reasons for them remaining as they are.

Another suitable future research topic would be to explore the reception of these representations. Due to the limitation of the research scale, the emphasis of this study was put on the relationships between indigenous communities and museums and the

state. However, audience reaction is also a critical element in understanding the influences of indigenous representations, therefore, it is also important to identify who is the target audience, how audience members respond to them and whether they have understood the contents. This study can also assist in realising the efficiency of the indigenous representations. While this research revealed that representations are sometimes created for the benefit of indigenous peoples, a further topic could be based on their reception by indigenous peoples themselves and whether they can really become solutions to the problem they face in the greater society.

The indigenous communities that this study focused on were located in places that had been inhabited for many generations, however, the profiles of people living in those areas have recently changed, partly because commuting is now more feasible, and partly because people have moved away. Consequently, some communities have been formed in cities and the people in these may have very different social concerns. Therefore, this study's findings can also assist with further research into the elements of difference between urban and rural indigenous peoples.

7.12 Conclusion

In the course of this study, I found that indigenous representations are often the product of political concerns. The political and rapid social changes have been shown in indigenous representations in the case-study museums and selected communities and

public spaces.

Museums, especially national museums, are considered to be significant institutions in Taiwan and they are regarded as part of the state. In recent years, they have been democratizing by making great efforts to be seen as part of public life, and my fieldwork has revealed their increasing inclusiveness by involving more indigenous peoples, from consultants to museum professionals, into the representations preparation process. However, museums have not yet developed a truly open and equal framework, and there is a certain degree of dependency on the part of indigenous peoples toward museum professionals in the co-production of representations. Consequently, indigenous peoples seek recognition from museums and they consider being represented by them as having their identities confirmed by the authorities.

At the time of writing this thesis, the establishment of the national indigenous peoples museum is being planned and it is expected to be open within the next few years. This plan is a strong indication that museums will continue to play an important role in Taiwan, and is considered to be the recognition of the contribution of indigenous peoples to Taiwanese society, despite the fact that many indigenous peoples believe that museums are not the most appropriate places to be represented in.

Examining representations outside museums gives a better understanding of the perspectives of indigenous peoples, since this research has shown there to be an

inconsistency between museum representations and self-representations. Although museum representations are influenced to a greater or lesser degree by politics, there is little evidence to show that they have the power to solve the challenges and disadvantages faced by indigenous people, so these communities may need to seek other opportunities to address their concerns. Hence, the diverse ways of indigenous representation outside the museum not only highlight museums' limitations but also signify the complexity and fluidity of indigenous cultures. While this study has added further layers of complexity to the issue of representing indigenous peoples and their cultures, I hope it will to act as a platform for future research to be built on in order to extend this important field of study.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1   The dates and sitess of the observation visits

2014
9/11   Keelung city indigenous cultural centre
15/11 Ketagalan cultural centre
28/11 Wulai Atayal cultural centre
5/12   SYM
13/12 National History Museum
16/12 NTM
17/12 SYM
19/12 SYM
22/12 Sho-Fong indigenous cultural centre
23/12 Chi-An indigenous cultural centre
24/12 Hualien County indigenous cultural centre
25/12 Chi-Mei cultural centre

2015
4/1   National Taiwan University museum
6/1   Taipei Fine Art Museum
9/1   Siraya cultural centre
10/1   Siraya cultural centre
14/1   Formosan Aboriginal Cultural Village
18/1   Taichung city indigenous cultural centre
23/1   Siraya cultural centre
24/1   Siraya cultural centre
25/1   NMTH
30/1   Tainan indigenous cultural centre
31/1   Tainan city indigenous centre
1/2   Zuojhen community
2/2   BeiTao Yang cultural centre
3/2   Kabuasaua community
11/2   NMNS
24/2   Siraya community visit
5/3   Indigenous People's Cultural Park
6/3   Pingtung County indigenous cultural centre
8/3   Pingtung County Wutai Rukai cultural centre
10/3   Kabuasaua community
11/3   NMNS
12/3   NMNS
14/3   NMTH
21/3   Shihsanhang Museum of Archarology
24/3   NTM
29/3   Siraya community
28/3   NMNS
30/3   NMTH
3/4   NMPH
4/4   NMPH
5/4   Taitung indigenous community visit1

6/4   Taitung indigenous community visit2
20/4 NTM

Appendix 2   The dates of interviews

2014

19/12 SYM interview
22/12 IP community leader interview
23/12 local governor of indigenous affairs
24/12 IP artist interview
25/12 IP community key actor 1 interview
26/12 cultural centre curator 1 interview

2015

28/1 Museum guide 1 interview
3/2   IP community key actor 2 interview
12/2 NMNS1 interview
20/2 cultural centre curator 2 interview
9/3   NMTH interview
12/3 NMNS2 interview
13/3 NMNS3 interview
17/3 Museum guide 2 interview
20/3 NMPH pre-interview meeting
2/4   NMPH1 interview
3/4   NMPH2 interview
4/4   NMPH3 interview
15/4 NTM1 interview

Appendix 3　Interview schedule:

For Museums professionals:

Hello Director, thank you for talking to me.

Before we start the interview, I would like to ask that since you are interviewed as a museum professional, would you mind that you and your institution will be recognised in my research? Also, this interview will be recorded, however, if there is any point that you would like me to stop recording please feel free to ask.

As mentioned before, my PhD research is interested in how Indigenous peoples in Taiwan are represented, especially in museums. And I realise that you have been working in museum related fields for a long period, I am very grateful that you could share your experience and perspective on the issue.

    I.   Background

        How long have you been working as a museum professional?

        When did you start to work in this museum?

        What is your role in the museum?

    II.   The museum and the exhibition

        Tell me about this museum.

        What do you think the greatest success of the museum?

        What is the role of Indigenous representations in this place?

        What is your expectation when you were organising the display?

        After it has been put up, how did it differ from your expectations? What were the reasons?

        What do you think the greatest success of the Indigenous exhibitions?

        Is there any challenge when the museum put up the Indigenous display? Could you give me an example? What is the solution?

        Is there any Indigenous people be involved in the preparation? How are they involved? Could you give me an example?

How would you describe the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the museum or the museum staffs?

III.   Evaluation

When you were preparing the exhibition, what did you expect the audience would experience?

Did you have any feedback from the audience? What was the feedback like? Is it different from your expectation?

What is the response to the feedback?

How would you describe the advantage of having this exhibition in the museum instead of somewhere else?

How does this exhibition bring up the characteristics of the museum?

Is there anything has been compromised in order to put up the exhibition?

What would it be done differently if the museum is going to have Indigenous representations again?

What is your opinion on the general representation of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan?

How does that differ from the exhibition in this museum?

In the last part of the interview, I also like to ask that how do you think the representations on Indigenous peoples in Taiwan should be working on in the future? Is there anything you would like to add about the representations on Indigenous peoples in Taiwan?

Thank you very much again for talking to me, it is my pleasure to have this interview and learn from you. I will send the report of the interview after a short while, in the meanwhile, if there is anything you would like to add please feel free to contact me.

Thank you very much.

International Ironbridge Institute for Cultural Heritage

University of Birmingham

Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT

Dear Sir,

My name is Shih-Yu Chen, and I am a PhD researcher at the University of Birmingham. My research is looking at the ways in which the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan are represented and, the extent to which they are represented fully reflects not only their historical position but also contemporary social and political issues which affect them. I am especially interested in the ways in which the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan are represented and, the extent to which they are represented fully reflects not only their historical position but also contemporary social and political issues which affect them. Such issues include loss of land rights, poor working conditions and lack of education sources. Furthermore, I am interested in the role of museums in the representation of Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan and the extent to which museums are able and willing to engage in both historical and contemporary Indigenous politics. I wish to establish how museums in Taiwan engage with Indigenous Peoples in the context of understanding the museum as a political space and a political organisation.

I have recognized that you have a long standing commitment working on Indigenous issues for decades and have been involved in various projects and conferences. Therefore, I would like to ask your agreement to be involved in the research. As an interviewee, issues such as Indigenous policies, representations on Indigenous peoples and further development of Indigenous peoples in modern Taiwanese society. The interview may last about one to two hours, and we could meet in your office or have the discussion in the museum and may involve displays into our interview. Interview details could be confirmed after your agreement of participating the research. It will be a great honor if the research could involve your perspectives.

Yours sincerely

Shih-Yu Chen

International Ironbridge Institute for
Cultural Heritage

University of Birmingham

Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT

Heritage and Representation of Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan: The Role of the Museum

Thank you for agreeing to talk to me, my name is Shih-Yu Chen and I am a PhD researcher at the University of Birmingham. My research is looking at how Indigenous peoples in Taiwan are represented in museums. This form outlines how, with your permission, I would like to use your interview recording, and asks to sign that you agree with these uses. I would be grateful if you could look over the following paragraph and if you do agree, please select the options for questions 1 and 2, sign and date the form at the end.

Yours sincerely

Shih-Yu Chen

Email:

COPYRIGHT ASSIGNMENT & CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEW RECORDINGS

In participating in this research I am giving consent for the material from the interview to be used in the following ways.

- Use in Shih-Yu Chen's PhD thesis
- Possible use in publications, including in print or on the internet
- Possible public performance, lectures or talks

I understand that no payment is due to me for my participation in this research and my consent can be withdraw at any point during the interview or within three months.

The data will be used only for the research and associated activities, and will only be accessed in relation to this research and not disclosed to any third parties.

If I wish to alter any of the above conditions I will of course contact you to secure your consent for these changes.

1. Do you mind your name to be disclosed in the research publications? YES/NO

2. If YES are you happy that your name will be removed from your interview transcript, even though this may not guarantee complete anonymity? YES/NO

Response to the request, your name will not be mentioned, instead, in my thesis you will be mentioned as 'interviewee A'. However, in some cases, your institution may be presented or related contexts may be discussed in the research. Therefore, with those information, you might be identified by people who are familiar with the discussion subject.

Signed   Date

Print name   Organisation

Address

Telephone   Email

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