行政院國家科學委員會補助專題研究計畫成果報告

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回家之後—
回歸部落原住民文化工作者的日常生活實作邏輯與相關文化場域的運作特性

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行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫成果報告

回家之後─
回歸部落原住民文化工作者的日常生活實作邏輯
與相關文化場域的運作特性

The Homecoming Stranger:

A preliminary research on the adjusting experiences and strategies among home-returning indigenous cultural workers in South Taiwan

一、中英文摘要

本研究主要針對屏東台灣原住民文化園區所在地，以及鄰近之霧台、三地門鄉之回鄉原住民文化工作者回家之後的日常生活之社會調適的具體經驗，既有文化模式的詮釋架構及生活言行指導系統轉變過程的實際處境，以及所形成之文化生產場域內部運作特性的探討。研究問題如下：

從「陌生性」/「熟悉性」的辯證關係來探討個別原住民文化工作者回家之後的調適過程的具體經驗，及其人際互動關係，以了解他們再融入家鄉地域社會的關鍵因素。

從這些文化工作者在所形成的文化場域中佔有的位置及相互關係，來探討此一場域的運作特性。

關鍵詞：原住民、文化工作者、社會調適、文化場域、象徵資本

Abstract

This research attempts to understand the adjusting process and the strategies adopted among indigenous cultural workers in Pingtong who went home to reintegrate into everyday life of home communities. Key issues are as follows:

1. What is the dialectic relationship of strangeness/familiarity experience among homecomers when they were reintegrating into home communities?

2. What are the characteristics of the shaping cultural field and the relationship among those homecoming indigenous cultural workers?

Keywords: indigenous people, cultural worker, social adjustment, cultural field, symbolic capital

二、緣由與目的

自八零年代出現的原住民運動如「正名」、「還我土地」等運動以來，長期處於「污名」地位的原住民族群文化認同已經逐步轉變，此一跡象在近年來逐漸形成一股回歸部落的現象。其中回歸部落的原住民文化工作者，都在重新學習部落傳統生活與文化的行動中再出發，並藉由文學與藝術創作來表達族群文化的認同轉折與家園之情。此一形成中的文化運動被學者稱為「還我土地」之外的第二波運動。這波運動中的人物或者重製原住民的文化財產，或者融入自己的見解加以創新，或者將傳統賦予新意，呈現原住民尋求族群及文化出路的一種新嘗試的多彩面貌(中國時報，1999.10.1)。上述現象涉及原住民在自我認同危機中，對族群、文化與地點的認同轉折，以及個人生命歷程中，重尋家的意義之課題。

近十餘年來的原住民文化工作者返鄉最近十幾年來，在屏東台灣原住民文化園區所在地及鄰近霧台、三地門鄉等地區，集結了為數不少的魯凱、排灣族原住民文化工作者回歸原鄉重新學習母體文化傳統

進行藝術活動的現象。原住民文化園區於1987年開始營運，所提供的展演空間及藝文活動，和帶來的觀光人潮為該區原住民文化藝術創作提供生產、流通及消費的基礎，而這些文化工作者與主流社會的互動則進一步擴大原住民文化場域的人際網絡。以排灣族撒古流（1998）為代表的個人工作室模式，提倡「部落教室」的運作模式，鼓勵原住民文化工作者回鄉，在學習母體文化的基礎上進行創作，進一步結合部落傳統生產方式，試圖為個人及部落尋找新的出路（聯合報，2000.1.3,2000.6.12；台灣原住民電子報http://www.netvigator.com.tw/~tanews/）。而雷賜、蜻蜓雅築及峨格等工作室，雖涉入公共事務的程度有別，其基本的生存策略則都植根於傳統，積極在主流社會中開闢一個生存空間。

另外，以好茶魯凱族奧威尼為主的「重返雲豹故鄉」行動，倡導回舊聚落重建老家的石板屋，在一新的社會條件下學習傳統生活方式，重新尋找祖先狩獵文化的意義，並進行族群文化紀錄與文學創作，也吸引少數年輕人回去（王應棠，2000）。近幾年更以舊好茶為基地，舉辦過數次「魯凱文化生活營」傳布行動理念及社會意義。

如將上述現象放在台灣原住民文化認同與生存處境的脈絡來看，是在1980年代風起雲湧的原住民運動、書寫活動以及各式各樣藝術創作的嘗試，成為原住民自我標幟的努力的既有成果下所形成的。原住民文化藝術工作者透過具體的行動與作品，要去回答「我們到底是誰」的問題，以開拓原住民一個重生、再建構的機會和空間（孫大川，2000a）。這涉及原住民文化工作者在自我認同危機中，對族群、文化與原鄉地域的認同與信心重建，強化邊陲的自我空間來重建部落社會，圖謀永續發展（汪明輝、楊智偉，1999：9-12）。所謂的「認同」，具體而言即是對「我是誰？」、「我要成為怎樣的人？」、「什麼是有意義的生活？」、「我應該怎樣追求這種生活？」等與自我實現相關的問題的回應。認同因此是人們經由理解其處境，並對此一處境作出的反應，是人所建構的產物。認同的建構是一種不斷進行的詮釋活動，它一方

面受行動者在特定處境中的機會與限制所左右，一方面又受其既有的特質所影響。象徵資源被用來象徵表達一種認同，在「再現」（represent）過程中，意義被創造出來，也把個體確立為主體。換言之，象徵資源對「我（們）是誰」、「我（們）可能成為什麼」、「我（們）想成為什麼」等問題提供可能的答案；而再現作為一種文化與社會過程，確立了個人與集體的認同。象徵資源的掌握與運用能力較豐富並生產意義的人，往往是其中的文化工作者。經常在建構集體經驗的文化參考架構上扮演重要的角色，藉由語言、文字、圖像等媒介，將集體經驗「敘事化」、「象徵化」以確立這些經驗的意義（蕭阿勤 2000：80-88）。而經由語言、文字、圖像等媒介所建構之族群文化參考架構又會影響族群成員之自我及集體認同。這正是本研究設定原住民文化工作者為研究對象的理由。

本研究係研究者2000年國科會專案研究計畫「尋找家園—原住民回歸部落現象中的認同轉折與家的意義重建」之後續研究計畫，該研究試圖在主體性的認同運動中，經由喚起個人的自覺意識而回歸部落的個別行動如重建家屋、涉及族群文化及家園認同的文學、藝術創作等事件，來探討人與環境的關係。本研究主要針對田野地區回鄉原住民文化工作者回家之後的再調適問題，即其日常生活之社會調適的具體經驗、既有文化模式的詮釋架構及生活言行指導系統轉變過程的實際處境及生存策略，以及所形成之文化生產場域內部運作特性的探討。我們將焦點放在台灣原住民面臨急速社會變遷，外流的原住民文化工作者在原鄉生活世界瀕臨瓦解的認同危機中，採取回歸家園部落作為他們化解此一危機的行動策略。本研究的研究問題如下：

1. 從「陌生性」/「熟悉性」的辯證關係來探討個別原住民文化工作者回家之後的調適過程的具體經驗，及其人際互動關係，以了解他們再融入家鄉地域社會的關鍵因素。

2. 由其從事文化工作之生存策略分析來探討個人擁有的象徵資本與自身族群文化傳統的關聯。

3. 從這些文化工作者在所形成的文化場域中佔有的位置及相互關係，來探討此一場域的運作特性。

三、結果與討論

一、研究田野

屏東地區魯凱族和排灣族傳統的生產方式及社會構造相當接近，除了語言以外，風俗習慣、社會組織與物質文化的主要特徵都大同小異。其傳統社會是以當地自然環境條件為基礎的自然生計經濟體系，社會結構大致由貴族與平民組成，土地財產制度、權力關係以及儀典習俗等，都與此一生產方式形成的生產力與生產關係緊密連結。大體而言，他們的傳統生產方式有若干特徵:

1. 依於自然條件，以農耕（山田燒墾為主）、狩獵及少量的漁牧為主要內容。

2. 囿於自然條件及生產工具，農獵的生產力都不高，只能維生自足，因此得以與自然生態共生平衡。

3. 以宗家單位祭團為單位，頭人領土為範圍，透過各種家族血統、性別、以及貢賦等不同的分工，建立階級性的生產關係。

4. 配合獨特的婚姻、祭儀、土地財產繼承制度以及饋贈等，來達成社會資源的再分配。

5. 透過神話傳說、禁忌等意識形態以及各種祭儀的社會功能，在社會組織中蘊涵一套複雜微妙的社會權威認定，強化了社會關係的再生產。

總結而言，傳統的排灣／魯凱社會是由血緣與地緣關係聚居而成的部落。除了血緣之外，還有依生產關係建立起來的貴族制度，在特定的季節裡，透過共勞共享和貢賦饋贈的社會互動，達到物質的再分配。貴族係世襲，以掌握生產要素的土地來享有經濟和象徵符號的特權。在親屬制度、土地制度、社會階層上，亦透過禁忌、規範、宗教信仰和祭儀的社會過程，來達成意識形態和社會權力關係的再生產。除此之外，部落之間少有聯絡。

傳統上，個人之「家」係由家屋、家名與家戶人員組成。魯凱族與排灣族每一家屋均有一家名，代表一個家族的姓氏，放在個人名字之後。家名顯示家族在部落中的身分地位。魯凱族之家屋與家名由長子繼承，排灣族則是由長嗣繼承，於長子（嗣）結婚生子後生效，次子以下原則上娶妻後必須分家，另立家名。家屋改建或遷移時，家名仍隨新家屋沿襲不變，除非完全絕嗣廢家，家名才會消失。因此家名在部落既與親屬組織相關聯，也和社會階層制度及社會地位相互搭配，並由家屋的繼承與分家來達成（台大建築與城鄉研究發展基金會，1996：51；蔣斌、李靜怡，1995）。至於個人認同的「家園」則由各家屋集結的部落住地、農地、漁場、獵場及聖地所形成的傳統生活世界。其邊界相當具有彈性，通常在與鄰近部落的互動過程中有所消長。

然而從日治時代以後，由於政治力的介入，社會構造產生重大的改變。新的支配力量變成國家（行政機構、學校、警政等）與教會，這些代理人取代了原有的貴族階級；「山地平地化」的同化政策更被加速納入台灣主流社會體系，平地支配性的意識形態取代了原有的宇宙觀和價值觀，造成山地傳統社會組織、制度、生產方式、祭典儀式和語言快速流失。這些原住民過去「生活世界」的主要內容，在近百年來激烈的變遷中逐漸遭受破壞。生活世界的鉅變早已打破部落原有的邊界，山地社會已瀕臨瓦解。青壯人口大量流入都會地區求學就業，卻因種族歧視與競爭條件較弱，多數處於台灣主流社會底層。近十餘年來的原住民文化工作者返鄉現象與 1980 年代開始出現的原住民運動和 1970 年代的台灣社會本土化發展息息相關。此一歷史發展自 1970 年代起，隨著兩岸關係的變化，台灣社會本土意識逐漸展開，伴隨著民主化運動對既有黨國體制的衝撞，鄉土文學與文化藝術的蓬勃發展建立起台灣漢人族群的主體性；而所衝開的較為鬆軟的政治、社會局面，為 1980 年代初期逐漸覺醒的原住民知識菁英提供一個有利的運動空間和條件，展開了「還我土地」、「正名」等社會抗爭。這些抗爭所訴求的主題具有「泛族群」的特徵，勾畫出原住民長期被壓迫的經驗與悲慘的情況。然而，原住民

運動近年來也遭致來自原住民內部的批評，其都市化、菁英化的性格，凸顯原運份子與部落疏遠、脫節的情況（孫大川，2000b）。一方面深刻體認主流社會對原住民的不平等遭遇與故鄉瀕臨瓦解的狀況，另一方面是接續原鄉部落親人與土地原初的紐帶關係以尋求自我認同的渴望，使屏東地區外流原住民文化工作者近年來陸續回鄉，尋找再出發的另類生存方式。這些文化工作者，大致可以分為兩種類型：

成立手工藝工作坊者

他們僱用當地居民生產具有族群文化象徵附加價值之手工藝品，尤其以琉璃珠為最主要產品，在家鄉建立了較佳的社經地位，可視為調適良好者。他們帶來新的觀念與態度，由主流社會學習生產管理技能與企業創新精神帶入社區創業，將原住民手工藝品在市場建立起知名度後訂單不斷，卻因生產規模及員工尚未完全適應現代契約式定期交貨的遊戲規則，反而批評家鄉員工缺乏工作倫理與積極態度。

從事個人文學藝術創作者

這一類受訪者回鄉後的遭遇儘管因個人狀況不同而有差異，但均與原生部落在空間上與家鄉社群人際網絡保持一定距離。回歸原鄉的人首先面臨的問題是家園想像的落差與衝突，以及回家後的現實生活問題。有關家園想像的落差與衝突，係由於個人與家鄉脫離了一段時間，他在都會生活的經驗改變了既有的認知結構，同時家鄉也在這段時間經歷程度不一的變遷，回家的原住民因此首先會面臨再調適的問題。他好像是進入一個既熟悉又陌生之地的「陌生人」，但這種陌生感又和初抵異地時的陌生感不同（Schutz，1964a）。他若要重新建立對家鄉的熟悉感與親密感，就須在日常生活的實作中逐步調整，才能再度融入家鄉地域社會。至於回家後的現實生活問題，則涉及這些文化工作者在重新學習母體文化傳統過程中，所擁有的文化資本如何在新的社會條件下開拓生存的空間與運作策略。

本研究訪談四位上述第二類原住民文化工作者（分別以 A1, A2, A3, A4 代表），以及六位原住民文化場域相關人士 6 名（分別以 B1 到 B6 代表），針對上述研究問題進行討論。

二、整體原住民藝術環境的改變

原住民藝術原本是依附傳統社會結構而存在，如排灣、魯凱族的木雕是貴族階級家屋的裝飾性象徵物，但隨著原住民傳統社會組織的瓦解而逐漸沒落。近年來，由於原住民各族藝術乃是主流社會於印象中作為認識原住民一較為優質的橋樑，亦是觀光世界用以塑造所謂山地感覺來招攬觀光客，或辦活動時吸引大眾目光的最佳利器，再度獲得生機，而原住民藝術似乎也要伴隨相關的原住民活動，才得以曝光。90 年代以降，在國家多元文化政策取向、鄉土教育、本土意識、社區總體營造、週休二日觀光潮、「產業文化化，文化產業化」等外部大環境影響下，以及內部自身文化傳承與文化認同等因素共同作用下，促使原住民文化風氣蔚然興盛（盧梅芬，1999），此一現象是由於政治經濟與台灣主流文化力量主導了原住民藝術場域的發展所致。

整體原住民藝術環境在近幾年較過去有大幅改善，有別於傳統工藝的「原住民現代藝術」或「原住民當代藝術」的名稱與觀念逐漸為主流社會接受，創作資源與舞台也相對擴大。但是轉機同時也帶來危機與隱憂，因為返鄉原住民藝術工作者當初進行創作的自主性行為，原本是站在族群文化主體的有力發聲行動，轉化為藝術創作的表達；但因創作機會突增，很多藝術工作者面臨跟現實利益妥協的掙扎，迷失在追逐一個又一個的公共藝術案子，很快就有被商品化的現象（B2 訪談）。當初自發性的原住民藝術創作表達的是原住民的主體性或是原住民文化的主體性，藝術工作者經由傳達這一訊息、展現其價值並獲得一定的社會地位，但是如果只在外在環境的操弄下不斷的當表演者，不能自我觀察反省，很快就會迷失。因此他呼籲原住民藝術觀察者與評論者的出現，能對這些現象提出批評。

受訪者對於區分工藝與純藝術創作已具有明確的意識，A2 表示「創作的人要自

己去選擇，你到底是從事真正的創作，還是做一個工藝師只是要去複製東西而已，當成一個純商品在賣。我認為的藝術家應該是在創作的那種才是藝術家，因為有情緒在裡面，如果沒有情緒的話就像複製一個東西…我覺得真的有情緒在的才應該叫做藝術」，其他受訪者也有類似的自覺（A1、A3 訪談）。這種對超功利性價值的強調，表現為不屑於商業市場所帶來的經濟利益，尋求藝術創作的自主性。而對原住民藝術發展的批評介入之迫切性，A2 也有深切感受。他對當今原住民藝術在主流社會由漢人所作的浮面報導評論深具戒心，因此他強調原住民自身觀點之藝術批評的出現，以維護族群文化發聲的位置與自主性。基於漢人美術界已有專業藝評家，這在專業分工下對促進藝術發展具有相當影響力，但原住民的專業藝評家則尚未產生，於是他希望首先由創作者間的相互批評來創造出此一空間，並找出原住民自己的藝術創作方向。

由 A2 的深刻反省，已感受到藝評對原住民藝術創作之重要性。經由藝術評論的干預，憑藉理論話語、典型製造和評論等寫作的制度化作用，來致力於生產自己的合法性術語，才能在文化場域建立本身的自主性。尤其是原住民藝術理論的建立，可經由其命名能力、引證能力、召喚和進行修辭活動的能力，使象徵財貨和權力得以複製、增值和擴散（劉禾，2002：330）。然而，原住民在長期漢化教育下的適應不良，導致具備專業理論論述能力的評論者相當缺乏，無法藉以提升原住民藝術的象徵價值。

三、原住民文化園區的角色限制

原住民文化園區於 1987 年開始營運，所提供的展演空間及藝文活動，和帶來的觀光人潮為該區原住民文化藝術創作提供生產、流通及消費的基礎，近年來更主動策劃原住民藝術家個展及園區公共藝術創作，提供週遭原住民藝術工作者創作機會。原住民文化園區係以園區內傳統九族聚落建築、物質文化展示及歌舞表演吸引遊客購票參觀，早期一般人多視之為觀光地區。而對知識份子及原住民藝術家而

言，原住民文化藝術只被當成商品販賣，對園區多持負面印象。園區周邊魯凱、排彎原住民之物質文化如雕刻及器物製作具有深厚的傳統，近年來有部分青壯年藝術工作者返鄉設立個人工作室從事藝術創作，但因受限於本身均未受過主流社會之藝術教育訓練，被認可之文化資本較弱。因此他們的藝術作品只能在文化慶典（如1998 台北原住民文化祭－台灣原住民現代藝術展）、百貨公司、學校校園等小展場展出，或是作為文化交流之媒介（如 2000 年台灣與加拿大原住民藝術展），仍無法吸引專業博物館、美術館之注意力。在對外發聲管道受限下，一方面園區工作人員與附近地區原住民藝術工作者接觸日增，體認原住民當代藝術創作是族群心聲之表達，希望能提供他們藝術創作的舞台與機會；另一方面也期望藉由展覽讓鄰近原住民藝術工作者對園區產生認同感，改變原先的負面印象。

園區在 1996 年第一次為三地門排彎族藝術家峨格舉辦個展，據稱是公部門首度由純藝術角度來處理原住民藝術創作的產品，試圖擺脫過去被視為工藝層次的處境。展出後在鄰近地區產生相當正面的影響，並應邀到台北市續展，提昇了藝術家的知名度。由於這一展覽的成功，引起鄰近原住民藝術工作者的注意，增加他們在園區展覽的意願。其後陸續策劃了 A1、A3等人之個展，已逐漸獲得藝術工作者對園區之認同。但由於原住民文化園區之編制屬於一般行政單位，對原住民文化藝術之研究、保存、展示與推動受到極大限制（B5、B6 訪談）。園區在 1994 年以前尚屬營利事業單位，在預算上必須自負盈虧，其後雖改為一般行政機構，但上述策展活動的性質屬於教育文化推廣活動，所需經費並無法在機構預算內編列執行，必須向行政院原民會申請補助辦理。由於補助經費額度及核准期程均無法自主，有時年度計劃辦理數檔展覽，因補助經費尚無著落，只好延展；有時策展知名度較高藝術家的展覽，因經費不足而只好放棄。這些後果造成無法安排年度計劃，展覽的宣傳相對減弱，也無法推動巡迴展覽。

在展覽的社會與藝術場域影響方面，

由於園區活動消息被定位在地方新聞，主流社會對原住民藝術的認知又多認定在工藝層次，並未引起文化藝術界的評論與重視。最近古勒勒和峨格的個展增加了雜誌的報導評論，但只出現在以政治報導為主的綜合性周刊的版面，並未獲得專業藝術期刊的重視。

而在原住民文學場域，整體而言，原住民文學已逐漸在台灣文壇初露頭角，也引起部分學術研究者的注意，但對原住民文學的引介、批評仍相當少，即使出現在台灣文學或文學史研究中，往往被當作加強台灣本土性，或攻擊大中國文學史的點綴（B1 訪談；蕭阿勤，2000）。而文學作品必須依賴作者、出版社、讀者及評論、研究者所組成之文學場域的健全運作，才得以佔有一個位置，作者的名氣才能上升，也才能將其轉換為經濟利益以謀生。A4 將他對好茶魯凱的歷史理解轉化為長篇民族誌小說創作在 2001 年底出版並隨即在今（2002）年獲獎，顯示原住民文學在台灣當代文學場域漸受注目，但仍相當弱勢，尚未建立一相對自主之文學場域，更無法藉由象徵資本之累積轉化為經濟資本。

四、回家的陌生人？

針對離開家鄉一段時間成形成的陌生感，我們試圖從生活世界轉變所造成的理解視域差異為出發點進行分析。生活世界的概念，簡言之即是由文化所界定的日常生活之時空環境或視域（the culturally defined spatiotemporal setting or horizon of everyday life）（Buttimer, 1976: 277），即特定歷史時空中，不同的文化傳統提供了身處其中的人不同的視域。在此一觀點下，家鄉生活方式可視為是一套由「我群團體」（in-group）共享的表達與詮釋架構，團體成員在日常生活緊密且經常面對面溝通中可彼此預測行為互動模式，與對未來的籌畫（Schutz, 1964b: 108）。家鄉這種人與人、人與環境的關係是一種不言自明的默契所形成的知識，讓人們可以慣性思考（thinking-as-usual）（Schutz, 1964a: 96），而一個久離家園的人則不再完整擁有上述知識，因此不再被視為「我群團體」的一員。以下分別從生活經驗視域與價值差異、社會分化過程中，文化工作者的角色變遷、以及文化工作者特殊的生活方式等面向，來釐清這種「回家的陌生人」的處境。

生活經驗視域與價值差異

離開部落到主流社會發展受挫的經歷，和故鄉童年溫暖記憶的推/拉作用促使他們回鄉，試圖尋找再出發的立足點，而對自身族群文化、傳統價值與土地的認同是關鍵因素。但與家鄉社群的價值觀所產生的巨大差異讓他們無法安居，形成人際關係的緊張。最大的分歧點是他們經由童年生活經驗形塑的共勞共享、集體成就導向的價值觀，現在已為個人成就導向、金錢掛帥的價值觀所取代。

由於社會快速變遷，傳統以農獵為主的共勞共享之維生生產方式在納入主流資本主義生產方式的影響下，導致部落價值觀的改變。個人在部落的地位轉為個人成就導向，個人能力以經濟能力為指標，即所謂的「金錢掛帥」取代了集體成就的傳統價值。不過這種轉變是集體的系統性轉變，家鄉成員仍然維繫「我群關係」；但是對返鄉者而言，故鄉已人事全非且景物不再，而記憶中的部落文化傳統也已產生巨大的轉變。

從藝匠到藝術工作者的角色變遷

傳統排灣魯凱社會並沒有現代意義的藝術或文化工作者，藝匠的角色係依附頭目貴族制度而存在，其功能在製作頭目專屬的象徵器物，如貴族石板家屋之簷桁及主靈柱雕刻、陶壺及青銅刀等器物，來換取頭目的賞賜。頭目藉由人像、百步蛇及百合花等象徵圖騰之獨占權，來維持其統治權威。由於社會變遷，頭目的權威已漸沒落，由新興的行政首長（如村長及鄉長）與教育、宗教領袖瓜分領導權，仍具一定影響力，但傳統藝匠已漸失去其功能與角色地位了。

近年來，由於觀光產業發展及國家多元文化政策提供原住藝術工作者民另類的發展出路。於是傳統藝匠由原先為部落貴族製作象徵器物的附屬角色轉變至觀光商品製作的生產者，再進一步轉為獨立的文化/藝術工作者，其社會關係已由原有部落

擴及主流社會的觀光市場,再擴大至文化藝術的場域。例如 A1 屬於較早回鄉從事傳統工藝製作的原住民文化工作者,他所生產的工藝產品以排灣傳統陶壺製作聞名,並大量運用傳統圖案於新產品之研發生產在觀光市場販售,卻引來部落貴族指責他販賣族群文化之批評。當他參與屏東瑪家鄉的原住民文化園區之建築設計營造時,也因使用傳統頭目專屬的圖案而遭受攻擊。這些現象凸顯出傳統藝匠轉變為現代藝術工作者在部落內部的衝突與矛盾。一方面部落內部對象徵財貨的需求改變,傳統藝匠無法生存;另一方面由於主流社會對原住民文物的需求擴大,角色轉為服務外部社會為主,將貴族獨占的象徵符號形成族群特殊象徵資本,在新興起的原住民文化場域中取得競爭優勢來謀生,卻因此觸犯貴族的權威。

A2 與 A3 均非藝匠世家,他們是朋友間相互影響與主流社會提供發展機會,才在 90 年代後期加入藝術創作領域。他們與 A1 關係緊密,成為工作上相互支援的夥伴,以及生活上互動頻繁的朋友。他們的工作多與原住民文化藝術相關機構所辦活動密切相關,在自己部落反而沒有適當角色與工作機會。而 A4 所從事的文學寫作,在沒有文字傳統的魯凱族更是一個全新的角色。這顯示在社會變遷過程中,對從事象徵意義之生產的文化工作者在家鄉部落社會的角色定位之曖昧與衝突。

波希米亞式的生活方式

對回家的原住民文化工作者,回家從事藝文創作作為一種生活方式,在從事創作時,從家鄉部落文化傳統汲取養分更為具體而便利。再度銜接親人、故鄉土地與自己的關係以化解認同危機,進而讓人的存在更為完整是他們決定歸鄉的重要因素。而他們從受僱的薪資勞動者轉為文學藝術創作者,生活方式最大的改變是工作不穩定,人際關係較為開放、複雜,以及工作時間異於常人(時而日夜不停工作,時而長時間處於休息狀態)。這種波希米亞式的生活風格,加上與支配族人精神生活的基督宗教或疏遠或排斥,加深了他們與族人的距離。尤其是傳統對女性生活行為

的保守規範,對於人際關係與行為較為開放的女性藝術工作者,更造成個人與部落人際關係的緊張。一位魯凱族女性受訪者因曾開設咖啡屋,人群接觸較廣,在生活方式及人際關係較為開放,與傳統魯凱族對女性的規範不符,使她與部落的人際互動較為疏遠(A3)。

五、回鄉之後的處境

如將回鄉原住民文化工作者視為回流移民(return migrants),回鄉之再調適問題可從兩個面向探討(Gmelch 1980:142-146):(1)外部面向─檢視回流者之工作、居所、人際關係、社區參與等經濟與社會狀況,來檢視其再調適的程度。(2)內部觀點─回流者對自身再調適程度之認知,與回鄉後能否化解其認同危機而獲得「在家感」。

如有再移居的行動或計畫,則係調適不良之徵兆。這是由於回流者未體認到自己與家鄉均有巨大改變,彼此不再共享傳統文化的基本價值觀所致。對家鄉所能提供給他們的認同與他們對家鄉的期望有巨大落差,部分源於他們對家鄉的記憶與認同是懷舊的,這是一種選擇性的記憶與認同,會自動刪除不好的部分,只記得好的部分,由此產生的落差造成調適不良。如無法定居於家鄉,再度移居是一條出路,起碼可暫時緩解此一症狀。另一方面,家鄉居民對回流者的認知有:生活方式較不拘於傳統,尤其在談話與衣著等言行方面;較不篤信宗教;視野較廣,自視較家鄉居民為高。這也讓他們與家鄉居民間存有不易跨越的鴻溝。這是由於回流者無法發展出令個人滿意的社會關係,使他們宛如在家鄉的陌生人(Gmelch 1992:297-300)。

受訪原住民文化工作者與故鄉人際關係因價值觀的衝突造成的緊張,加上特殊的人際網絡與生活方式不為家鄉人理解,造成他們在居住地點的選擇策略有三種類型:

1. 與部落保持一段距離,在家鄉附近另建新居從事藝術創作(A1)

2. 返回舊聚落重建石板家屋,從事族群歷史文化紀錄及文學創作(A4)

3. 再度移出家鄉，另尋自我創造的機會空間，組成另類部落團體（A2、A3）

A1 與 A4 均已成為族群文化之代言人，他們的知名度所累積的文化資本與家鄉地域關係緊密，因此選擇一個與部落保持距離的空間與社會位置，既減少衝突，又有生活自由與發展機會。A2 與 A3 則不具備上述二人之象徵資本，與家鄉的關係主要是維繫親情與土地的原初紐帶，但由於現代社會的快速變遷，「我群關係」超越傳統社區的空間邊界，逐漸由個人從事的工作與志趣來主導社群的組織發展（Harman，1988），超越了原有部落的空間領域與社群關係，形成一以藝術生產為主的另類社群組織。這種無法在既有日常生活規範的家鄉定居的現象，似乎凸顯出做為藝文創作的文化工作者，創作總是意味著對規則的逾越。他們的標誌是拒絕被融合，並設想尋找一個屬於自己的家園。

四、計畫成果自評

有關回流移民之研究目前尚屬新興議題，相關理論及經驗研究不多，台灣地區則尚未發現，本研究雖對個別受訪者之具體經驗之理解有了初步掌握，仍有待進一步深入研究。

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The Homecoming Stranger:

A preliminary research on the adjusting experiences and strategies among home-returning indigenous cultural workers in South Taiwan

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Summary

Modernization and acculturation have greatly transformed Taiwan indigenous people's culture during recent fifty years. Facing dramatic challenges of the dissolution of the socio-economical structure and the loss of traditional culture, a lot of indigenous people immigrated to urban areas in order to obtain a better education and work opportunity.

Having been suffering from the stigmatized identity and uneven competition in the mainstream society, a group of indigenous cultural workers returned home to regenerate their tribal tradition and to search for alternative way of life. However, because both of home environments and their visions have changed since they have been leaving home for years, those home-returning indigenous cultural workers were regarded as strangers in the initial returning stage. They have to re-adjust themselves into home way of life and re-learn tribal tradition to identify themselves in search of alternatives to be at home. This research attempts to understand the adjusting process and the strategies adopted by indigenous cultural workers in South Taiwan who returned home to reintegrate their everyday lives into home communities. Viewing the home way of life as "the cultural pattern of group life" (Schutz, 1964b) as a starting point, the researchers investigate "how the cultural pattern of group life present itself to the common sense of a man [sic] who lives his everyday life within the group among his fellow-men [sic]"(p. 92). A perspective of the transformation of life-world is adopted to interpret the experiences of those homecoming indigenous cultural workers.

This research is conducted by in-depth interviews and participant observation to illuminate the relationship between place identity (Fried, 1972; Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983) and cultural identity by examining key themes mentioned above.

Introduction

Modernization and acculturation have greatly transformed Taiwan indigenous people's culture during recent fifty years. Facing dramatic challenges of the dissolution of the socio-economical structure and the loss of traditional culture, a lot of indigenous people immigrated to urban areas in order to obtain a better education and work opportunity.

Having been suffering from the stigmatized identity and unequal competition in the mainstream society, a group of indigenous cultural workers returned home to regenerate their tribal tradition and to search for alternative way of life. On the one hand, they learned traditional skills for producing handcrafts such as pottery, sculpture and beads, and then combined the skills with modern ones in the making of modern artworks. On the other hand, they played the roles of indigenous cultural representatives and mediators to struggle with those of mainstream culture. In doing so, they created a new way of life and status in their home communities. The emerging movement had been termed by scholars as "the second wave of Taiwan indigenous movement" following the demonstration of land returning movement dated from the 80's. Emphasized on the struggle of cultural domain, its focus had been shifted from the formerly political and social forces to place and cultural identity in a new conjuncture.

However, because both of their home environments and value systems have changed since they have been leaving home for years, those home-returning indigenous cultural workers have to re-adjust themselves into home way of life and re-learn tribal tradition to identify themselves in search of alternatives to be at home.

This research attempts to understand the adjusting experiences and the strategies adopted by the homecoming indigenous cultural workers in South Taiwan to situate their everyday lives into home communities. Viewing the home way of life as "the

cultural pattern of group life" (Schutz, 1964b) as a starting point, the researchers investigate "how the cultural pattern of group life present itself to the common sense of a man [sic] who lives his everyday life within the group among his fellow-men [sic]"(p. 92). A perspective of the transformation of life-world is adopted to interpret the experiences of those homecoming indigenous cultural workers.

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Research Field

Currently there are ten indigenous tribes in Taiwan, comprise less than two percent of the population. Scattered over mountain areas of Pingtong county in south Taiwan, the two indigenous tribes Paiwan and Rukai, discussed in this paper, are closely related in material culture to each other. Lacking of written language, they preserve profound legends in the oral history. Besides, the Paiwan and Rukai are noted for their outstanding wood and stone sculpture. Ancestral figures were often carved in shallow relief into house posts, slate, or plank panels and served as the symbol of collective identification. For centuries before the arrival of the Chinese, the Rukai and Paiwan lived as hunter-gatherers with plot farming on the hillside.

The social organization of the Paiwan and Rukai are based on Aristocratic System. According to the norms of this social status system, each person is classified from birth as being a member of one of social statuses, the nobility (the privileged class) or the common people (the members of this class exchanged their labor for the necessities of life, among them craftsmen served the nobility by producing

monopolistic symbol goods such as pottery and shallow relief into house post)[1].

Recently, both the culture and lifestyles of indigenes have continued to change and adjust to Taiwan's rapid modernization. Besides, some native traditions, such as woodcarving and periodic tribal harvest festivals that celebrate a rich harvest with singing and dancing, are still maintained but animistic and shamanistic beliefs have largely given way to Christianity. Most of young people are leaving such traditional way of life as farming, hunting, and are taking up factory and construction work in the cities. With increasing contact with the outsiders, they turned to waged labor that dramatically altered its traditional ways of life and values. As youngsters migrate to the cities, they leave behind a disintegrating home society and face a hostile and discriminating new environment.

As a son of an inherited craftsman, PM42 was born to the common people class; he learned handcrafts with his father since childhood. His village served no electrical facilities until early 70's, home way of life was traditional and warm in his childhood memory. He had to leave home to enter high school when he was a teen-ager. The school system was a mixture of Chinese and Western style, he wasn't adapted it well. Although obtaining higher education is encouraged in order to get a better position in mainstream society, he only completed the degree of technical senior high school. Because work opportunity was rare in home community, he had to find a job away from home. Employed as an advertisement board painter, a construction worker in the cities, a sculptor in Aboriginal Cultural Park in Central Taiwan and a low-skilled worker in local administrative division, he was frustrated because of the little chance to upgrade social status. Finally, he went back home to initiate an art and craft studio in the early 80's. Learning from traditional Paiwan styles and then re-creating new artifacts, his productions were gradually welcomed both in tourist souvenir market

[1] Source: Taiwan Aboriginal Cultural Park, (http://www.tacp.gov.tw/english/intro/fmintro.htm).

and mainstream cultural field.

Both of PM41 and RF34 graduated from senior high school too. Wandering in the cities over years, they experienced a similar situation as PM42 or even worse, then went home in the 90's and tried to shift their status from employees to independent artists. They learned skills from PM42 and other indigenous artists; as such their interactions were close. Following the pattern, a group composed of indigenous artists has emerged. They are loosely organized because of the common love of art and ethnic culture. Since they have been in the cities for a long time, the lifestyle of PM42, PM41 and RF34 can be termed as a mixture of Bohemia and indigenous way. They look strange in the eyes of home groups, because they don't follow the same rhythm as common people. Sometimes they work day and night; sometimes they take a rest for a long time.

Research Findings

1. The homecoming stranger? We-relationship and the transformation of life-world

To feel at home is the highest degree of familiarity and intimacy through an organized pattern of everyday routine and intimate face-to-face social relationship (Schutz, 1964a: 108-109). Coming home should be the warmest feeling for those homecoming indigenous cultural workers. However, all interviewees encountered a huge gap between themselves and villagers when they went back home community. The phenomenon can be analyzed from the perspective of the transformation of life-world.

Life-world means the culturally defined spatiotemporal setting or horizon of everyday life which resides in the preconsciously given aspects of behavior and perception (Buttimer, 1976: 277). From this point of view, home way of life is regarded as a scheme of expression and interpretation of the members of the in-group.

The system of relevance (Schutz, 1976: 92, 98, 108) adopted by the members of the in-group shows a high degree of conformity. They share a common horizon to understand and behave. "Within this common horizon there are objects of common interests and relevance, things to work with or upon, actually or potentially" (Schutz, 1964a: 109). In other words, a shared scheme of value dominates the principal everyday practice and social organization. Owing to the absence from home way of life for a long time, however, the common horizon has been transformed. On the one hand, the homecomers identify themselves with a scheme of value based on the traditionally collective-oriented collaboration and share it with one another in which human-relationship was intensive and solid. But it was substituted by the individualist achievement among home group.

Taking rice harvest for example, PM41 described how it worked while he was a child: "If my family was going to harvest rice tomorrow, my parents would assign me to invite appointed villagers for help tonight. At the time of harvest, the invited villagers would come to help. They worked hard together joyfully without payment. Next time when their rice field was under harvest, we would go to help them in return. The working rule was a kind of debt based on intensive interaction, not a deal by cash. Since they helped each other in turn and worked together during the whole harvest season, their sense of fellowship was confirmed, and quarrel was avoided". The similar rule worked on traditional slate house construction, said by PM42.

The most memorable good-old-day's practices, such as mutual working and sharing as well as intensive interaction, have faded. Being dominated by the articulation of a pre-capitalist community based on sustaining farming and hunting into capitalist mainstream society, the homcomers face a "disorganized" community from their perspective. The transformation of life-world both in home group and the homecomers results in a gap between them. Old values and experiences are

re-evaluated and are assigned with different meaning by the homecomers and home group. The change of the value system changes the degree of intimacy. The home group continues its daily life within the customary pattern although it has changed in an abrupt way. Even being aware of this change, they live together through this changing world and adjust themselves to the change. Whatsoever the system has changed entirely, but it changes as a system, even in its modification it is working for mastering life (Schutz, 1964a: 112-113). The in-group has now other goals, like that of personal wealth and status, and it uses other means to attain them, but still remains an in-group. For the homecomers, they resist to join home group since home group has given up the most precious traditional value system described above. Home group doesn't regard them as the members of in-group, too.

2. From Craftsperson to Cultural Worker

In the meantime, indigenous cultures are popular due to the rising tourist market in the 80's. "Aboriginal style" souvenirs are welcomed, and two indigenous cultural parks were opened in 1986 and 1987, located on central and southern Taiwan respectively. Due to a democratic development in the political regime, a localize-oriented cultural policy encouraged indigenous cultural renaissance since the 90's. Exhibitions, performances, seminars, indigenous cultural festivals were held in the cities and rural areas. This circumstance created the consumption of indigenous cultural products and attracted some indigenes to join in. They went home to initiate workshops. Some reproduced traditional pottery and beads etc., and some did artwork. Both identify themselves as cultural workers and artists. It signifies that the traditional role and function of the craftsperson now has transformed to serve mainstream society instead of home community.

As indigenous cultural workers, they had to go back to home communities in order

to cater for the gaze of "aboriginal imagination" of mainstream society. In doing so, PM42 now is a famous indigenous artist. He is very often invited to the exhibitions and seminars. At the same time, he becomes a representative and interpreter of the Paiwan art and culture. His works are welcomed and appreciated in mainstream society. However, he was scolded by the nobility because they accused him of selling Paiwan culture. Many artworks of PM42 are full of traditional totems which were allowed to be used only for the noble class. Now they are sold and exhibited everywhere. PM42 replied that the nobility didn't need those totems any more since their way of life was modernized, and their belief was Christianized. They need him no more; he has to make a living by doing so.

Both of PM41 and RF34 started their way of life as an artist since the 90's. Inspired by indigenous artist friends, their working opportunities are much more dependent on mainstream society than PM42. In order to earn a living, they have to leave home more often.

3. Dilemma and Strategies

They do not have the feeling of 'being at home,' because there are different values and ways of life between them and their home group. Although PM42 establishes a well-known position in the modern indigenous art field, he feels alone in his home community: "We artists are isolated from our society because the value has changed. People used to respect the traditional craftsman, but now they are concerned more about whether people have official background or not. While in the wedding ceremony or festival, even an elementary school scrubman would be introduced to the public by community headmen. However, a craftsman like me is totally ignored".

RF34 had run a coffee shop in a small town not far from her community recently. Her human-relation is much more complex and broad, and her lifestyle is more open

compared to her home group. It is against the traditional moral discipline for Rukai women, and she has to escape from the gaze in order to be herself: "When I am away from my home community, I feel free and I can do anything what I want; but when I return, I am suffering from their gaze. I am the person to be blamed according to their norm". The situation of PM41 is similar. A Bohemian lifestyle makes them hard to live closely with the home group.

To find alternatives in everyday practice in home community, PM42 chooses to keep a distance from home group, PM41 and RF34 move backward and forward from homeland.

Conclusion

There are some characteristics in common for those home returning indigenous cultural workers before they went home: 1. They had experienced a traditional way of life in home communities during their childhood. 2. Their capability to compete in the mainstream society was weak due to a limited education. 3. Their jobs in the cities were with low social status, low payment and instability.

After they went home, they are suffering. Looking for a niche to live with home group seems to be difficult due to their ambiguous role. The emergence of a rising tourist market and multi-cultural policy in the mainstream society offers them a role of indigenous cultural worker to produce "aboriginal style" objects in order to fulfill an exotic imagination. In order to behave like indigenes, they cannot stay at the mainstream society and have to go home. Yet, the restructuring of the home community results in the loss of the social position of craftsman. This contradiction is difficult to be solved. One solution they have found so far is to live between the home and mainstream environment.

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