

原住民族委員會獎（補）助原住民族國際交流

## 出席國際學術會議成果報告

報告人姓名	楊政賢	服務機構 及職稱	國立東華大學民族事務與發展學系 副教授
會議時間	112年6月13日~16日	會議地點	西班牙 格拉那達大學
會議 名稱	(中文) 第八屆國際觀光與休閒研究學術會議 (英文) <b>The Eighth International Conference on Tourism &amp; Leisure Studies</b>		
發表 論文 題目	(中文) 後疫情時代蘭嶼文化景觀的構成與形成 (英文) <b>On Formation and Formulation of Cultural Landscape in Orchid Island during The Post-Pandemic Era</b>		



報告內容應包括下列各項：

### 一、參加會議經過

- 20023.06.11~06.12 起程(台灣-維也納-馬德里-格拉那答)  
2023.06.13 大會報到、參加會議  
2023.06.14~06.16 參加會議  
2023.06.17~ 返程(格拉那答-馬德里-維也納-台灣)

### 二、與會心得

本次國際觀光與休閒研究學術會議係當前最具代表性之國際觀光與旅遊學術研究之定期會議，每二年由不同先進國家一流大學主辦。今年(2023)主辦單位為西班牙南部格拉那達大學，有幸在國立臺灣大學謝世忠教授邀集下與幾位學者合組專題，研討原住民族觀光之團隊報名參加，在寄出文章摘要送審後有幸受邀。估計本次會議有來自各國學者參加，而本團隊是臺灣唯一的參與者，肩負宣揚我國相關學術研究成果之任務。

本次會議主辦組織「國際旅遊與休閒研究學會」成立於 2015 年，致力於探索旅遊與休閒的經濟、文化和組織運作的策略，本屆會議試圖建立國際社會跨越學科、地理和文化界限的聯盟與研究網絡，並積極尋求建立一個認知共同體，進而根據共同的主題和後疫情局勢制定行動戰略。本屆會議特別關注「大流行後的旅遊業轉型」，包含當代旅遊與休閒的變化維度、旅遊與休閒產業的轉向、旅遊與休閒研究中的當代性等關鍵議題。

具體效益可羅列說明如下：

1. 本論文發表可透過「後疫情時代蘭嶼文化景觀的構成與形成」的線索探討其在地知識的關連性，並以比較研究的觀點探索臺灣原住民族地區的觀光發展困境。
2. 本論文發表可達成後疫情原鄉觀光發展與在地知識之全面性的整合研究，進而理解後疫情原鄉觀光發展作為一個族群動態的知識建構之文化機制。
3. 藉由本研討會的參與可進一步蒐集國際學術對此一研究議題關心學者的寶貴意見。同時，可與來自世界各地教研機構學者進行研討；藉由雙方的經驗分享，期能建立臺灣未來原住民學術研究上的具體合作交流管道。
4. 藉由本研討會的參與可實地瞭解國際社會針對不同原民族群和地區的觀光發展議題，在疫情前以及後疫情等二段時間範疇內之轉化景況，進行深入探討，期望可以帶來一些新視野，並供作台灣推動相關政策之案例參考。

總之，本次會議除了與各國學者進行學術交流之外，確實有助於本人增加相關專業見聞與學術人脈；此外，亦能促使本人日後的研究領域得以更加寬廣，並可裨益教學內容之多元性與豐富性。

### 三、建議

台灣國內學者除致力於在地學術研究之外，亦應積極參與國際學術社群，建議本校相關部門應多主動鼓勵並寬允補助年輕學者多參與國際學術研討會等相關活動。

本次參加會議的成效暨後續建議，可羅列如下：

- (一)可持續促進我國參與學者具有國際視野及實務經驗之學習。
- (二)可持續增加我國參與學者之相關教學觀摩與學術知能。
- (三)可續具體達成我國相關學術機構師生日後在學術研究與教學資源上更進一步與國際學術社群的彼此合作與實質交流。
- (四)可持續強化我國後續「原住民族研究」之政策論述與發展說帖，藉以健全我國原住民族學院教育體質、實踐原住民族文化傳承與創新，並促成大學使命與國家願景。

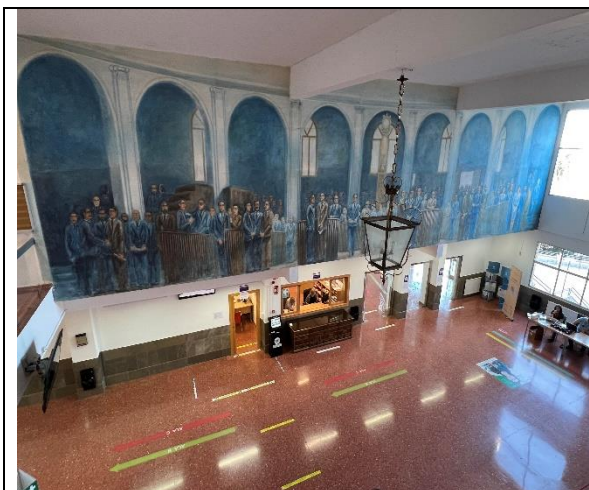


圖 1：本次會議主辦單位:西班牙格拉那達大學報告處

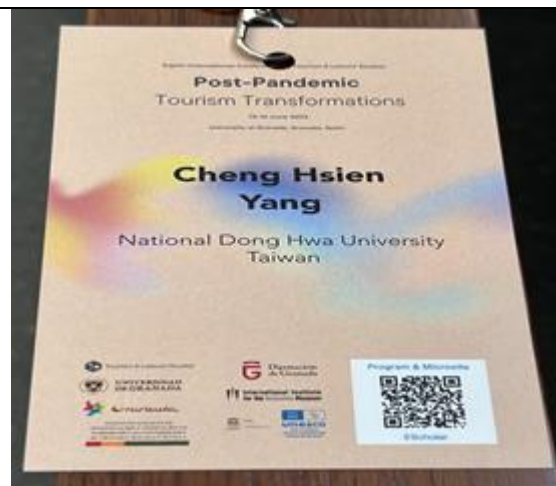


圖 2：本次論文發表者個人名牌



圖 3：筆者發表場次現場



圖 4：筆者發表場次現場



圖 5：筆者發表場次/會後合影



圖 5：筆者發表場次/會後合影

論文英文摘要

# On Formation and Formulation of Cultural Landscape in Orchid Island during The Post-Pandemic Era

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## Abstract

The Orchid Island is located fifty kilometers out of the eastern coast of Taiwan. The island has been speedily transformed into an open museum in the sense of tourism since the beginning of post-pandemic era. The question: Waiting for a flying fish or a tourist, is becoming a dilemma among most of the residents. The matter of touristic performances and cultural transformation in this Island tells an emerging story on modernity and indigeneity found in daily life of the indigenous Tao people.

In this paper I will describe continuous impact from the processes of museumization on entire island especially happened in 2022. And an interpretation on the phenomenon of exhibiting traditional material elements will be proposed as well. In my point a totally museumized island brings a new cultural phase of the Tao society and it has close relation with tourism. To summarize I attempt to clarify the significance of changing cultural landscape of Orchid Island in facing touristic wave today.

**Keywords** : Orchid Island, post-pandemic, tourism transformation, cultural negotiation, indigeneity, indigenous becoming

論文中文摘要

# 論後疫情時代蘭嶼文化景觀的構成與形成

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## 摘要

蘭嶼位於臺灣東海岸五十公里處。自後大流行時代開始以來，該島已迅速轉變為旅遊意義上的開放式博物館。問題是：等待飛魚或遊客，正在成為大多數居民的困境。島上的旅遊表演和文化轉型問題講述了一個關於達悟族人日常生活中的現代性和本土性的新興故事。

在本文中，筆者將描述博物館化過程對整個島嶼的持續影響，尤其是在 2022 年。並且還將對展示傳統物質元素的現象提出解釋。根據筆者的見解，一個完全博物館化的島嶼帶來了達悟社會的新文化階段，它與旅遊業有著密切的關係。總而言之，本文試圖澄清蘭嶼文化景觀的變化在面對當今旅遊浪潮中的意義。

**關鍵詞：**蘭嶼、後疫情、旅遊轉型、文化協商、文化景觀

## On Formation and Formulation of Cultural Landscape in Orchid Island during The Post-Pandemic Era

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### I. Introduction

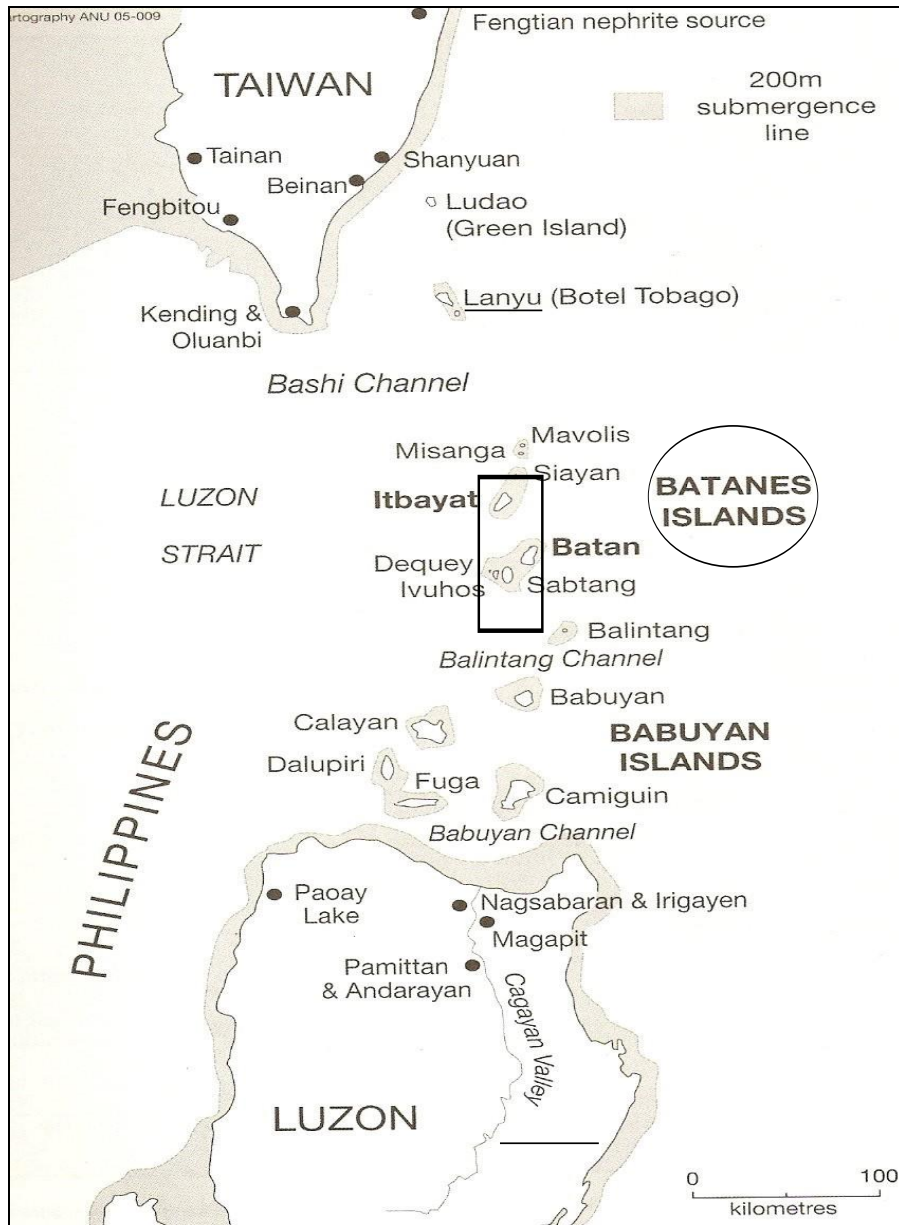
The Orchid island is located fifty kilometers out of the eastern coast of Taiwan. Ecologically, the Kuroshio passing by Orchid Island has rendered the island rich in marine resources, including migratory fishes such as “flying fish” (*Cheilopogon*) and “Dolphin fish” (*Coryphaena hippurus*). Flying fish are not only an important marine resource and cultural food, but they are also a reciprocal gift circulated in local society. Ocean cultural systems and historical development models can be observed in the traditional “people-fish network” among the Tao, which is represented by such practices as people’s consuming marine resources, producing food, and engaging in social exchange.

Historically, flying fish, along with rituals and ceremonies related to the fish, are not only highly valued among the Tao, but they are also elevated to the subject through which people explore the ocean and distinguish between seasons. According to myths and legends, the Tao categorize flying fishes into ritual vs. non-ritual fishes and those eaten by men vs. those by women. Moreover, based on Tao’s traditional calendar, a year is divided into three seasons: *Teyteyka*, the season when fish netting is finished, or summer; *Amyan*, the season when flying fish are coming, or winter; *Rayon*, the season when flying fish swarm, or spring.

The Orchid island has been speedily transformed into an open museum in the sense of tourism since the beginning of post-pandemic era. . The question: Waiting for a flying fish or a tourist, is becoming a dilemma among most of the residents. The matter of touristic performances and cultural transformation in this Island tells an emerging story on modernity and indigeneity found in daily life of the indigenous Tao people.

In this paper I will describe continuous impact from the processes of museumization on entire island especially happened in 2022. And an interpretation on the phenomenon of exhibiting traditional material elements will be proposed as well. In my point a totally museumized island brings a new cultural phase of the Tao society and it has close relation with tourism. To summarize I attempt to clarify the significance of changing cultural landscape of Orchid Island in facing touristic wave today.





**Figure 1 The Location of Orchid Island(Lanyu) and Batanes Islands ( Bellwood & Dizon 2005 : 3 )**

## **II. Tourism Transformation during the Post-Pandemic Era**

The thriving tourism on Orchid Island in recent years has contributed to generating a newly developed situation which we see sites direction boards stood in great numbers, introductory pamphlets of legendary and mythical narratives provided everywhere with promoting knowledge of flying fish cultural images, arts, and typical on ceremonies. We also can find that advertisements of sea canoeing activities and tourist websites are intensively appeared like bamboo shoots after a spring rain. Some professions such as tour guide training and counseling and souvenir production and vending are suddenly popular. Handicrafts and many kinds of tourist artwork are manufactured by local residents in order to satisfy with the visitors from Taiwan who are conducting internal tourism and from international regions. I would suggest that Orchid Island has been museumized gradually from its original territory of spirits kingdom. Waiting for a flying fish or a tourist? Various occasions in which tourism development and social-cultural Changes on Orchid Island reveal the contemporary construction and presentation of

indigeneity and indigenous becoming, which convey the “remembering” of the cultural daily living of Tao people.

### **III. Omnipresent Spirits Territory and Cultural Negotiation**

MacCannell (1976/1999, p. 166) indicated that the impacts of tourism on communities frequently result in two opposing positions: proponents and opponents of the tourism. The following problems are associated with these opposing positions: Supporters view tourism merely as a type of industry in classical economic terms; consequently, the supporters attempt to develop a profitable tourism factory while neglecting to consider which type of tourism is appropriate for the original social structure, which would enable the industry to naturally take root and develop in the community. Opponents adhere to certain moral beliefs; consequently, they adamantly maintain their position and completely overlook the intention of tourists to seek authentic cultural experiences. However, the counter effect is that tourists are more eager to glimpse into such traditional regions that are more protected. The positions of tourism proponents and opponents develop according to the following phenomenon: a type of social support system is never developed fast enough to respond to the rapid development of the tourism industry.

On Orchid island, tourism development in recent years has turned many aspects of the landscape into components of a quasi-museum, such as the following: explanatory signs adjacent to natural landscape sites; public art spaces displaying Orchid island mythology, legends, cultural landscapes, and flying fish culture; visits to the Flying Fish Festival ceremony; traditional canoe launch ceremony; tourism websites and brochures; the formation of cultural tour guides; and the development and selling of cultural and creative souvenirs. In the contemporary construction of an “insular” museum out of Orchid island, numerous display objects and contexts showcasing agency are thus provided through these subjective and objective conditions of constructing quasi-museums and their phenomena. Accordingly, as shown by the current development status of the museumification of indigenous people’s cultural heritage on contemporary Orchid island, three potential dimensions of contemporary construction have been generated (Figure 2):

#### **1. Insularity (Natural Landscape Tourism)**

With the emergence of the mainstream trend of localization and diversification in Taiwan society in recent years, the government has encouraged and promoted a series of national policies that agree to recognize the status of indigenous *Taiwanese peoples*. Orchid Island and the *Tao* people are collectively listed by the Taiwan government as one of 18 potential world heritage sites, a policy indicating that Taiwan values local development and that Orchid island, which is isolated offshore, has a relatively unique cultural heritage and natural landscapes. Generally, the mobility of tourists is limited to a particular geographical area when they enter the island of Orchid island, which is isolated by the sea. The abundant and diverse insular terrains, natural landscapes, and scenery of Orchid island make it an insular museum with favorable settings for natural landscape tourism.

#### **2. Ethnicity (Ethnic Tourism)**

In addition to its isolated insularity, the abundant culture of the indigenous Tao people on Orchid

island is a critical asset for tourism development. Because of an increasing trend in ethnic tourism development, displaying artistic images of the ethnic group across the island is a crucial approach for achieving the contemporary museumification of Orchid island. Bruner (2001) defined ethnic tourism as foreign and domestic tourists visiting other communities and display sites through tourism and observing people who have different identities, cultures, and lifestyles. In addition, these tourists typically assign stereotypical labels to people on the basis of ethnic and national characteristics that they observe, as well as according to whether the people are minorities, primitive people, tribal people, their own people, or farmers. MacCannell (1976/1999, p. 136) indicated that travelers continually examine through the process of tourism action whether their impressions of a local region are correct and subsequently modify their opinions after observation. Sometimes, they must even modify their impressions of contemporaneity. The process of tourism action creates symbols through which people view and understand the world, and through which they connect with and structure or restructure their place (position) in the contemporary world. Despite differences among individuals, the process of tourism action is a type of social behavior that *coconstructs* structures through collective action.

Accordingly, tourism can be viewed as a type of ceremonial behavior, as phenomena involving social differences. From the perspective of gazing and being gazed at, tourists naturally glimpse into the real lives of indigenous people in a tourism context as they adopt the optimal position for observing others. In other words, through the process of observing the various objects and contexts displayed because of the museumification of Orchid island, tourists can create their own symbols, cognition, and imagination for experiencing this insular museum. The ethnicity of the Tao people and the continual totemizing emergence of artistic images promote advantageous conditions for ethnic tourism development in Orchid island to serve as an insular museum.

### **3. Mimicry (Cultural Tourism)**

McKean (1989) reported that tourism in Bali, Indonesia, entailed ethnic tourism or cultural tourism; through internal governance, the groups observed by tourists could selectively strengthen particular local cultural traditions and social characteristics. Wang (2005, p. 69–73) reflected on the agency in which indigenous people's cultures are reproduced, including the dialectics involved in discussing the subjectivity of indigenous people. On the basis of the aforementioned statements, we can establish that openness and diversification in Taiwan society have heightened the subjectivity and ethnic awareness of Orchid island, both of which are reflected in the museumification of the Orchid island heritage. For example, explanatory signs placed adjacent to natural landscape sites are named according to the traditional Tao language, by which the Tao people are correcting the naming of sites and asserting their right to name their own regions and to interpret the history, culture, and stories of Orchid island.

Moreover, regarding the contemporary significance of museums, Chang (2005, p. 110) indicated that museums are created by the human society and contain intense social character (meaning). Conversely, museums generate a strong, simultaneous effect on the construction of social meaning. Chang also explained the form and function of museum institutions from the perspective of museumification:

The specific form of a museum serving as a type of institution does not occur naturally and

has not occurred in the same form in every period. Instead, different forms of museumification are exhibited in different human societies and during different periods. A museum itself is not an end in itself but is a form of museumification that seeks the most appropriate method and cultural sensitivity for presenting the real lives of people. Serving as an institution, a museum is a specific form of museumification that it exhibits (Chang, 2005, p. 104).

In exploring indigenous peoples engaged in the academic social movement, Hsieh (2004) proposed the phenomenon of modeling academic anxiety, which is experienced by indigenous intellectuals. Specifically, indigenous people engaged in writing tend to mimic the forms, themes, and content of mainstream academic writing in conducting research regarding their own ethnic groups and communities and to relieve repressed anxieties regarding their unfamiliarity with their own ethnic cultures and histories. The author of this study considered modeling academic anxiety to suitably explain behavior observed in promoters of organizations on Orchid island and in individuals engaged in the museumification of Orchid island. Although these personnel were not museum professionals, their intentions to and attempts at mimicking standards of professional museum displays were obvious.

In summary, with contemporary Orchid island serving as a cultural tourism site and with the Tao tribal people living on the island, the tribal people should develop internal tourism among their own people by using the operational logic of the tourism industry. In the context of tourism, how to design exhibitions and displays involving the “seeing/being seen relationship” is another emerging field in which tribal people must learn to adapt to changing times. Because of the level of mimicry and the active learning demonstrated by the Tao people in creating a positive impression of their local culture among tourists, Orchid island has become not only a cultural tourism site for those visiting the island but also a destination for learning the cultural identity of the Tao people.

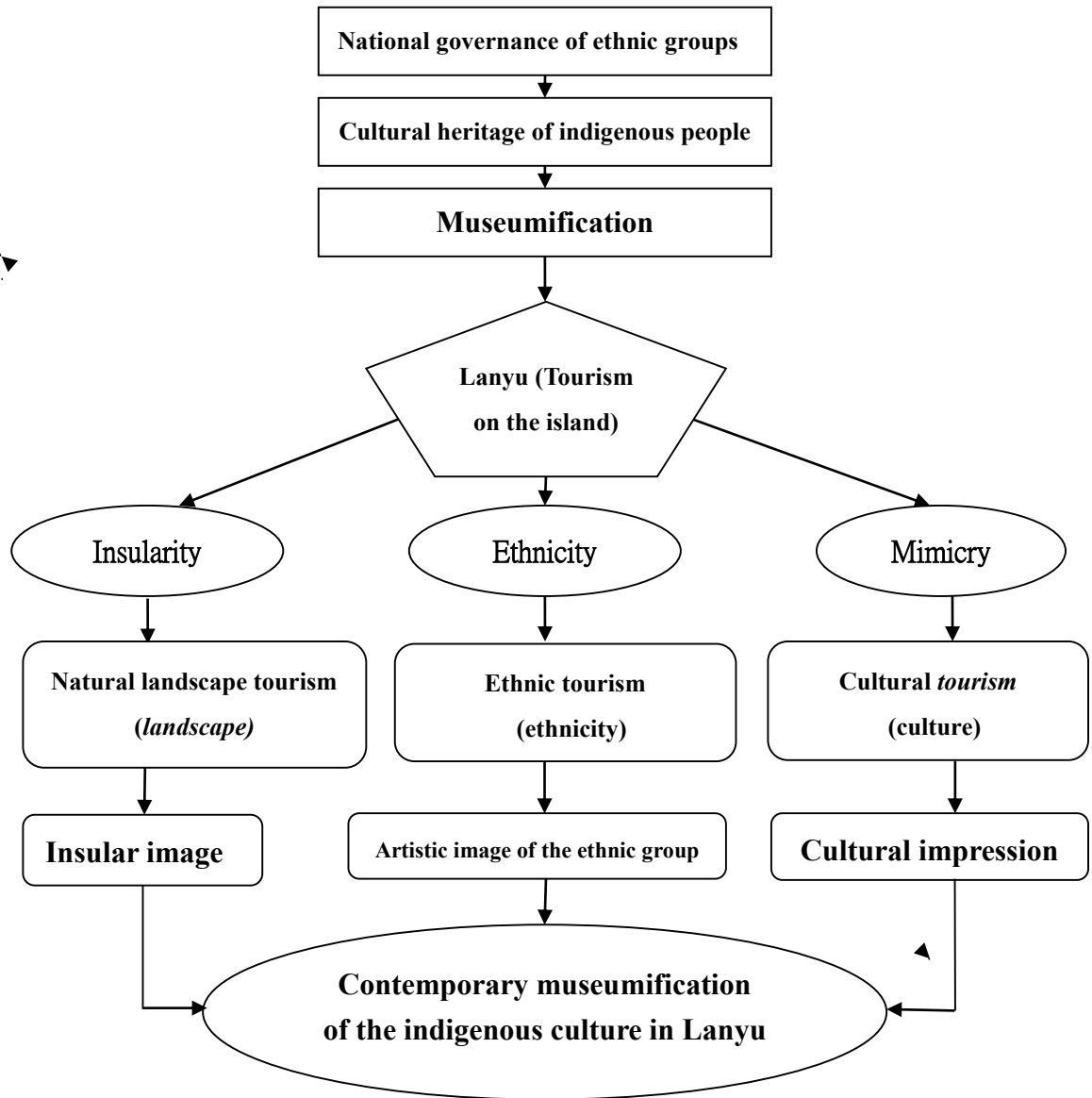


Figure 2. Contemporary construction framework of the museumification of the indigenous culture on Orchid island.



Figure 3. Orchid island Township Office: Image of a traditional canoe on top of a memorial arch.



Figure 4. Public art statues at Greenfield Pasture: A portrayal of the legend of the alliance between the Tao people and flying fish.



Figure 5. Orchid island Airport: Exterior of the building is shaped like a traditional canoe.



Figure 6. A medical building at the Orchid island Health Center: Building front is shaped like a mahimahi swimming from west to east.



Figure 7. Public art on the cement wall of the Kaiyun Harbor: Flying fish theme.



Figure 8. A souvenir: A mug with the flying fish theme (painted by Xia man•ma de nuo•mi si ka).



Figure 9. An explanatory sign placed adjacent to a natural landscape site: Reestablished by the local Tao people and located near the Round-the-Island Highway. The text explains the traditional naming of the landscape site in the Tao language and its cultural interpretation.



Figure 10. An explanatory sign placed adjacent to a natural landscape site: Reestablished by the local Tao people and located near the Round-the-Island Highway. The text explains the traditional naming of the landscape site in the Tao language and its original meaning.



Figure 11. In front of the plaza of the Lan An Cultural and Educational Foundation: Decorations on the replica of a traditional underground house.



Figure 12. Local Tao people explaining the culture of the traditional underground house displayed at the Lang-Tao Elementary School.



Figure 13. Tao people offering traditional canoe launching experiences for a fee.



Figure 14. Tourists from outside Orchid island experiencing traditional canoe riding on the sea.

#### IV. Contemporary Indigeneity and Indigenous Becoming

In the history of mankind, ethnic phenomena are not specific to modernity, but are integral links in traditional social relationships. In traditional academic studies of ethnicity or ethnic consciousness, a dialogue and debate has long existed between primordialism and circumstantialism. Advocates of primordialism (Geertz 1973[1963]; Keyes 1976; Van den Berghe 1978) have emphasized emotions and contend that persistent feelings of ethnicity are shaped by existing fundamental characteristics, such as biology, culture, and language, in conjunction with religion. In contrast, advocates of circumstantialism

have emphasized reason and stress that people adopt a flexible ethnic identity dependent on the time and location. Political or military leaders might manipulate the cognition and motivations of non-ethnic factors to conduct a rational evaluation of benefits, materials, and politics (cf. Barth 1969; Berreman 1982[1975]). For example, primordialism scholar Van den Berghe (1978:401) viewed the foundation of ethnic groups and race as an inherent primordial identity that is an unchanging and objective physical existence. However, circumstantialism advocate Barth (1969) proposed that an ethnic group is a social entity derived from differences in structure that arise from interactions among all sectors of society. Keyes stated that Barth's application of the concept of boundaries to ethnic research was a vital development and contribution to ethnic theory because it provided an understanding of how ethnic boundaries are produced and maintained. Barth maintained that an ethnic group is composed of a group of people that share certain cultural characteristics, and that these shared cultures are not the basic defining characteristics of an ethnic group, but rather the result (Keyes, 1976:203).

## **V. Concluding Remarks**

This study explored the contemporary museumification of indigenous culture on Orchid island and the presentation of natural landscapes on the island and analyzed subjective and objective factors for building a quasi-museum. With Orchid island as an insular tourism area, we determined that the contemporary museumification of Orchid island heritage required interaction among the following potential dimensions: insularity, ethnicity, and mimicry. In addition, various mechanisms associated with museumification were required for producing objects and materials advantageous for display, thereby transforming all of Orchid island into a large museum and enabling both the tribal people and the visiting tourists to participate in it. Hence, an insular museum could be created through mutual participation and collective engagement. Urry (1995, p. 4) reported that remembering is a type of social construction, social communication, and social inhibition and generation. In a never-ending process, the past is continually reconstructed in current time and space. Observing examples of the museumification of Orchid island shows that the Tao people endeavor to remember their ethnic culture and lifestyle through this contemporary museumification of Orchid island heritage and through the presentation of the landscapes. This museumification of cultural heritage and landscapes on Orchid island is implemented through the embodiment of specific, required display components, such as a display object, theme, medium, and space.

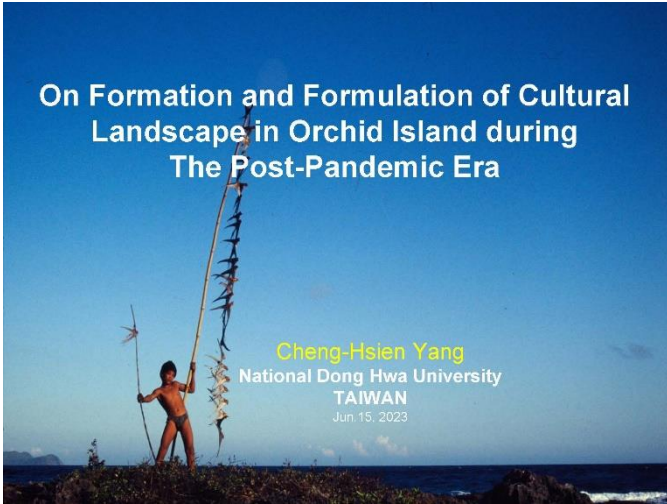
In summary, the construction of and demand for insular tourism environments increase as sites such as Orchid island simultaneously incorporate nature, ethnicity, and culture in developing tourism. The current trend of museumification on Orchid island extensively adopts the observing/being observed relationship framework. Metaphorically, tourists enter a large insular museum when they arrive on Orchid island. Residents on Orchid island both actively and passively participate in this ethnic tourism site. The residents even engage in mutual learning as they mimic the operational logic used by the tourism industry in developing museums. The current homogeneous development of various ethnic groups worldwide warrants investigating the following questions: What forms and restrictions will cultural dimensions caused by globalization impose on Orchid island as an insular museum? How can the natural landscapes of Orchid island enable tourists to observe the locality as one that uniquely pertains to Orchid island? Can the mechanism adopted by the Tao people for the museumification of



their cultural heritage successfully offset past disadvantages of Orchid island developing into an ethnic tourism site, thereby enabling them to regain the initiative of directing social changes and changing into new identities? Future scholars and local tribal people must conduct follow-up studies and focus on these questions to gain an in-depth and overall understanding of the contemporary museumification of indigenous cultural heritage on Orchid island.

On Formation and Formulation of Cultural Landscape in Orchid Island during The Post-Pandemic Era

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Jun 15, 2023

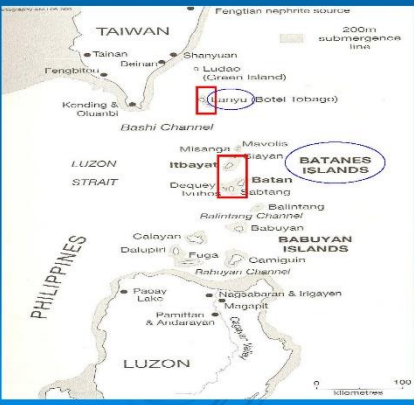


Field Area : Orchid Island (Lanyu)



2

The Location of Lanyu and the Batanes Islands



3

Concerning Issues

1. The Orchid Island has been speedily transformed into an open museum in the sense of tourism since the beginning of post-pandemic era ?
2. Waiting for a flying fish or a tourist becoming a dilemma among most of the residents ?
3. Touristic performances and cultural transformation in Orchid Island tells an emerging story on modernity and indigeneity found in daily life of the indigenous Tao people ?


4

Outline

1. Introduction
2. Omnipresent Spirits Territory
3. Overwhelmed under Tourists Occupation
4. Touristic Wave during the Post-Pandemic Era
5. Museumization of Indigenous Culture on Lanyu
6. Concluding Remarks

5

The Tao People of Lanyu/Orchid Island



6

### Historical Tribe View



7

### Contemporary Tribe View



8

### Omnipresent Spirits Territory

9

### Omnipresent Spirits Territory



Sacred area for the flying fish ceremony  
(Male only, no female)

10

### Omnipresent Spirits Territory



Traditional boat (*tatala*) and its "home"

11

### Omnipresent Spirits Territory



Left: Erected poles express thankfulness and mark the end of flying fish season  
Right: Tridacna clams as a sign of warning at the border of seaside cemetery

12

## Overwhelmed under Tourists Occupation

13

## Overwhelmed under Tourists Occupation



Left: Tourists enter directly into tribes  
Right: Female tourists casually touch canoes

14

## Overwhelmed under Tourists Occupation



Tourists on site at ceremonial occasions

15

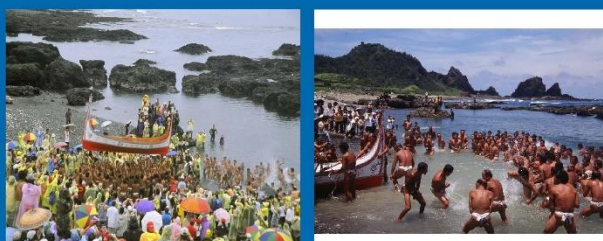
## Overwhelmed under Tourists Occupation



Large Boat (*cinedkeran*) Launching Ceremony

16

## Overwhelmed under Tourists Occupation



Large Boat (*cinedkeran*) Launching Ceremony

17

## Touristic Wave during the Post-Pandemic Era

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It seems to become a trend for the tourists to visit Lanyu during the Post-Pandemic Era



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## Museumization of Indigenous Culture on Lanyu

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Lanyu Township Office: Image of a traditional boat on top of a memorial arch.

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Public art statues at Greenfield Pasture: A portrayal of the legend of the alliance between the Tao people and flying fish

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Lanyu Airport: exterior of the building designed like a traditional boat

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Public art on the wall of the Kaiyun Harbor: Flying fish theme

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A souvenir mug with the flying fish theme

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**A natural landscape site:** two white rocks put by the local Tao people to indicate the meaning of its traditional name both in Tao language and in Chinese.

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Local Tao people introduced traditional underground house displayed at the Lang-Tao Elementary School for visitors

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Tao people offer traditional boat launching experiences to visitors for a fee

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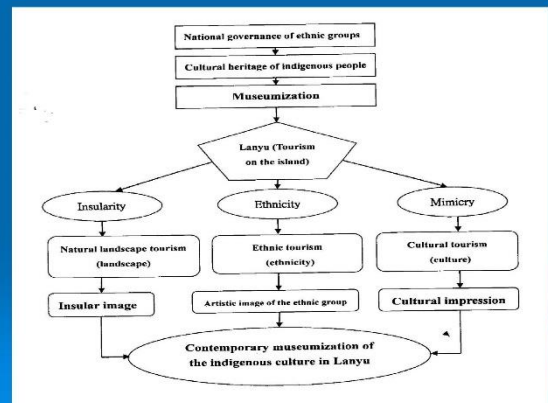
Tourists from outside Lanyu experience the traditional boat riding on the sea.

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## Concluding Remarks

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## A network analysis of the musemization of indigenous culture on Lanyu during The Post-Pandemic Era



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## Research Discussion

1. To describe continuous impact from the processes of musemization on entire island especially happened in 2022. And an interpretation on the phenomenon of exhibiting traditional material elements will proposed as well.
2. To suggest a totally musemized island(Orchid Island) brings a new cultural phase of the Tao society and it has close relation with tourism.
3. To summarize I attempt to clarify the significance of changing cultural landscape of Orchid Island in facing touristic wave today.

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