

EXHIBITING MINORITY CULTURE:
AN EXPLORATION OF EXHIBITIONS OF INDIGENOUS
CULTURE IN MUSEUMS OF TAIWAN

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ABSTRACT

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The research subjects of this study are temporary museum exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan. Via three case studies, each typifying a different approach to exhibition making, this study isolates the factors that affect the process of making museum exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan, examines the effects that exhibition making has on the exhibited subject and delineates the nature and characteristics of such exhibitions themselves.

The key findings of this study are that such factors as the rules and resources generated by cultural policy, administration and performance evaluation, the values, exhibition-making experience and reflexive insights of exhibition planners, and the relationships among key actors in the exhibition-making process function to both constrain and enable the process; and via a mutually interlocking, mutually influencing means construct the exhibition content. The common characteristics produced during the process include 1) rule and resource constraint and enablement, 2) a marked effect on the exhibition produced by multiple-status actors, 2) mutual validation or recognition as the starting point of relationships between actors, and 4) reciprocity as the core behavior in interpersonal relationships during the process.

This study also examines the effects that the making of such exhibitions has on the exercise and development of indigenous rights in Taiwan. Among its discoveries are that top-down cultural policy intended to promote the exhibition-making development of local-level museums ends up narrowing their cultural representation options. Also, cooperation between exhibition planners and the source community can promote indigenous cultural self-determination but also can constrain cultural representation diversity and produce power inequalities within the source community.

Based on the findings from its various case studies, this research provides recommendations for concrete ways that museums can foster the enhanced understanding and exercise of indigenous rights.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

When you see actual trees and shrubs used in a visual construction for a museum exhibition, can you imagine who made it, how they made it or why they did so?

When you see the seal of an indigenous chieftain placed in a museum exhibition display case, you would have no way to realize that it was placed in a different position three days before during the exhibition launch ceremony. However, if you knew that, would you wonder why its position in the exhibition was changed?

If you saw artworks created by indigenous students on display at a national-level museum, you might not have noted that this exhibition space was designed by the students themselves, but could you imagine what impact the process of exhibition installation had on them, perhaps even more than the process of artistic creation itself?

When the content of a temporary exhibition of artifacts being returned to their place of origin comprises oral histories gathered during fieldwork, descriptions by a person engaged in cultural and academic research terminology, have you ever considered how these were chosen for presentation to exhibition viewers?

Exhibition making and indigenous cultures

A museum functions as a social institution for preserving culture, representing culture and fostering mutual understanding between different cultures and sub-cultures. An

exhibition on a cultural topic produced by a museum can be regarded as the museum's most direct medium of communication for conveying knowledge about the exhibited culture. Once the museum-going public has seen the exhibition, its content and the effects resulting from that content are often used as the foundation and basis of what they perceive about the culture and the meaning imparted to the exhibition.

However, such exhibitions are produced in a certain temporal and geographic setting and are the result of an individual or a group undertaking an interpretation of the exhibited culture that involves certain historical, cultural, political and economic conditions. Solely examining the exhibition in terms of its content overlooks a significant portion of the conditions, reasons and methods that produce its meaning and representation. It also overlooks the potential for how the exhibition's construction influences understanding and representation of its subject. This in turn can obscure consideration of whether the exhibition accords with the functions and mission of the museum mounting it.

A temporary exhibition of minority cultures under the aforementioned circumstances has complex factors underlying its construction that involve power and rights issues. It involves the subjective perceptions of different ethnic groups regarding a particular culture and its issues, and during the decision-making process manifests a rich array of power exchanges and mutual influence on rights with respect to the operation, exchange, and even tug of war over different rules and resources. The situation becomes even more complex in a dynamic sense when the topic of such an exhibition is an Indigenous People and its culture. The indigenous culture in question has its own long history dating back even before the arrival of the majority non-indigenous social and cultural context in which the exhibition appears. By indigenous culture, what is meant for the

purposes of this thesis is a collective set of worldviews, values, customs, practices, norms, institutions and assets developed by a particular Indigenous People over its long history. However, in the case of minority Indigenous Peoples, that history in more recent times includes the exploitation and appropriation of cultural lands and artifacts at the hands of other ethnic groups during the colonial and even post-colonial eras. Moreover, minority indigenous culture has been itself transformed by the social, economic, political and technological circumstances of the country in which it is situated and no longer totally reflects a way of living by members of the minority indigenous group that is distinct from the mainstream majority culture. It therefore is exhibited with labels and images that, while they may have considerable input from the Indigenous People whose culture is being exhibited, are still subject to the perceptions of the majority ethnic group. The term indigenous culture is not what the minority ethnic group would call itself, except when seeking resources or asserting its rights within the majority mainstream social context.

A museum exhibition on a topic involving the indigenous culture can, from a macro perspective, generate new understandings and interpretations of the exhibited culture via exhibition content and interaction with the museum audience. It can even lead to reflexivity regarding the operation of power and rights issues. However, in the exhibition-making phase before the project is completed and unveiled to the public, the exhibition-making process is subject to the micro perceptions and representation of key actors with regard to the indigenous culture. This process at one level pertains to how the key actors understand the indigenous culture and its development, the context and conditions in which the exhibition is situated and the relationships between actors. At another level, it includes the mutual influences between these three elements and the power interactions behind them. Thus, examining the exhibition-making process goes

beyond uncovering and exploring the key factors that influence the process of making exhibitions of indigenous culture to include responding to and reflecting on what changes are produced for the Indigenous People and their rights as a result of the process.

Thus, a principal aim of this study is to determine the key factors affecting the making of temporary exhibitions and the effects that this process has on the exhibiting subject through depicting holistic perspectives of exhibition's background and context and awareness of power operation in the exhibition-making process. The findings of this research are based on individual case studies conducted at museums in Taiwan engaged in making temporary exhibitions of Taiwan's indigenous culture from 2013 to 2015. Among them, three cases studies of three different exhibition-making methods at museums of different administrative level comprise the main focus. Participant observation, in-depth interviews and cross-disciplinary interpretation and analysis were utilized to observe exhibition-making practices, and to identify the key factors affecting the making of temporary exhibitions of indigenous culture and its characteristics. Then this study uses critical analysis to determine the influence of temporary exhibition making upon the exercise of indigenous rights. It reveals the ways in which museums reflect the broader power relations between majority and minority groups, and how the construction of temporary exhibitions of indigenous culture are implicated in both constraining and enabling indigenous rights. Finally, based on the aforementioned deduced and interpreted research discoveries, this study seeks to isolate some of the characteristics of power in exhibition-making and to provide an alternative way to present the exhibition-making process.

Research objectives

Based on the foregoing research background and motives, the objectives of this study are to ascertain:

1. How indigenous culture is translated into exhibitions in different types of museum venues such as national-level museums and local-level museums of indigenous cultures;
2. What factors affect the process of producing a given exhibition;
3. How the process of producing exhibitions of indigenous culture is both influenced by and in turn affects ideas regarding indigenous rights; and
4. How power relations are implicated in the making of museum exhibitions.

Why Taiwan and its Indigenous Peoples

Exhibitions of Taiwan's indigenous culture have been selected for this research primarily because the long history of interaction between Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples and the various non-Indigenous Peoples inhabiting the island has rarely been characterized by economic, social or political conditions conducive to the unfettered development of indigenous culture and exercise of indigenous rights. This offers a unique museum studies and exhibition research topic for determining the factors that influence the process of making museum exhibitions of indigenous culture and how they affect the exercise of indigenous rights. Secondly, the current development of museums and exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan sufficiently offers ample and diverse conditions for undertaking such research. Thirdly, to date, there has been insufficient broad research focus on the exhibition-making process and its effect on the exercise of indigenous rights. These factors highlight the uniqueness, appropriateness and importance of Taiwan as a region for conducting such research.

Taiwan is a fault-block island located in the western Pacific Ocean separated from the southeast coast of the Chinese mainland by the Taiwan Strait. Two-thirds of its 36,008 sq. km total surface area comprises two mountain ranges. Its population in 2015 was estimated to be 23.4 million, of which, over ninety-five percent are Han Chinese in ethnicity. Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples comprise nearly 2.3 percent of the total populace, or nearly 546 thousand people. The island's rugged mountain terrain hindered mutual contact between its Indigenous Peoples over the ages, resulting in pronounced cultural diversity and unique characteristics among them. Currently, there are 16 government-recognized Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan, each of which has developed a different language, social order and cosmology.

The past four centuries of ethnic development and interaction on Taiwan have been marked by various waves of Han Chinese immigration (punctuated by brief periods of Dutch and Spanish colonial administration), five decades of full-fledged Japanese colonial rule, an ambiguous geopolitical status following the end of World War II and a subsequent four years of civil war on the neighboring mainland of China, and finally a period of re-defining indigenous rights following a transition to democracy. These various waves of colonialism and cultural interaction over Taiwan's history have bequeathed a unique social and political context for current policies and practices that pertain to museum exhibitions of indigenous culture.

The first colonial authority to appear on Taiwan in the 17th century was the Dutch East India Company. Its short-term commercial deer skin trading with the island's Indigenous Peoples marks the first impact on indigenous society in Taiwan. When the Han Chinese Ming Dynasty on the mainland fell to the Manchu Qing Dynasty, Chinese loyal to the Ming sailed to Taiwan, sent the Dutch packing in 1662, and then occupied Taiwan for

over 20 years before troops loyal to the Manchu Qing Dynasty defeated them and seized administrative control of the island for the next two hundred years. Nevertheless, Taiwan during this time was largely ignored by the Qing rulers, who considered a frontier area. When China's Qing rulers lost a naval war with Japan, they ceded Taiwan to Japan in 1895 with the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki after which the island was ruled for 50 years as a colony of Japan. These five decades were characterized by the Japanese export of strategic resources from the island and investment in building up its basic infrastructure, such as railroads, sanitation systems and public schools.

During the three centuries of administration by the various aforementioned colonial authorities, Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples living on the plains were forced up into the more remote mountainous parts of the island as Han Chinese grew more and more populous. By the period of Japanese colonial rule, ethnographic surveys, armed force and social control were variously used to deal with Taiwan's Indigenous peoples. Japanese ethnographers completed many important surveys which including entire population of Indigenous People for the first systematic study of indigenous in Taiwan (Wang, 2001; Sun, 2000). They were the first to categorize its indigenous groups into nine tribes, which is still used to distinguish tribes and is officially recognized by current governing authority on Taiwan, the Republic of China (ROC) government.

Japanese authorities seized land by armed force from the both Han Chinese and Indigenous Peoples during the colonial period, and political socialization programs were designed to force Japanese customs, rituals and a sense of being Japanese on both Han Chinese and Indigenous Peoples. While the colonial rulers encouraged the Indigenous Peoples to maintain their traditional garb, what the Japanese regarded as "barbarian traditions," such as tattooing, headhunting, and home burial sites were officially banned

resulting in many armed conflicts. The effects of these policies and practices continue to undermine the cultural identity of Indigenous Peoples today long after the end of Japanese colonial control of the island (Sun, 2000:30).

In 1945, the Republic of China gained political jurisdiction over Taiwan as a result of Japan's defeat by the Allied Powers (of which the ROC was a member) in World War II. Four years later the ROC government itself lost governance over the mainland area of China to the Chinese Communist Party at the end of the Chinese Civil War. A new governing authority, the People's Republic of China (PRC), was declared on the mainland of China in October 1949, while the ROC government 1949 relocated its administration to Taiwan and surrounding islands, an area that it continues to govern exclusively to the present day.

Taiwan's ambiguous geopolitical status in the international community dates from the end of the aforementioned civil war in China only four years after Japan was forced to renounce sovereignty over Taiwan. The ROC government at the end of the civil war continued to claim that it represented all of China, vowed to retake administrative control of the entire territory it lost in the civil war, and held a permanent seat on the Security Council of the United Nations. The PRC thereafter demanded that any country holding official diplomatic relations with the PRC must renounce official ties with the ROC and "acknowledge" that Taiwan is a part of "China" (i.e., the country administered by the PRC government). In 1971, the PRC government convinced the UN General Assembly to pass Resolution 2758, expelling the ROC government from the China seat in the United Nations and giving the seat to Beijing. Subsequently, all but a couple dozen countries in the international community now recognize the PRC as "China", and have no official relations with the ROC despite in most cases having substantive trade

and investment ties with Taiwan. As a result, Taiwan's international status has remained ambiguous and unresolved for decades; and its actual governing authority, the ROC government, without internationally recognized credentials to represent the people of Taiwan in international organizations such as the United Nations. With the PRC government on the other shore of the Taiwan Strait claiming sovereignty over the island without being able to actually govern the people of Taiwan, and discouraging most countries from overtly acknowledging the geopolitical reality of how Taiwan is governed, Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples have been bereft of the conventional channels by which the international community can influence non-indigenous mainstream ethnic groups around the world to encourage respect for indigenous rights.

In light of this, Taiwan completed a relatively peaceful transition from authoritarian rule to political democracy within a few years of the lifting of Martial Law in Taiwan in 1987. This underscored profound differences in the political basis of governance by the ROC and PRC governments, respectively, and more clearly differentiated Taiwan from the rest of China lost in the civil war. It also made it less convenient for certain members of the international community to continue denying the political reality in Taiwan that in fact more closely accords with international human rights norms than that of the PRC government which claims sovereignty over the island.

One positive collateral result of this process of democratization in Taiwan is that legislative efforts from the 1990s to rationalize the ROC Constitutions and the legal system and bring them into closer accord with prevailing international norms have been beneficial to the safeguarding and exercise of indigenous rights in Taiwan. Under the ROC government's administration, the policy of Indigenous Peoples gradually changed from attempting to assimilate on Taiwan's plains the exotic "mountain-dwelling

compatriots” (1950s), to assisting its Indigenous People through providing social welfare, then to respecting their political rights as being equal to those of Han Chinese (1980s), followed by amendments to the ROC Constitution and pertinent laws to protect the rights of Indigenous Peoples to education, work, and maintaining an indigenous identity (1990s). Nowadays Taiwan’s indigenous cultures appear to have made a transition from marginalization as topics of interest only to specialist researchers to increased prominence in mainstream society during the last decade. This transition has been aided by policy changes at the top levels of government. For example, in 2002 the Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP) was established to improve conditions for Taiwan’s Indigenous Peoples; since 2005 a cable television channel broadcasting in various indigenous languages has been in operation; in 2013 the very first local indigenous court began operating. Nevertheless, even though these changes manifest the significance and importance of indigenous rights, relations between Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples and other ethnic groups in general society continue to be influenced by a long-term colonial mindset; biases against and misimpressions of indigenous culture remain in Taiwan's mainstream Han Chinese population, mostly negative or skewed interpretations and impressions regarding the conditions under which Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples live, their innate talents, and eating and drinking habits, and the like. Biased perceptions among Han Chinese regarding the world view, perspective on ancestral lands and religious beliefs and practices of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples are still evident today. At the same time, ironically, mainstream Han Chinese society and Taiwan's political circles today often cite the unique nature of the island's indigenous culture to underscore cultural differences between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland under PRC control.

Thus, Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples and their cultures have long been seen by

mainstream Han Chinese society as a poorly understood exotic "other" to be patronized or manipulated in similar ways that indigenous cultures have been or remain subject to colonial perceptions and control all around the world. Taiwan's uniquely ambiguous status in the international community at present has spurred a gradual transition in mainstream society to pay greater attention to indigenous rights and to heighten appreciation of indigenous culture in recent years. The degree to which each of the 16 government-recognized Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan today are actually understood or appreciated in their respective political, economic and cultural contexts varies tremendously. This makes Taiwan is most interesting place to observe the interactions of politics and power at a number of levels in the process of making museum exhibitions of indigenous culture.

Similarly, the diverse array of types of cultural institutions connected with Taiwan's indigenous culture and their unique historical development provide a rich subject for research. In the beginning of the change in social climate and government policies toward greater recognition of the rights of Indigenous Peoples in the 1980s, the first step was not museum-oriented but rather to promote cultural tourism featuring performances of indigenous customs and rituals. In 1987, the ROC government established the Taiwan Indigenous Cultural Park in southern Taiwan. Songs and dances, waxworks and model structures stimulating life in Taiwan's indigenous cultures were the main instruments of display. Objects were placed in exhibition rooms and visitors were invited to experience indigenous handicraft activities, such as weaving. However, this reflected a view of indigenous culture as "exotic" by mainstream Han Chinese society, not genuine respect for or interest in the culture itself (Hsu, 2004:271). As democracy began to take hold in Taiwan's mainstream during the 1990s, its Indigenous Peoples began to win greater respect and museums began to reflect the connections between museums and

Indigenous Peoples, many studies and museum exhibitions began to consider and act upon the significance and importance of Indigenous Peoples as subjects in their own right (Hsu, 1998, 2004; Hu, 2007; Li, 2011a; Lîm, 2012a; Lu, 2005). The planning and appearance of exhibitions of indigenous culture conceived from a holistic rather than exotic perspective began at Taiwan's national-level mainstream museums. Although Taiwan has yet to achieve a national-level museum of indigenous culture, three national-level museums, National Taiwan Museum, National Museum of Prehistory and National Museum of Natural Science, have permanent exhibitions of indigenous culture. County and city governments in 30 locations have been operating local-level museums of indigenous culture since 2002. This transition from viewing Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples as exotic "others" to regarding them as subjects in their own right and the diversity of museums and exhibition-making institutions provide appropriate and abundant opportunities to explore the mechanisms and operating processes behind exhibitions of indigenous culture.

Finally, despite growing numbers of museums and indigenous exhibitions providing a rich capacity for research, understandings of how exhibitions have been made gained through participant observation and holistic analysis remain limited. I return to this issues in Chapter 2.

Thesis structure

This thesis comprises seven chapters. The research objectives and reasons for the selection of Taiwan as the research area are detailed in this introductory Chapter 1.

Chapter 2 consists of a literature review that provides a retrospective of the theoretical and analytical background to the concept of exhibitions to examine the contested sources for construing exhibitions as cultural representations. Various observations and

theoretical concepts about the factors that affect the making of such exhibitions serve as the analytical foundation for the case studies used in this research. This second chapter also highlights the connections between exhibitions of indigenous culture and museums and explicates the results and shortcomings of current research regarding such exhibitions to serve as the launch point for this study.

The research methods and case studies used for this research are enumerated in Chapter 3, which consists of four sections: Research approach, Strategy of inquiry, Data-sourcing methods and Data analysis methods. In these sections, the reasons for selecting these research methods and case studies are explained. A final section titled Role played as researcher, details the author's own perceptions and interpretive reflexivity during the research process.

The exhibition-making process in each of the case studies and the context in which each of the exhibitions was situated is detailed in Chapter 4. Each of the museums that mounted the temporary exhibitions examined in case studies for this research is described in terms of its developmental history, museum operation and exhibition administrative framework, as well as the local political, economic and cultural characteristics. Descriptions of the exhibition-making process in each case study include the process of deciding the exhibition topic, gathering or researching information or objects germane to the exhibition topic, exhibition design and installation, exhibition content and the exhibition launch ceremony.

The factors influencing the making of exhibitions are analyzed in Chapter 5 based on the observations enumerated in Chapter 4. The pertinent theoretical concepts of Anthony Giddens are utilized in the analysis, along with concepts from sociology and anthropology to explicate the significance common to all such factors.

Chapter 6 addresses the influences that the exhibition-making process in each of the case studies had on the rights of Indigenous Peoples. It begins with a retrospective analysis of the nature and implications of indigenous rights, and their connections with museums. This is followed by an examination of how exhibition-making practices might be understood to assist or undermine the exercise of indigenous rights.

All of the research findings discussed in chapters 4, 5 and 6 are summarized in the concluding Chapter 7 to serve as the basis for further exploring connections between exhibitions and power and an alternative way of seeing exhibition making. This chapter also provides acknowledgement of the limitations to this study and personal insights and recommendations based on observation of phenomena in the context of Taiwan's indigenous culture. Finally, a brief summation of the contributions of this study to the field of museum studies is also provided.

All of the interviews conducted on behalf of this study are listed in Appendix 1 as reference information regarding the methods used. Appendix 2 provides introduction to the Bunun people and their Ear Shooting Festival to supplement information about the context in which the exhibition was made at the case study, Bunun Cultural Museum of Haiduan Township.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are many interpretations of and analytical perspectives on just what a museum exhibition is. In this chapter, I shall attempt to review and collate theory pertaining to the nature of museum exhibitions. Based on a foundation of regarding such exhibitions as media for communicating information, I shall explore their unique and their controversial characteristics and highlight the necessity of analyzing and reflecting on such exhibitions from a completely holistic perspective. In the second part, I will explicate the relationship between Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples and museum exhibitions of indigenous culture. This will entail enumerating the relationships between such exhibitions of indigenous culture and external Taiwan society, and the relationship between Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples and the internal workings of Taiwan's museums, as well as summarizing current research analysis and findings regarding exhibitions of Taiwan's indigenous culture. Finally, I shall discuss the ways in which my research builds on and augments existing research in the field.¹

Exhibition as a contested media

Museum exhibitions can be regarded as a kind of tangible and intangible asset that communicates knowledge and interpretative perspectives and as media tools that elicit

¹ The review for this thesis of literature or the theory developed in non-Taiwanese contexts was not made with the intention of mechanically applying such concepts to a Taiwan context, or of necessarily corroborating the logic or experience contained therein, but merely to draw upon the theory and experience developed in different contexts to highlight from a holistic perspective and context the observations and analytical details requiring attention, as well as the issues of power and rights.

interaction between the museum, exhibition topic and public (Dean, 1996; Greenberg *et al.*, 1996; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Macdonald and Basu, 2008). From a functional perspective, a museum exhibition in the view of Dean (1996; 2015) is a composite of the museum's mission, collection and research. Production of a museum exhibition is a process of completing via organizations and cooperation with limited time and resources the concretization of concepts to educate the public (1996:10-13). And to accomplish the objective of education, "...the information behind an object must be related to the viewer through a planned and directed explanation for it to have meaning" (1996:6). Dean argues that a museum exhibition requires consideration of the needs of the public and community in order to avoid constantly setting the objectives and content of the exhibition based on its own assumptions about the exhibition viewer and the wider community. However, at the same time, it should avoid catering to public demand for entertainment or stressing short-term economic benefit for the museum at the expense of the museum's educational mission (2015:369). This premise, which displays tangible and intangible interpersonal relationships, also depicts a museum exhibition as a kind of medium for interaction between the inside museum and the outside community. It involves a different actors' agency in deciding what information can be displayed and how it will be displayed.

Hooper-Greenhill (1992) offers a similar perspective, then goes on to define an exhibition maker as acting in the capacity of decision-maker and interpreter who communicates selected information to the interpreted community which, via the prior knowledge, beliefs and values of the interpreted community, comprises the interpretation of the objects and intangible subject in the exhibition. During this process, because the prior knowledge, beliefs and values held by the exhibition producer(s) and interpreted community are based on perceptions of their own society and culture which

continually change, the interpretation is fluid that cross past and present and the significance it builds continually is subject to revisions and changes in the social and cultural structure (Corsane, 2005; Macdonald and Basu, 2008). As a result, the meaning generated for different ethnic groups or individuals after these descriptions carry out interpretation by its very nature leads to differences of opinion and controversy. The knowledge foundation, social status and cultural perspectives of the exhibition producers(s) and the public produce a large variety of readings of the same exhibition, which lead to both unquestioning acceptance of the orthodoxy of the exhibition content (Ames 1992:21; Macdonald 1998:1) and contrary interpretive perspectives and meaning that cause the museum or museum producer(s) to have to deal with controversy arising from differing interpretations and different effects (Ames, 1992; Greenberg *et al.*, 1996; Karp and Lavington, 1991; Simpson, 2001).

An example of this was the exhibition “*Enola Gay Exhibition Records, 1994*”, mounted by the U.S. National Air and Space Museum (NASM). The B-29 bomber that dropped the first atomic bomb on Japan in 1945 was dubbed “*Enola Gay*” by its flight crew. This exhibition was originally entitled “*Crossroads: The End of World War II, the Atomic Bomb, and the Origins of the Cold War*” and later re-titled “*Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*”. Each version of the exhibition script met with public controversy, resulting in the dropping of the original exhibition concept for a factual exhibition presented with minimal interpretation. This clearly depicts the controversy that arose between the exhibition producer(s) and members of the public with memories of the incident, due to the historical significance of the objects and the differing interpretations and expectations of the exhibition itself (Gierya, 1998; Harwit, 2012; Kohn, 1995).

Perhaps at the core of these differing views and controversies is the unique trait of an exhibition with a set subject to undertake representation (Hall, 1997; Simpson, 1996). Representation could be seen as the process by which the interpreter uses his or her own social and cultural perceptions via various media to re-describe his or her own self or others. And this process is subject to the influences of the historical, political and cultural context, as well as choice of media, and produces different meanings depending on the various decoding audiences (Barker, 2007).

This concept highlights the characteristics of representation that are relevant to this thesis. First, representation can be viewed as a subjective and partially actual process of interpretation. Representation is built upon a foundation of a given set of social and cultural perceptions. It is also a new understanding and interpretation of things, events, phenomena or worldviews. Thus, the gap between the world it represents and the world in actuality and the mutual influences between representing subject and represented subjected exist and are difficult to parse (Spencer, 2014). Second, the influence exerted on the representation by the temporal and geopolitical context in which the representation is made is manifested even more saliently in the relationship between the representing subject and the represented subject. In a colonial or authoritarian period or place, the relationship between representing subject and represented subject is limited to a given power relationship. This affects the level and diversity of vantage points and meaning that the representation can provide. It also influences the perceptions and interpretive approaches of the representing subject toward the other, the knowledge and thinking of the audience toward the represented subject, and how the represented subject perceives and thinks about itself.

These influential effects may include the fact that the interpreting subject during the

process of representation continues to oversimplify the similarities and differences between representing and represented subjects. If the concept is not sufficiently complete, it may also include causing or even manipulating the generation of a particular meaning. At the same time, precisely because description is constructed through agency, and its agency is constructed in a particular temporal and geopolitical context, so undertaking representation may express and authenticate the established values and images of a society directly by promoting the dominant values or indirectly by rejecting alternate values (Ames 1992:22, Asad 1986, Pálsson 1993, Shore 2005, Spencer 2014). As Sandell says, “[museums which] have made some of the strongest claims to objectivity, do not constitute ‘neutral sheltering places for objects’ (Duncan 1995:1) but rather that they generate ideological effects by constructing and communicating a particular vision of society” (2007:3). In other words, cultural exhibitions in museums can be seen as a process of constructing and communicating otherness, a process that utilizes socialized actors to interpret and describe another socialized otherness. Thus, interpreting the nature of an exhibition is connected to the social and cultural background of the representing subject and the represented subject, and the power relationship between them. This subjective, partially actual and fluid process of construction is a key factor in why such exhibitions serve as controversial media.

However, with the appearance of new museology theses and perspectives, museum studies and research has begun to adopt more practical and assertive intentions to deal with the aforementioned controversies. Such issues of concern in new museology as, “the collaboration of museums and communities, the importance of multiple voices, and the recognition of the rights of peoples to be included in and consulted about the presentation and preservation of their heritage” (Krouse, 2006:170) not only run

through the areas of traditional classic museum functions and operation, such as museum collections, exhibitions, education, marketing and governance, but also extend the functions and missions of museums to care for the disadvantaged, respect of differences, acceptance of controversy and creation of a forum for dialogue as actual goals (Message, 2015; Silverman, 2014:14).

As far as exhibitions are concerned, this trend of thought directly has triggered the response of museum practitioners in the form of a question; namely, if an exhibition functions as a kind of social and cultural representation, how is the decision-making generated, the exhibition content is constructed from whose knowledge, values or ideology, who take part in the exhibition-making process and who should take part, as well as ultimately what meaning does the exhibition convey and what effect does it have on society? (Macdonald, 2011:3). Finding the answers to these questions depends on the approach used to consider them, and currently one such approach that cannot be overlooked involves considering them in terms of politics and power. Vergo (1989) in *The New Museology* asserted that all representation in museums has political meaning. Karp (1991) then applied “post-colonial” concepts to view museums as “colonizing space” and to examine whether museum exhibitions used special authority to enhance the value of colonial countries, or whether, relatively, to undermine or intentionally limit the “primitive” significance of colonized cultures. Hooper-Greenhill (1992) used the term “post-museum” while comprehensively examining from a political perspective the agendas, strategies and decision-making processes of museums. Macdonald (1998:3) figures that if exhibitions are regarded as the production, distribution and consumption of knowledge and accept that power influences the production of knowledge, then we must not overlook the critical influence that politics has on exhibitions. Bennett (1998, 2015) uses such ideas of Foucault’s as institution and “carceral archipelago” to depict

museum exhibition practices as institutional articulation of the connection between power and knowledge. The goal is to construct a formation that links the social public with respect to specified cultural concepts (such as aesthetics). Thus, exhibition practices become an “exhibitionary complex”, which uses representation as an allocative device to disseminate culturally authoritative information. Luke (2002) regards exhibitions as having a high degree of social influence and political symbolism.

When considered in terms of politics and power, the meaning demonstrated by an exhibition and the effect that the exhibition itself has are directly and crucially related to what sort of factors affect the generation of its meaning and effect during the exhibition-making process. Thus, isolating the factors that affect exhibition making becomes necessary in order to understand how exhibitions are made and remade.

Factors affecting exhibition making

In the theoretical expositions of related studies, the factors affecting exhibition making include such pertinent conditions as a series of factors resulting from human agency generated from the foundation of an historical, political, social and cultural context; the agency of things, social relations and specific rules and resources. These conditions all exist in a mutually influencing and interwoven state.

Bouquet (2015) used historical written materials and interviews to analyze the process of making the “Dutch Colonialism” temporary exhibition at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam from 2000 to 2001. In her description, the first challenge for the museum exhibition planners was to find the key in the political, economic and cultural power structure that could convince decision-makers to accept an exhibition of a colonial nature. The reason they ultimately settled upon for making the exhibition was to transform the colonial objects it was exhibiting into world assets. Second, space

resource conditions at the museum limited the nature and scope of the exhibition. This included not only building's historical significance but also a whole series of practical resource minutiae such as the exhibition space and lighting. And since the objects in the museum's collection blatantly reflected the colonial past, the museum carefully examined the proposal in comparison to the colonial topics of exhibitions at other museums before it was willing to seek a clear definition for its own exhibition. The predilections of the exhibition planner for certain collection objects and the connection between certain objects and the planner's own professional expertise affected the choice of exhibition content. Discussion and coordination among members of the exhibition planning team, as well as recommendations provided by outside specialists also influenced the exhibition-making process. From Bouquet's analysis, it is clear that the exhibition was not only influenced by the professionalism of the in-house museum staff, by the internal organization of the museum, and by the characteristics of the exhibition objects or space, the authority of decision-makers outside the museum, as well as the social climate and even stereotypes about a theme pertaining to objects of the colonial era all had their effect on the exhibition-making process.

Norton-Westbrook (2015) states with regard to interviews and surveys in *The Pendulum Swing: Curatorial Theory Past and Present* that there are three levels of factors that affect exhibition planners. The first level includes demands on the museum from the external political, economic and cultural environment. For example, cuts to museum budgets ever since the 1970s in the UK and US have become one of the reason dampened the willingness of exhibition planners to produce blockbuster exhibitions, and concerns and demands from the public and academia since the 1980s regarding transparency in museum exhibitions have affected the exhibition-making process. The second level comprises internal museum politics, such as its organizational structure and

interaction between management and staff. Guidance of new and inexperienced staff by senior and experienced colleagues and the conditions by which superiors review the performance of their subordinates can affect the degree, value judgements and exhibition planning perspectives of those responsible for the exhibition. Finally, individual agency stemming from the planner's professional experience, viewpoint and connections directly affect the exhibition-making process.

MacDonald in her series of works exploring exhibition making and its content thoroughly describes the factors affecting a scientific permanent exhibition and the mutual connections between these factors. She cites an example of a permanent exhibition at the Natural Science Museum in London, where she feels that such exhibitions "...always involve the culturally, socially and politically saturated business of negotiation and value-judgment, and they always have cultural, social and political implications" (1998:1). In her work, *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum*, she utilizes an ethnographic approach to describe the external factors that influence such exhibitions, such as government policy, museum policy and aims, exhibition-planning requirements and principles, the museum architecture and exhibition space, exhibition-planning time, budgets, categories of collections and professional capabilities, power to implement and judgment of those taking part in the exhibition planning (2002). She goes on to say that other factors affecting the production of exhibitions are internal and abstract, such as the relationship between the developmental direction of the museum and social needs; the exhibition content and approach and the needs of museum-goers; the exhibition and the source community; exhibition planners and advisory agencies (sometimes exhibition planners are not experts about what is to be exhibited and must accept the ideas of specialists); and museum patrons and the museum. Internal museum social relationships, such as, first of all, the power relationships between different

departments and staff members within a museum, can also influence exhibition making. In her ethnographic research in the Science Museum, Macdonald found a museum director could fundamentally influence the exhibition planning process. In addition, different departments would ask for change to the exhibition based on internally driven departmental agendas and interests (2002:237).

Second, the status and power of the exhibition planner within the museum is another factor. Exhibition planning manifests the exhibition planner's professional and academic background, knowledge-building approach and sensitivity to power relationships. Macdonald discovered that exhibition planners were unable to make plans based completely on their own ideals and wishes; the epistemological influences of society and their power and status within the museum power structure produced commensurate responses (they figure out what their superiors want in order to gain approval and comply with the curator's prerogative to modify exhibition content) (2002:92). Third, the prejudices and stereotypes of exhibition planners regarding the exhibition topic, as well as their perceptions of the attributes of the collection can change the content of the exhibition and the manner in which it presents information (Sandell, 2007: 38); and fourth, whether a collection appears or not is directly influenced by the dependence relationship between the collection and collection specialist (the appearance of the exhibited object signifies that one's own expertise has been observed) and the museum's internal decision-making structure (2002:79).

The aforementioned studies provide an important analytical foundation for analyzing museum exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan. In a broad sense, they underscore the fact that such exhibitions do not entail a linear process of producing and outputting information; but rather involve such factors as complex regulatory and resource

conditions, individual agency and person-to-person relationships and the process of cultural reproduction produced from their interwoven mutual influences. Thus, to analyze exhibition making and its effect on power from a holistic viewpoint requires doing so from historical, social, cultural and power perspectives from which it will then be possible to identify their mutual links and influences.

Relationship between Indigenous Peoples and museum exhibitions

A museum can be viewed as a social institution that in historical terms is influenced by social values and system, that in political terms cannot avoid government policy intervention and assistance, and that in cultural terms has the power of allocating interpretation and of creating meaning. Its role definition and functional practices are often subject to historical and political influences and intervention which it cannot avoid. It often has to undertake the awkward task of actively (or passively) reconciling the cultural and political demands of different social groups. This requires balancing the museum's own definition of its functions and institutional role with how external society regards the museum's mission and objectives and how the museum itself regards its commitment to fostering the rights and interests of minority groups.

While museums in this era have become regarded by external society as social institutions that must begin to take responsibility for actively reflecting and responding to social and cultural phenomena and difficulties (Golding, 2009; Kreps, 2011; Marstine, 2011; Sandell and Dodd, 2010; and Sandell, 2011), the focus of discussion has become fixed on how museums practice relations between themselves and minority groups. The fact that minority groups continue to be marginalized by part of society easily leads to extending the topic of discussion to equality and justice between ethnic groups, and even expectations that the result of such discussion can be the creation of an

environment of fairness and equality, and cultural viewpoint that is pluralistic. As Lehrer and Milton put it, “the goal of curatorial work is no longer simply to represent but to make things happen” (2011). For example, a study by Kimberly Keith (2012) of the interactive relationship between museums and community heritage organizations asserts that the balance of power between majority and minority groups is an important factor that determines the practice of social justice. Sandell (2007; 2013) cites the examples of the disabled or Lesbian, Bisexual, Gay and Transgendered groups to explain how museums undertake mobilization of prejudice and inform perceptions of these minority groups by members of the public. He reminds museums using the concepts of social inclusion and social justice that they must be more courageous about making the public aware of and willing to face the fact that such groups are marginalized people who are easily ignored, and the need to establish social fairness and safeguard the human rights of minorities. Message (2014) cites examples of social skirmishes and social movements to explain how museums and museum practices can be changed into spaces and mechanisms for promoting minority rights, so that cultural and individual recognition, access, equity and the assertion of political as well as human rights can gradually be put into practice.

This has resulted in an increased need in museum for curators and exhibition planners to be aware of rights issues pertaining to museum operations that impinge upon the museum’s functions as a social institution. Cultivating reflexivity to scrutinize each stage of exhibition planning and presentation in order to ascertain its propriety with respect to such issues promotes museum compliance with the direction of external social trends being shaped by such rights issues and can serve as the trigger for improvement within the cultural source community of how its culture is represented.

Influence of external social developments on exhibitions of indigenous culture

The relationship between Indigenous Peoples as a members of a minority group and museums in the aforementioned context continues to involve the pursuit of dialogue about rights that pertain to culture.² The development of Indigenous Peoples and in colonial-era history and the post-colonial era, reflection and redefinition of how non-Indigenous Peoples perceive indigenous culture, land appropriation and artifact exploitation are all topics closely tied with and affected by the position Indigenous Peoples find themselves amidst the nation's political, economic and cultural changes (Kreps, 2011). This sort of background has led relationships between Indigenous Peoples and museums or exhibition practices and the meaning and effect that such exhibitions generate to long be associated with tests of indigenous rights.

For example, Carr-Locke (2015) discusses the context of First Nation peoples and American Indian peoples and their relationship with the nations of Canada and the United States, dividing the relationship between these Indigenous Peoples and museums into four major stages, based on temporal differences. The first is a stage of acceptance by mainstream society of the creativity of indigenous art, then a stage of respect for and repatriation of indigenous artifacts, followed by a stage of reformulating the manner of representing indigenous culture and finally reconfiguring power relations amidst bilateral cooperation. Although she does not describe the social, economic and cultural context behind these four stages, it is clear from description by Kreps (2011) that these

² MacDonald and Alsford note that museums cannot avoid paying heed to the expectations of cultural minorities for respect and revitalization of their culture, hence museums must "acknowledge the right of cultural minorities to participate in the interpretation of their own cultures" (2007: 289). Also, museums in New Zealand and Maori cultural centers have redefined the role of such institutions from owners of the cultural artifacts in their collections to guardians of said objects. This has not only enhanced the foundation and boosted the potential for collaboration between the institutions and the Maori source community, it has also allowed the Indigenous People to gradually regain control over how its culture is represented and has heightened identification with its cultural heritage (Butts, 2002; McCarthy, 2007; Mead, 1986).

four stages have considerable connection with the start of the civil rights movement in North America in the 1960s in which minority peoples including Indigenous Peoples began to struggle for their own rights. This movement resulted in securing such laws as the National Museum of the American Indian Act in 1989 and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in 1990, and allowed Indigenous Peoples to secure greater rights of independence and self-determination in the area of museums and exhibitions.

McCarthy (2007) uses exhibitions of New Zealand Maori people as the setting for organizing relations between the Maori and exhibitions into five stages: 1) the colonial era when the Maori were regarded as the primitive other, 2) the period when Maori were recognized as a part of New Zealand's history, 3) the period when Maori art works were respected, 4) the period of concrete symbols of Maori identity and 5) re-definition of and respect for the Maori world view and cultural perspective, such as *taonga* (Maori treasure). McCarthy transforms historical, political and social factors into background for explaining that the relationship between New Zealand's Indigenous People, museums and exhibitions has a great deal to do with the Treaty of Waitangi as the political and legal basis for national politics, a policy shift toward biculturalism and a series of laws guaranteeing the repatriation of Maori artifacts and prohibition of their sale. In terms of social changes, it is connected with the gradual shift to an urban lifestyle for many Maoris, allowing them the opportunity to observe and reflect on the influence that museums have on Maoris. These factors all gave the Maoris an opportunity to actively participate in museum affairs and to promote the kind of bilateral relationship they themselves had hoped for.

These examples attest clearly to the fact that the relationship between Indigenous

Peoples and museum exhibitions has been formed in a special social development context and the locus of the relationship depends on practicing mutual understanding and slowly validating the cultural values of the Indigenous People, then understanding the importance of indigenous self-determination in the process of cultural reproduction, and ultimately expanding the potential for museums to become venues for promoting indigenous rights.

Influence of internal museum behavior on exhibitions of indigenous culture

However, when external political, economic and cultural developments enable relations between Indigenous Peoples and museums to become closer, what effect does internal museum behavior have on the relationships?

Museums starting the 17th century were “cabinets of curiosities” as European nations extended their maritime power to develop colonies far from European shores. Although these early museums were gradually opened up to the public and begin to exercise the functions of developing their own expertise, preserving the objects in their collections and educating the public, the colonialism mentality of preserving cultural hegemony, of maintaining the creation of a cultural hierarchy, and of ignoring marginalized peoples remained unresolved, and continue to alienate Indigenous Peoples from museums.

Although contact between greater society and Indigenous Peoples gradually resulted in a shift from alienation to respect, and countries with Indigenous Peoples began to stress the significance and harsh reality of pluralistic culture; museums continued to ignore and not discuss the various phenomena of the colonial era and to overlook the inequalities left over from the colonial period. The National Museum of Australia as an example in explicating how this museum only used quick sketches regarding the content of multiculturalism exhibitions, stressing contemporary surface manifestations of

cultural pluralism, such as lifestyles, movements or commerce, but not the spirit or multiculturalism itself or the contemporary difficulties confronting minorities.³

Message thinks that this attitude and coldness appear to be symbols of museum resistance against multiculturalism, and of making a pretense of multiculturalism merely to display contemporary pluralistic culture phenomena in a superficial way that fails to stress the essence of multiculturalism or minority culture (2005:468).

Even though the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa Museum) incorporated the national cultural framework of biculturalism, and transformed its exhibition-planning approach to one centered on the Maori spirit, and added opportunities for non-mainstream culture and interpretations; nevertheless, the Te Papa Museum still relies on a cosmopolitan mentality and the device of cultural exchange to create an image of itself as a bicultural museum. This hybridity of exhibition objectives and structures may make it hard for minorities having difficulty finding identification with their own cultures to discover their own culture identify and definition, and may cause people to mistakenly suppose that old colonial attitudes have already been corrected or have even disappeared (Message, 2005:479).⁴

Clifford's concept of contact zone is an indispensable concept exploring how balanced

³ Australia and New Zealand began promoting cultural pluralism and biculturalism in the 1970s as well as a political foundation redefining and affirming national identity. They also began to examine cultural administration and policy and their interactive relationships with museums, and stressed the significance of local cultural centers or ecology museums (Message, 2005: 466).

⁴ Alivizatou is relatively sanguine about Message's concerns, and when analyzing the exhibition contents at Te Papa Museum, Alivizatou believes that neither globalization nor capitalism have affected the exhibition of indigenous or minority ethnic group culture; on the contrary, they have provided opportunities for the revival of such cultures. She cites the Te Papa Museum's exhibition and direct experience of a Maori meeting house as an example to explain the greatly significant cultural symbolism it has. It is not just a static symbol and exhibited work; through the mutual interaction produced by experiencing it, it becomes a medium that embodies cultural spirit. This approach imbues cultural exhibit artifacts with functionality that goes beyond just the visual to include what is affective and effective. It also boosts the culture's visibility and attains inter-subjectivity despite requiring use of the game rules of the West such as globalization and cross-cultural interaction to attain this result (2011: 52-55).

cooperation relationships can be established between Indigenous Peoples and museums. His essay, "Museums as Contact Zones" stresses the hope that museum can begin to open up their functions, environment and artifacts to the outside world which in the past could not readily have contact, so that "museums transform themselves into venues that actively promote and do not passively preserve (or even lock away) ethnic cultural assets" (Clifford, 1997; Li, 2014:7) and initiate equal exchanges and dialogues.

However, at the same time, the type of relations described in the essay appear to be a kind of co-existence, in reality a set of rules for existence which both sides have after calculation established to survive (Pratt, 1991; 1992), and museums become venues for once more oppressing minority rights, that is, "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (Pratt, 1991:34), generating another type of exploitation and appropriation, and ultimately re-creating a master-slave relationship.

Even though in recent years many studies have broadly emphasized the significance of cooperation between museums and the (indigenous) source community, seeing this as an important way to head toward a more balanced power relationship (Peers and Brown, 2003); nevertheless, when museums, as before, decide the content, methods and even the parties with which to cooperate, and when the power and resource basis for bilateral exchanges is inconsistent, exchange interactions easily consolidate the original dominant and dominated relationship (Bennett, 1998:211; Message, 2015; Boast, 2011). This exposition reminds us that when Indigenous Peoples and museums cooperate, the focus of concern should not just be on with whom to cooperate, it should be on the power and resource basis before cooperation and on the effect produced after cooperation.

Interestingly, a study by Nakamura (2014), “indigenous cultural self-representation and its internal critiques: a case study of the Woodland Cultural Centre, Canada” discovered that even when aforementioned demands are put into practice, the significance and efficacy of the exhibition may still not obtain acceptance by the source community. He discovered in his research of this large-scale museum of indigenous culture in Canada that the museum selected contemporary indigenous art and creations as its topic and practiced the goal of dialogue on contemporary issues and operated the museum in an indigenous administered setting, which eliminated any concern about reproducing an unequal relationship; nevertheless, since the production of its exhibitions was under the incentive of a top-down policy, it could not respond to the local cultural needs and could not jointly collaborate with the local community in mounting the exhibition. In addition, the overall academic nature of the information presented in the exhibition proved inaccessible to members of the public, which resulted in tepid public identification with the exhibition. The exhibition planners also did not demonstrate much enthusiasm or concern regarding the exhibition.

This indicates that even an exhibition in an indigenous museum can be seen as a medium of self-representation (Hendry, 2005; Simpson, 2006); yet, possibly as Issac (2007) observed among Zuni cultural exhibition and museum practices, this could result in only those familiar with museum functions being able to operate them, or being willing to collaborate with museums. This not only excludes the participation of others in the exhibition-making process, it also precludes those with world views and cultural values that conflict with museum functions from being able to cooperate with the museum, ultimately resulting in the museum and the exhibition-maker tending toward a single type or even elitism.

Kreps (2008, 2011, 2012) takes a theoretical standpoint accumulated from practical experience to recommend that those engaged in museum exhibition work when facing the aforementioned challenges, must attempt to establish “appropriate museology” that accords with local indigenous resources, traditions and cultural values. This can reduce the hegemonic status of classic museum functions and missions in Eurocentric museology, and allow the local community to generate its own prospects and objectives for the museum from which to build identification and participatory willingness. It also allows the use of the concept of safeguarding indigenous intangible heritage to protect the indigenous worldview, values and traditional crafts, as well as practices and approaches suitable for their own museum. It can also prevent Indigenous People when operating the museum from being susceptible to the economic efficacy mentality in classic museum functions due to a lack of financial resources, or being subject to control by political, economic or cultural resources (Stanley, 2007:16).

These studies indicate that among exhibitions based on an international indigenous cultural context, valuing contemporary cultural issues and building balanced power relations between Indigenous Peoples and museums (or the exhibition production team), undertaking deep interaction with indigenous culture and community groups, and establishing their own museum exhibition practices and approaches to encourage greater understanding and appreciation of indigenous culture are major keys to enabling museum exhibitions to obtain positive interpretation and effect and to actually produce positive changes on behalf of rights.

Studies on factors affecting exhibitions of indigenous culture

The foregoing observations constitute a relatively macro approach involving exploration of how the environment external to the museum and its internal behavior affect

exhibitions of indigenous culture. This section analyzes from a micro-viewed perspective the factors that affect temporary exhibitions of indigenous culture, first from case studies outside of Taiwan and then from those within. Each of these temporary exhibitions in their own particular historical, political, social and cultural settings use the agency and social relationships of exhibition-making participants to practice self-representation. And because of this, the factors affecting exhibition making include not only policy, museum administrative systems and funding conditions, but also the mutual connections between trust, power and expectations between participants.

Factors affecting exhibitions of indigenous culture in the international context

Lamar (2008) uses her own experience as an indigenous exhibition planner in providing a retrospective on the first time that the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) collaborated with its source community to mount the exhibition “*Our Lives: Contemporary Life and Identities*”. During the process, she discovered that in addition to such factors as funding, time and the professional perceptions of decision-makers regarding the exhibition, whether or not trust—a robust interpersonal relationship—was engendered with the source community proved to be a fundamental prerequisite for whether or not the exhibition could commence. And one key to building trust was whether the source community’s aspirations and decision-making rights were accepted by the exhibition curator or high-level officials in the museum. For example, the NMAI while making the exhibition planned a methodology of collaboration that included invitations to participate in the exhibit, fieldwork for content development, drafting an exhibit prototype, joint revision of the exhibition content and design by source community and curators, and a final presentation to the source community. This framework for cooperation dominated the exhibition-making procedures and also restricted the exhibition content during the process. This underscored how the exhibition

making was affected by the power relations between the source community, the curator and the museum. It also indicated that whoever possesses the exhibition's professional right to speak as well as initiative and resources to make the exhibition can directly affect the exhibition-making process.

Onciul (2014) utilized an interview survey approach to discuss how in the exhibition-making process both community-based museums and historical parks in Canada have dealt with the difficult history of colonization in the residential school experience of First nations. She found that when an exhibition utilizes a comparatively conservative and insufficiently penetrating approach to presenting hard history, this prompts another community to use a more direct stance to exhibit hard history and the two mutually influence each other. The social influence resulting from how the exhibition planners and source community view hard history affects the choice of exhibition content. She cites an example of the exhibition planners who felt that a tragic experience at the residential school would affect the mood of the exhibition-viewing public, and those from the source community who participated felt that the exhibition was not the appropriate medium for dealing with this sort of matter, as it would only produce or reinforce public stereotypes of the local community, and would be painful to survivors of the hard history. These hidden effects would also run counter to the hopes of source community elders that what it demonstrated could fill their young people with pride. From this analysis, it is evident that the expectations of the effect that the exhibition would have by both exhibition planners and the source community went far beyond it being merely a realistic depiction of a moment of cruel history. This example of political and power considerations not only explains how operation of the museum and the decision-makers who control it can affect the content and orientation of an exhibition, it also underscores how the source community understands and defines the

exhibition also has an impact during the exhibition-making process.

Tapsell (2015) who is both an exhibition planner and a source community participant, recalls his participation in the KoTawa touring exhibition of the culture of New Zealand's Maori people. He describes the process of exhibiting a Maori *taonga* in the possession of collector Tawa (Gilbert Mair). In his recollection, one can see that profound understanding of and respect for *taonga* in Maori culture was the most critical basis at the start of the entire exhibition. On this foundation, details regarding the exhibited objects and exhibition design all revolved around demonstrating the *taonga* spirit. In addition, having good and close social relations and being familiar with the community with which they were going to cooperate and the museum, and even the historical relationships among exhibition planners were keys to why this exhibition during the preparatory stage gained acceptance by the source community. Tapsell summed up the key to successful cooperation between exhibition planners and the source community during the exhibition-making process with the statement: "the more we tried to give the more we received" (2015:272). However, at the same time, the senior-level management of the museum that held the reins of decision-making power within the institution's administrative and organizational framework allowed this exhibition from the outset to proceed with limited funding and regulatory strictures. As Tapsell recollects it, it is evident that in the Maori cultural context, being abreast of key indigenous cultural values and their related resources, such as research results and collection objects, were crucial resource factors prior to the exhibition, and the internal decision-making process within the museum as in the past functioned as a regulatory restraining factor. Ultimately, interpersonal relationships and interaction, as this analysis underscores, had a great deal to do with whether in the process of making this exhibition of indigenous culture, relations with the source community were close or not.

Factors affecting museum exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan

Although Taiwan offers an excellent arena for examining this topic, there is little published research regarding the factors that affect museum exhibitions of indigenous culture. Most such studies focus on the developmental history of such exhibitions and their relationship with Taiwan society as well as the effect and significance that the exhibitions have produced in order to undertake unidirectional theory building and interpretation of the phenomena observed. Only a few such studies focus on the exhibition-making process and its resultant effects.

Among discussions in the literature pertaining to the historical development of exhibitions of indigenous culture, most of the focus is upon the process of transition from the period of colonial rule of Taiwan by Japan (1895 to 1945) through the period of autocratic one-party rule of Taiwan by Han Chinese (1945 to 1992) to the current period of Han Chinese majority-ruled democracy in Taiwan and the subsequent identification with indigenous rights. During this transitional process, although the political authorities with colonialist actions continued to undertake surveys and research of indigenous culture and left behind abundant but de-contextualized objects and historical records, the indigenous culture reproduced by museums and museum exhibitions, much like the experience in other colonial histories, involved viewing it as a primitive exotic culture without tracing its roots (Hsu, 2004; Hu, 2007; Li, 2011a; Lîm, 2012a). And some authors felt that even in the post-colonial era, aspects of how exhibitions of indigenous cultural artifacts were designed continued to reflect a continuing colonial influence that failed to realistically reflect the views of Indigenous Peoples (Hsu, 1998, Lu, 2005). The lack of any indigenous input or perspective in museums remained up through the 1990s in Taiwan. Thereafter, the balance began to shift as Taiwan society began to place increasing value on indigenous rights to more

closely accord with the standards of a modern democracy in Asia that respects human rights, and to differentiate its cultural identity from that of the Han Chinese-dominated People's Republic of China on the opposite shore of the Taiwan Strait, which continues to claim sovereignty over Taiwan since the end of the Chinese civil war in 1949. As a result, national-level museum planners have more and more began to take seriously the idea of cooperation with the indigenous community, local museums of indigenous culture were established, and the willingness and experience of indigenous exhibition planners with trying out various different exhibition approaches grew, leading to the active inclusion of the local indigenous community's needs and ideas (Ma, 2012; Lîm, 2012a, 2012b). However, from another perspective, although local input from Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples began to be evident in such exhibitions, the voice of the indigenous community was seen by the entire nation more as a tool for underscoring the cultural differences between Taiwan and the People's Republic of China on the other side of the Taiwan Strait in an attempt to establish Taiwanese national narratives (Chen, 2010; Varutti, 2011, 2013a, 2014).

The aforementioned studies provide a concrete basis for analyzing those studies that focus on the exhibition-making process and its effects in Taiwan. In next analyses focusing on exhibition making, we can see the factors in their opinion that affect such exhibitions include how external society understands Indigenous People, national policy, interpersonal relationships and the agency of exhibition planners.

Varutti (2014) uses as an example the canoes of Taiwan's indigenous Tao people by historical written materials and interviews to analyze the content of permanent exhibitions in Taiwan's museums. She feels that the majority of interpretation of its content is a contemporary phenomenon that cannot be integrated with the voice of the

source community, and cannot provide a more detailed “biography of artifacts”, such as knowledge about canoe making, the right of the Tao people, “...whose words need to be translated and explained through the expertise of the anthropologist and the curator” (2104:113). In her further analysis of exhibitions pertaining to Taiwan’s non-government-recognized Pingpu people (2013b) she found that, which one of Taiwan’s officially recognized 16 Indigenous Peoples received the attention of museum exhibitions most often was greatly connected with the local political situation and the demands of that particular indigenous ethnic group.

So far, during the time when the recognized existence of a group with the name Pingpu remains controversial, the exhibition content loudly and clearly stated the effects generated by these controversies, including that when official recognition of the name Pingpu was not yet a certainty and exhibition planners realized that the rights and interests of Pingpu groups had to be valued, the exhibition content still displayed an individual or institutional viewpoint and was unable to account for the historical and social connections of the objects on display. Although temporary exhibitions featuring the issue stressed indigenous activist movements, including issues of indigenous rights; nevertheless, once more they appeared unable to avoid being incorporated into discourse about Taiwanese national identity, and displayed a frontier people identity just as before. These two studies clearly indicate that the factors affecting exhibition making of indigenous culture of Taiwan include not only the exhibition planner’s own understanding of the contemporary indigenous situation and their willingness and manner of cooperating with the source community, but also the history, discourse, viewpoints and objects under the control of external society, which are a hidden force that indirectly affect exhibition making.

In addition, Varutti (2013a) cites the “*Special Exhibition of Chimei Artifacts Returning to Chimei*” as an example of local museums collaborating with national-level museums. She took part in the exhibition-making process and described the pertinent factors affecting the process. Among her observations, she noted the top-down policy of the central government in Taiwan. Although it was provided originally to resolve the difficulties of local governments throughout Taiwan operating local indigenous museums, it became the principal factor determining whether an exhibition could be realized or not. It involved not only funding, but also linking the social relations and experience of the national-level museum with a local indigenous museum. The key to this as Varutti enumerated it, was the gap between the collaborating parties in understanding regarding the exhibition. This determined the power basis for cooperative relations between the two parties and for how the exhibition would represent the topic. In this example, although the indigenous source community held the knowledge authority regarding objects in the national-level museum’s collection, the national-level museum’s exhibition planners still held authoritative knowledge about exhibition-making techniques.

Thus, during the exhibition-making process, the national-level museum guided the process and local museum practitioners participated to a very minor extent. To a local museum practitioner and source community member the effect of this exhibition was in using objects to link up with the cultural memory, knowledge, and know-how of the source community in order to seek new channels of traditional confidence (Wu M.C., 2011). From the national-level museum exhibition planner’s recollections after the event (Li, 2011b; Wu P.L., 2011), the core issues that influenced whether or not this exhibition would take place included whether the two museums had the capability and the means of displaying the significance of the objects and of guaranteeing their safety, and

whether returning the objects to their place of origin could generate positive value. This included not only considerations of intangible and tangible rules and resources, such as internal museum politics, resources and funding, it also included whether or not holding the exhibition would facilitate “cultural channeling and revitalization” of the ethnic group and “sustained operation of local cultural memory and experience” (Wu P.L., 2011:24-26).

During the exhibition-making process, an unanticipated interaction and knowledge exchange took place through the emotional investment and communication between participants and staff from both sides of the collaboration. The result was a subtle shift of power between participants from the local museum and the national-level institution in which the sense of authoritative knowledge on the part of national-level museum personnel underwent rapid change. Li described the effect when Chimei elders entered the NTM collection room and viewed the objects selected for display. As the elders pointed out the errors in the NTM’s information about the objects, Li uses the word “disenchantment” to describe the shift in knowledge authority at that moment:

I felt my “home court advantage” begin to gradually slip away, and the elders correspondingly grew more and more confident. Smiles began to appear, and as they did, who was “host” and who was “guest” gradually switched place, as one object after another in sequence was brought out, subject to evaluation and then put back in its place, then the same for the next one, a subtle change in atmosphere in the collection storage room occurred. It is hard to explain, but those present to a greater or lesser extent felt the bizarre shift. Seemingly in an instant, the century-old history of the museum, the modernized storage facility for its collection and the NTM specimens sanctified by anthropological knowledge gradually gave way to disenchantment in the eyes of the elders (2011b:8).

From the observations and analysis of “*Special Exhibition of Chimei Artifacts Returning to Chimei*” by researchers, exhibition planners and members of the source community,

we discover that the factors affecting exhibition making include external political, funding and museum system conditions, as well as interpersonal relationships. Among these, the basis of power interaction, besides being determined by a foundation of knowledge or know-how, is also expressed in the subtleties of the interaction process and include mood, mindset and even body language. These observations not only express the factors affecting exhibition making, they also indicate the profound significance of participation and observation in exhibition making.

Dearth of research and analysis to date on exhibitions of indigenous culture

From the foregoing literature review, museum exhibitions of indigenous culture could be seen as a process of representing otherness by exhibition producer(s), and of seeking cultural self-determination by Indigenous Peoples themselves. The factors affecting this process can be categorized as external societal political, economic and cultural developments, internal museum rules and resources, and the knowledge, values or ideology and interpersonal relationships of exhibition makers. Simultaneously, since the development of relationships between museums and Indigenous People overlap to a high degree with the pursuit of indigenous rights, viewing the significance and effects produced by museum exhibitions of indigenous culture is tantamount to viewing the state of indigenous rights in exhibition making. While these viewpoints provide this study with a basis for making museum exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan the subject of observation and analysis, many important issues await concrete attention and explication.

First of all, the question of why such exhibitions are put into practice has received relatively little attention in previous studies. And among museum practices, why must

exhibitions be the tool by which information pertaining to tangible objects and intangible subjects is disseminated? Are such media tools as exhibitions only fitting for certain objects and subjects? What are the criteria for judging these questions? The fact that such discussions have not appeared in previous studies to a great or lesser extent represents the existence of a discourse that has yet to be overturned: exhibitions are a kind of media tool that must appear in museums. In fact, similar issues have similarly appeared in other classic museum functions, such as collections. When questions are raised about how collections are obtained, what effect there is from displaying objects from the collections in a museum and whether objects from the museum's collection should be returned to the source community, the status of the classic museum function of forming a collection and the methods of utilizing objects in its collection thus begin to be questioned. If the same logic is utilized to consider the reasons for the existence of museum exhibitions, we perhaps can begin to think about whether or not the existence of exhibitions in museums is a necessity, how they are to be implemented, and what effects they bring. This can not only broaden how we view the function of such exhibitions and other possibilities for exhibition making, it can also allow for deeply exploring the relationship between exhibitions and exhibition effects.

Second, most of the existing studies focus on explicating the significance and rendering an interpretation of exhibition content, or on the significance and effect that the exhibition has on the museum itself, on the exhibition-viewers or the public sphere, and use this as the foundation data for making inferences or arguments. In other words, these studies mostly employ historical, political or power perspectives for analytical discourse of the exhibitions after they have been made, rather than amassing observations and detailed description during the process of exhibition making. Also, few studies address how both the exhibition-making process and the factors that influence it

affect the relevant rights or then go on to engage in a holistic discussion and analysis.

Furthermore, at present, most studies pertaining to this topic have been undertaken in indigenous areas of countries in the West, and most take permanent exhibitions as their research subject. Relatively few examine exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan's indigenous contexts, especially dynamic temporary exhibitions, and those that do only analyze a single exhibition-making approach. No studies to date have been based on comparison of how different institutions practice exhibition making to understand how the key factors affecting exhibitions of indigenous culture change and differ among such different institutions.

To address such unanswered questions, temporary exhibitions of indigenous culture in different types of Taiwan museums have been selected as reasonable and necessary subjects of research. The following section will explicate the research methods used and how the research objectives were met.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter comprises five sections: research approach, strategy of inquiry, data-sourcing methods, data analysis methods, and role played as researcher. The first of these sections provides the reason for choosing interpretative and critical perspectives as main research approaches. The next section explains the case studies comprised the main strategy and justifications of the cases for this study. The data sourcing section presents the rationality of using documents, interviews and participant observation to gather research information. The fourth section explains grounded theory and duality in the Giddens formulation of structure as analytical and supplementary descriptive tools to express the pertinent features of the indigenous culture exhibition-making context in Taiwan. The fifth and final section then reflexively reviews my role as researcher in the process of conducting fieldwork, gathering data and my cognitive and interpretive stance.

Research approach—an interpretative and critical research

Since this research is primarily qualitative in nature and qualitative methods typically produce detailed information about the research target, use of such an approach requires acceptance and practice of inductive analysis, context sensitivity and reflexivity on the part of the researcher (Patton, 2002:66) to provide “holistic forms of analysis and explanation” (Mason, 2002:4). Due to the diversity and complexity of practices and approaches used to make exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan at present, not

only under a specific set of political, economic and cultural conditions, the process of exhibition making includes many historical, functional and political aspects pertaining to museums themselves that require pluralistic viewpoints and theoretical tools. Thus, this still shall take an interpretive and a critical approach as the main thrust of research and shall use sociological and anthropological theoretical concepts as its interpretive and critical tools.

The interpretive concept holds that “social reality is largely what people perceive it to be; it exists as people experience it and assign meaning to it...capturing people’s subjective sense of reality to really understand social life is crucial” (Neuman, 2013:104). In order to realistically understand its meaning and background structure, the interpretive approach stresses viewing social actions, such as specific phenomena or discourse as text, and using a subjective research role to seek the logic and connections within this text, then interpreting its meaning. In order to grasp meaningful social action as fully as possible in a complete and detailed way, a researcher’s interpretive concept usually uses participant observation and interviews for close observation and for directly experiencing social action in order to understand the subtle non-verbal phenomena that written words cannot convey (Neuman, 2013:103-4). Exhibition making involves a process shaped by objective rules and resources, subjective individual agency and interpersonal relationships that does not normally appear in media. Its meaning and effect is often obscured by exposition on the meaning and effect of the exhibition itself; thus, this study hopes to use an interpretive approach to observe the process of exhibition making in order to isolate its own meaning and effects.

Moreover, the interpretive orientation is not only in order to provide another type of decipherment and interpretation of such phenomena, it is preparation made before

problems are resolved. This sort of preparation can, from a broader perspective, explain the factors and causative connections that generate the problems. This then can be utilized to clearly understand the factors causing the problems and the background context for use of a critical approach to explain the reasons causing obstacles and their effects in order to provide a foundation for seeking solutions to them.

The critical approach to be used for this study is an attempt to use critical analysis to showcase social relations, unequal phenomena, and marginalized topics or ethnic groups within such phenomena, with a research objective of seeking ways to change these social problems (Neuman, 2013:111-124). Such an approach dovetails with the contemporary hope in museum studies to combine theory and practice (Macleod, 2001; Message, 2015; McCarthy, 2015).⁵ Since the issue of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples has long been marginalized in Taiwan society, and the process of exhibition making, which is the topic of concern for this study, involves multiple levels of interaction between social groups (Han Chinese and Indigenous Peoples, central and local governments, exhibition planners and the source community), use of a critical approach allows for isolating the pertinent issues of power and interests within this complex of interactions and what effects they have on the exhibition's primary subject—Indigenous Peoples and their culture—to promote diversity in exhibitions of indigenous culture and the revitalization and exercise of indigenous rights.

Strategy of inquiry—case studies

Case studies comprised the main strategy for this research. This involves use of a

⁵ McCarthy (2015) opines that professional museum staff often feel that the concepts elaborated in academic theory are useless for solving real-life problems. McCarthy quotes the statements of Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh (2013) in averring that theory not grounded in practice is useless in helping museums undertake reforms; but, at the same time, overemphasis on practical experience may also cause museums to regard the problems they face from a too narrow perspective as technical issues and thus become unable to understand and resolve them from a broader social and cultural perspective.

process-tracing approach to explore the causal mechanisms of phenomena (George and Bennett, 2005:8-9). Case studies are chosen subsets of activities, processes or people that accord with the requirements of research that allow for detailed data and context gathering and analysis in a definite period of time and space. (Yin, 2003: 12; Denscombe, 2010:53; Creswell, 2013:97; Patton, 2014:64). Although case studies can be reduced to individual interpretations of certain venues or cases and may difficult to justify in different contexts, this need not preclude the possibility of interpreting phenomena and applying this interpretation to decipher other phenomena. As far as this study is concerned, this sort of survey strategy can allow detailed observation of sites where there has been the making of exhibitions of indigenous culture for a long time, based on differences in each situation, analysing the common and the unique characteristics of exhibition making to depict what factors influence the production process of exhibitions of minority culture in examples of museum exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan, and how they do so.

As for the cases selected for this study, all were drawn from the three most important types of projects producing exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan: local-level museums producing an exhibition in collaboration with the local indigenous community; a national-level museum producing such an exhibition in collaboration with an Indigenous People; and third, a national-level museum collaborating with a local-level museum to produce an exhibition. The goal is to cover as broadly as possible the types of producing exhibitions of indigenous culture discussed and explicated in this study and to use this to seek common factors affecting exhibitions to serve as a foundation for subsequent critical analysis and pursuit of solutions.

Regarding the selection of cases to be studied, although Taiwan has yet to achieve a

national-level museum of indigenous culture, county and city governments in 30 locations operate indigenous culture museums,⁶ three national-level museums in Taiwan have permanent exhibition of indigenous culture, and two national-level museums have for a long time mounted temporary exhibitions of indigenous culture.⁷ Among the 30 locations with indigenous culture museums, one local-level museum of indigenous culture was selected because it was able to independently make its own exhibitions, to which was added the selection of two other national-level museums that have produced exhibitions of indigenous culture for a long period of time. Thus, the three institutions comprising the case studies for this research are the Bunun Cultural Museum of Haiduan Township in Taitung County (BCM), the National Museum of Prehistory (NMP) in Taitung County and the National Taiwan Museum (NTM).

The primary reason for selecting the BCM as a case study was that it has for a long period of time chosen local indigenous culture as the topic of its temporary exhibitions, and the exhibition planner producing these exhibitions is a member of the local indigenous community, allowing close cooperation with the local source community. Of the local population living in Haiduan Rural Township of Taitung County, 87 percent are members of the Bunun people (CIP, 2015). Thus, the exhibition-making process and content that the BCM embodies has the complete set of elements of an indigenous exhibition planner's practices and had local characteristics. This not only completely manifests the political, economic and cultural conditions of a certain Indigenous People

⁶ In these 30 institutions, some are called the term "local cultural centre" which does not contain the word "museum". In fact, they are museums designed to focus on preserving, exhibiting and promoting understanding of the culture in the local area where they are situated.

⁷ Until 2016, museums in Taiwan with permanent exhibitions featuring Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples include the National Museum of Natural Science, National Museum of Prehistory and the National Taiwan Museum. In addition, there is the privately run Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, and three museums that function as auxiliary units of academic institutions: Museum of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica; the Museum of Anthropology, National Taiwan University; and the Ethno-Museum, National Chengchi University.

(the Bunun people), it also fully accords with the research objective of seeking understanding of a local-level museum's independent exhibition process and the key factors affecting it. The planning and mounting by this museum in 2014 of a temporary exhibition entitled “The Bunun Ear Shooting Festival Ritual Site” was selected for this study as it was the only temporary exhibition mounted by the museum in 2014 that directly pertained to traditional indigenous culture (the other exhibitions were of contemporary photographs taken by indigenous children, contemporary drawings by indigenous children and an art exhibition of Bunun wooden sculptures). Another reason was that it had as its topic a traditional rite of the local Bunun people and thus involved close cooperation with the local source community.

The rationale behind choosing the NMP as a case study was that the NMP is located in eastern Taiwan where most Indigenous People now live, allowing access to the widest range of interview subjects in the source community. It is also a national-level institution, which means that its relationship with central governmental and bureaucratic authorities is direct and unambiguous. This allows observation of how central government policies pertaining to museum operation are perceived, implemented and/or subverted or modified. Accordingly, the long-term temporary exhibition of indigenous culture at the museum displays cultural artefacts and practices of all of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples, providing wide range and diversity of information about how national-level museum exhibition planners in a political, economic and cultural climate and environment nearby an indigenous community interprets indigenous culture. The two temporary exhibitions selected for this study were produced during the period from 2013 to 2014, and were titled, respectively, “*Sanga: The Flying Warriors*”, which presented the unique cultural spirit of elite warriors as exemplified by the Rukai people's Taromak tribe; and the “*2nd Taiwan Indigenous Arts Festival*”, which

showcased selected art works by students and teachers of designated Indigenous Peoples classes in several of Taiwan's senior high schools as well as universities. They each presented the opportunity to gain insight into the exhibition-planning process for different indigenous culture topics by a national-level museum.

The NTM became the third choice of case study because it is the only national-level museum collaborating for a long time with local-level museums to produce exhibitions. This approach to exhibition making afforded this study the opportunity to observe the mutual political, economic and cultural perceptions, attitudes and actual responses between a national-level museum and its local-level partner museum during the exhibition-making process. While the first two cases involved relations between the museum under study and its source community, this latter example highlighted the interactive relations of extant rules and resources regarding an exhibition of indigenous culture between government-funded cultural institutions of different levels, regions and political, economic and cultural settings. The "Saisiyat Artefacts of the National Taiwan Museum Homecoming Exhibition" held in 2014 was selected for this study. This temporary exhibition featured a display of artefacts from the museum's own collection that came from Nanzhuang Township in Miaoli County and was mounted in collaboration with the Museum of Saisiat Folklore in Nanzhuang Township (MSF). Currently, only the NTM regularly holds this type of temporary exhibition of indigenous culture, a practice that it has maintained since 2009.

Although exploring the meaning of place is not a key aspect of this thesis, it is important to note that each of the aforementioned locations are more than single physical places that can be depicted in a purely locational context; they are each defined by the agency of the actors involved while interacting with other individuals, the

surrounding social context and the physical world. In other words, while the notion of place in each of these case studies is culturally constructed, it is also fluid and relevant to specific temporal and space settings (Coleman and Collins, 2006; Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). This is especially true of the places where museums are located in communities of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples, as concepts of the communal place where a particular Indigenous People have lived for generations and their sense of cultural self-definition and self-determination in the greater economic, social and political context of Taiwan have been subject to the vicissitudes of colonial rule and changing government policies over the past century.

Data-sourcing methods

Three data sources were used to gather information: documents, interviews and participant observation. The documents chosen as sources of information and analysis for this study were compiled by government agencies regarding national policy, cultural affairs statistics, laws and regulations, agency budgets and development projects, internal museum administrative regulations, past museum topics and exhibition-making plans pertaining to exhibitions of indigenous culture. Documents pertaining to Taiwan's social, economic, legal and political developments were also consulted to develop a holistic view of the social context for museums exhibiting indigenous culture. The documentary sources are mostly Chinese-language materials about museum practices in Taiwan that pertain to exhibiting indigenous culture. References to them within this study are rendered into both Romanized Chinese titles and English translations. All translations of Chinese into English are by the author of this thesis unless already fixed by the author or publisher of the reference in question.

The second method of gathering information is participant observation that involves directly interacting with while simultaneously observing the object culture of one's research. If the ultimate goal is still, as formulated by Geertz (2000[1983]:55-70), to understand the other's point of view, it also requires, as Wagner (1981) says, observing and recognizing the researcher's own point of view, experience and cultural preconceptions in order to minimize biases in perception and analysis.

Participant observation is necessary when studying the process of operating and mounting exhibitions in national museums and local indigenous culture centres, as they have very little concrete data that can be read, and are currently both managed by Indigenous People. This necessitated participant observation to gather data and to ensure that indigenous perspectives were honoured in interpreting such data, and like an ethnography, to combine observation and participation for generating insights into the phenomena being investigated and utilising a wide range of research techniques, including textual discourse, the interpretation of visual materials, oral history and life history material (Atkinson *et al.*, 2001). Participant observation also provided different real-life and first hand documents for cross-checking and verification with information derived from literature analysis and interview data.

Participatory observation has another importance in that it makes up for the defects resulting from the familiarity effect regarding interview methods. As Bourdieu puts it, this defect lies in the fact that the person being interviewed deliberately wants to reply to a question he or she has not considered how to answer before, so perhaps ends up over-concretizing and categorizing his or her own behaviour and thought to ensure clarity and understanding; yet, as this is done, the phenomenon he or she is explaining or responding to may lose its original appearance and the properties of that phenomenon

are confined to a certain set of ideas, perhaps even overlooking the issue of familiarity, and differences in language, knowledge or experience base between the interviewer and the interviewee ([1977]2005:2). Participant observation allows direct observation and understanding of the phenomenon and avoids differences in perception between the two parties, and during the process, allows observation of how informants interact with other people and situations in the phenomenon and observation of the entire situation rather than having to describe it after the fact via the informant's over-concretization and categorization.

The participant observations of the exhibition-making process in this research were conducted between December of 2013 and October of 2014. Participant observation was utilized to study the temporary exhibition planning and implementation process at the BCM, NMP and NTM. During the process of participant observation at the BCM, I served as an intern taking part in the daily operations of the museum, and accompanied the exhibition planner as he completed the field survey tasks before planning the exhibition, installing it, presiding at the exhibition launch ceremony and taking part in central-government annual evaluation of the BCM. During the NMP's exhibition-making process, I took part as a research observer and as a participant in three aspects: the exhibition planning, installation and launch ceremony. During the participant observation process at the NTM, I participated as a research observer in the planning discussions for the exhibition, but did not take part in the exhibition installation or launch ceremony.

Furthermore, in order to gain a deeper level of understanding of indigenous culture, the venues at which I conducted participant observation also included the museum's external source community. Since Haiduan Township residents were Bunun in ethnicity,

it provided a social environment rich in Bunun culture. Given the direct connection of the exhibition topic with the Bunun Ear Shooting Festival, I took part in the 2014 and the 2015 Bunun Ear Shooting Festival Ritual observances to gain an understanding of Bunun culture and to be immersed in the Ear Shooting Festival preparation and ritual process of the township in order to grasp the cultural significance of the knowledge and content imparted by the exhibition. I also was present for the class given by NMP exhibition planners at the indigenous school with which they were cooperating, and spent time amidst the Taromak tribe with whom they were collaborating in order to understand its physical setting and culture.

The third method comprised semi-structured and in-depth interviews. This approach not only allowed for directly gaining responses from interviewees, but also for expanding the researcher's understanding of or even revising the researcher's perceptions of the research topic (Denscombe, 2010:173). The raw data from interviews revealed each interviewee's depth of emotion, how they organize the world or reality, their thoughts about their experiences and even their predictions (Patton, 2002: 21). It also aided in discovering relationships in the research context not addressed in the literature, and in facilitating detailed description of the process and allows for credibility cross-checking with the literature and participant observation.

The interviewees included government officials in such central government agencies as the Ministry of Culture (MOC) and local officials. Informants pertaining to the exhibition included researchers, professionals, advisors and specialists involved in planning and mounting the exhibition, as well as members of the source community to understand the connection between the exhibition and the process of exhibition production (See detailed lists of interviewees in Appendix 1). Among the museums that

served as case studies for this thesis, with the exception of the MSF, all other exhibition planners were male. The Ear Shooting Festival Ritual Site featured in the BCM exhibition was by nature a traditional ritual in which Bunun males took part. Thus, the elaboration of concepts and experience might be expected to contain a predominantly male perspective. However, the list of interviewees for each of the museums selected as case studies for this thesis contained at least two females to provide some gender perspective balance. The interviewees also comprised exhibition planners and source community members who were themselves members of an Indigenous People, to ensure that indigenous perspectives were fully represented. Since this study is about the planning and mounting of exhibitions, the interviews did not include museum audiences. Since all interviews were recorded in Chinese, all citations or quotations in this thesis derived from interview transcripts have been translated and interpreted by the author of this thesis.

To enhance understanding of the collective characteristics and developmental situation among Taiwan's local-level museums of indigenous culture, and to avoid overreliance during the analysis of information on my experience gained at a particular time and cultural context in the BCM, semi-structured interviews were also utilized to gather information about exhibitions at the Ketagalan Culture Centre of Taipei City (KCC), the Chenggong Township Indigenous Culture and Art Museum in Taitung County (CIM) and the Laiyi Indigenous Museum in Pingtung County (LIM).

The reason for selecting the KCC was its location in Taipei, the largest city in Taiwan and the nation's political and economic center. It also has the second-largest annual budget among museums of indigenous culture in Taiwan at present. Thus, the interviews I conducted allowed for further understanding of whether or not there were differences

in exhibition-making strategy and developmental situation among local-level museums in different political, economic and cultural contexts. The KCC informant was a senior staff member who had served at the institution for five years, and who had plenty of exhibition-making experience to facilitate understanding of the exhibition-making process and the factors affecting it at the KCC. In all, the informant was interviewed three times for an aggregate total of eight hours on behalf of this study.

The CIM is a local-level museum featuring primarily exhibitions of the culture of the Amis people. The information gained from the CIM was useful in comparison to that gained from the BCM, which was comparable in similar political and economic scale. The only staff member of the CIM served as the informant for this study, having worked there for two years and knew a great deal about operating a local-level museum. This was imparted to me during two interviews that jointly totaled over six hours in duration.

The LIM of Pingtung County is a local-level museum featuring primarily exhibitions of the culture of the Paiwan people. It on many occasions had cooperated with national-level museums to mount exhibitions or to sponsor cultural events. It provided a comparison with the collaboration between the NTM and the MSF mentioned earlier. The LIM's solitary staff member had worked there for eight years and had collaborated with the NTM and NMP in mounting exhibitions, and thus had considerable experience with implementing temporary exhibitions. In all, I conducted two interviews with this informant that jointly totaled over eight hours in length.

Data analysis methods

Every process generated from theory must bear features of being influenced by the institutionalization of the power system and reflect a specific historical and cultural background as well as a preset order with respect to people (Yeh, 2006). In order that

this study expresses the pertinent features of the indigenous culture exhibition-making context in Taiwan, a grounded theory approach to analyzing the data has been selected. The Theory of Structuration by Giddens is used as a supplementary descriptive tool to help the author of this thesis more clearly discuss the phenomena discovered during this research project.

Grounded theory is a theoretical tool, a theoretical framework constructed from information generated in a specific context. The data analysis phase of this project began with Grounded Theory as the selected approach. Based on the steps for data analysis spelled out in Grounded Theory, before choosing the appropriate theoretical approach to interpreting the data, repeating ideas must first be culled from the data and organized into a theme based on their common points before an appropriate theoretical framework can be applied to undertake interpretation or discourse and form a theoretical narrative (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003; Silverman, 2011). In this thesis, grounded theory was primarily used to isolate and analyze the key factors influencing the making of museum exhibitions of indigenous culture. During the analytical process, based on my own subjective categorical logic, as well as the phenomena observed during fieldwork and information obtained, I divided the influential factors into three categories: objectively external factors, subjectively internal factors and those exerting influence due to the interaction of factors from the first two categories. However, this categorization scheme at the outset failed to satisfy my objective of interpreting all pertinent factors and the interconnections. Accordingly, I decided to use the Theory of Structuration of Anthony Giddens as a supplementary descriptive vocabulary to more clearly depict the key factors influencing exhibition making and highlight the connection between power and rights that I had observed.

The principal reason for this choice was that following the literature review and an examination of the actual data obtained for this study, the factors which affect exhibition making extend beyond the museum's internal rules and resources to its outside societal and community context, and include the agency and relationships of and between pertinent actors involved in the exhibition-making process. Current research in this area has not yet analyzed holistically the objective factors and subjective agency and their interaction that generates the structure of exhibition making. Only McCarthy when discussing the nature of museum studies research practice makes use of Pierre Bourdieu's Practice Theory to slightly touch upon the connections between objective structure and subjective agency (2015: xlv).

Among theories on structure and agency, the idea of the duality of structure in the Theory of Structuration by Giddens is foremost a relationship between structure and agency, which interactively influence and reproduce structure. He uses his concept of the duality of structure to explain how structures and the agency of actors are not mutually independent phenomena; but rather their duality is embodied in the structural properties of social systems, the rules and resources, that are both the medium and the outcome of the practices that constitute those systems (1979:69; 1984:25). For Giddens, the traits of personal action and its result, agency, can be manifested via types of methods: the will of the person him or herself, interaction between people and interaction between people and structural properties (rules and resources). It is a source of power by which all structure is produced and reproduced. Rules as the skills and methods with which an actor operates when practicing something and awareness of social rules is a major trait of actors (1984:23). Resources could be differentiated between allocative resources, such as material, techniques or goods, and authoritative resources, such as the organization of social time-space, the relationships in the

interactive process between actors and the constitution of chances of personal development and expression (1984:258).

As far as this study is concerned, such a theory accords with what I have observed during the process of exhibition making; namely, that rule and resources, the agency of individual actors and the relationships between actors are interlinked and mutually influence each other, reproducing the exhibition-making structure. When Giddens is explaining the connections between structure and action, he regards the rules and resources among structural properties as the media for power. Resources not only provide direct assistance, they are also “media through which power is exercised as a routine element of the instantiation of conduct in social reproduction” (1984: 15-16, 257-258). This formulation is similar to the properties and operating methods of power as observed in the case studies for this thesis. How this mechanism is connected with the process of making museum exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan will be further discussed in Chapter 5 and 7.

Role played as researcher

To state my personal reflections after immersing myself in the context of producing museum exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan, I shall first describe my role as exhibition-making researcher in the process of conducting fieldwork for this study, then how I gathered data, and finally, my interpretive stance regarding what I observed.

My principal research involved periods as a participant observer in a volunteer capacity at the BCM from March to June 2014 and April 2015. I took part as an intern in daily museum operations during working hours from Monday through Friday, which included daily sweeping up, acting as docent, holding activities, and the like. The most important work in which I took part was the process of exhibition planning, during which I joined

the museum exhibition planner in collecting data of Ear Shooting Festival Ritual Sites and went with him to various Bunun tribes to conduct interviews and to explain to tribal members the tasks of exhibition making and preparations for the launch ceremony. I also assisted in the installation of the exhibition. Throughout the entire process, although at the outside of the planning process I could not restrain myself from offering suggestions to the exhibition planner, I sensed that I was saying too much, which might influence the objectivity of what I observed about the exhibition, thereupon I subsequently conducted myself as a silent assistant to the planner so as not to interfere in the production of exhibition content and design.

During the process of observing exhibition making at the NMP, I assumed the same role of exhibition planning assistant and took part in the planning and installation process; however, I did not accompany the exhibition planners during set office hours, but only when notified by them at times they chose, helping out during the most intensive exhibition planning and installation periods. While engaged in participant observation, I was concerned that I might have missed out on important aspects of the exhibition-making process, so in order to compensate for any potential damage to the integrity of information gathered, I actually recorded every stage of work observed and tried to link it to the progress made in exhibition planning observed the last time. If I discovered anything that did not link up, I then used interviewing to fill in the missing information. Fortunately, my NMP informant and those who agreed to be interviewed all support my research so I did not encounter key fieldwork experience or information source to whom I could not be accountable. At the same time, I continued to maintain my silent assistant stance of not intervening in any structure, content or design process that affected the exhibition.

My vantage as participant observer could be termed the weakest link during my research at the NTM. I took part in four exhibition-planning meetings at both the NTM and MSF in the role of researcher, and interviewed the principal exhibition planners at both museums. Nevertheless, they clearly answered my questions and displayed no evidence of avoidance or reticence, even going so far as to display reflexivity. During my participation in the exhibition planning meetings, although I indeed receive much useful exhibition-making analytical information despite not having a large quantity of data from participant observation to supplement analysis and discourse as I did in the two previous cases, the planners had published extensively about their experience with similar “homecoming” temporary exhibitions in the past, so to help me understand their way of thinking and the methods they used in the past, and helped make up for the insufficiency of participant observation. As has been previous explained about my information-gathering methods, I interviewed other local-level museum exhibition planners who had collaborated with the NTM before in order to expand the scope of data gathered.

When I established considerable trust and friendship with these exhibition planners, the greatest difficulty presented by this friendship was that I could not overlook their unstinting assistance afforded me during my participation in the process, so that when writing up this research, I have constantly doubted whether or not I could be objective in my interpretation of the exhibition-making process. Fortunately, the friendship and expectations between them and me is built upon whether or not this will result in constructive analysis and suggestions for the practices of exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan before it can generate a burden-free critical exposition.

When recording my research, I have not adopted analytical software, rather keeping

records of the entire research process and relevant information obtained from fieldwork notes, interview transcripts made from audio recordings, and photographs. When analyzing the data, I have followed the grounded theory research method to complete analysis step by step. This research does not appear to raise any major ethical issues. The interviewees and informants were professional adults or elders in source communities. Before beginning this research, an Information Sheet and Consent Form for Participants was drafted to explain how the rights of participants would be safeguarded. All of the ethical criteria applicable to majority Han Chinese interviewees and informants were equally applicable to minority indigenous interviewees and informants. In preserving notes and records of information gathered, I have observed University of Leicester regulations requiring encrypting of digital data in storing such data and every informant and interviewee has signed an interview consent form to establish the objectivity of this study.

Finally, I must mention my own personal stance as a researcher in this study. I closely identified with the meaning constructed regarding a region, institution or event, including external conditions and cultural perceptions and interpretations and internal agency of different actors. While conducting fieldwork at the three case study sites, I paid great attention to the thinking of various staff members regarding the museum, exhibition and selected exhibition topics. Although I belong to Taiwan's Han Chinese ethnic group, and so do not speak any indigenous language nor can I claim profound familiarity with any of Taiwan's indigenous cultures, I was able to use Chinese to communicate with museum staff during this research project, and had contact with the pertinent actors primarily in connection with exhibition making. It is because many of the Indigenous People I encountered had grown up in the social climate dominated by Han Chinese. Also, activities undertaken as part of the exhibition-making process and

the decision-making system had close connections with Taiwan's political and cultural mainstream. These similarities even though one cannot overlook the inequality of background power, allowed me during my research to grasp the connections between social structure and Indigenous People's action.

However, even though I have been engaged in continuous research focused on exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan since 2012, challenges remain regarding my understanding of and familiarity with a particular indigenous culture and its social and historical context. To overcome these challenges and to better understand the indigenous cultural perspective in each case, I took part in various cultural activities outside of exhibition making as a participant observer. This gave me the opportunity to know the views of tribal members of different ages, professional skills and clan kinship to enhance my basis for understanding and interpreting the phenomena I observed. I was accepted by various indigenous groups so was able to take part in pertinent cultural rituals and events, such as the Bunun Ear Shooting Ritual in four different tribes and clans at Haiduan Township, and the Taromak tribe's activities. These provided the opportunity to further gain familiarity with their indigenous cultural traditions and beliefs and the changes that these have undergone in recent years. The tribal elders and younger members were not as experienced as the exhibition planner in matters pertaining to exhibition making, but they were obviously well informed and enthusiastic about their own culture and the possibility of museum practice in future. This helped me better understand the connections between exhibition making and the indigenous cultural context in which it took place.

CHAPTER 4

EXHIBITION MAKING

To describe the background and context of exhibition making in three research cases, BCM, NMP and NTM and MSF, this chapter is based on the participation observation and interviews to construct a micro-viewed and holistic depiction of the environment in which such exhibitions are produced to allow readers to understand the political, economic and cultural conditions in which museums and these types of exhibitions are situated and to further understand the connections between the current peripheral environmental conditions and exhibition making.

“Ear Shooting Festival Ritual Site” in the Bunun Cultural Museum

The BCM is a local-level museum of indigenous cultures in Haiduan Township, Taitung County of eastern Taiwan. It is the first local museum of indigenous culture in Taiwan especially devoted to Bunun culture. The primary objective was to plan the BCM as a representative base for studying and exhibiting the culture of the Bunun people and to revitalize and market the local Bunun culture of Haiduan Township (Ma, 2012:79).⁸

⁸ Planning for the BCM began in 1989, when the Taiwan Provincial Government of the time proposed a Taiwan Province Social Development Project for Indigenous Peoples. The plan called for building museums of indigenous culture in various localities to promote the development of local Indigenous People's culture. Afterward, with the freezing of the budget for the provincial government itself, implementation of this plan stopped, and after a very long hiatus, was once more implemented as Phase One of a Six-year Plan to Revitalize Indigenous People's Culture (Li 2005; Ma 2012). This plan was implemented via a bottom-up approach. It was proposed by the local government-level Township Hall, with the central government responsible for granting permission and providing the funding. The Township Commissioner of the time hoped to make this project into a showcase base for island-wide research and exhibition of Bunun Culture to promote the unique traits of Bunun culture in Haiduan Township (Ma, 2012:79-80).

Nowadays BCM has become an active institution among Taiwan's 30 museums of indigenous culture and continually mounts two to four completely new temporary exhibitions of indigenous culture per year (Fulu Culture Foundation, 2013, 2014). This chapter will explicate the local cultural museum and its exhibition planning first through basic background information on the administration and resources of the BCM, and then the planning and implementation of the Ear Shooting Festival Ritual Site, including processes of determining the exhibition topic, collection and research of exhibition data and objects, exhibition design and installation, as well as exhibition content.

Museum background information

The BCM is located in the political, cultural and educational center of Haiduan Township. The BCM facility is 1.37 hectares in total area. It can be divided into three major sections based on function: the museum building, outdoor performance area and a Bunun cultural appreciation area in the BCM's east wing. The museum building is a three-story structure. Its various halls and rooms have undergone so changes in function during the development process. The current configuration of the building is as follows: the first floor is currently configured as a first special exhibition area, public service section office, equipment room and cleaning cart room. The second floor contains a second special exhibition area, exhibition planning and education section office, collection room and multimedia editing center. The third floor is outfitted as a third exhibition area and conference rooms. The cultural artifacts in the museum's collection include articles of everyday life for the Bunun people: wood sculptures, pottery, wooden steaming barrels, bows and arrows, and animal bones. Although the BCM has three exhibition areas, it has no permanent exhibitions. The multimedia editing center was set up in 2015 and is outfitted with professional multimedia editing equipment to provide editing services to the BCM and those working on the cultural history of Haiduan

Township. The conference rooms are most let to the private-sector or township public agencies for public activities. One special feature of the building is that each floor is linked to the next via a ramp gallery passage rather than the usual stairwell. Thus, these ramp galleries can also serve as exhibition areas.

Government agency with oversight authority

The Haiduan Township Hall is the local government agency with oversight authority over the museum. The township hall leader is the township mayor, who is elected every four years. There are four administrative sections to the township hall, the Civil Affairs Section, Finance and Construction Section, Social Affairs Section and Agriculture and Tourism Section, along with two administrative units, the Personnel Office and Accounting Office. There is also a Township Council, members of which are popularly elected.

After the museum opened in 2002, oversight responsibility shifted among each of the various sections of the township hall, finally settling under the Civil Affairs Section in 2013.⁹ The Civil Affairs Section is headed by a Section Chief, under whom there are five to seven staff members, one of whom is in charge of museum affairs. This staff member handles other duties besides the museum, including indigenous language education within the township, cultural and educational activities as well as technical and artistic workshop guidance. There are no section regulations regarding the scope of this staff member's responsibilities regarding the museum, so what this person can or cannot do and how long he or she serves in this position is up to the supervisor's

⁹ The reason for these changes in competent authority are most the lack of experience and knowledge at the Township Hall about how to run a museum, leading to a very low usage rate and it being regarded as an administrative burden. Add to this the differences in perception and image among administrative heads about museum is, and the BCM often became venue for administrators to try out or experiment with ideas. Thus, the BCM became a shuttlecock batted back and forth between sections of the Township Hall.

discretion. In the course of fieldwork, it was discovered that the previous staff member responsible for museum affairs had no decision-making management or regulatory authority over the museum. The current section staff member in charge of the institution's affairs participates in internal museum meetings and represents the museum in handling public museum administrative matters, including communicating with the Civil Affairs Section, generating public administration documents and approving expense reports pertaining to the museum. Still, this staff member has no actual administrative or planning decision-making authority. That authority is effectively in the hands of the Civil Affairs Section Chief, who functions as the gatekeeper within the township hall of museum activity planning and deciding yes or no on budgetary items, and serves as the overseer of museum business matters within the township hall. The Section Chief also is in charge of mediating between the museum and the Township Magistrate, and is the sole representative of the museum during township council interpellations of the museum budget.

Another group that influences the operation and administration of the BCM are the members of the Local Indigenous Peoples' Culture Museum Enlivenment and Guidance Project (Enlivenment and Guidance Project) team.¹⁰ They serve all 30 of Taiwan's local-level museums of indigenous culture. This practice was adopted by the CIP to

¹⁰ The consultant group and appraiser group are chosen and hired annually by the project coordinator of the Enlivenment and Guidance Project, with very few changes year to year. The consultant group generally comprises four people, one of whom is the project coordinator, while the others are drawn from the ranks of specialists and scholars in the cultural and creative industry, university education or museum fields. The Appraiser group generally consists of 22 people from two different categories. The first comprises administrative officials from government agencies, while the second consists of scholars and research professionals in such fields as Indigenous Peoples, anthropology or museums. Indigenous Peoples make up approximately 1/3 of the group membership. Members of the Appraiser group break into separate teams of four to five individuals to travel to and inspect and appraise each of the 30 museums of indigenous culture in Taiwan twice a year. During this process, they evaluate the museum they are visiting on such items as staff performance, degree of administrative support, use and administrative performance, implementation results of exhibition and event planning, facility improvement situation, fund raising and use, and staff participation in events held by the Enlivenment and Guidance Project.

solve the less than satisfactory usage efficacy of local cultural museums. Beginning in 2007, the CIP's Taiwan Indigenous Culture Park has used open bidding to commission private-sector groups to carry out the Enlivenment and Guidance Project. The project's implementation strategy includes updating basic data, specialist guidance and diagnosis, assessment of the cultural museum and in-house planning and docent staff, cultural museum staff training, implementation of static exhibitions, marketing of local indigenous culture museums and assistance with development of cultural and creative products (Fulu Culture Foundation, 2013). The major import of this appraisal is that incentive bonuses are given to cultural museums and staff with high appraisal ratings. Since this is Taiwan's only cultural museum evaluation index, it is highly regarded by every local government for its museum development guidance and for the concrete financial assistance that it brings (Fulu Culture Foundation, 2013; 2014).

Staff resources

There is no stability to the staffing of the BCM, nor are job responsibilities that clearly defined. In terms of funding sources, its personnel are either contract workers under the local government or contract workers hired with supplementary funding from the central government. Compared to the Township Office staff who are all civil servants, museum personnel are all contract workers with no guarantee of job tenure. Funding sources for their positions vary. In principle, full-time contract personnel are sought and hired by the township hall, and with the exception of janitorial personnel, who have six-month contracts, all the rest have 12-month contracts, which can be renewed annually. Part-time staff are hired as museum matters require (which primarily means to mount exhibitions), and are paid by the hour.¹¹ There is another full-time staff position funded

¹¹ This includes ordinary employees and summer-vacation student and intern hires. Ordinary employees are sought and hired by the BCM, and their wages are paid out of the museum budget. Students are

by the CIP of the central government, a Planning and Tour Guide. The central government provides funding for this position to alleviate the financial inadequacy of museums of indigenous culture operated by local governments. Local governments are responsible for hiring and supervising the planning and tour guide staff member.

In terms of task allocation, the BCM has a facility service team, exhibition planner and educator team. The facility service team comprises a janitor, a museum staff member and an in-house programmer and docent, who is responsible for guiding visitors and explaining the content of the exhibitions, exhibition educational activity planning and implementation, keeping the museum grounds clean, receiving guests, overseeing volunteers and student interns, and patrolling the facility.

The exhibition planner and educator team are responsible for conducting fieldwork research and organizing written documentary materials, exhibition planning and mounting, and regularly supporting the docent and exhibition education tasks.

Exhibition planning is distinctive at BCM. The current BCM exhibition planner was invited to take the job by the township commissioner of Haiduan Township following his election in August of 2012, and was given full authority to direct BCM exhibitions, activity planning and routine administration and management of the museum. Thus, the title of this exhibition planner is director. He has across-the-board control over allocation of work among staff members, budgeting, the annual work plan, exhibition planning and implementation, and public relations liaison. The other staff connected with the museum, including the BCM project office at the township hall, must respect the decisions of this museum director. Under the current management conditions, the

recruited and managed by the township hall, and their wages are paid by funding from the central government.

director has fully authorized the staff members responsible respectively for routine administrative matters and docent duties to carry out planning and implementation. And the responsibilities of planning and mounting museum exhibitions are or were mostly held by the director himself.

Funding sources and allocation

The 2013 Budget and 2014 listing of actually received funds indicate that BCM operating funds come from three sources: monies remitted by the CIP from its Mountain Indigenous Peoples Township Special Equipment and Maintenance Supplemental Fund and its Enlivenment and Guidance Project Incentive Fund, and funds provided by the central government from its General Budget Supplemental Allocation Fund.

Each rural and urban township must apply for compensatory funds remitted annually by the CIP from the Mountain Indigenous Peoples Township Special Equipment and Maintenance Supplemental Fund. For example, in 2014, Haiduan Township Hall was able to secure NT\$9 million, the BCM NT\$1 million to assist with mounting exhibitions and NT\$400,000 as a special appropriation for equipment and maintenance. The application procedure is essentially from the bottom up. Various agencies within each rural or urban township, including cultural museums, list explanations (non-project reports) of the items and amounts for which they are applying, then after their respective township halls integrate all the items for which application is to be made into one list, it is sent on to the CIP.

The incentive awards given under the Enlivenment and Guidance Project mentioned in the “external guidance” section above come from the CIP’s Enlivenment and Guidance Project Incentive Fund. The incentive bonuses must be applied for according to the evaluation score. Every year, following the evaluations made according to the project,

bonus awards are made to those museums selected as “outstanding”, “top grade” or “first-grade” each year.¹²

The Allocation of Centrally-Funded Revenues is an important revenue-sharing system for the central government to compensate for the revenue shortfalls of local governments. It operates according to the Act Governing the Allocation of Government Revenues and Expenditures (Ministry of Audit, 2013). For Haiduan Township, which is not even able to generate 3 percent of its own revenue (National Audit Office, 2013:5), this is an important source of funding for the local budget. For the BCM, this budget item directly affects the salaries of its three full-time non-civil servant employees as well as the annual budget of the museum. In 2014, the BCM received NT\$600,000 in funding to mount exhibitions and NT\$2 million for the general operation and maintenance of the museum. Application for this allocation is also from the bottom up. The BCM annually submits a budget to the township office, and after the section chief overseeing the museum and the township commissioner agree, it is then sent to the township council for deliberation on whether or not to approve it.

From the aforementioned funding sources and application procedure, clearly, there are many places where the township hall can control the funding review and approval process. This, and whether or not the township council approves the budget are key to whether or not the BCM can secure reasonable budget funding.

Exhibition development

The BCM had planned to mount two permanent exhibitions, one of items used in everyday Bunun life and one of contemporary Bunun-made arts and crafts. However,

¹² In 2013, the BCM was rated as “top grade”, so received an incentive bonus of NT\$500,000, of which NT\$300,000 was used for equipment acquisition, and NT\$200,000 was budgeted for maintenance.

since its collection lacks sufficient number of such items, plans for the permanent exhibitions have been scrapped in favor of primarily relying on temporary exhibitions. In its early years (2002–2007), the BCM was not very aggressive in mounting temporary exhibitions, only doing so once in 2005, with museum authorities only holding short-term educational activities or workshops. The principal reason was that the management staff were civil servants from the township hall who were not up to professional standards and the work was very complex, so they proved incapable of actively implementing museum services. In addition, turnover of temporary staff was high due to the instability of work, so the BCM could only passively maintain the most basic services (Ma, 2012:88).

However, once the Enlivenment and Guidance Project was launched in 2007, the central government's guidance, evaluation and personnel budget resources began to flow into cultural museums and the nature and design approach of exhibitions began to undergo change. The current museum director, with the assistance of this project, served once as the BCM's first in-house programmer and docent and in 2007, designed the first in-house designed exhibition based on the topic of the cultural history of the Bunun people. Thereafter, in-house design of temporary exhibitions has become the major method used by the BCM to practice its function as a cultural museum and showcase the local cultural landscape. For example, in 2014, the BMC designed four exhibitions: an exhibition of a book of drawings jointly produced with the local elementary school, an exhibition of Bunun seasonal rites jointly produced with the local tribe, an exhibition mounted with borrowed display objects in collaboration with the indigenous culture museums of other county-level towns, and an exhibition of children's photography. This not only resulted in a diversity of exhibition types, it also demonstrated a diversity of methods to produce exhibitions. The planning of the BCM's annual exhibition in 2014,

the Bunun Ear Shooting Festival Ritual Site exhibition, will serve as an example for subsequent discussion of the exhibition planning process.

Planning process for temporary exhibitions

The ear shooting ritual site was chosen as the exhibition topic for BCM in part due to its historical importance, but also out of consideration for the pertinent resources and cooperation partners. This section describes the basic steps of the exhibition-making process: 1) determining the topic, 2) collecting and researching information or pertinent artifacts, and 3) design and installation. This is followed by description of the exhibition explanatory material and its launch ceremony activities to provide a complete depiction of the process.

Determining the exhibition topic

The BCM planner exercised personal choice in selecting the Ear Shooting Festival ritual site as the museum's exhibition topic and the Chulai tribe's ritual site as the blueprint. His goal was to use the exhibition topic as a means of galvanizing cultural revitalization within the Bunun indigenous community. This topic was decided upon as early as August of 2013 as the BCM was making plans for 2014. A number of considerations went into this decision, the first of which was his basic thinking behind mounting an exhibition. He stated that once he took up his post as exhibition planner at the start of 2013, he hoped to make the museum's exhibitions serve as a platform for bringing the tribe together and jointly designing and mounting the exhibition so as to comprehensively explore and introduce Bunun rituals. Secondly, the Ear Shooting Festival and its ritual sites were important to the Bunun people after many changes over the years, possessed rich social and cultural meaning.¹³ Yet, despite some descriptions

¹³ See detailed description of Bunun culture in Appendix 2.

of it in the literature and some video recordings, there had never been a systematic introduction. Third, the Chulai tribe had preserved a traditional ritual site, making it feasible to build a traditional cultural knowledge system about the ritual site.

Given the support of such conditions, the topic was decided. The specific time period to be exhibited was in principle to be after the observance of the ritual in the spring of 2014 since this was not long after the time when the ritual had been performed and it would be relatively easy to elicit the attention and interest of the Bunun people. Another consideration was that it would be relatively easy to carry out participatory observation, which would be helpful in gathering relatively broad-ranging and in-depth data.

Thereupon, the Ear Shooting Festival Ritual Site exhibition jointly held with the Chulai tribe became a unique choice of local and contemporary propriety.

Collection and research of exhibition data and displayed objects

Although the museum director had planned to make the ritual site of the Ispalidav and Nahaisulan clans in Chulai tribe as the blueprint for the exhibition, his ritual site fieldwork in fact extended to other tribes in order to understand more comprehensive knowledge and history of Ear Shooting Festival and its ritual site. During the three-month preparation period, he visited four Bunun villages and took part in several tribal Ear Shooting Festival activities. He also interviewed 10 tribal elders and people engaged in cultural and historical work, making full written transcripts of the video recordings. His fieldwork investigations went well both in Chulai and in other tribal areas of Haiduan Township, primarily because he had status among them as a member of the Chulai tribe himself, so he had the necessary connections and could relatively easily gain their trust.

His fieldwork interviews revolved around four topics, the history of the Ear Shooting

Festival ritual site, the roles and functions of clan members during the observance of the ritual, the function and meaning of all objects required for the Ear Shooting Festival, and the significance and changes to the space of the ritual site. During the interviews, the tribal elders customarily spoke to him in the Bunun language. To ensure that the statements made by the tribal elders were clearly understood, he invited an expert teacher of the Bunun language to accompany him during the interviews. It is evident from the interview transcripts that with the exception that the major ritual processes and ritual site taboos are consistent, there were some differences in the situations at each of the respective tribal ritual sites.¹⁴ However, given the enormous volume of interview data, it was not easy to sort through it all to find consistent views. Also, given that the original plan for the exhibition was to take the Chulai ritual site as its major blueprint, the information from other tribes could only help with understanding the functions of the topic, and did not concretely appear in this exhibition.

While the director did not ultimately make use of all the fieldwork data, that which was not used was still effective. He was able to make use of conducting fieldwork to make valuable records of what Bunun tribal elders recalled about traditional practices and Bunun history, and attempted to establish a procedure for the BCM to conduct fieldwork in the future. It also allowed the funding and application of fieldwork methodology, data organization and pertinent issues to be recognized by the township hall so that in the future, institutionalized methods can be used so that fieldwork studies are routinely undertaken.

¹⁴ The influences of Christian missionaries and the policies of high-level political authorities could account for some of the variations, as could vagueness of the informant's memory on how things were, and their limited understanding of what was being asked about traditional ritual site practices due to the fact that some clans no longer held clan-style Ear Shooting Festival rites, so were unable to provide the relevant cultural experiences.

Exhibition design and installation

The exhibition design stage was the independent creation of the BCM director. During this stage, he made use of his own fine arts professional expertise and experience to complete the interior design draft and the explanatory material for the exhibition. The visual construction of the exhibition comprised photographs he personally took and cropped. The rest of the collection objects in the exhibition venue were borrowed from Chulai tribe members. His basic design concept was to use a visual construction to represent the Ear Shooting Festival ritual site, supplemented by a great deal of written explanation and photographs and a few the implements and objects that would appear at the site during the observance of the ritual. This would constitute the entire framework of the exhibition.

Source community participation in this case included design of the exhibition space and taking part in setting up the exhibition. The director's hope for the exhibition venue was to be able to use mainly large trees as symbols of the Ear Shooting Festival ritual site hidden in a mountain forest amidst dense trees and foliage, placing them in the exhibition area as visual constructions on display. Thereupon he sought out tribal young people and commissioned them to design and produce a "forest" for the entrance to the exhibition hall as well as the symbolic large trees. Discussions between them and the director were not those of a patron hiring a manufacturer, but rather that between neighbors helping each other out. Although there were still the mandatory discussions of costs, during the entire process, the director gave the tribal young people enormous latitude in design and implementation. This allowed the participating tribal members to use genuine tree trunks, bamboo and dried leaves, as well as mountain slate and schist to form composite images of forests and large trees. This use of unprocessed organic materials brought into a closed space along with a few frames and sculpted works made

out of wood gave the museum a “naturally crafted” feel. This seeming violation of the professional methods of a museum collection was the way that the director adhered to putting in to practice the principle of cooperation for the exhibition. Encouraging and accepting the use by members of the tribe of their own methods in the exhibition planning and preparation process engendered understanding of their own culture and familiarity with the exhibition as a medium of presenting it. It also built sustainable cooperative relations with the tribe that dovetailed with the director’s principle of cooperation of exhibition planning.

Exhibition results and content

The exhibition space includes two parts, the gallery ramp leading from the first floor of the museum to its second floor, and the second-floor exhibition hall. The following explanation of the exhibition follows a visitor’s line of travel through the exhibition space.

Starting from the ramp gallery leading from the BCM’s first floor to its second, the display is titled “*Chulai Tribe Ear Shooting Festival Photography Display*”. On the gallery wall are 47 photographs sequentially depicting the ritual process. These photographs were taken by a professional photography company while attending the 2013 Chulai tribe Ear Shooting Festival. The director chose the photographs that represented the observance of the Ear Shooting Festival by the Ispalidav and the Nahaisulan clans and arranged their order on the wall so that those who have not taken part in an Ear Shooting Festival observance can perceive the scope of the Chulai tribe’s observance of the ritual.



Figure 4. 1: The Ear Shooting Festival Photography Display in the long ramp gallery of the BCM.

The second floor contains the main exhibition space. At the entrance to the second-floor exhibition hall the visitor is greeted by a visual construction evoking the image of a forest. The construction was fashioned from actual tree trunks and bamboo by the Bunun. It is accompanied by recordings of the forest environment made by the director at night in the mountain area of the Chulai tribe. Construction of this sort of atmosphere and visual appearance was made to convey the nature of traditional ritual site positions, which were mostly in remote locations and therefore not easy to find or enter. The exhibition's explanatory display boards bear the exhibition's sub-title, "Venue Where Bunun Males Gather", and explain the social characteristics of the ritual site.



Figure 4. 2: Forest visual construction at entrance to the exhibition.



Figure 4. 3: The exhibition subtitle arrayed on the display board.

After passing through the forest visual construction, one faces a visual construction of a tree made by the Bunun. Around its base are arrayed bows and arrows, deer ears and animal mandibles, objects required for the ritual, to convey the basic appearance of the ritual site.



Figure 4. 4: Visual construction of a tree to convey the appearance of the ritual site.

This is followed by an area principally containing display boards with a total of 12 sections of text:

Section 1: Confronted by the challenge of cultural tourism, we ought to care about the meaning and spirit of rituals.

This is a prefatory message written by the director for this exhibition, in which he explains how the significance and spirit of Bunun rituals are gradually vanishing in the process of the modern transition to cultural tourism in Taiwan and expresses the hope

that this exhibition, by recollecting the changes to the Ear Shooting Festival and its ritual sites can once more delineate the significance of the ritual site to the Bunun people.



Figure 4. 5: The display board of introducing Ear Shooting Festival and the meaning of Bunun belief.

Section 2: The Bunun Ear Shooting Festival—Representation and Transmission of Male Hunting Culture

From the perspective of social division of labor, it explains that hunting is the work and principal skill of Bunun males. This stresses the male nature of the ritual site and provides a footnote on the sub-title of this exhibition: “Venue Where Bunun Males Gather”.

Section 3: The Bunun Ear Shooting Festival—Expression of Religious Belief in Hanidu and Dihanin

The explanation of the Bunun worldview is from a religious perspective of how the

myriad things of the universe are believed to have Hanidu spirits and how Dihanin, the Sky, matches with the causal relationships in the world. This provides the foundation for understanding the sanctity and taboos against casually entering the ritual site area.

Section 4: Exhibition Design Concept—Ritual Culture Can Manifest the Social Relations, Spirit and Values of an Ethnic Group

The social significance and functions of the Ear Shooting Festival are detailed by stressing that the Bunun use the ritual site to delineate kinship relations and hierarchical rank within the clan, strengthen clan solidarity and transmit clan relations, and can use the opening up of the site to outsiders to demonstrate male hunting prowess and boost the status of the clan within the tribe.

Section 5: Changes to the Haiduan Township Ear Shooting Festival

Changes that have taken place in the Haiduan Township Ear Shooting Festival are enumerated, along with the reasons for its interruption and revival as well as the current state of guidance from the township office in the task of restoration.

Section 6: Uninterrupted continuation of the Chulai Tribe's Ear Shooting Festival

The written text of this column is supplemented by photographs and files of previous observances of the ritual by the Chulai tribe. It emphasizes the fact of the long-term preservation of the Ear Shooting Festival by the Chulai tribe and highlights the developmental changes of the Ear Shooting Festival in different clans and villages of Haiduan Township.¹⁵

¹⁵ Studies in recent years of the Ear Shooting Festival (Hu, 2007; Yang, 2011) point out that the two Ear Shooting Festival Ritual sites in Chulai village, Haiduan Township could well be the only two such sites preserved by the Bunun people throughout all of Taiwan, and that having two clans be the units holding such ritual observances. Thus, the exhibition planner stressed such uninterrupted continuation as a unique characteristic of the Chulai tribe.



Figure 4. 6: The display board showing the development of Ear Shooting Festival in Chulai tribe.

Section 7: Ritual Center—Ritual Site: Space for Liaison with Hanitu Spirits and Ritual Center with a Performative Nature

The ritual site taboos are enumerated in terms of the concept of Hanitu spirits (one may not approach the site at times other than observance of the ritual), communication with the Hanitu spirit world (the ritual officiating clan member lights the fire); leaving the spiritual state (helping participants return to the space of the material world), to manifest the awe felt by the Bunun toward the world of spirits.

Bunun ritual practices at the ritual site via the Ear Shooting Festival are explained via Richard Schechner's theory of ritual performativity as possessing the functions of creating and passing on social relations and can be used to demonstrate and pass on

traditional knowledge. Using these concepts, the ritual site can be regarded as large natural space turned into the cultural space of the ritual center. This transformation not only passes on the Bunun hunting culture, it also reaffirms clan recognition of kinship relations, abilities and social status. With respect to the overall exhibition, which is mainly centered on describing the current state of ritual sites, this topic not only goes beyond the descriptive context genre, it brings into the exhibition the exhibition designer's own perspective and imagination with respect to ritual sites.

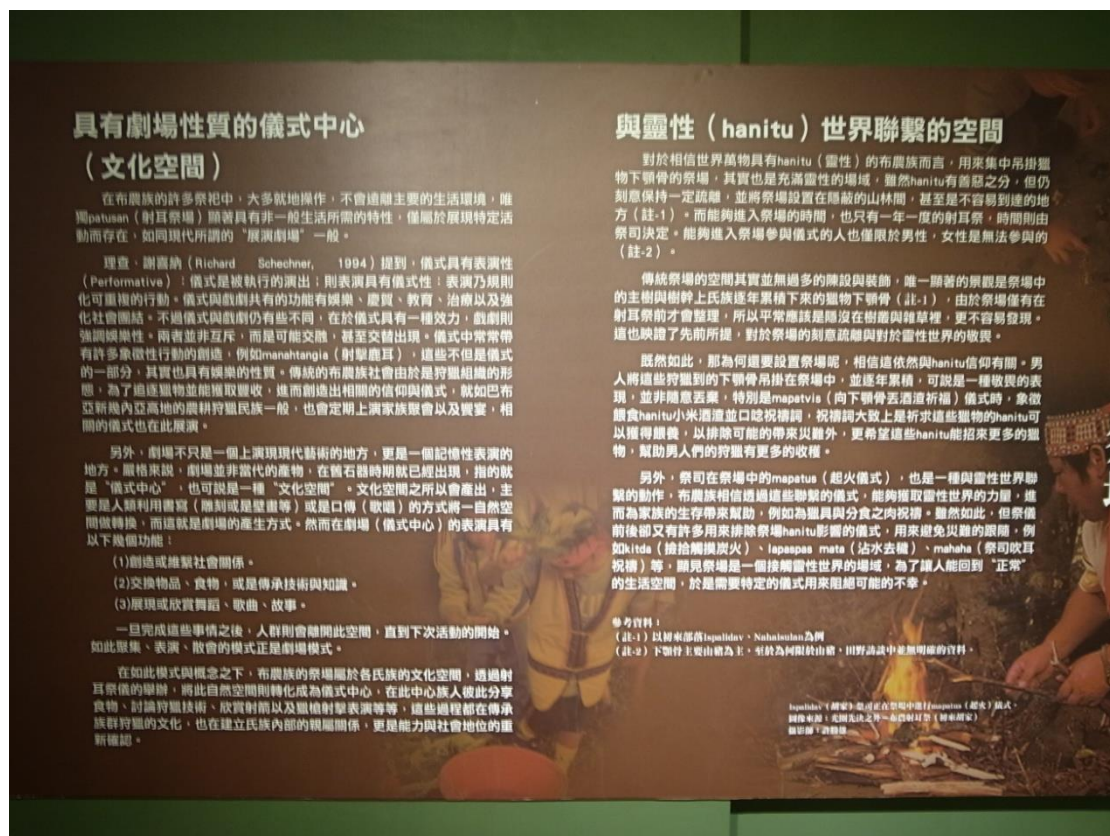


Figure 4. 7: The display board showing the interpretation of Ear Shooting Festival ritual sites.

Section 8: Overview of the Ritual Site Development of Clans in the Chulai Tribe

In the subtitle “Early on, clan observances of the Ear Shooting Festival were not limited to 2 clans”, the content includes influences and changes to the ritual sites of all of

Chulai's clans are explained. In subtitle “Changes to the Current Ritual Site of the Ispalidav Clan and Nahaisulan Clan” area, written text set against photographs explains the past and present state of the ritual site used by the two clans, and at its conclusion, stresses, “according to current fieldwork data, the only remaining traditional ritual site in Haiduan Township is that of these two clans, who continue to observe the Ear Shooting Festival. It could even be that this is the only such site left among all such of Taiwan’s Bunun people, making it worthy of being regarded as a landmark cultural asset of the township”.



Figure 4. 8: The display board addressing the development of two clans holding Ear Shooting Festival in Chulai tribe.

Section 9: Links and Acknowledgement of Kinship relations

A chart displaying the division of tasks at the ritual site between the Ispalidav and

of using each implement and provide museum goers with the opportunity to touch the implements on display, which include the kindling required to start the fire at the ritual site as well as a sword, bows and arrow and chopping block.



Figure 4. 10: Physical tools and objects used at the ritual site.

Section 11: Although Many Clan Ritual Sites are Hidden Amidst Mountain Forests, Sustaining Our Collective Culture Requires the Identification and Participation of the Entire Tribal Family

This display board is located behind the cardboard figures shown in Figure 11, as if this obscured location were being used to convey a different demand and significance than the other sections. Its title text, though set in bold type, is not really a clear topic as it is a lead in to the paragraph beneath it: “The tribe functions as a foundation for overall development, and internal integration and solidarity are important energy”. Although

only two clans remain to observe the Chulai Tribe Ear Shooting Festival, “to promote the participation of other clans and tribal unity”, this is an attempt to use a recreational activity to obscure the increasingly select scale of the Ear Shooting Festival clans and expand participation and identification with the ritual in order to mound a sense among the tribe of cultural self-identification and to find new ways forward for ritual culture, as well as endow it with new meaning.



Figure 4. 11: The display of Clans' members, the tree in the background and the video showing previous festival in the central hint the reflection of tribe's current status and the issue of utility.

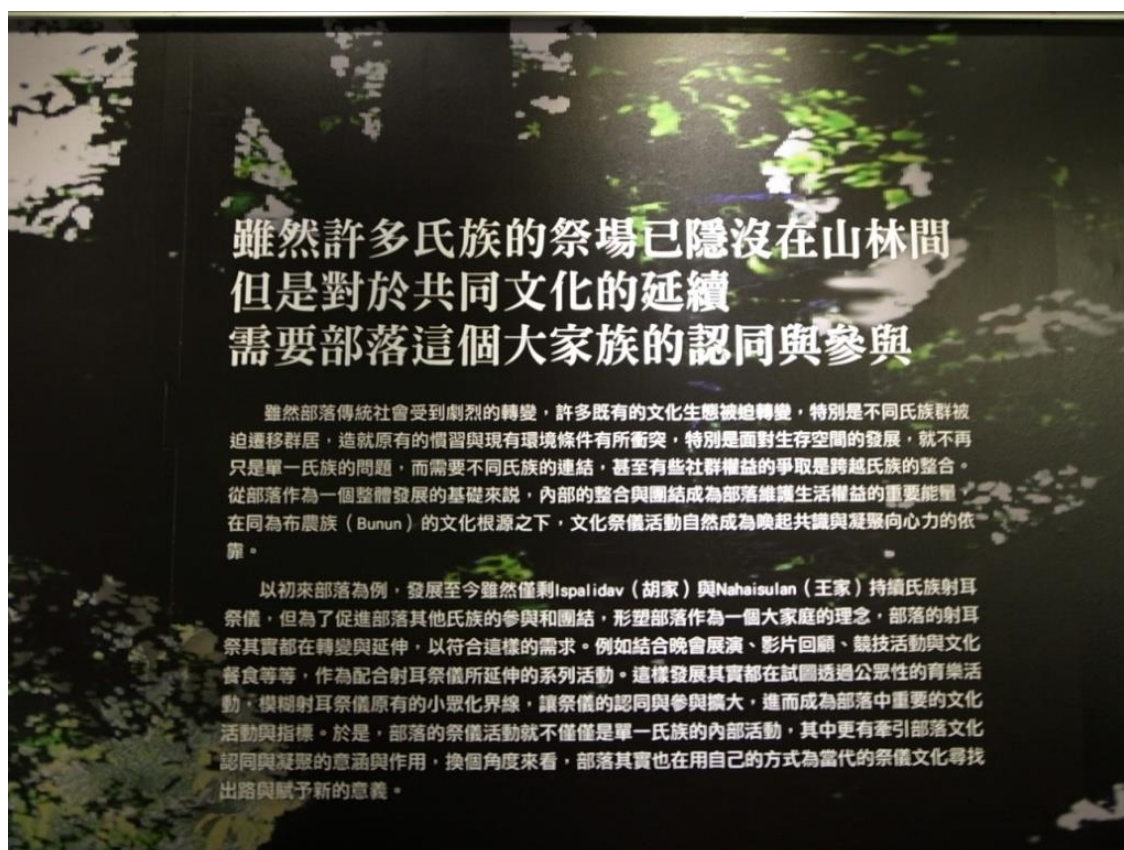


Figure 4. 12: The display board calling on the continuity and participation of culture.

Section 12: Confronting traditional mechanisms and the integrating development of clan rituals, the Chulai Tribe Raises Issues Worthy of Exploring

This is the final section of the exhibition, and serves as a conclusion “regarding the preservation of traditional rituals and reflections on their changes over the ages”. This use of an exhibition as a method of showcasing modern local cultural development is rarely seen in Taiwan, and amply expresses the intention of the exhibition planner (museum director) to generate change in the tribal cultural matters via this exhibition.

面對氏族祭儀的傳統機制與融合發展 初來部落提供了一個值得探索的議題

雖然Ispalidav（胡家）與Nahaisulan（王家）兩家氏族性的祭儀與祭場留存了布農族傳統的內涵與精神，成為該氏族聯繫內部關係的重要能量，更值得成為族群文化的資產。但是面對部落內部團結的發展，強化“氏族體系”的傳統祭儀，是否與“部落一體”概念形成另一種內部的衝突，相較其他部落射耳祭儀逐漸轉向“氏族融合”辦理或是發展“公共性”的祭場等等，積極從中創造出有效整合不同氏族能量的方式，如此看來，初來部落確實在保有既有的文化機制與轉型發展上有著更深一層的難度。

不過，雖然部落內部在文化事務的整合不見得事事如意，但基本上各氏族都能了解部落發展絕非單一家族事務，只是目前仍在尋找最適切於部落現狀的模式，也或許不斷的內部衝突也是一種發展。然而，對於過程中族人的努力與創造性卻已經值得作為部落歷史中的精彩記錄。

Figure 4. 13: The display board showing the issue of the integration between traditional ritual and tribe development.

Exhibition opening ceremony

After three months of design and construction, the exhibition was finally completed in June of 2014, and the launch date arrived. All exhibitions in Taiwan require arranging a launch activity to declare the opening of the exhibition and to provide an opportunity for promoting it as well. The most common method of doing so is to hold an opening ceremony, and invite some superiors or political figures to attend. These are often plodding affairs which often, after a boring set of speeches are brought to a welcome end with a ribbon-cutting ceremony. However, the opening ceremony of this exhibition was extraordinary, despite featuring the obligatory ribbon-cutting detail. Under the clever planning of the museum director, it proved to be a spectacular and maximally effective event.

To promote Bunun culture, the director arranged a program featuring a six hunting-rifle salute, performance by a choir in 8-part polyphony, traditional dancing, a celebration of military exploits, six Ear Shooting Festival demonstration activities, and a performance by a Chulai tribe music group. This lively and interesting program allowed participants to encounter Bunun culture from a fresh perspective, eliciting a sense of greater cultural identification by Bunun spectators. The director hoped that more Bunun would come to encounter their traditional culture and take part in Bunun cultural matters, and naturally hoped to attract greater numbers of people to come view the exhibition, so when planning the opening event, Bunun people were asked to perform or provide assistance. Thus, they not only directly helped pull off the event, they brought with them relatives and friends to take in the activity and view the exhibition. In addition, the director held a press conference to explain the methodology and significance of the exhibition, and the importance of disseminating and promoting Bunun culture in hopes of getting other Bunun who had not taken part in the tasks of the exhibition to attend. His efforts paid

off handsomely as local leaders not only voiced complete support, they called for other Bunun to attend. The director's hopes were fulfilled to a considerable extent in that tribal participation was boosted and it proved effective in promoting cultural matters. The director was also able to utilize the press conference and pay visits to local leaders to build social relations and garner resources. He used his connections to invite successfully political figures and officials to attend the event and succeeded in obtaining funding for a celebratory banquet, so that the entire event culturally could come to a happy conclusion.

“Sanga: The Flying Warriors” and the “2nd Taiwan Indigenous Arts Festival” in National Museum of Prehistory

NMP is a national-level museum of indigenous culture, the only national-level museum situated in Taitung County, which has the highest proportion of Indigenous Peoples in its population compared to any other country in Taiwan. The NMP officially opened on August in 2002. Construction of the main museum area came about from an archaeological discovery.¹⁶ It currently defines its research, collection, educational and tourism functions in terms of three research subjects: natural history, pre-historic culture and Taiwan’s indigenous cultures. The NMP is one of only two national-level museums in Taiwan to possess a permanent exhibition about the indigenous cultures of Taiwan and routinely mount temporary exhibitions on topics pertaining to these cultures.

Museum background information

The NMP facility consists of three sites: the main museum situated on the outskirts of Taitung City in Taitung County, the Peinan Cultural Park (PCP) and a branch museum to be located in the Tainan Science Park (STSP).¹⁷ The attendance of NMP has averaged 198,000 people a year from 2008 to 2013 (see Table 4.1).

¹⁶ In 1980, during the construction of what is today called the South Line Railway Station and switchyard, Peinan cultural relics dating back to 5,300 to 2,300 BC were discovered on the site. The abundance of the find elicited a great deal of interest. The culmination of local inhabitant expectations, media pressure, aroused societal concern for cultural assets and development of remote areas, a pooling of clout by the local government and elected representatives, as well as changes in the national budget order was that the Planning Bureau for the museum was established on February 1, 1990 to undertake the construction and founding of the museum (NMP 2013).

¹⁷ The PCP is located on the original Peinan site, and comprises 30.03 hectares in total area. Since the Peinan site is not suitable for building a large-scale museum complex, the PCP is primarily an outdoor site park supplemented by an indoor service center. Inside the service center are displays of major site discoveries and the prehistory accomplishments of Taiwan today. The STSP, located in Tainan County in southwest Taiwan, is approximately 2.42 hectares in area. Its founding is also the result of an archaeological discovery. The sites uncovered within the area of the science park contain a large number of relics dating from 300 to 5,000 years ago (NMP, 2013). Due to a lack of funding, groundbreaking for the branch museum did not take place until June of 2014.

Table 4. 1: NMP and PCP visitor statistics

Item Year	NMP Paid Admission Visitors	Total Annual Visitors to NMP	Paid Admission Visitors to PCP Exhibition Center	Total Annual Visitors to PCP Exhibition Center
2008	100,912	179,790	22,843	218,112
2009	75,252	146,388	18,682	187,875
2010	78,237	157,745	17,324	176,073
2011	98,139	352,076	20,114	183,527
2012	83,258	172,237	18,881	164,106
2013	85,463	182,946	18,520	229,733

Source: Annual Report of NMP 2008-2013.

Supervisory government agency and administrative mechanism

The NMP is a level 3 agency under the jurisdiction of the MOC in the ROC government. Its budget and staffing authority follows the stipulations of the “Basic Code Governing Central Administrative Agencies Organizations”. Although it is an autonomous agency, given its relatively modest level (3 out of a possible 4 stipulated by the Basic Code), the array of agencies with administrative jurisdiction over it is complicated. The central government agency in charge of its funding and budget is the MOC under the executive branch of government (Executive Yuan), but this must be reviewed and approved by the national legislature (Legislative Yuan). Administrative and fiscal auditing are the purview of the Control Yuan (a fourth branch of the central government after the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches) and the National Audit Office, which reports to the Control Yuan. Hiring of personnel is similarly complex. The NMP Director and Vice Director are appointed by the Minister of Culture, while hiring of other staff members is subject to different regulations depending upon the type of work and professional status involved. For example, the hiring, evaluation, promotion and transfer of civil servant staff falls under the purview of pertinent regulations stipulated by the Examination Yuan (the fifth branch of the central government) and the MOC,

while hiring of non-civil servant personnel, including professional staff and temporary staff, is handled under implementation guidelines drafted by the MOC. Despite the wide array of government agencies with oversight, audit, review and administrative authority over the NMP, given that it is an autonomous agency, the principal administrative decision-maker for internal museum matters is the NMP Director. This decision-making authority includes setting the administrative guidelines, hiring of members of the exhibition review committee, planning and audit of how the budget is used, personnel evaluation, hiring and firing.

Staff resources

The NMP's regular staff members are either budgeted or non-budgeted staff. According to the annual reports of the NMP for the most recent five years, 46 to 53 positions are budgeted, including those filled by civil servants and professional staff. Given the large fluctuations in non-budgeted personnel, figures for them generally do not appear in the annual reports. According to my fieldwork data, the NMP had over 120 non-budgeted staff personnel, including temporary workers, dispatched personnel and on-site vendors.

The civil servant staff members have passed the national civil service exam. In this museum, those with civil servant credentials include routine administrative personnel, such as the Director, Vice Director, Secretary-General, and Accountant, as well as the heads of the Research and Collection Division, Exhibition and Education Division, Site Park Division, Maintenance Division, Public Service Division, Secretariat Office, Personnel Office and finally, the Accounting Office. The positions and salaries of these staff members are decided according to the standard practices of evaluating the performance of civil servants, and their promotion or transfer is also determined within the limited range of the nationwide MOC official responsibilities. The NMP Director

has real power as the museum manager, while the other positions mostly involve dealing with administrative matters, auditing or coordinating, and thus rarely involve direct participation in exhibition tasks.

The non-civil servant professional personnel of the NMP are hired in accordance with the Ministry of Education's (MOE) "Act of Governing the Appointment of Educators" and the Operating Principles for the Hiring and Evaluation of Professional Staff in Subsidiary Agencies of the MOC. This type of staff member is recruited according to the recruiting regulations set by various government agencies, so they do not need to first pass a national civil service exam. However, their salary structure parallels the remuneration of corresponding civil service levels and their performance evaluation is conducted in accord with the aforementioned MOC operating principles. Most of the professional personnel hired by the NMP are employed in the Research and Collection Division or the Exhibition and Education Division. Since the latter division is primarily responsible for mounting exhibitions, most of the exhibition installation personnel are professional staff members. Of the 8 staff members in this division, 4 have backgrounds in sociology or ethnology, 2 in archaeology, 1 in botanical research and 1 in the fine arts.

Temporary personnel, dispatched personnel and in-house vendors are not included in the regular museum staff budget. Their numbers readily fluctuate with funding cuts or increases, the term of specific projects or changes in policy. Among this category of staff, temporary and dispatched personnel are mostly recruited as the NMP determines. The NMP hires temporary staff directly, while dispatched staff are sent to the NMP by temporary worker agencies to work in house. Most personnel of these two types serve as assistants in the various divisions or as tour guides, while the in-house vendor staff are engaged in cleaning, cafeteria or museum shop and hotel operations or are security

guards. The turnover among museum cafeteria and shop staff is high since such enterprises are difficult to operate, but the rest of such personnel have worked at the museum for a long time.

Funding sources and allocation

Funding of overall NMP operations is derived from two principal sources: the annual government budget and supplementary appropriations from the supplemental funding projects of various government agencies.¹⁸ The in-house generated revenues come from sale of products developed by the museum, operation of shops or leasing of venues is not very great. On average it only covers 3 percent of the annual budget, so government budgets and supplementary appropriations are the NMP's most important source of operating funds.

Table 4. 2: NMP revenue sources

Unit: NT\$1,000

Item Year	Annual Government Funding	Supplementary Appropriations	Self-Generated Revenue
2008	714,219	339,330	8,506
2009	218,420	202,735	6,846
2010	386,699	206,282	7,772
2011	301,505	36,637	7,814
2012	352,684	31,401	8,091
2013	321,629	28,453	9,304

Source: Annual Report of NMP 2008-2013.

¹⁸ This latter source of funding involves each unit of an autonomous agency applying to an agency of the central government or of the local government for one of two types of supplementary appropriation funds: project funding or research funding. This is as if the NMP were regarded as an academic unit that allowed its professional staff to seek their own funding and not rely on the museum authorities, based on the needs of a project or research, to apply to various government agencies for suitable supplementary funding.

Table 4. 3: Annual government budget funding and its uses

Unit: NT\$1,000

Item Year	Total Revenue	Basic Administrative and Maintenance Costs ¹⁹	Budgeted Staff Costs	Museum Activity Costs		
				Non-infrastructure Museum Activities	Infrastructure Construction Costs	
					PCP Second Phase Budget	STSP Branch Museum
2008	714,219	43,863	54,275	81,811	514,405	20,665
2009	218,420	41,885	54,275	79,726	14,184	28,150
2010	386,699	41,176	57,222	73,337	28,764	186,000
2011	301,505	41,127	57,820	61,709	47,489	93,160
2012	352,684	41,145	59,644	58,279	42,566	150,000
2013	321,629	40,325	58,544	50,408	25,557	146,295

Source: Annual Report of NMP 2008-2013.

Table 4.3 indicates that with the exception of infrastructural funding, which dramatically rises or falls with the progress of construction, the basic administrative working and maintenance costs dropped over four years, but not greatly, while personnel costs rose. Most interestingly, funds generated by non-infrastructure museum activities fell significantly year upon year. Since this item includes exhibition promotion and educational costs, I sought to further understanding this allocation of funds (see Table 4.4), and discovered that exhibition funding dropped each year and was the second-smallest item (after IT management costs) allocated funding by the museum. Interview data gathered during fieldwork indicate that most exhibition funding was used to pay the salaries of temporary staff; not much was actually used to fund activities.

¹⁹ Basic administrative working and maintenance costs include water, electricity, broadband and environmental protection and maintenance costs.

Table 4. 4: NMP non-infrastructural museum activities

Unit: NT\$1,000

Item Year	Exhibition Promotional and Educational Activity Costs	Proportion of Total Budget allocated to Exhibition and Educational Activities	Archaeological and pre- historic relic planning, research and collecting costs	Public Utility Costs	PCP Costs	Public Service Activity Costs	IT Management Costs
2008	15,395	19%	11,363	25,422	17,720	9,667	2,244
2009	7,917	10%	17,438	25,422	17,653	9,052	2,244
2010	9,776	13%	9,398	25,405	17,522	9,035	2,201
2011	6,885	11%	8,397	20,592	15,716	8,176	1,942
2012	6,510	11%	7,563	18,548	15,727	8,182	1,749
2013	6,056	12%	7,023	15,162	12,761	7,904	1,502

Source: Annual Report of NMP 2008-2013.

The drop in exhibition funding and use in the annual budget as indicated in Table 4.4 could be related to the work project funding of various government agencies. Table 4.5 indicates that among supplementary appropriation funding, updating the NMP's permanent exhibitions and installation of temporary exhibitions relied heavily on supplementary funding. With the exception of 2010, when budget cuts caused the museum to receive very little temporary exhibition funding, during the other years, over 50 percent of all temporary exhibitions that year received supplementary appropriation funding. Given the lack of exhibition funding in the annual budget, these supplementary appropriations are major sources of funds to maintain museum exhibition activities and thus have great significance.

Table 4. 5: Government supplemental funding of each division's projects

Unit: NT\$1,000

Item Year	Total Project Supplemental Funding	Exhibition Portion of Project Supplemental Funding	Total Research Supplemental Funding	Exhibition Portion of Research Supplemental Funding	Supplementary Funding for:	Number of NMP Temporary and Touring Exhibitions Per Said Year ²⁰
2008	56,790	11,700	282	10,699	Mounting 3 temporary exhibitions, and updating 2 permanent exhibitions.	4 temporary exhibitions; 3 touring exhibitions
2009	28,933	7,100	173	2,200	Mounting 3 temporary exhibitions, and updating 1 permanent exhibitions.	6 temporary exhibitions; 3 touring exhibitions
2010	29,564	3,220	176,718	3,686	Mounting 3 temporary exhibitions, and updating 1 permanent exhibitions.	7 temporary exhibitions; 1 touring exhibitions
2011	22,899	7,738	13,737	6,161	Mounting 2 temporary exhibitions, funding 1 touring exhibition, and updating 3 permanent exhibitions.	3 temporary exhibitions; 4 touring exhibitions
2012	12,910	8,340	18,491	9,248	Mounting 6 temporary exhibitions, funding 1 touring exhibition, and updating 2 permanent exhibitions.	7 temporary exhibitions; 4 touring exhibitions
2013	2,483	400	25,969	2,181	Mounting 4 temporary exhibitions, funding 1 touring exhibition,	6 temporary exhibitions; 6 touring exhibitions

Source: Annual Report of NMP 2008-2013.

²⁰ Touring exhibitions refers to exhibitions mounted by other museums or agencies for which the NMP only provides exhibition space to put on display.

Exhibition development

The primary objective of the NMP is to study, display and educate museum audiences about pre-historic culture, including pre-history, natural history, archaeology and Austronesian culture. Austronesian culture is the principle topic for NMP exhibitions pertaining to the culture of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples. The NMP features both permanent and temporary exhibitions. The installation of various permanent exhibitions pertaining to this Taiwan's indigenous culture was completed before this study began, so there was no way to observe the exhibition installation process. Thus a simple description of the current state of the NMP's permanent exhibitions will have to suffice. Therefore, the focus of this section will be on the development and decision-making process of the NMP's temporary exhibitions, using two examples where I engaged in participatory observation in order to concretely explain the processing of planning temporary exhibitions.

Permanent exhibitions of Taiwan's indigenous culture at the NMP

Four exhibition halls in the NMP are devoted to permanent exhibitions. Of them, the Austronesian culture exhibition hall is one of only two exhibition halls in a Taiwan national-level museum to completely explicate Taiwan's indigenous culture (the other is at the NTM in Taipei). The planning phase for this permanent exhibition was begun in 1990, using a structural foundation of anthropological concepts for the exhibition; hence, it features three major themes: "social relations", "crafts and society" and "sacrifices and souls of the body". As it was being planned, consideration was given to the shortcomings of incomplete collections of artifacts for each ethnic group at the time, and that fact that the pertinent research had not yet been completed. Consequently, only one Indigenous People would be featured in each of the three themes and would not appear in the others. For example, the part of the exhibition pertaining to the Bunun

people only appears in the “sacrifices and souls of the body” thematic material, and thus the entire exhibition only explicates the rituals and religious beliefs of the Bunun people, never anything about their history, social relations, or arts and crafts.

In 2011, in concert with an increase from 9 to 15 ethnic groups of Indigenous Peoples officially recognized by the ROC government, an additional theme was added to the Austronesian culture exhibition hall. This not only added the new government-recognized ethnic groups, it added such sub-topics as “distinguishing peoples” and “world Austronesian culture” to explain the Indigenous Peoples’ process of identifying themselves as opposed to the other (in this case, Han Chinese) and the connection between Taiwan’s Indigenous Peoples and the Austronesian peoples.

Temporary exhibition development

The spaces in the NMP allocated to temporary exhibitions are relatively scattered. In all, there are three exhibition halls, museum corridors and the museum archives devoted exclusively to temporary exhibitions. Of these, the corridors are most used for temporary arrangements or relatively low-budget exhibitions, while the museum archive is principally provided for outside institutions to lease for mounting exhibitions.

Although the NMP was established to exhibit pre-historic culture as a permanent exhibition entity, this study has discovered that among the 97 temporary exhibitions mounted from 2001 to 2014, 36 were of Taiwan’s indigenous culture, 13 were about pre-history, 10 pertained to Austronesian culture, 9 displayed scientific knowledge and the remaining 27 exhibitions were of various types, including Chinese culture, history and assorted topics. Of these, 58 were created in-house by the NMP’s exhibition planning unit, 23 were installed as touring exhibitions by other institutions. However, after the 16 exhibitions clustering in 2011, there were a total of 28 exhibitions jointly

sponsored with other institutions.

Of the 36 exhibitions of Taiwan's indigenous culture, 26 were produced in-house by the NMP, 6 were touring exhibitions produced by other institutions, and 4 were co-produced by the NMP and other institutions. Of these 36, 17 were small-scale exhibitions installed in the museum archives or its corridors.

According to the observations of an experienced NMP exhibition planner, the NMP's exhibitions on Indigenous Peoples were mostly large-scale descriptive themes which displayed content on multiple ethnic groups. Before 2012, only 2 exhibitions had as their narrative structure a single Indigenous People (Lâm, 2012c). If the temporary exhibitions mounted in 2013 and 2014 are added into the mix, only 4 met this condition.

Decision-making mechanism for temporary exhibitions

The NMP's annual budget does not provide for enough funding of temporary exhibitions, so the funds for them rely on supplementary appropriations from various government agencies, especially the agency with jurisdiction over the museum. Thus, the annual administrative decision-making process for temporary exhibitions centers around and begins with applying for supplementary funding. At the outset, the Exhibition and Education Division convenes its staff (exhibition planners) to propose exhibition projects. After coordinating the proportion and prioritizing of temporary exhibition projects for the coming year based on the nature and theme of each temporary exhibition, the list is submitted to the NMP's senior management council. Since every division and office of the NMP can apply for supplementary funded projects, yet the funding available from the supervising agency is limited, the primary objective of the senior management council is to coordinate the prioritization of project applications. Once this is decided, the temporary exhibition project list is sent to the

exhibition review committee to determine whether or not it can approve the exhibition structure and content. Finally, the museum director signs off on the temporary exhibition topics and funding applications for that year before it is sent to the supervising government agency. Following the submission of funding applications, that agency determines funding for each application based on the governmental priorities of that particular year.²¹ The timetable of applying for supplementary funding begins with submitting applications for projects in January of each year and awaiting the announcement of results by the supervising agency in July. The implementation of the temporary exhibitions for which supplementary funding is received must then according to regulations be completed by December of that year. When supplementary funding is obtained, there is only limited time to prepare for mounting the exhibition. If the exhibition does not receive the full amount of funding requested in the application and is already scheduled for implementation that year, the necessary remedial funds come from revenue-generating activities of the Exhibition and Education Division.

Planning process for temporary exhibitions

Two examples of temporary exhibitions the planning of which took place under the supervision and guidance of NMP exhibition planning staff exemplify the concrete planning process of temporary exhibitions at the NMP—“*Sanga: The Flying Warriors*” and the “*2nd Taiwan Indigenous Arts Festival*”. The process can be depicted in terms of 1) determining the topic, 2) collecting and researching information or pertinent artefacts, and 3) design and installation.

²¹ Governmental jurisdiction over the NMP shifted from the MOE to the MOC in 2011. However, the newly established MOC did not yet have a budget item for regular supplementary funding of the planning and mounting of exhibitions by its subsidiary agencies. Since the MOC's founding in 2010, it continually demanded budget cuts from its subsidiary museums. This led the MOE to remain the primary government agency which the NMP applied for supplementary funding in 2011 and 2012. The MOC only provided supplementary funding for 1 touring exhibition that the NMP was planning as a temporary exhibition.

Sanga: The Flying Warriors

The term “sanga” is used by the Taromak tribe of Rukai People of Taitung County to denote a running warrior. To qualify as sanga one usually has to make an outstanding contribution via disaster rescue or reporting information. Thus, sanga is the most important core spirit instilled in young Taromak males during their education growing up. In hierarchical Rukai society, both nobles and commoners can attain sanga status, which entitles them to sit alongside the tribal chief at meetings and wear head dress and garments of noble status. Thus, to members of the Taromak tribe, the sanga spirit is goes beyond being simply the most important core value sought by members of the tribe, it is a tremendous honor. The sanga spirit is thus the topic of this exhibition, which took shape through cooperation between the museum, source community and sponsoring agency. This section provides a description of the basic steps to the formation of the exhibition making: 1) determining the topic, 2) collecting and researching information or pertinent artefacts, and 3) design and installation. It also includes an explanation of the exhibition content and of the exhibition launch ceremony.

Determining the exhibition topic

The planners of this exhibition were experienced NMP exhibition planning staff with a background in the fine arts and ethnography. Previous planning activities continually held between 2004 and 2012 were mostly educational or exchange activities involving the music and dance of Indigenous Peoples as the theme, with very few cases of planning exhibitions. The planners deliberately used the planning process for this exhibition to share interpretive and decision-making authority with the Taromak tribe regarding the exhibition topic, structure and content. This resulted from the planners’ previous experience with planning exhibitions in which there were often differences of perception between the planners and members of the tribe about the content and

approach taken to the exhibition. Furthermore, the tribe in recent years had gained a certain amount of experience and could completely convey the meaning of its own culture. Thus, the Taromak tribe of Taitung County, which lived near the NMP and which had interacted with the museum on many occasions became the subject of collaboration for this exhibition,²² based on the hope that the Taromak culture would provide the basis for determining a more precise exhibition topic.

The planners were not members of the Taromak tribe nor were they experts in tribal culture, so in the process of seeking an exhibition topic, they looking into various core cultural aspects, leaving the process of settling on the exhibition topic constantly in flux. Potential topics ranged from tool swings used in the important tribal harvest rites, to lilies signifying nobility, chastity and purity conferred by members of the tribe, to the training grounds of young males and even the butterfly totems standing for sanga, until finally, fieldwork led to understanding of the significance and representativeness of sanga, and the tribal leadership proposed the topic.²³ Only once tribal approval was obtained was it official determined that sanga would be the topic of the exhibition.

Collection and research of exhibition data and displayed objects

The method of gathering information for this exhibition involved interviewing elders and leaders of the Taromak tribe. In all, 7 fieldwork investigations were completed in 6 months. In addition to interviews, the planners also briefed the tribal development coordination council, as well as elder and youth leaders on the information gathered and the subsequent exhibition plans during meetings of the tribal council to seek their

²² This interaction was between the tribe and NMP was mostly for musical or dance events, or educational and promotional activities, not exhibition planning activities.

²³ A leader of the tribal development coordination council disclosed during a fieldwork interview for this study that he had proposed the topic of sanga for producing the exhibition.

approval. During the process of information gathering, one NMP staff member also served as the assistance of the leader of the tribal community development coordination council, helping to recommend interview subjects and serving as interpreter. To obtain artefacts suitable for this topic, the planners during their fieldwork investigation had to seek the help of local inhabitants to negotiate with members of the tribe borrowing artefacts for display, which not only included privately owned objects, but also symbolic objects jointly owned by the tribe, including the giant-sized wood sculptures of spirits at the young male meeting site, objects received as gifts by the tribe, wooden sculptures and pottery created by tribal members, individual clothing representing the sanga spirit and photographs.

Exhibition design and installation

There was procrastination in the NMP's internal administrative process since the museum director at the time expected the number of exhibition viewers to not be very numerous, and so set aside for a while the official form for approving the exhibition. The result was that the supplementary funding obtained was insufficient for implementing the exhibition, so the agency providing the funding took back a portion of the amount, leaving a gap in funding for the original plan. Thus the planning and installation timetable was shorted to only 1 month. During the design phase, the planners out of respect for the tribe obtained tribal approval of the exhibition content, written text and drawings of the placement of exhibition cases before setting its implementation in stone. At the behest of the tribal community development coordination council, the tribe mobilized approximately 30 people, including youths, young workers and tribal elders, to come and build an exhibition visual construction with tribal character. During the installation process, the planners provided the funds for materials and construction for the tribal members to purchase the materials and then

design and produce the exhibition objects according to the exhibition venue situation. The planners at the same time helped with such exhibition installation tasks as using existing exhibition cases, electronic monitors and projectors and affixing them above the display objects, setting the position of explanatory text display boards or printing out display labels, adjusting electric lighting and electronic equipment racks. Because tribal members were not very experienced in exhibition planning and installation and the planners respected the opinions of the tribe, the way in which the exhibition was finally arrayed and the construction of the display visual sets was subject to change and modification throughout the process due to the opinions of tribal members.

Exhibition results and content

This exhibit was located in the 4th Temporary Exhibition Room of the NMP and ran from December 2013 to September of 2014. The core of the exhibition featured visual sets constructed by the tribe that showcased the Taromak tribe's unique character. The exhibition content consisting of 8 topics included textual explanations, objects on display and multimedia presentations. Relative to the abundant exhibition visual sets and objects on display, the textual content of the exhibition was markedly concise. What follows is a brief description of the 8 thematic sections of the exhibition and the concise textual explanations.

Section 1: Sanga homeland and Taromak chieftains and badges

This section consisted three explanatory text display boards, one display case and a multimedia projector to explain the development and history of the Taromak tribe. It also featured an array of a tribal chieftain's dagger and badges dating from the Japanese colonial era (1885 to 1945) to elucidate the social relationships and hierarchy of the Taromak tribe. The multimedia presentation provided a basic introduction to the

Taromak, and records of fieldwork interviews as well as long-distance races used to instill the sanga spirit.



Figure 4. 14: Display case containing Taromak chieftain's badges and adjoining multimedia projection area.

Section 2: Children of the sun and male meeting place panel sculptures

This section featured five wood panel sculptured figures as symbolic representations of the tribe's gods. The labels affixed to them explained concisely the foundation of religious beliefs regarding their gods. The textual display boards also explain how the

male meeting ground represents a sacred space and spiritual center for the Taromak tribe.



Figure 4. 15: Panel sculpture area of male meeting ground.

Section 3: The Taromak tribe's external relations

The two display cases and single display use text and photographs to exhibit gifts obtained through exchanges with the outside world, and explain the results of exchanges between the Taromak tribe and foreign groups during the past decade. One unexpected feature is that this area also contains a porcelain urn made by the tribal elite which nevertheless has no connection with the theme of this section.



Figure 4. 16: The primary display board describing the tribe's external relations.



Figure 4. 17: Works created by tribal members displayed in section on the tribe's external relations.

Section 4: The ways to attain sanga and be recognized as having sanga status

This section area contains two display cases and three textual display boards that elucidate the stories of tribal myths and proclaim the ways to attain sanga. It also uses text, photographs, sashes and head gear to explain the significance of the Bekas (mountain rush race) as the contemporary means of being recognized as having sanga status, what such recognition meant as a way of overcoming social status and age, the honor and authority of such distinctive status and what kind of clothing and head gear one could wear to convey the possession of sanga status.

Section 5: Sanga roles and tasks

One display case and one visual construction can be found in this display area. Text, photographs and head gear, ceremonial daggers, bows and arrows and anal bells (a kind of bell tied to the buttocks of a sanga that emits a ringing sound) are used to explain the primary contemporary roles of sanga in disaster rescue and heralding information, as well as their importance in the rain dance ritual.²⁴



Figure 4. 18: Display case explaining the roles and tasks of sanga.

²⁴ During the rain dance ritual, those with sanga status pick the *Lycopodium Fargesii*, which represents awakening the rain god. During the process, they must run fast representing that the rain cannot catch up with the sanga and then draw the rain to the tribe.

Section 6: Elder sanga experiences

There are three display cases in this display area which contain written text, head gear and garments to explain what training experiences elder sanga went through to become sanga, and stories of the heroism that allowed them to attain sanga status.



Figure 4. 19: A display case containing elder sanga figurines and description of their deeds.

Section 7: Sanga culture and art

This display area features one display case and a multimedia projector, using text, photographs and tribal-created works to explain how the importance of sanga is represented and sustained through art. In addition to songs and dances thematically tied to sanga, among the items of adornment are distinctive striped decorations and ornamental pieces, such as butterfly shape symbolizing shuttling through as one wishes and bird feathers in head ornaments that symbolize speed. What is unique is that

although the aforementioned explanations have a certain logical thread, the display objects do not seem to have any certain connection with the thematic content; rather, it is the individual articles in the elder sanga thematic section that relatively can showcase this section's theme.



Figure 4. 20: Sanga culture and art display case.

Section 8: Final words and conclusion

Content: This final sections serves as the conclusion and summary of the exhibition. It begins with content describing the importance of traditional music and dance in the revival of Taromak tribal culture; yet, the significance and meaning of traditional dance and music is not mentioned in this exhibition. Only then does it address the significance of the sanga spirit for the revival of tribal culture.



Figure 4. 21: Display with final words on the exhibition topic.

Exhibition opening ceremony

The opening ceremony for the exhibition took the form of a religious ritual involving the entire tribe, performances of indigenous music and dance, international exchange and an educational event. Under the premise of respecting the religious beliefs of the Taromak tribe, the day of the opening ceremony the tribal chieftain and tribal members were admitted to the space early to enact prayers via a traditional rite. At the outset of the official opening ceremony, elders and youths of the Taromak tribe of every social status performed traditional singing and dancing and introduced the traditional sanga deportment and deeds. Finally, Maori teachers and students from the cinema department of the Auckland University of Technology in New Zealand arrived in Taitung as part of an exchange to trace their cultural roots. With song and dance arranged as the medium of communication and understanding for the Maori students and teachers, the entire opening ceremony became a venue for demonstrating the traditional spirit of the Taromak tribe.

2nd Taiwan Indigenous Arts Festival

Under NT\$1.25 million to NT\$4.92 million of supplementary funding annually in the period 2004 to 2012 from its original supervisory agency, the MOE, the NMP undertook a Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Music and Dance Education and Dissemination Project to promote musical and dance exchanges among Indigenous Peoples. However, this project did not include any exhibition activities. The exhibition planners who drafted this project hoped to use dissemination of education as the media for their objective of making the museum into a platform for musical and dance exchanges among aboriginal ethnic groups (Lin J., 2012). But beginning in 2012, the NMP was transferred to the supervisory jurisdiction of the MOC, so no more funding for musical or dance activities was forthcoming. Thereupon, starting in 2012, the exhibition planners started inviting university and high-school students of aboriginal ethnicity to submit their creative works for display by the NMP, and continued the musical and dance activities by integrating exhibition and performance activities into a single museum event. Thus, beginning in 2013, the original musical and dance activities were formally renamed the “*Taiwan Indigenous Arts Festival*”.

The principal exhibition planner stated that the reason for caring about musical and dance performances was that they carried major symbolic meaning in the lives of Indigenous Peoples; they were linked to and manifested the significance of indigenous myths, folk songs and the intensions of aboriginal life. Inviting the participation of indigenous university and high-school students had to do with the increasingly aging population structure of Indigenous Peoples, making it comparatively difficult to sustain the basic form of music and dance. Thus the museum’s approach was transformed into cooperating with schools to set up classes to develop the artistic capabilities of indigenous students.

Determining the exhibition topic

Given that 2014 was the second year since the musical and dance activities were integrated with a temporary museum exhibition, the planners decided to give each year's exhibition cum event a theme that would serve as the creative art objective of the participating students. The theme was decided by the exhibition planners themselves, who wanted to set a theme that would serve as the medium for students exerting their creativity to explore the connections between the theme and their aboriginal identity and culture in order to enrich the attributes of their creativity. Thus, they set "butterflies" as the theme for this year's exhibition cum event since after taking part in planning the *Sanga: The Flying Warriors* exhibition they felt that eastern Rukai people's concept of the butterfly as standing for the warrior spirit would be a good foundation, and hoped that in the creative process, students of each indigenous ethnic group would seek the symbolic meaning pertaining to warriors.

Collection and research of exhibition data and displayed objects

This exhibition was produced by collective creative works and putting them on display. During the exhibition planning process, the planners did not undertake any fieldwork investigation or research; thus, this exhibition only involved collecting works and providing explanations of them. The objects were collected from students of aboriginal ethnicity in the indigenous art classes of four high schools or vocational high schools and two universities.²⁵ The planners decided to let the teachers of the students select the works to be collected for the exhibition. Two of the planners even chose to teach an artwork creation class at one of the schools for four hours, providing guidance to

²⁵ They are National Taitung Senior High School and National Guan-Shan Vocational Senior High School in Taitung County, Hai Xing Senior High School in Hualien County, Laiyi Senior High School in Pingtung County, Indigenous Students class of Tajen University and the Department of Arts and Creative Industries of National Dong Hwa University.

students on how to determine symbolic signs and meaning in indigenous culture and encouraging students to seek out the distinctive history, culture and stories of their own tribe and to integrate them into their creative works. They also took part in the decision-making process of selecting works at one school for the exhibition. Nevertheless, it is apparent from the selection process that the teachers had the most profound impact on setting the theme of the exhibition, creating the works and conveying their meaning. Thus, the students were relatively unenthusiastic and passive during the time that the exhibition planners were teaching them.

Exhibition design and installation

This exhibition was located in the NMP's corridor, so the displayed objects had to be set in a fixed position. This involved relatively little work on exhibition design, lighting or the path museum-goers were to follow, and the textual explanations appeared on display boards. Second-hand display cases and suspended sign boards left over from previous temporary exhibitions were used.

Exhibition design and installation consisted displaying the collected art works. To give the students the opportunity to express their own creativity, the exhibition planners left it up to the students themselves to display and install their own art works. They gave the students two days of access to the NMP's storage room to choose the materials, props and display cases that they wanted to use in creating a visual set that echoed their own creative works. But during this process the students were heavily influenced by their teachers. Teachers from two of the schools stayed completely aloof from the installation process, while those from one of the schools guided the installation; the students merely followed the directions of the teacher in moving objects and materials around.



Figure 4. 22: School teachers and students installing display boards for the 2nd Taiwan Indigenous Arts Festival exhibition.

Exhibition results and content

This exhibition took place in the NMP's second-floor corridor from June 2013 to September 2014. With creative works of students from six educational institutions on display and no detailed thematic classification of their works, there were only 8 display boards of text about the background of the exhibition and the development of indigenous student education at the various schools and universities. It is worth noting that of the works chosen for display in the exhibition, those demonstrating relevance to the exhibition theme of butterflies were mostly from the school where the planners had taken part in teaching. Many of the works from the other schools displayed no integration of butterflies or warrior concepts at all, and some works of the school teachers were incorporated in the exhibition as well.



Figure 4. 23: Free-standing works submitted for the 2nd Taiwan Indigenous Arts Festival exhibition.

Exhibition opening ceremony and musical and dance exchange

The opening ceremony for this exhibition began with the chanting and singing of indigenous folk tunes that involved a performance by the Taromak tribe. This was followed by a set of relatively official speeches, immediately after which a series of workshops was presented using slide projectors and lectures by aboriginal artists and students. Those taking part were students of the schools from which the works for the exhibition were collected. Given that musical and dance exchanges was another focus of this arts festival, after the opening ceremony and workshop lectures were concluded, musical and dance ensembles consisting of the participating students when carried out the indigenous youth musical and dance exchange activities.



Figure 4. 24: The other focus of the Arts Festival: indigenous youth musical and dance exchanges.

“maSpalaw—Saysiyat Artifacts of the National Taiwan Museum Homecoming” between National Taiwan Museum and Museum of Saisiat Folklore

NTM is Taiwan’s oldest national-level museum (NTM, 2013:8). It was founded in 1908 during Japan’s colonial rule of Taiwan.²⁶ The building of its collection and the development of its exhibitions came under the administrative influence of different colonial government agencies, including the colonial government’s Industry Bureau, Internal Affairs Bureau and Culture and Education Bureau. Thus, the NTM’s collection and exhibitions gradually came to encompass natural history (flora and fauna, minerals), industrial history and the developmental history of the Taiwanese people, including Taiwan’s Indigenous Peoples.

After the ROC government took over the NTM, it maintained the aforementioned collection categories and developmental orientation for both its collection and exhibitions. It has continually engaged in research of the objects of indigenous culture in its collection. Thus, like the NMP, the NTM is one of only three national-level museums to maintain a permanent exhibition and of only two national-level museum routinely mount temporary exhibitions of indigenous cultures of Taiwan. What makes NTM special is that it has long cooperated with local-level museums of indigenous culture to produce temporary exhibitions. It started out assisting such local-level museums in mounting these exhibitions and now is the national-level museum in

²⁶ The objective behind its founding then was to introduce to the outside world the true aspects of Japan’s relatively new territorial acquisition of the island and to glorify the results of Japanese colonial administration (Li, 1997).

Taiwan to promote temporary exhibitions featuring the return of indigenous artifacts from its collection to their place of origin.

Museum background information

The NTM is located at the ROC's national capital city of Taipei, only about 500 meters from the Taipei Train Station. It is surrounded by such public buildings as the Office of the President and various central government ministry offices and close to many historic structures in the capital city. In 2005, the central government's Council for Cultural Affairs (the predecessor to today's MOC) implemented a Capital City Core Area Museum Project with the NTM as administrative agency, to establish a "Taiwan Museum System" that incorporated historic buildings at the centers of other cities within its administrative scope in order to undertake restoration and render them reusable. Thereafter, this museum expanded from a single location into four locations: the NTM, the Taiwan Land Bank Exhibition Hall (TLB), Nanmen Park and the former Governor-General of Taiwan Transportation Administration Railway Department complex.²⁷ The themes and content of its permanent exhibitions were based on the nature of the NTM collection as well as a high degree of correlation with the historical context of the new museums, such as the historical development of the NTM, Taiwan's flora and fauna, Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples, fauna evolution, flora evolution, history of the Taiwan Land Bank and history of the camphor industry.

²⁷ The TLB is located only 100 meters away from the NTM building, and has a total floor area of 1,800 sq. m. and incorporated into the NTM system in February of 2010. It contains three permanent exhibition areas, on the evolution of flora and fauna, restoration of ancient ruins and on the history of the Taiwan Land Bank, as well as a 50-seat meeting room and cafeteria. The Nanmen Park, located 1.3 km from the NTM building, consists of a total area of 1,613 sq. m. and incorporated into the NTM system in December 2013. The park area contains two permanent exhibitions, the evolution of flora and the camphor industry, as well as one temporary exhibition space. Plans are being made to turn the former Governor-General of Taiwan Transportation Administration Railway Department complex, located nearly 2 km from the NTM building, into a railway museum.

The NTM building is a three-story structure with a area for the three floors of 3,024 sq. m. In addition to the three permanent exhibitions on the historical development of the NTM, Taiwan's flora and fauna and Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples, there are five areas of the building that provide space for temporary exhibitions. The NTM's permanent exhibition regarding Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples, titled "Indigenous of Formosa", is divided into sections pertaining to each Indigenous People, independently introducing the historical development, geographic distribution and cultural characteristics of each group. There are 6,946 items in the NTM's collection pertaining to Taiwan's indigenous culture (NTM, 2013). The museum has begun to promote the return of these objects to their native source community, jointly mounting exhibitions with local-level cultural museums via lending exhibitions. After incorporation of the TLB and Nanmen Park facilities, attendance has averaged 400,000 people a year (See Table 4.6).

Table 4. 6: NTM visitor statistics

Item Year	NTM Paid Attendance	NTM Total Attendance	TLB Paid Attendance	TLB Total Attendance	Combined Attendance	Note
2008	87,631	101,800	N/A	N/A	189,431	
2009	86,892	140,713	N/A	N/A	227,605	
2010	93,921	225,442	56,616	193,876	419,318	TLB added
2011	94,839	260,350	31,953	162,240	422,590	
2012	105,442	255,541	35,920	155,725	411,266	
2013	N/A	221,296	N/A	129,584	354,465	

Source: Annual Report of NTM 2008-2013

Supervisory government agency and administrative mechanism

The NTM is under the MOC. Its relationship to the MOC and the mechanism by which it is administered is similar to that of the NMP, so will not be repeated here.

Staff resources

The NTM officially has a staff budget for about 50 civil servants and professional personnel. It also employs about 30 non-budgeted temporary employees, dispatched personnel and vendor stall staff. The system for hiring and administering civil servants is the same as the NMP. Including the museum exhibition planners, the NTM has approximately 15 civil servant employees responsible for the museum's administration. Its approximately 20 professional staff members are hired and managed in accordance with the Operating Principles for the Hiring and Evaluation of Professional Staff in Subsidiary Agencies of the MOC. They are grouped into either the research section, or the collection management section, exhibition planning section, or education and promotion section. The academic backgrounds of the approximately 11 people who handle the mounting of exhibitions include anthropology, paleontology, geology, zoology, botany and museum studies. Over the past five years, all those in charge of exhibitions of indigenous culture had a background in anthropology.

Funding sources and allocation

The NTM relies on three principle sources of operating funds, the central government's annual budget, supplemental funding projects of various government agencies and incentive funding from the Taiwan Museum Cultural and Educational Foundation. Since the NTM only generates about 1 percent of its funding in house, and the supplemental funding provided by the foundation is relatively meager, the government's budget is the principle source of operating funds for the museum.

Table 4. 7: NTM revenue sources

Unit: NT\$1,000

Year \ Item	Government Appropriation	Foundation Incentive	Self-generated Income
2008	224,414	417	2,438
2009	304,190	592	3,354
2010	356,735	428	4,333
2011	246,114	221	7,737
2012	277,501	2,563	3,681
2013	385,941	563	5,928

Source: Annual Report of NTM 2008-2013.

Budgeted expenditures for the NTM primarily comprise “administrative costs” and “museum business and promotional event costs”. Among these, “exhibition costs” are listed under “museum business and activity costs”. Careful scrutiny of such expenditures reveals that next to the “historical and cultural asset maintenance and development project” expenditure for renovation of the former Governor-General of Taiwan Transportation Administration Railway Department complex, the “exhibition costs” item accounts for the largest proportion of internal museum business costs.

Table 4. 8: NTM expenditures

Unit: NT\$1,000

Year \ Item	Total Annual Expenditures	Basic Administrative and Maintenance Costs ²⁸	Museum Business and Activity Costs
2008	224,414	96,040	128,374
2009	304,190	119,094	185,096
2010	356,735	130,480	226,255
2011	246,114	124,075	122,039
2012	277,501	143,935	133,566
2013	385,941	199,913	185,528

Source: Annual Report of NTM 2008-2013.

²⁸ This item includes personnel costs, utility costs and environmental upkeep costs.

Table 4. 9: NTM museum and event costs

Unit: NT\$1,000

Item Year	Exhibition Costs	Exhibition Costs proportion of Total Expenditures	Collection and Storage Management	Education and Promotion	Research Costs	Historical and cultural asset maintenance and development project
2008	22,025	17.1%	86,816	1,751	1,870	N/A
2009	22,460	14.4%	69,421	1,751	1,870	N/A
2010	22,312	9.8%	148,002	1,751	1,870	N/A
2011	24,424	20.0%	21,942	1,751	1,639	N/A
2012	23,938	17.9%	20,951	1,644	1,371	71,301
2013	21,544	11.6%	20,864	1,480	3,172	129,383

Source: Annual Report of NTM 2008-2013.

Exhibition development

The NTM was the first museum in Taiwan to set up a permanent exhibition pertaining to Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples. Since it has a fairly large collection of indigenous objects, most topics of the permanent or temporary exhibitions it makes feature displays of objects from its own collection. In recent years, it has gradually begun to collaborate with the source communities of its various collection objects. This section briefly describes the permanent exhibition at the NTM pertaining to Indigenous Peoples, followed by description of 2 kinds of temporary exhibitions and ends with description of the NTM's decision-making mechanism for temporary exhibitions.

Permanent exhibition of Taiwan's indigenous culture at the NTM

The NTM has one permanent exhibition of indigenous culture housed in a gallery called the "Indigenous of Formosa" which has been on display since the 1980s. As its title implies, it present content separated into sections on various different Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan. However, since the gallery has limited space, it only permanently displays information about 11 different people despite the fact that as of 2015, the ROC

government now officially recognizes 16 different Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan. None of the 5 Indigenous Peoples that have gained government recognition since 2002 have been added to the display, underscoring the NTM's cramped space and limited resources for planning new exhibition topics or updating the exhibition. The exhibition gallery is divided into two parts. As one enters, the first section is devoted to prehistoric Taiwan from the Paleolithic Age to the Iron Age. The second section of the gallery that one then encounters displays information about 11 out of Taiwan's 16 officially recognized indigenous groups.

Temporary exhibition development

One of two approaches is taken to mounting temporary exhibitions at the NTM that pertain to indigenous culture: in-house productions or external collaborations. In-house productions involve museum professional staff directing the planning of exhibitions that are produced for display in the museum's own temporary exhibition space. There have been two relatively large-scale and long-term temporary exhibitions of this type over the past seven years, along with two small-scale, short-term ones.²⁹ Each of these involved a topic pertaining to a single ethnic group of Indigenous People showcasing its concrete cultural characteristics, such as attire or adornments, mythical legends or major historical artifacts. Each exhibition involved displaying artifacts and interpreting them, with museum researchers directing the interpretive process.

The external collaboration type of temporary exhibition, which is the type of the case in this research, involves collaboration between the NTM and Taiwan's local-level museums of indigenous culture. Two key factors lie behind the emergence of this type

²⁹ These include "*Rainbow and Dragonfly: Where the Atayal Clothing Meet the Paiwan Multi-colored Glass Beads*" (September 30, 2014 to March 1, 2015), "*I am Tayen (Atayal)*" (July 5 to August 31, 2014), "*Land of the Brave—Legacy of Sediq Bale*" (September 6 to October 30, 2011), and "*Sons of the Sun—The Myths and Legends of the Paiwan People*" (December 23, 2009 to September 12, 2010).

of temporary exhibition. The first is that exhibition planners and at the NTM began to scrutinize the restrictive and unfair thinking of indigenous culture as “the other” as revealed in past exhibitions, and thus began to actively consider how to allow Indigenous People to take part in the interpretation of the museum’s artifacts and the display process (Li 2014:6). The second factor is, that beginning in 2007, the NTM began to take part in the “Large Museums Lead Small Museums” subproject of the Enlightenment and Guidance Project sponsored by the central-government agency, the CIP. This led to the start of a series of instances in which the NTM started to assist local-level cultural museums. The first attempts were to devise touring exhibitions planned by the NTM to make the rounds of each of the local-level cultural museums in order to enrich their display content (Li 2014:8). From 2007 to 2009, five such touring exhibitions appeared in 13 local-level museums of indigenous culture.

However, even while continuing to produce touring exhibitions in 2009, the NTM began to reflect on the functions of such exhibitions and discovered that they only served to bring some exhibition-mounting credit to local-level museums of indigenous culture but not substantively assist them in developing the techniques to mount their own exhibitions, nor did they expand the participation of Indigenous Peoples in the interpretation and description of their own culture (Li 2014:9). This led NTM exhibition planners to the decision to stop the use of touring exhibitions in favor of trying to collaboratively mount such exhibitions with the local-level museums of indigenous culture. This led to the initiation of a new model of collaboration and bringing the NTM’s collected artifacts back to their source communities.³⁰ The topics for this new type of temporary exhibition involved 1) the source community of the artifacts to be

³⁰ Bringing back such items under the rubric of “homecoming” meant lending them to the local-level institutions for a short period of time, not permanently returning or giving them back to their source community. In other words, the NTM still maintained “possession” of such artifacts.

displayed, 2) collaboration between the NTM and a particular local-level museum of indigenous culture, and 3) allowing the source community to take part in selecting the artifacts for display, with members of the ethnic group (or the local-level museum) undertaking the planning of display object interpretations and exhibition content. Meanwhile, the NTM was in charge of exhibition design and production, the care and transport of the artifacts, planning promotional events, and installation of the artifacts at the exhibition (Li 2014:10). From 2009 to 2014, the NTM collaborated with four local-level museums of indigenous culture to complete six different temporary exhibitions.

Decision-making mechanism for temporary exhibitions

Planning of temporary exhibitions produced by the NTM is not the responsibility of members of an exhibition planning section;³¹ but rather, by research staff from the NTM's research section and collection management section. Every exhibition planner for a particular planning year has a designated slot for producing a particular exhibition so is aware of its time period and allocated space one planning year in advance. The planners themselves decide on the exhibition topic and production model.³² Funding for each exhibition is obtained primarily from the NTM budget, seeking supplementary funding from other government agencies and applying for incentive grants from the NTM Cultural and Educational Foundation. Since the NTM utilizes approximately 20 million NT dollars annually to fund temporary exhibitions and mounts an average of eight such exhibitions per year, it relies relatively lightly on supplementary funding

³¹ The Exhibition Planning Section is primarily in charge of coordinating the exhibition time periods and allocating space; they rarely take part in the actual planning or installation of a given temporary exhibition. This section is mainly responsible for commissioning the restoration and repair of the new branches of the NTM, namely, the Taiwan Land Bank Exhibition Hall, Nanmen Park and the former Governor-General of Taiwan Transportation Administration Railway Department complex.

³² Exhibition planning generally takes the form of negotiating with other museums to lend already produced exhibitions, independently planning the NTM's own exhibitions or collaborating with other institutions to plan a temporary exhibition.

from government agencies. The administrative process of funding exhibitions involves exhibition planners submitting an exhibition project, which is then implemented following approval by the museum director.

Collaborative partner -Museum of Saisiat Folklore in Nanzhuang Township

As its title implies, MSF exists as a local-level museum that primarily introduces Saisiyat culture to museum goers.³³ Located in the Saisiyat tribal area of Nanzhuang Township in Miaoli County, the MSF falls under the administrative purview of the Department of Indigenous Peoples' Administration of the Miaoli County Government, making it a rare example of a local-level museum that is administered by an agency directly affiliated with a county government. Opened in August of 2004, the MSF consists of a three-story structure with a total floor area of 1,746 sq. m. The first floor includes displays of Saisiyat traditional arts and crafts, a cultural education classroom and cafeteria. The second floor has permanent exhibitions introducing the history of the Saisiyat people and collected traditional Saisiyat craftworks, as well as a multimedia auditorium. The third floor includes a collections office, administrative office, temporary exhibition space and a permanent *paSta'ay* rite exhibition hall. Most of the temporary exhibitions presently mounted there are of local arts and crafts. Currently,

³³ There are currently 5,370 members of the Saisiyat Indigenous People in Taiwan, who mostly live in three administrative districts: Wufeng Township in Hsinchu County, as well as Nanzhuang Township and Shitan Township in Miaoli County, with the largest number being resident in Nanzhuang Township (CIP, 2015). The fundamental unit in the social organization of the Saisiyat is kinship relations. Members of a family bearing the same surname often live together in a community, and various communities are then merged into a village. However, families of the same surname within a village form each clan group. These groups not only jointly own arable land or help each other fish, they also the units for carrying out different rites (for example, the Titiyon clan officiates at the *paSta'ay* rite, while the Sawan class presides over the *Imawaquyux* or rainmaking rite). In addition, communities and village form leagues based on geographic factors or blood ties. Currently, the Saisiyat Indigenous People are divided into a northern league and a southern league. Since there are relatively few Saisiyat, the cultural practices of the two leagues have been influenced by surrounding ethnic groups (Hakka Chinese in the case of the southern league, and Atayal in the case of the northern league) and thus display differences. The most important cultural tradition observed by the Saisiyat people is the biennial *paSta'ay* rite. Based on the foundation of a patrilineal society jointly ruled by elders, before the rite is observed, representatives from the two leagues hold negotiations where the major matters of the rite are decided by the elders of each clan.

only one MSF staff member has been hired by the county government, the routine chores are handled by two are young men doing unpaid civil service as an alternative to serving in the ROC military. Annually, the MSF can devote NT\$300,000 to funding its exhibitions. A special characteristic of the MSF is that, although it does not charge admission and so has no revenue generated from so doing, it earns approximately NT\$400,000 from venue leasing (the cafeteria is outsourced) and retain merchandise sales (Fulu Culture Foundation 2013:32). Museum attendance between 2009 and 2013 averaged 190,000 visits annually.

Planning process for temporary exhibitions

To explicate the concrete actions and processes involved in exhibition planning at the NTM in terms of three levels—deciding upon the exhibition topic, gathering and researching data or artifacts pertaining to the topic, and planning as well as installing the exhibition—this study will cite the example of “*maSpalaw—Saysiyat Artifacts of the National Taiwan Museum Homecoming Exhibition*”, scheduled for display at the NTM from December 5, 2014 through June 7, 2015.

Determining the exhibition topic

The topic of a collaboratively mounted temporary exhibition depends to a considerable extent on the cooperating party; thus, the process of determining the exhibition topic could be termed the process of deciding upon a particular collaborating party. For this particular exhibition, MSF proactively contacted an NTM planner expressing willingness to mount the exhibition due to the suggestion came from the consultant group of the Enlivenment and Guidance Project. Like other Large Museums Lead Small Museums mechanism, the plans went to the bilateral cooperation between the NTM and MSF. In line with the NTM’s practices of the past six years, the exhibition topic

involved a “homecoming” of artifacts from the NTM’s collection to their source community.

Collection and research of exhibition data and displayed objects

Given that the topic of the exhibition was the “homecoming” of Saisiyat artifacts, the NTM provided the MSF with an inventory of artifacts gathered from the Nanzhuang locality over the years, as a kind of checklist among which the MSF could make its choices. At the time the selections were made, the NTM invited elders from the Nanzhuang Saisiyat community to the NTM’s collection storage room to jointly inspect the artifacts. During their inspection, the elders felt some artifacts had little value; while others, given their unique historical significance, proved to be exciting for the descendants of those involved with them.³⁴ This not only helped verify and fill in information about the artifacts in the museum’s collection and eliminated objects that were not suitable for exhibition, it also brought with it a certain bonding between the members of the source community and the objects that endowed them with meaning and value, value in this exhibition delineated by the judgment of the tribal elders.

Once the topic of the exhibition was decided, the MSF began to undertake fieldwork research hoping to uncover the connections between the objects and the source community. The fieldwork study was conducted by the MSF’s only full-time employee, along with a local Saisiyat translator. They video and audio recorded their interviews with local tribal elders to gain an understanding of the history of each object, its function and how it was produced, and its meaning in Saisiyat culture. This process both clarified the information about each object and generated design ideas that could be

³⁴ This refers to an original copy of a document signed by the Qing Dynasty official Liu Mingchuan, who made an inspection tour of Taiwan in 1887, approving the bestowal a medal of honor on the meritorious tribal chief of an area within the borders of today’s Nanzhuang Township. When the chieftain’s descendants espied this document in the collection room, they were very excited.

used in mounting the exhibition. At the same time, they recruited 19 artifacts from the local tribal members for inclusion in the exhibition. The MSF staff member lacked actual experience with producing an exhibition, so during the fieldwork process expressed difficulty imagining how to use this information to mount an exhibition. This break between individual experience and the display plan led to the fieldwork phase taking longer than anticipated by the NTM, which in turn caused NTM exhibition planners to express their concerns and make demands regarding the agreed timetable, so they shared with their MSF collaborative partners their recommendations and experiences with mounting such an exhibition by designating it a one-off project in order to get it implemented without any further hitches.

This break also allowed a representative of local council who once worked for MSF and was currently a participant in the temporary exhibition plenty of leeway to get involved. This representative was a Saisiyat resident of Nanzhuang Township and had long taken part in cultural and historical work. Since this representative had more experience with cultural and historical fieldwork and exhibition knowhow than the MSF staff member, and could play multiple roles as a tribal member, local representative, experienced cultural and historical work and former museum worker, he took part in all regular meetings between the NTM and MSF (including the visit by tribal elders to the NTM collection storage room), and regularly functioned as a decision maker in the one-off project process. At the same time, he assisted the MSF staff member recruit artifacts from tribal members, provided cultural and historical information and even suggested the exhibition outline. Faced with his unexpected participation, the NTM found itself in an awkward situation. Ultimately, when the timetable and fieldwork results were not forthcoming as expected, so as to avoid influencing the subsequent exhibition design and installation work, as well as the time needed for preparing publicity, the NTM could

only continually encourage the MSF personnel taking part in the exhibition planning in hopes that they would gradually come to understand what mounting an exhibition was all about and develop their own thinking with regard to the exhibition.

Exhibition design and installation

The NTM was in charge of the exhibition design phase, and as it customarily did during the planning period, it outsourced the exhibition design work, thus a vendor was commissioned to design this exhibition. The design work as a whole proceeded in accordance with the fieldwork results provided by the MSF and the exhibition topic agreed between the museums. Administrative oversight of the design process was undertaken by the NTM, which outsourced the task to a design company to generate a visual design plan. It is worth noting that during this process, the NTM from a marketing perspective hoped that the MSF would provide drawings published by Saisiyat tribal members and paintings to the design company to enhance the liveliness and local feel of the visual effect to the exhibition content.

The exhibition installation process was also guided by the NTM, in part because some of the objects on display were from the NTM's collection and thus NTM personnel undertook the technical tasks of transportation and placing the objects on display, while other display decorating tasks were left to the vendor to handle. During this same time period, the foundation implementing the "enlivenment project" worked in concert with the installation timetable and content of this exhibition to plan a workshop entitled, *"Mapaliu Mutual Help with Mounting Exhibitions: First Mutual Mobilization Exchange of Indigenous Peoples' Workers to Learn About Exhibition Installation"*. Workshop participants were staff from other local-level museums of indigenous culture around Taiwan, and the NTM was the directing agency. The objective was to enhance the

capabilities of local-level cultural museum staff members to mount exhibitions (Bureau of Cultural Park, 2014). Thereupon, this exhibition installation process became an instructional venue for staff from other museums to learn how to install an exhibition.

Exhibition content and results

This exhibit was located in the Temporary Exhibition Room of the MSF and ran from December 2014 to June of 2015. It consisted of two areas. The first area was a corridor, which introduced 11 members of the tribe connected with the displayed objects and oral histories of the objects. The second area displayed the objects arranged into six exhibition topics. The primary exhibition content included objects from the NTM and the MSF collections, as well as objects loaned by members of the Saisiyat community. The primary objects on display were those loaned by Saisiyat community members; while the objects from the NTM or MSF collections were mostly apparel, woven baskets and a scroll document from the Qing dynasty era. Only a portion of the exhibition explanatory texts indicated that the principal source of exhibition content was from MSF investigatory data and oral histories generated from fieldwork surveys. Most of the rest of the exhibition content was not explained. The principal method of exhibition was through a combination of static display cases, display boards and oral history slides. What follows is a brief description of the content in the corridor area, the 6 thematic sections of the exhibition and the concise textual explanations.

The exhibition content in the corridor mostly concerns 11 members of the tribe connected with the display objects. It introduces their social status and displays their descriptions of the history and making of the objects. From the terminology and conclusions reached in these descriptions, the source of the exhibition content was fieldwork interviews conducted by museum personnel.

The second exhibition area featured displays of objects organized into six sections, each with its own exhibition topic:

Section 1: Girls from the sea—The beauty and sorrow of weavers (cloth-weaving girls)

The topic in the center of the second display area was on Saisiyat cloth weaving. On display were woven-cloth objects from the NTM's collection, local weaving specialists and nine cloth objects loaned by members of the Saisiyat tribe to explain the myths and stories pertaining to the displayed objects, the social significance of cloth weaving to the Saisiyat people, methods of cloth weaving and the types of cloth and its uses.



Figure 4. 25: Entrance of Saisiyat Artifacts Homecoming Exhibition.

Section 2: Nanzhuang man of the hour—BasiBanual

The exhibition topic in the left-front Section 2 pertained to a unique incident in the

history of Nanzhuang Township. It featured a military medal from the NTM collection originally awarded BasiBanual by an official of the Qing dynasty in the 19th century. The display enumerated the experiences of BasiBanual and members of the Saisiyat people in Taiwan during the periods of Qing dynastic rule and Japanese colonial rule, as well as the views of Saisiyat descendants to this historical incident.



Figure 4. 26: The section called Nanzhuang Man of the Hour in Saisiyat Artifacts Homecoming Exhibition.

Section 3: Warriors and weapons

The left-rear part of the second exhibition area, Section 3, exhibited traditional weapons used by the Saisiyat. On display were bows and arrows as well as spears and daggers from the NTM collection. They were supplemented by cultural and historical information provided by the MSF's previous curator and descriptions of the weapons by local Saisiyat elders regarding the structure, material composition and use of each weapon.

Section 4: Dazzling splendor—Threaded gold and stone

The back center part of the second area comprising Section 4 displayed Saisiyat jewelry and adornments, 13 of which were loaned by members of the Saisiyat tribe not only from Nanzhuang Township but also neighboring Wufeng Township in Hsinchu County. Most content was descriptions by local Saisiyat elders, along with explanations of the object's appearance, material composition and use.

Section 5: Meeting of man and gods—Veneration and promises

The right-hand rear section of the second area, Section 6, displayed adornments used during the unique Saisiyat *paStaay* ceremony. One of the 2 objects displayed was provided from the MSF's collection; the other was loaned by a Saisiyat tribal member. Explanatory material included descriptions of the material composition and use of the objects, and of the relationship between the object and the person loaning it.

Section 6: Horizontal and vertical entanglement—Rattan and bamboo interlaced

The right-rear part of the second exhibition area, Section 6, features Saisiyat rattan and

bamboo-woven implements, and explains the connections between this handicraft and Saisiyat life. The 8 objects came from the NTM, the MSF or Saisiyat individuals. The description is about their appearance, use, connection to those loaning them.

Exhibition Opening ceremony

Before the launch of the exhibition, both museums placed great importance on discussions about the opening ceremony and promotional methods. As far as the NTM was concerned, given the high expectations of its top officials regarding media coverage, the planning of publicity materials and public relationship activities was handled by public relationship specialist staff of the NTM to select which media would be invited, when they would be expected to cover it, which guests would be invited to attend the opening ceremony and what kind of opening ceremony would be held. At times during this process, it even influenced which artifacts were chosen for display and how the written explanations were worded.

While the NTM exhibition planner did not wish to compromise during the planning process to the point where it affected recommended exhibition content, the planner was willing to comply with the requirements of marketing and publicity, allowing the high-level NTM officials the media coverage and promotional opportunities they wanted, and thus obtaining the support of museum resources. As the partner museum collaborating in the exhibition planning, the MSF was happy to accept this arrangement. As far as it was concerned, cooperating with the national-level museum and receiving nationwide media coverage was beneficial to showcasing its work effectiveness and elicited attention that ordinarily it would not readily be able to obtain.

Furthermore, although the NTM and MSF were the two sponsoring museums of this exhibition, it also was considered part of the CIP's Enlivenment and Guidance Project,

so the agency implementing this project participated in the meeting that decided the opening ceremony timetable. This agency which had not taken part in any of the exhibition planning displayed an unexpected agenda during the launch event decision-making process. The ideal time to hold the opening ceremony envisioned by the MSF staff member was after the observance of the *paSta 'ay* rite and after the city council election was over. This was based on the logic that the *paSta 'ay* rite was the most important ritual of the Saisiyat people and that the tribe placed great importance on the ritual preparation. If the opening ceremony were held before the ritual observance, it would be difficult for many tribal members to attend. Also, some tribal members taking part in the exhibition planning and installation process were also in charge of preparatory tasks for the upcoming council election, so the preference was for holding the exhibition launch after these two fixed-schedule activities were over.

However, the agency implementing the “museum enlivenment” project demanded that it take place before both of the other activities, as delaying the opening ceremony would make it impossible to complete final report on the project for the year. To achieve this, personnel connected with implementing the project even quietly stated that “NTM staff and project staff have helped to hold this temporary exhibition; what would local-museums understand of these things?” To counter this, the NTM stood with respecting the stance of the MSF; so, finally when MSF staff member and the representative insisted on their timetable, the opening ceremony took place after the ritual observance and election.

CHAPTER 5

FACTORS AFFECTING EXHIBITIONS

This chapter utilizes the fieldwork data described in the previous chapter and elements of the Theory of Structuration developed by Giddens that pertain to structure and agency as the supplementary descriptive vocabulary for analyzing the process behind the making of three exhibitions in order to determine the factors affecting museum exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan. As the data of the previous chapter indicate, all three museums studied are government institutions. Their operation and the resources and rules pertaining to their exhibitions are either constrained or enabled by government policy and regulations. Thus, this chapter first undertakes analysis of government policy to elucidate the ways that such rules and resources affect exhibition making. Nevertheless, the process of exhibition making is primarily realized through the agency of exhibition planners themselves and others taking part in the planning and production process. These agents each have their own perceptions of and responses to the resources and rules (often constraints) engendered by policies and the administrative/regulatory system, and these perceptions and responses are intermediaries between rules and resources and exhibitions. Thus, the agency of each agent, and the interaction and relationships between agents can become factors affecting exhibitions. The second part of this chapter analyzes the exhibition-making process from the perspective of the agents involved to elucidate the influence brought on by the agents themselves, agency and interlocking and interactive interpersonal relationships.

Rules and resources

The resources that a government institution can obtain and the regulations that it must abide by derive from policies and systems. The policies and systems that pertain to museum exhibitions can be divided into three categories: cultural policy, administration and performance evaluation. These each influence the early, middle, and late periods, respectively, of exhibition planning, as detailed below.

Cultural policy

The rules and resources included in cultural policy steer the direction of development for museums,³⁵ and a major basis for exhibition planning. National-level museums are directly affected by central government policy, while local-level museums are also subject to influence by local cultural policies. As far as exhibitions of indigenous culture are concerned, both national- and local-level museums must also consider how the national political climate or local political situation.

Impact of national and local cultural policies on local-level museum exhibitions

The most important policy for local-level museums of indigenous culture in Taiwan currently is the Enlivenment and Guidance Project. One of the core concepts of this project is the transformation of museum exhibitions into major media of cultural representation. Its allocation of rules and resources is naturally influenced by this core concept. The background of how this cultural policy affects such exhibitions dates back

³⁵ The central government-level MOC is responsible for formulating cultural policy in Taiwan. The MOC first drafts an internal developmental idea; then it commissions experts and scholars to undertake policy research forums. Afterward, public explanatory meetings, hearings or forums are utilized to get public input. Once the policy is formulated as a bill, it is then submitted to the national legislature, the Legislative Yuan, for review. During this stage of the process, representatives of each political party can raise discussions of their own cultural policy. According to remarks made by high-level officials in the MOC, the influence of the national legislature at this stage is enormous, as it not only affects the content of the policy, it also controls the budgetary purse strings and supplementary funding projects when the MOC implements the policy.

to 1994 when the central government in Taiwan began implementing the Master Operating Project to Promote Communities through Culture. The project in 1994 stipulated that communities were the basic unit, and revitalization of community culture was the objective. The hope was that the emergence of cultural identification by Taiwan's different ethnic groups would bring with it revitalization of the image of the respective locality and its cultural "industries" (Su, 2012:65). Through implementation of this policy, Taiwan's pluralistic local culture became concretized into nearly 500 community museums and performing centers of different types and cultural content. In 1998, the First Six-Year Project to Revitalize and Develop the Cultures of Indigenous Peoples managed by the cabinet-level CIP continued the previous cultural policy so that it became a direct source of undertaking indigenous culture center revitalization and building (Li, 2005; Ma, 2012).

The various buildings and resources brought about via this policy directive led local governments to become interested in the policy. Taking the BCM as an example, the township commissioner at the time hoped to secure the supplementary funding from this project to plan building the museum as a base for research and display of the Bunun culture for all Taiwan. This would allow Haiduan Township to promote the Bunun culture of the area through the collection and preservation of information and artifacts and the starting of exhibitions and performances (Ma, 2012: 79-80).

However, who would manage such institutions and how they would be managed became the major challenges faced by all local government agencies in charge of the museums once construction was completed. After all the local cultural museums were completed by 2002, it became apparent that many were barely used or not used at all, reports surfaced of some being converted into nursery schools or travel service centers,

with many shuttered as soon as the ribbon-cutting ceremony was completed. When reasons for this were sought, it turned out that such institutions by law were mostly administered under the purview of the local government, which was responsible for supplying the land, budget, planning and implementation. But there was broad variation in how each local government regarded the objective of having such a museum and whether or not it was willing to commit resources to a cultural museum, and how that government behaved. Periodically held elections have brought periodic change to each locality. Whenever those in power have differing views from their predecessors regarding the museum or its operating objectives, there are changes to the department of the government agency that handles the museum or to its staff, which in turn leads to discontinuity of resource utilization. The resultant developmental contradictions or cessation of projects not only has left most local cultural museums unable to set long-term goals for stable development or accrue management experience, it also left members of the locality where the museums were located unfamiliar with them, and the public opinion of them as “mosquito palaces” reflected their less than ideal efficiency of usage (Varutti, 2013:59). These aspects of local politics not only reflect that from the outset of this national policy, local governments had control of ongoing implementation and operation of these museums. It also underscored that the local government had enormous control over the rules and resources generated by the museum.

One could say that cultural policy in the 1990s was mainly concerned with building physical infrastructure. The period from 2002 to 2007 was when local cultural museums sensed developmental difficulties. After 2007, the reform policy adopted by the central government in response to the aforementioned difficulties involved a unified set of regulations regarding the functions and development of local cultural museums, including stipulating that local museums must have their own collections and regarding

the attendance figures or usage figures as major indices of economic worthiness.

For example, since 2007 the Enlivenment and Guidance Project has been implemented by the CIP, which is a distinctive collection of rule and resources in the form of periodic evaluations, incentives, supplemental funding of personnel and guidance and training, sought to resolves the aforementioned operating difficulties of local cultural museums and to guide them in the direction of developing such functions as building a museum collection, conducting research on interpreting the artifacts in its collections and planning exhibitions, educational promotion, and marketing of cultural and creative products (Fulu Culture Foundation, 2014:11, 187). One of its sub-projects, Large Museums Lead Small Museums, promoted collaboration and mutual borrowing between national-level and local-level museums to produce exhibitions. This brought local museums in contact with classical museum functions, techniques and experience. The actual procedure used in the project requires each local cultural museum to fill out a basic information sheet to update the basic information about the museum. Once a year, scholars and experts are hired to visit each of the 30 cultural museum sites and provide recommendations. Also once a year, an assessment group holds assessments, once a year a three-day workshop is held, each year one to three national-level museums collaborate with a local-level museum to hold an exhibition or to exchange exhibitions, each year two press conferences are held to market the project and each local cultural museum, and each year four local-level museums are chosen to receive subsidy funding for designing actual cultural or creative products or travel itineraries. In 2009, the Control Yuan, one of the five branches of central government in Taiwan, issued a ruling calling for rectification of the public leisure facility space problems which set goals for reform that directly stipulated qualitative metrics requiring the government agencies in charge of such museums to use the indices of attendance figures and operating hours to

improve the low usage efficiency of such museums.

These policies have not only made exhibitions an important means of accomplishing cultural representation in local museums of culture; they have also brought about a transfer of exhibition planning techniques, knowledge and experience to all 30 of Taiwan's local museums via the aforementioned project, despite each such institution being situated in a different locality with its own culture and establishment objectives.³⁶ For example, Taiwan's 30 local-level museums under the requirements of the evaluation system every year produce two to five different exhibitions (Fulu Culture Foundation, 2013, 2014) as the major operational actions. As the exhibition planner at one local cultural museum put it to me, "without new exhibitions, no customers will come". This aptly summarizes the perception of and reliance on exhibitions in most local-level cultural museums, and their hopes for figuring out ways to achieve attendance numbers. And in order to gain a good track record in terms of such palpable quantitative indices, holding a large temporary exhibition opening ceremony has become an indispensable means of attracting people to the museum. At times the personnel and material costs for such ceremonies exceed the entire cost of holding the exhibition. In addition, collaborating with other units or agencies to hold an exhibition, or renting out exhibition space to another agency in order to boost the usage rate of the museum are routine strategies adopted by some local-level museums to meet the evaluation standards. This kind of behavior aptly demonstrates that national cultural policy makes local-level museum staff accept the classic exhibition functions and quantified operating metrics,

³⁶ According to the categorical standards of the Revitalization and Guidance Project, local cultural museums are categorized as 1) all purpose, 2) performance; 3) exhibition, and 4) industrial; and are graded as key types, enhanced types, developing types and other types. If categorized according to type of operation, they are publicly founded, publically operated; publicly founded, privately operated; and outsource operated. Of the 30, 20 are designated for core development as museums of indigenous culture (Fulu Culture Foundation, 2014).

and subsequent exhibition behaviors are all generated in accord with these two norms.

Effect of national cultural policy on national-level museum exhibition planning

The aforementioned policy of Large Museums Lead Small Museums not only influenced the appearance of exhibitions at local-level museums, it also affected the attitude of national-level museums toward exhibitions of indigenous culture. In addition, the political climate in Taiwan pertaining to its Indigenous Peoples and the relevant political actions all influenced the self-definition, development direction and resource allocation of museums, as well as the planning of exhibitions of indigenous culture.

Large Museums Lead Small Museums project

The original objective of this project was based on the hope that national-level museums would share such resources as their extant exhibition-making techniques and experience, collections and other professional staff resources to help museums of indigenous culture produce exhibition results in a short period of time so that the public would perceive changes in the operation of cultural museums and accord with the national policy objective of boosting the usage rate of local cultural museums (Ma, 2012:53). From the start of 2009 to the present, there have been three approaches to implementing this policy: 1) for national-level museums to collaborate with local-level museums in mounting exhibitions, 2) for national-level museums to lend already completed exhibitions to local museums for display, and 3) for resident artists of national-level museums to reside in local museums to create works and to display them. However, the limited funding, personnel resources and museum collections of local-level museums mean that in the overwhelming number of cases, support was provided by the national-level museums. Currently, only the NTM continues to implement the policy via traveling exhibitions since the project resources have been cut, leaving collaboration at

the level of an exhibition of a student competition for poster design, which cannot really count as an exhibition of indigenous culture, and exhibitions of works created by resident artists have only been held twice, so have not become fixtures at various local-level museums.

This policy has led to enormous changes and improvement in two-way exchanges between museums and their source communities, as well as on the transmission of exhibition experience, techniques and explanatory interpretations. First of all, it established a platform for resource and information exchanges between national-level and local-level museums. This not only expanded the vision and experience of local cultural museums regarding the concepts, techniques and actual installation of exhibitions, it also enhanced what national-level museums knew about local-level museums and built relationships. With this foundation, the project has elicited reflexivity at national-level museums on the effect of such exhibitions on society so that planners of exhibitions of minority culture are attempting to shift from the role of “knowledge or object authority” to “gentle enabler of knowledge” (Wu P.L., 2011:23). And the self-definition of the role of exhibition planner has also changed, with the return of the right of interpreting indigenous culture returned to the source community as a result of the impact of this project. This has led to a shift in the meaning of culture and objects away from unidirectional interpretation by museum exhibition planners to the source community becoming the main driver.

Policy changes on functional self-definition and resources

The locus of preserving and developing Taiwan’s indigenous culture is often influenced by the political agendas of politicians during election campaigns (Li, 2010:70). Add to this the fact that governmental restructuring in recent years led to the Council for

Cultural Affairs being absorbed into a new MOC in 2012. As a result, administrative jurisdiction over the NMP and NTM was transferred from the MOE to the MOC, and this brought with it a change of regulatory framework and resource allocation. These factors led national-level museums in Taiwan, and the NMP in particular, to reconfigure their self-defined role and resource allocation. This in turn affected the development of exhibitions of indigenous culture in national-level museums. The functional self-definition and resources of the NTM were far less affected by the political climate and governmental restructuring due to its developmental objectives and history; thus, this chapter cites the NMP as an example to elucidate this phenomenon.

When the NMP was still in the planning stage, the developmental direction set for it was primarily archaeological, involving preservation and protection of its archaeological site, with research to be focused on archaeology and the full story of pre-historical culture and dissemination of aboriginal peoples (Lin, 2012). Although the contemporary society and culture of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples was listed as part of its missions, they were not its principal concern. However, after the NMP was opened in 2001, politicians gradually began to give serious consideration to the idea of founding a national-level museum of Indigenous Peoples. This resulted in the NMP being regarded as the top candidate for being reconfigured as a museum of Indigenous Peoples. Although ultimately this was not carried out since that notion was supplanted by setting up a project called "Digital Museum of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples". Nevertheless, the planning and pertinent safeguarding work for the project has been a long-term task for which the NMP has been commissioned. In a policy directive under consideration from 2003 to 2006, the NMP was regarded as a candidate for inclusion in a new "*Austronesian Culture Park*". Ultimately, none of these political agendas came to fruition, but they did gradually deepen the connection between the NMP and

contemporary indigenous society and culture in Taiwan (Lin, 2012: 73).

When the planning for governmental restructuring was begun in 2008, the NMP sought to remain under the relatively resource-rich MOE to sustain its independence, budgetary resources and civil service staff positions. On a number of occasions, it stressed its inalienability from the development of indigenous culture (Lin, 2012:77), and emphasized its implementation of temporary exhibitions of indigenous culture and the salient visibility of these exhibitions. From Table 5.1, which arrays the types of temporary exhibitions mounted by the NMP from 2008 to 2014, and Table 5.2, arraying the same category of temporary exhibitions mounted between 2001 and 2007, it is evident that the number of temporary exhibitions of indigenous culture rose by over 50 percent from 14 to 22 in the second seven-year period; and the number of temporary exhibitions categorized as “Arts, Industry of Taiwan History” rose from 0 to 9. This is an evidence of the proactive efforts of the NMP to remain under the administrative jurisdiction of the MOE, and reflects the transformative effect of policy considerations on a museum’s functional self-definition and resources.

Table 5. 1: Type and amount of NMP temporary exhibitions 2008-2014

Exhibition Type	Quantity	Self-made exhibition	Collaboration Exhibition	Tour Exhibition from other institutions	Exhibition in Formal exhibition hall	Exhibition in non-formal museum space
Indigenous Culture	22	16	3	3	9	13
Archeology	7	6	1	0	5	2
Austronesian	7	4	0	3	6	1
Chinese Culture	4	0	2	2	4	0
Chinese Zodiacs	7	7	0	0	0	7
Science	11	0	3	8	8	3
Arts, Industry or Taiwan History	9	1	2	6	5	4

Source: Year Report of NMP (2006-2013), Chang, C.L. (2010), Chang, C.S. (2010) and Calculation from research in 2014.

Table 5. 2: Type and amount of NMP temporary exhibitions 2001-2007

Exhibition Type	Quantity	Self-made exhibition	Collaboration Exhibition	Tour Exhibition from other institutions	Exhibition in Formal exhibition hall	Exhibition in non-formal museum space
Indigenous Culture	14	11	2	1	9	5
Archeology	6	4	2	0	3	3
Austronesian	6	3	1	2	5	1
Chinese Culture	3	1	2	0	3	0
Chinese Zodiacs	4	4	0	0	0	4
Science	1	0	0	1	1	0
Arts, Industry or Taiwan History	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Year Report of NMP (2006-2013), Chang, C.L. (2010) and Chang, C.S. (2010)

Also, all the efforts of the NMP came to naught when the government restructuring took place in 2012, as the museum was then transferred from the jurisdiction of the MOE to the MOC. Following the restructuring process, the amount of supplementary funding supplied originally by the MOE was naturally diminished. The supplementary funding policy of the MOC, however, only allowed for “non-permanent temporary funding projects” rather than the MOE’s “permanent temporary exhibition supplementary funding projects”. The resultant change of rules and resources caused by this policy required the NMP to comply with projects of the MOC or other government agencies in order to obtain funding, and even when it could secure temporary exhibition funding from other agencies, it potentially had to accord with the policy objectives of the agency providing the supplementary funding. This sort of supplementary funding policy reduced the ability of the NMP to plan its own temporary exhibitions as it wished and significantly intervened in the objectives by which such exhibitions were designed. From Tables 5.3 and 5.4, it is evident that once the NMP was transferred to MOC administrative jurisdiction, the number of exhibitions it borrowed from other agencies and the number of temporary exhibitions it mounted in collaboration with other agencies, which could save exhibition-making money, reached a peak since its opening in 2001 (Table 5.3), and temporary exhibition topics unrelated to its developmental

direction began to appear (Table 5.4), such as purely educational exhibitions and variety exhibitions. Examples of these include a temporary exhibition on the cultural and creative industries, an exhibition on the electrification of Taiwan's railway system, an exhibition of the stories of Taiwan students who studied in the United States, a photography exhibition and a centennial exhibition of books by the national-level Central Library. Although the number of temporary exhibitions in the indigenous culture category did not drop during this period, over half of all temporary exhibitions were installed in the museum corridors and leftover space in the exhibition hall as unofficial small-scale exhibitions (Table 5.1).

Table 5. 3: NMP temporary exhibitions by category

Exhibition Type/Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total
Self-made exhibition	1	2	1	5	7	3	4	4	6	7	3	7	4	7	61
Collaboration exhibition	1	1	1	2	1	1		1					3	3	14
Tour exhibition from other institutions			1			1	2	3	3	1	4	4	5	2	26
Total Number	2	3	3	7	8	5	6	8	9	8	7	11	12	12	101

Source: Year Report of NMP (2006-2013), Chang, C.L. (2010), Chang, C.S. (2010) and Calculation from research in 2014.

Table 5. 4: NMP temporary exhibitions by topic

Exhibition Topic/Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total
Indigenous Culture		2	2	3	1	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	6	36
Archeology	1			3	2					4	1	1	1		13
Austronesian			1		3	1	1	2	1			1	2	1	13
Chinese Culture	1	1			1						1		1	2	7
Chinese Zodiac				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
Science							1	2	3		1	3	2		12
Taiwan History									1		1	2	1		5
Arts								1					1	1	3
Industry														1	1
Total Number	2	3	3	7	8	5	6	8	9	8	7	11	12	12	101

Source: Year Report of NMP (2006-2013), Chang, C.L. (2010), Chang, C.S. (2010) and Calculation from research in 2014.

Changes in the museum's functional self-definition and resources not only affected the topics and categories of temporary exhibitions, they also had an effect on exhibition planners, which naturally were reflected to a considerable extent in their exhibition-

making practices. The effect on the exhibition planners was evident from the work required, funding resources and exhibition-making model utilized.

The reduction in funding affected the work required of exhibition planners. For a portion of exhibitions, including temporary exhibitions of indigenous culture and other types, the exhibition planner's work load shifted. This includes the exhibition design, installation, publicity, and the like, all of which before could be accomplished by a vendor hired for the exhibition. These aspects of mounting such exhibitions began to become the direct responsibility of the planners. To accomplish this, the planners had to rely on their own personal network to find helpful resources. The personal network resource was quite broad, including other exhibition planners, janitors, colleagues in other departments of the museum, and even members of the source community. Thus, when observing and analyzing the actions of exhibition planners under such conditions, attention may need to go beyond their professional experience and education to the factor of their personal networks operating in the background.

Since supplemental funding sources were not stable, and there were few other agencies with which to collaborate in mounting exhibitions, funds of the museum's annual budget became an important funding resource available to the exhibition planners which required the assent and permissions of the museum director. This fundamentally changes the power relations in museum and its effect on the decision-making process of exhibition making.

Although this approach was necessitated by the funding reduction, it has several remarkable consequences. As for the exhibition-making model, in the past, exhibition planners could choose exhibition topics based on personal interests and professional knowledge. But with the reduction in funding, planners within the museum have begun

to find ways to collaborate, coordinating their annual temporary exhibition topics so that they can jointly handle research and exhibition-making tasks and can share the results, allowing the exhibition, educational and performance activities to be carried out for coordinated exhibition topics. For example, in 2014, the NMP mounted the *Sanga: The Flying Warriors*. This allowed the results regarding warriors, butterflies and lilies obtained in the process of conducting research for the exhibition to be subsequently used in the 2nd *Taiwan Indigenous Youth Arts Festival* and the *Rukai Tribe's Baryangalai* (the Rukai Tribe's lily) temporary exhibition held by the NMP the same year.

Having to collaborate and share resources not only affected the exhibition-making practices of planners, it changed the relationships between them and even more unexpectedly, resulted in greater flexibility in mounting exhibitions. When funding disappeared, there was no way to use open bidding to get vendors involved, so all the restrictions and requirements of open bidding went away. Thus, it was possible to change the content and display approach on the fly as the exhibition making proceeded, allowing greater tolerance for interaction with the source community and listening to their thoughts and opinions on exhibition content. This naturally allowed such exhibitions to more closely reflect the culture of the source community.

Thus, two levels of policy affect exhibitions, national cultural policy and the local politics that each individual museum faces in its respective locality. Any key actors, be he or she the museum director or an exhibition planner, can only work within this policy structure. Even with modification of exhibition direction or category, they must still respond to the prevailing policy. In other words, in Taiwan, policy set by national-level bodies is still the force directing exhibitions or exhibition-making practices, and the museums themselves have little leeway for their own decision-making autonomy.

Administration

To the extent that national cultural policy is a factor guiding the direction and type of exhibitions that are made in Taiwan, the administrative system can be regarded as the concrete means of regulating the resources needed to make the exhibition. The two major aspects of administration that concern us in this chapter are the personnel who represent administrative power and resources, and the funds themselves. For both national- and local-level museums, hiring of personnel and the titles they hold, as well the securing and use of funds which affect the making of exhibitions are in the hands of local governments, both in terms of setting the regulatory framework and the political interests involved, the attitude of the regulatory bureaucracy and the internal power structure of the agency involved. What follows is an explication of the how the administrative system in Taiwan affects exhibition making from a personnel and funding perspective.

Local-level museums and local governmental administration

Although local governance in Taiwan is regulated by the central government system, local heads of government still enjoy considerable leeway in decision-making. Local-level museums fall under the administrative purview of local governments, so in an administrative sense, they must rely on the support of the local head of government. Exhibition planning and review is affected by the degree of understanding and acceptance by local governmental decision-makers. This often leaves exhibitions caught between the objective regulations set by the local governing authority and the subjective acceptance of the exhibition by local governmental decision-makers. Thus, the exhibition becomes an asset manipulated by the system and local powers, which naturally affects whether it can become a “cultural representation” and how it appears.

Personnel hiring and professional duties

As mentioned above in Chapter 4, the transfer of civil servants to handle professional duties, hiring of museum planning staff and temporary staff all fall under the purview of the local government. Thus, most temporary personnel positions involve hiring local people. Although this assures local people of employment opportunities, it often results in patronage considerations outweighing professional qualifications or job performance, and the hiring reflecting the personal wishes and connections of the local head of government. Another result is the personnel changes that follow a change of decision-makers after an election (Ma, 2012: 116-118; 128-130). Museum planners hired with supplementary funding from the CIP and temporary personnel hired by the local township hall are paid relatively low wages,³⁷ which are not adjusted annually, leading to a high turnover rate among cultural museum personnel and making it impossible to amass and pass on technical knowhow and experience regarding exhibitions, which ultimately affects the exhibition-making process.³⁸

Obtaining and utilizing funds

There are three stages to the process of securing and utilizing funds for local-level museums: budget planning, budget review and budget implementation. All three stages are conducted according to the audit regulations stipulated by the central government in Taiwan. Local cultural museum directors are responsible for budget planning by drafting annual budget requests and operating plans for subsequent submission to the township office. Although cultural museum staff are responsible for submitting a budget

³⁷ From fieldwork interviews, it was learned that the annual pay is approximately NT\$22,000, which is only just a bit higher than the minimum wage stipulated by the central government-level Ministry of Labor Affairs in Taiwan of NT\$20,008 in 2015.

³⁸ Citing the BCM as an example, from the end of 2013 to the middle of 2015, there was complete turnover of all staff except the museum director.

request and implementing the approved budget, the budget review stage is mostly under the control of the accounting department head and the head of local government.³⁹ Thus, their understanding and acceptance of the exhibition itself and the process of making it severely affect whether or not the museum can obtain the requisite resources to mount such an exhibition.

During budget implementation, each exhibition project must first submit a detailed list of funding uses for review by the auditing and accounting agencies. Only once this is passed can the funds be accordingly disbursed. During this process, two situations often bring difficulties to the task of mounting an exhibition and affect how it is made. The first comes from disparities between the perceptions of the exhibition held by the auditing department and the cultural museum. Generally speaking, the perception or expectation of local governments towards such exhibitions is that they will attract foot traffic to build a track record, so they are willing to accept the use of funds for this purpose. Many local indigenous museums' exhibition planners I interviewed stated, the township hall should support the working needs of the exhibition in the preparatory, mid and post exhibition stages, but now the great support is offered for the exhibition launch ceremony; they don't really care much about the exhibition itself.

The second difficulty is that the governmental auditing regulations constrain reimbursement receipt and price approval. This generates many problems of reconciling the regulatory constraints with the actual situation or needs, and constitutes a perennial headache for exhibition planners. In the case of the BCM, to encourage participation by tribal members, the exhibition planner delegated the tasks of arraying the exhibition to

³⁹ Most museum staffs are not civil servants and so cannot take part in the budget review meetings to explain or defend the budget. Thus, they are heavily dependent on the support of the accounting department head and head of the local government at the time of the review to ensure that the budget is passed by the local legislative body (the local township assembly).

members of the tribe to do. But when it came time for reimbursement of work expenses, tribal member had no official receipt required for approval of expense reimbursement, so when they went to receive reimbursement funds, it took a great deal of explaining and creative thinking, and even then, there were often delays until tribal members received the money, which in turn affected the willingness of the source community to participate in the exhibition-making process. In addition, gathering information for the exhibition often required conducting fieldwork investigations; yet, there was no provision in the reimbursement receipt list for funds to cover fieldwork or fees to informants. When faced with these issues, the auditing department's attitude was to hide behind the shield of regulations, and was unwilling to give much thought to how to solve the problems. All this required that the exhibition planner worry about it all and come up with solutions, such as applying to the central-government level CIP for financial assistance.

Despite the myriad difficulties for implementing the budget and completing exhibition tasks created by the attitude and perceptions of the local head of government and senior administrators, precisely because such officials have no idea of what the exhibition is about or are too busy, they sometimes don't ask many questions about the details of the exhibition at all; they simply provide the exhibition planner with an exhibition venue where there is plenty of leeway for autonomy, and where in terms of topic or content, there are comparatively many opportunities for doing as the planner pleases. As far as the exhibition is concerned, this is an unexpected positive effect. Possibly because many local area officials have this type of attitude, local-level museums seemingly universally have relatively large latitude in deciding exhibition topics and content. Among the five local-level museums where I conducted fieldwork interviews, only one, the KCC of the Indigenous Peoples Commission under the Taipei City Government, where the director

is also chairman of the municipal Indigenous Peoples Commission, presents a case where it is difficult to clearly discern whether the exhibition direction is influenced by the decision-making autonomy of the museum director or that of the administering agency. The exhibition planners at the other four local-level museums all stated that they had considerable freedom to decide exhibition topics and content.

National-level museums and central-government administration

National-level museums basically are subject to governance under the regulatory system of the central government, and thus have little connection with the local governing authority of their respective locations. Thus, the level at which the rules affect them is not completely analogous with that of local-level museums.

Personnel hiring and professional duties

Compared to local-museums, the hiring of staff by national-level museums is relatively straightforward. Exhibition planners are recruited from among those holding credentials from the central government as educational research personnel.⁴⁰ The hiring process greatly requires observing central government hiring regulations and conducting oversight, so that although the influence of personal connections during the process cannot be totally avoided, it plays a relatively minor role compared to local government hiring where the entire process is in the hands of the local head of government. In addition, the remuneration of exhibition planners is fairly substantial, the work steady and has a relatively high academic status; thus, the turnover rate is low. It is also relatively easy for such personnel to accrue experience with and professional expertise in making such exhibitions.

⁴⁰ The way that Taiwan's government agencies hire educational and research personnel is to post a job description first, then let each agency screen applicants and make the hiring decision.

In the case of national-level museums, the decision-making power is in most cases belongs to the museum director. The director not only has the power to intervene in the manipulation and funding of a temporary exhibition, the entire exhibition-making process often reflect the director's management mindset. While the NTM and NMP differ in objectives and functions, in both cases the power of their respective directors is enormous, and this affects their exhibitions in a major way.

At the NTM for example, the director was the key decision-maker if the exhibition required funding support beyond its budgeted amount. In the case of the project for large museums to lead smaller ones, the exhibition planners stated that during its first year of implementation, the museum had no budget or plans for loaning out artifacts from its collection, it was all up to whether the director supported the exhibition before it could be produced. Once this type of temporary exhibition was added to the museum's annual operating budget, then it was possible to continue its operation.

The exhibition-making process was also influenced by the personal mindset and intentions of the director of museum. In one case of my study, there is one director placed great emphasis on the importance of attracting museum audiences. Citing "consideration of attendance figures" the director shelved implementation of one indigenous culture exhibition. It shows that even though the exhibition had already obtained supplementary funding from another agency, the director's personal administrative mindset prevailed.⁴¹

While the authority granted a director of museum by professional position allowed such

⁴¹ This was quietly related by three different exhibition planners and one museum secretary. And this mindset could be seen as a response to the central government's quantitative criteria to evaluate the performance of museum governance.

enormous decision-making power, discussions the author held with high-level officials of the MOC and those of the museum revealed that the design of the auditing system nurtured the power of the director. Both national-level museums were administratively under the MOC and the MOC had no regulations regarding the annual goals or operations of either of the two museums, so the basis of auditing them was their own annual plan.⁴² And given that each director has the ultimate decision-making authority over these annual plans, the director's own perspective and thinking influenced the drafting and implementation of such annual plans.

Obtaining and utilizing funds

The budget planning and budget implementation stages are subject to similar rules and resources as at local-level museums. However, national-level museums also face several situations that affect funding and operation. First, these museums have two major revenue sources: permanent annual budget and non-budget supplementary funding. Regardless of which revenue source is tapped, the result is that the duration of the exhibition installation process is inevitably shortened. This is primarily because the time when the funds are released and the time when the account must be closed are too close.⁴³ This results in the production of the exhibition having to be completed in an extremely short period of time. For example, since the annual budget of the NMP was not as ample as that of the NTM, it often had to rely on non-budgeted supplementary

⁴² This statement was made during a conversation with a high-level MOC official.

⁴³ The reason this happens is that implementation of budgets must be done in accord with the government's accounting year, which stipulates that all funds must be spent and accounted for by December 31 of each year. However, the time when the funds become available and thus the budget implemented is influenced by when review of the budget is completed in the national legislature, when all bidding is completed and all application reviews are completed, and these times are all uncertain, often being delayed for indefinite periods of time. This is especially true of non-budgeted supplementary funding, where the uncertainty is especially great, and where such funds are often released between March and June, making it difficult to plan in advance exhibitions depending on such funding. Museums dare not proceed until it is known whether the funding is approved, and then must hurry up and spend the funds once they are released.

funding, resulting in often having to rush installation tasks.

Secondly, in terms of national-level museums' funding allocation and operation, the amount of resources not only affect the allotment of budgets, but also shape internal power relation such as internal oversight mechanisms. For instance, the NTM's annual budget is ample, so planning of temporary exhibitions takes place on a stable resource basis. Scheduling of temporary exhibitions is according to a timetable, and funds are sufficient to allow allocation of large or small amounts of exhibition space. Thus, the resources available to exhibition planners could be termed uniform and exhibition making can proceed in stable fashion. However, the NMP's budget is not as ample as that of the NTM. This shortfall of funding impels the NMP to secure supplementary funding for a wide range of needs involving virtually all the departments of the museum. Thus, funding is sought for equipment repair, exhibitions and research. And NMP's administrative procedure for obtaining such funds is to first have each department of the museum submit projects, then after discussion and coordination by the heads of each department, they are submitted to the director, who evaluates them and arranges them in terms of funding priority, after which the application is submitted to the MOC for review. Thus, whether the exhibition and education department of the museum can get funding to mount a temporary exhibition depends not only on the mindsets of the director, but also to a considerable extent on the power relationships between museum departments.

Resource allocation in these national-level museums is also affected by internal oversight mechanisms. In the case of the NTM, all exhibitions must be discussed in periodic meetings attended by the director, assistant director, the head of each department and the exhibition planners. The principal objective of such meetings is to

keep tabs on the progress of each exhibition and to verify that the use of funds is in accord with the account tallying regulations. In general, these meetings do not intervene in choice of exhibition topic or installation approach, allowing exhibition planners to carry out the exhibition as they think with extant and stable resources.

The NMP has set up an Exhibition Review Committee to review projects. The committee exercises supervision over all of the museum's exhibitions. The review and supervision it exercises does not directly interfere with the exhibition content; it monitors whether or not the exhibition accords with the expectations and standards of the museum and acts as the basis for allocation of resources to future exhibition planners. In recent years the NMP has specially stressed the educational promotion and marketing and publicity effectiveness of exhibitions, so when exhibition planners are drawing up their plans, they incorporate more of this portion of resources to accord with the expectations of the museum.

The exhibition oversight systems at these two museums assured that the exhibitions completely accorded with the administrative regulations, but since they had different objectives, they influenced the making of exhibitions. This impelled the exhibition planners to maintain cooperative relations with others outside the museum, such as private-sector institutions and the source community, to bring energy and resources into the museum, and especially when internal museum resources were insufficient, the support of those outside the museum became an important choice for meeting the museum's requirements or the exhibition's needs.

In summary, the various administrative and management systems and regulations, per such interlocking factors as personnel hiring and the power wielded in a particular employment position, the acquisition and utilization of funds, local political interests,

bureaucratic attitudes and professional knowledge and different levels of the power structure all clearly have a major relatively large influence on exhibitions in terms of the proportion of resources and activities, while they relatively lightly affect exhibition topic, content or installation methods. It is interesting to note that, while the administrative and management system naturally constrains exhibitions planners, forcing them to modify their behavior or work in concern with its strictures, administrative regulations do not include restrictions or mandate intervention in exhibition content, which thus allows them a certain amount of extra-systemic space. This leads us to realize that the agency of the exhibition planners themselves has considerable influence on the process of exhibition making and on the exhibition appearance.

Performance evaluations

The performance evaluations are more than inspections of already completed tasks and the issuance of rewards or penalties. Strictly speaking, they also comprise guidance and the setting of expectations regarding upcoming tasks, and can become the basis for future allocation of resources. Thus, museums at every level take performance evaluations very seriously, and when undergoing such evaluations take every precaution and make detailed preparations.

Evaluation system for local-level cultural museums

A considerable portion of exhibition resources for local-level cultural museums comes from the Enlivenment and Guidance Project, so the project includes both evaluation and the issuance of incentive awards. The project is currently the only index in Taiwan that reflects the operating conditions of local-level museums and the performance of museum staff. For local governments, the evaluation results involve more than just the degree of supplemental funding to cover expenses; they also are a symbolic honor. Thus, the recommendations and demands resulting from these evaluations have become the basis by which local governments modify the operations and development of the local-level museums. Hence, this section describes the evaluation system of this project to elucidate its influence on local-level museum exhibitions.

Most of the recommendations that result from an evaluation visit concern the museum's collection, exhibitions, research, educational promotion, leisure facilities and promotion of revenue generation. They often can be seen to involve unrealistic recommendations regarding petty minutiae, with emphasis on the physical infrastructure of the facility. For example, under conditions of insufficient government funding the evaluation team often makes recommendations requiring heavy expenditures, such as installing an

elevator or outfitting a collection room. Few recommendations are made from the perspective or context of the locality; nor are the evaluation teams that concerned about exhibition content or production. In recent years, they have focused more on the preservation of tangible material culture and development of cultural creation products (Fulu Culture Foundation, 2013; 2014).

This tendency of the evaluations to overlook the local cultural characteristics and context has gradually led to strongly conflicting feelings among museum staff. They cannot fathom why the guidance project overlooks local character and needs; yet, at the same time must comply with the project's demands in order to secure funding and win a favorable assessment. Add to this the fact that the same agency was commissioned to conduct the evaluations from 2007 to 2014, during which there were virtually no changes to the project. This resulted in a continued existence of the disjunction between the strategy and approach of the guidance project and the actual situation at local-level museums. The restrictive framework created by the unitary standards of the evaluation was continually replicated and manifested at the museums of indigenous culture of at different locations and each with different cultural properties.

Nevertheless, not all local-level museums dance to the tune of such evaluations. If a local government is willing to provide relatively plentiful resources to its museum, that museum does not need to be overly reliant on resources provided by the aforementioned project. My fieldworks indicate that when a local government provides fully financial or authoritative supports to local-level museum underwent assessment by the evaluation team, the museum's responses indicated self-confidence and autonomy. External rules and resources are demoted to the status of optional choices worthy of consideration and are not the only answer.

Evaluation system for national-level museums

Currently, there is no set evaluation system for national-level museum exhibitions. As mentioned above the agency with administrative oversight of such museums, the MOC, uses the annual budgets and objectives drafted by each museum as the basis for audit and evaluation. The MOC only does this at the end of each fiscal year to determine if the museum attained the objectives it set for itself at the start of the year. As far as exhibitions are concerned, the MOC only checks to see if they have been implemented and does not evaluate their content. The factors that actually influence exhibition making lie in the evaluation of each exhibition planner, which has a definite effect on exhibitions, since the results of the evaluation pertain to their promotion or career future.

The rules and criteria for performance evaluations of museum personnel by national-level museums are set by the museums themselves, thus there are major differences in the performance evaluation standards between museums. Comparing the NTM and NMP for example, their exhibition planners are mostly hired as professional researchers and hold their positions as research personnel. Thus, their number and quality of publications is the principal criterial for determining their job performance and serving as the basis for future promotion; while efficacy of making exhibitions comprises a relatively modest portion of their performance criteria. The relative proportions of evaluation criteria at the NMP, for example, were: willingness to take on assignments and service attitude, academic publications and implementation of museum matters. Among these criteria, academic publications and implementation of museum matters accounted for the highest proportion. However, the latter criterion included maintenance of permanent exhibitions, number of exhibitions proactively completed, circulating exhibitions undertaken, educational activities held, and completion of tasks assigned by superiors. It is unclear whether responsibility for exhibition tasks was at most regarded

as one of the indices of museum tasks or whether holding temporary exhibitions was not the only consideration in the rating a staff member receives regarding museum tasks. It did not clarify whether this index distinguished between in-house exhibition making and the undertaking of a circulating exhibition provided by another institution.

Consequently, exhibition planners gain few performance evaluation points from originating an exhibition. While this weighting of points might perhaps indicate an implied imperative that exhibition planners create temporary exhibitions which reflect a foundation of research, it ends up forcing them to reduce their production of temporary exhibitions or to choose exhibition topics and approaches that are easy to do so that they maximize the amount of their working time devoted to research and publication. As an exhibition planner said, this influences both the quality and quantity of self-originated exhibitions:

The performance evaluation does not reflect the results of making exhibitions. Whether or not we can get a promotion depends on articles publishes, so producing an exhibition is of no help regarding getting promoted, so the impetus of research staff to make exhibitions is weak, as is the impetus to convert one's research into an exhibition (Personal communication. 27 June 2014).

As for the evaluation standards, museum authorities base their evaluation of staff based on the number of touring exhibitions and education activities. This regard for quantity leads to the problem that once the opening ceremony of a temporary exhibition ends, the exhibition planner basically has no way to follow through with monitoring the exhibition's operational situation or the museum audience reaction. This phenomenon was evident at both museums. Exhibition planners rarely demonstrated much concern about any problems that occurred at the exhibition venue situation, such as display panels becoming unglued or multi-media projectors malfunctioning, and planners rarely

studied or asked about museum audience reactions to the exhibition.⁴⁴ Exhibition planners naturally had to comply as fully as possible with fulfilling tasks assigned by their superiors and did not dare take them lightly, as the performance evaluation power was in the hands of these superiors. This gave their superiors the authority to control the work of exhibition planners, and thus influenced the direction of exhibitions planned.

Ironically, external performances of local-level museums and internal performance evaluations at national-level museums both displayed a similar de-contextualizing and “one-size fits all” mentality to the standards applied, and in both cases, the efficacy of the exhibitions themselves was deemphasized or ignored as evaluation of local-level museums focused on ordinary museum functions and evaluation of national-level museum staff focused on research. They even turned museum resources—funding in the case of local-level museums, and promotion in the case of national-level museums—into bargaining chips that forced exhibition planners subject to evaluation into distancing themselves from the characteristics of the culture of the locality or from their work content. Thus, both types of evaluation systems rarely induced or encouraged planners to devote much thought to the exhibitions, and profoundly affected the external exhibition making and internal cultural significance. The gradual undermining of museum exhibitions as platforms to display and manifest indigenous culture has far-reaching implications for such issues as cultural dissemination, development and the right of management, preservation and renovation.

Rules and resources — a summary

The foregoing analysis underscores how the three aspects, cultural policy,

⁴⁴ This information came from an exhibition hall volunteer, an exhibition space cleaner and security guards of the exhibition space.

administration/management and performance evaluation, and the rules and resources they contain comprise at different levels the structural context of exhibitions of indigenous cultures in Taiwan. When the pertinent rules and resources enable exhibitions, they also become constraints to a certain degree. And within this exhibition-making structure, the response of people, that is the key agents pertaining to exhibitions, to these rules and resources, that is, whether they follow them or work around them or undermine them, have an effect on the production or reproduction of the entire system.

The process of exhibition making is primarily realized through the agency of exhibition planners themselves and others such as indigenous tribes and students taking part in the planning and production process. These agents each have their own perceptions of and responses to the resources and rules engendered by policies and the administrative/regulatory system, and these perceptions and responses are intermediaries between rules and resources and exhibitions. These facts remind us that when examining the elements or systems that affect exhibition making, we need to look beyond the structural influences of such resources and rules to consider the influence on exhibitions resulting from relationships between agents and rules and resources.

Agents and agency

The second part of this chapter analyzes the exhibition-making process from the perspective of the agents involved to elucidate the influence brought on by the agents themselves, agency and interlocking and interactive person to person relationships. To Giddens way of thinking, agency is a perception of the surrounding environment and a continuous process of reflection that is both transformative and communicative. Thus, an important trait of agency is that under the premise of ontological security, it comprises the ability to change the environment (1984: 23). From this, Giddens articulates several ways to observe agency: the intentions of the agent, agent to agent relationships and interrelation between agent and structure. The first part of this chapter detailed the mutual constraint and enablement between agents and rules and resources. This second part focuses on the agency of agents and on agent to agent relationships.

The exhibition planner is without doubt the agent with the most crucial influence on exhibition making.⁴⁵ And in the case of exhibitions of indigenous culture, the source community to a considerable extent affects the behavior of the exhibition planner and the possibilities for the exhibition. Thus, the analysis in this section will address with exhibition planners as the core subjects, in terms of their individual behavior and their interaction with the source community to examine the effect that agents and agency have on exhibition making. It will also use the relationship between exhibition planners and sources community as a representative of agent to agent relationships.

⁴⁵ From information enumerated in Chapter 4, they determine the exhibition topic, direction, exhibition-making process and methods, and in most cases, set goals to be attained based on their own wishes and thoughts.

Exhibition planners themselves

From my research, the intention of the exhibition planners and their ability to make a difference was clearly expressed in their values, exhibition-making experience and reflexive insights about exhibitions. In this section, these three perspectives will be used to elucidate the influence on exhibition making exerted by the intentions and capabilities of these agents.⁴⁶

Values

The influence of exhibition planner values on exhibitions was most obviously manifested by the case of the exhibition planner at the BCM. Bunun society judges the ability of an individual to become a leader on his individual abilities. A leader seeks to “please everyone” (*sinpakanasikal*) by sharing resources, using this to prove his abilities and win the approval of others (Huang, 2006: 27, 93; Yeh, 2002: 5; Wang, 2001:112). As Giddens points out, not all behavior of agents should be seen as intentional; there are unintentional aspects of such behavior to be considered as well (Giddens, 1984: 8-14). Although it was not explicitly stated by the BCM exhibition planner as a goal or intention, nevertheless, during the exhibition-making process, on his own initiative, he expanded participation in the entire process by members of the source community, including acts of sharing exhibition resources with the source community. This involves sharing the right of cultural interpretation and participation with senior members of the tribal community, he also made the opening ceremony into a medium, inviting the source community to take part in the performances and preparations for it, and thereby allowing tribal members to obtain reimbursement and

⁴⁶ The exhibition planner discussed in this section will principally be the BCM’s exhibition planner since of all the planners I encountered during my fieldwork research, his direction of the exhibition-making process was the strongest and the various levels of the exhibition that he was involved with were the broadest, hence his example is the most representative.

share in the glory of the event's success. This sort of action clearly had as its objective promoting the exhibition and meeting performance goals, but it also clearly manifested the Bunun societal value of *sinpakanasikal*, that is, of a leader seeking to please others.⁴⁷

Exhibition-making experience

In addition to the internal values of the exhibition planner, the external accrual or dissipation of exhibition-making experience also had a clear influence on the intentions and agency of exhibition planners. The BCM exhibition planner's professional training was as a creative artist, so he was well versed in forms of aesthetic expression and design technique, and had for a long period of time been involved in gathering and writing about local cultural and historical information. Therefore, he personally took charge of designing the exhibition space and writing up the exhibition descriptions. This experience was clearly manifested in the style he brought to making the exhibition and methods he used. From the start of 2005 when he cooperated with cultural museums to produce various small- and large-scale exhibitions—including the temporary exhibition, “*Taupas-Japanese Army Laborers—Memories of Soldiers from the South Pacific War*”, held in collaboration with the NMP, or the exhibitions he planned himself after 2013, when he officially returned to the BCM as its director—the model he followed in making the exhibition was the same: first go into the tribal community and conduct fieldwork research to gain knowledge of the exhibition topic, then used the techniques of the fine arts with which he was very familiar to design a visual construction for the exhibition venue, and secondarily to use a few cultural artifacts relevant to the exhibition topic as formal expressions of the exhibition content.

⁴⁷ See detailed description of Bunun culture in Appendix 2.

The effect on exhibitions of the exhibition planner's experience could be easily seen in other cases as well. On such planner of exhibitions of indigenous culture at the NMP has a professional background in the arts creation and ethnology. Experience with previous exhibitions was mainly educational activities centered on indigenous music and dance (events produced between 2004 and 2012). When this experience was transferred to exhibition activities, the topics and content he designed all pertained to indigenous music and dance, such as the *Sanga: The Flying Warriors*, and 2nd *Taiwan Indigenous Youth Arts Festival* exhibitions, both of which had indigenous music and dance at their core.

Reflexive insights about exhibitions

When referring to the exhibition planner's reflexive insights on exhibitions, what is meant includes an entire series of insights regarding the definition, methods and genuineness of the exhibitions themselves, insights that are generally apparent from what they say or write. In terms of what they said, local-level museum exhibition planners have begun to care about the relationships between the exhibition and the nature of its supervising government agency and rules. National-level museum exhibition planners have begun to care about giving the right of cultural interpretation to the source community, and have begun to stress that the exhibition must produce a positive influence on the source community. My fieldwork information indicates that these reflexive thoughts have already become action that is apparent in the exhibition-making process.

For example, in 2007, the exhibition planner at the BCM via the Enlivenment and Guidance Project became that museum's first resident planner and docent. Although he only did this work for five months, from his subsequent publications, this work

experience led him to keenly grasp the influence on exhibitions that the museum's supervising government agency, the township hall, and local politics could exert (Ma, 2010). And precisely due to this insight, when he subsequently became the museum's director and principal exhibition planner, he was able to appropriately interact with the supervising agency and grasp how the structure (the resources and rules of the policy and administrative system) constrained or enables exhibitions.

When the NMP's exhibition planners cooperated with the source community, they transferred the chance of cultural interpretation to the source community. The background for this action came from their experiences with collaborating with the source community, when they gradually became aware of differences between themselves and the indigenous community regarding exhibition content and methodology. They also observed that the source community already possessed the ability and willingness to offer its own interpretations of its culture. After profound reflection, they chose to give up the right to lead production of the *Sanga: The Flying Warriors*, and the 2nd *Taiwan Indigenous Youth Arts Festival* exhibitions, redefining their power relationship and status with the source community, and recasting their role as exhibition-making assistants to the source community.

A similar process of rethinking the role of exhibition planners took place at the NTM. As discussed in a previous chapter, during the Large Museums Lead Small Museums sub-project implemented through 2009, NTM planners began to rethink the meaning of touring exhibitions and discovered that all they did for local-level museums was bring in foot traffic; they did not substantively help the local-level museums build exhibition-making techniques or expand their ability to interpret the meaning of their respective local cultures (Li, 2014a: 9). Thereupon, the NTM exhibition planners of their own

accord decided to abandon the original touring exhibition model and decided to try collaborating with local-level museums to develop a new model for collaboratively producing exhibitions and returning cultural artifacts to their places of origin.

These examples indicate that once reflexivity is incorporated into the intentions of agents, the resultant agency not only produces substantial influence on exhibitions, it also produces differences in the situation in which the agency is situated. In other words, these actions not only indicate changes in the stance or methods of exhibition planners, they also through this have changed the rules and resources of the extant structure, producing a new exhibition-making structure. In sum, from the foregoing elucidation we can see that the intentions of agents, especially the portion produced by reflexive thinking, in deed have the possibility of producing a new exhibition-making structure rather than reproducing the extant one.

However, does this agency producing enormous changes in the exhibitions of Taiwan's indigenous culture completely stem from the exhibition planners themselves? According to the thinking of Giddens, any agency must operate in the context of a set time and space (1984: xxiv, 1), which is to say, the time-space context generates significance for agency, and so this time-space context, which includes specific rules and resources, must be examined.

Firstly, policy and the regulatory system have established a mechanism for representing indigenous culture through exhibitions and this mechanism also provides many opportunities for exhibition planners to regularly encounter the source community. The experience of exhibition planners from both the NMP and NTM was the same: that reflexive insight came following the understanding from first-hand experience.

Secondly, the political climate and academic discourse stemming from the rise of

indigenous consciousness in Taiwan society have led to continuous reflection. The principal reason for this is that the benefits brought by reflexivity outweigh the benefits of the original structure. The resources that planners need during the exhibition process, both allocative and authoritative, have greater opportunities due to the mantra of “indigenous conscious” (see the next section for a detailed elucidation). In addition, the authoritative resources of the source community, administrative government agency or election officials are increasingly dominant, to the point where they are beginning to control the rules and resources of exhibitions via specific powers. This sort of situation impels exhibition planners to reflect and adopt actions in response. Moreover, the original structure did not provide regulations regarding exhibitions themselves, and gave exhibition planners a certain amount of leeway for change. That is to say, the original structure was liberal in terms of exhibition producing methods, choosing collaboration partners or ways of exhibiting. Thus, planners could put into practice their own values and could rely on their own exhibition-making experience and reflection to implement agency during the exhibition-making process that implemented traditional social production and reproduction.

As a result, the intentions inherent in the agency of the agent involve the internal factors of the agent himself and may also be influenced by the time and location where the planner is situated. Between agency and structure there is interaction and interpenetration, and they are mutually influencing. In a reality that is ever changing in the course of time, the two have a dynamic relationship and is continually reconfiguring.

Relationships between exhibition planners and the source community

For exhibitions of indigenous culture, besides the exhibition planner, another influential agent is the source community itself. This section attempts to explore the relationship between these two agents to elucidate how the junction between resources, rules and different agents affects exhibition making. What follows will use the process of establishing connections in exhibition making, such as choice of cooperation objectives and partners and the extension and consolidation of such connections to elucidate the relationship between exhibition planners and the source community and how this relationship exerts a key influence on exhibition making. This section examines the situation from the different contexts of three different museums: BCM, NMP and NTM.

Cooperation objectives

The motive and objective for cooperation between planners and the source community is basically built on the foundation of the planner's thinking behind and planning of the exhibition and the resources and rules that museum planners have. Such motives and objectives will vary depending on differences in exhibition planning conditions; however, their objectives in cooperating all include satisfying the resource needs of the exhibition (objects, knowledge or the indigenous perspective), stabilizing and consolidating mutual connects and providing the source community with the opportunity for cultural revitalization.

Bunun Cultural Museum

This museum lacked a collection of its own, so this is the first resource limitation that its planner faced. This sort of limitation made the planner when designing the exhibition topic decide to emphasize a topic involving contemporary local culture. At the same time, the planner in his agency also hoped that increasing source community

identification with its own culture would become one of the exhibition's objectives:

I feel that what is most important for an exhibition as far as a locality is concerned is the pre-installation process. If tribal members take part in this process, it can build identification with their own culture and can establish a sturdy relationship between the museum and the tribe. What is the need for building such a solid relationship? The museum is an empty space that lacks the ordinary functions of a museum. Add to this it has never had the resources to undertake restoration of its collection or conduct research, and thus, as far as I am concerned, the tribe is our store room. Of course, I hope that the tangible and intangible energy of the tribe can be introduced into the museum. This energy does not necessarily derive solely from material artifacts, it also comes from the cultural state of the tribe today, which includes rituals, cultural performances, customs and even the difficulties of the current situation (Ma, T., personal communication. 7 April 2014).

These exhibition conditions comprised an objective for the two sides to cooperate. On the one hand, it satisfied the knowledge and personnel resources needed for the exhibition, and on the other hand, it could use the insights and explanations of a contemporary issue to help the source community establish its own cultural interpretation. Among the factors determining the exhibition objectives, in addition to the constraint and enablement of extant rules and resources and the influence of the museum planner's agency, his relationship with the source community could also be considered a basis for considering exhibition objectives.

National Museum of Prehistory

The motives and objectives of cooperation between NMP exhibition planners and the source community showed some minor dissimilarities due to differences in thinking among its planners. As stated in a previous chapter, one of its planners decided after some reflection to designate himself as an exhibition-making assistance to the source community. His collaboration objective was to give the chance of cultural interpretation to the source community to broaden its scope and increase its depth. Another NMP

exhibition planner had a similar idea. He felt that “exhibitions are the voice of the source community, and media for its interpretation of itself and promotion of knowledge. I am just a medium, I am impartial and should let them decide what to exhibit” (Lin, 2014).⁴⁸ Furthermore, the planner wanted to turn the museum into a resource-sharing platform. As far as the NMP exhibition planners were concerned, the fundamental way to establish stable and long-lasting relations with the source community would be to expand the functions and resources of the museum to share them with the source community.

In sum, the reflections of NMP planners on their own roles and the functions of the museum profoundly influenced the cooperation motives and objectives between them and the source community, empowering the source community to take the lead in interpreting its own culture and making it the genuine subject of the exhibition. This also enhanced the properties of the museum in terms of taking the creative initiative and value sharing, which made its role as a social institution thus more pro-active and lively.

National Taiwan Museum

The cooperation objectives set by the NTM included some that were similar to those of the NMP: obtaining knowledge resources and giving the interpretive lead to the source community. However, a portion of their motives differed from those of the NMP, since the NTM did not lack resources, so their motive was the hope that via such cooperation, they could serve as a medium for the return of artifacts in the NTM collection to their place of origin for the duration of the temporary exhibition in order to spur cultural revitalization of the source community:

⁴⁸ There is no need to refrain from mentioning that, the reason behind this sort of philosophy, as discussed earlier in this chapter, was that the NMP had experienced a reduction in resources after it was moved from supervision under the MOE to the MOC. This caused its exhibition planners to place their hopes in obtaining resources from the source community.

I let them take these traditional things back to their community, as if I were giving them the power of tradition, allowing them to use this power to revive their community culture. Our goal via this exhibition was to allow the revival of local traditions, so our goal all along was not the exhibition itself, but the hope that the locality would learn via this exhibition how to attain their own community renewal (Li, 2014b).

Again, this sort of motive comes from a philosophy developed by the exhibition planner after long-term involvement in temporary exhibition exchanges involving the return of artifacts to their place of origin. It allowed the cooperation objectives to be placed on uncovering new meaning in traditional artifacts and the inspiration of memories and identity resulting from the return of such objects. This naturally also allowed the cooperation between the planners and source community to go beyond an exchange of knowledge, resources, experience and techniques to more importantly spur cultural identification and realization within the source community (Ma, 2012: 67).

Thus, differences in motives and objectives among exhibition planners in three different museum contexts led to a diverse mix of relationships between planners and their source communities. Regardless of whether it was to strengthen resources or share them, whether to lead or to assist, we can see the connection between the two agents establishing relationships and their cooperation objectives. However, the influence on exhibitions exerted by the relationships established for this reason, especially structural reconfiguration, involves such issues as the choice of cooperation partners, method of establishing such a relationship and the solidity of the relationship built.

Cooperation partners

The choice of cooperation partners depended on sourcing the needed resources and on the issue of who would interpret the exhibition explanations. The primary basis for selecting cooperation partners was whether they could bring the requisite knowledge,

techniques, manpower, enthusiasm and willingness to the project and whether they had specific status.

Bunun Cultural Museum

When discussing the considerations for choosing a cooperation partner, the exhibition planner at the BCM stressed the establishment of individual relationships:

It is very difficult to get the entire tribe willing to cooperate with the museum, and I do not want this, since every local community wants to have its own direction and approach and there are background influences (religious or political factions). Thus, I feel that the museum and tribe both must have a key individual who has the will and power to bring about mutual cooperation, and who can use appropriate means to undertake and deliver what each side wants. Let the power, under this person's coordination use appropriate speed to convey to the agencies and community behind him what has to be done. As for the method of choosing this key person, you first have to see whether he identifies with the activity that the museum is undertaking and whether he has the requisite ardor and drive for the interaction (Ma, T., personal communication. 21 April 2014).

Thus, the person to be sought out for cooperation must be a tribal elder in the source community with the power of knowledge and with experience, since one objective of cooperation is to obtain cultural knowledge for the exhibition. So, this sort of person must be credible, and willing to provide abundant historical and cultural knowledge. At the same time, in order to expand cooperation by the source community, the planner chose young people in the tribe with craft-making capabilities and willingness to cooperate to take part in the exhibition design work. It is worth noting that the planner was very much in command of choosing with whom to cooperate, as both a member of the source community and the museum's exhibition planner, his dual identity and his familiarity with different venues allowed him to master sources of knowledge within the source communities, the ethnic structure of the community and the interests involved in

each relationship, as well as what resources the exhibition required. Thus, he could correctly choose the right individual cooperation partners who could accord with these situations and the needs of making the exhibition.

During the exhibition installation, the planner gave the source community free authority to create the exhibition venue, yet kept control of the presentation of the exhibition topic and content. Although the knowledge displayed in the exhibition came from the source community, the guiding authority of interpretation remained with the planner. However, since the planner himself was a member of the source community, the issue of whether he could speak on behalf of the source community is complex. This issue will be analyzed in the subsequent section on indigenous rights.

National Museum of Prehistory

The cooperation partners for the NMP basically involve the nearby source communities. The choice of cooperation partners largely pertains to the needs of the exhibition planner. One planner stated that the museum did not support the idea of exhibitions planners conducting fieldwork investigations during working hours. Given the realities and pressures of very short periods of time to produce exhibitions, expounding on one's own cultural experience, being able to control and initiate a local personal network of resources and having experience in cooperating with the source community were all realistic ways to quickly obtain credible exhibition content. In the case of the *Sanga: The Flying Warriors* exhibition, the planner's choice of a tribal development association within the source community as a cooperation partner was connected with the aforementioned conditions. The primary contact channel in this cooperative relationship was the head of the association who had multiple types of status, not only as head of the association, but also as a current staff member of the NMP with many years of

experience in an Indigenous People's public service institution who was in charge of public relations liaison and producing events, and the host of programs on the nationwide Indigenous Peoples' cable television channel. Through his introductions, the planner was able to establish relationships with association members and tribal elders who were well versed in traditional knowledge and craft.

In the case of the 2nd *Taiwan Indigenous Youth Arts Festival* exhibition, the NMP planner's primary cooperation partners were the faculty of the East-region indigenous high-school student art class. The reasons for choosing to cooperate with a high school was that the planner wanted to expand the breadth and depth of source community interpretation of exhibition content:

I discovered that the teachers who teach these traditional arts in high school were wood carvers. Their instruction in wood sculpting taught technique but there was no discussion of meaning. Slowly, after we combined exhibitions and performances, we felt that indigenous students could begin to tell their own stories about school, the tribe, their ethnic group, all could be expressed via artistic behavior and techniques, including tribal stories or new interpretations...we hoped to use our research or understanding to teach them, so that the cultural content would be meaningful, and not just a display of technique (Lin, 2014).

From this statement it is evident that what the exhibition planner cared about was whether the indigenous students could find their own cultural significance and extend it via artistic creation. However, with this sort of thinking, even if the planner set no limits on the creation or exhibition installation, it still failed to achieve the desired result. This was principally due to the managerial role that teachers play in Taiwan's vocational high schools, where their authority is enormous. During this case of cooperation, the teachers, who were not members of any indigenous group, directed the creation of the art works and the selection of works to take part in the exhibition. The disparity in power between

faculty and students resulted in the actual making of the exhibition undermining the goals of the project, for the high school students themselves to freely create works of art that expressed their own cultural interpretations and for them to take part in the exhibition installation process to display their interpretive works. This dissipated any student identification with the created works. As one student told me, the creations “were the teachers’ works”, and participating in the installation of the art works at the exhibition was “just going to help out”.

National Taiwan Museum

Under the regulations of the Large Museums Lead Small Museums project, the NTM had little room for choice in cooperation partners, the only candidates were local-level museum and their staff members. However, with which museums to cooperate involved any museum with the cultural lineage of the NTM’s collection as the first premise, followed by any case where the local government, civic group or local museum staff seemed enthusiastic. As far as the NTM exhibition planners were concerned, the goal in cooperating was the hope that the artifacts in its collection would not only find new possibilities of interpretation (extension of knowledge), but also serve as catalysts for the revitalization of local culture (reutilization and influence of knowledge). Their long-term experience with this project left them very clear about how local politics and the local cultural environment affect temporary exhibitions. The key concern of museum planners taking part in the project often was whether or not the aforementioned goals could be achieved. Thus, the basis for choosing cooperation partners was largely in the form of such abstract resources as whether the local government or local-level museum was enthusiastic about being committed to cultural revitalization and whether it was willing to learn how to mount an exhibition.

The NTM's cooperation with the MSF was based on the fact that the MSF staff were members of the local Saisiyat ethnic group and spoke its language, which fit the cultural requirements of the artifacts in the NTM's collection. Second, since the staff members had the advantage of being locals who could speak the local language, they could inquire and gather new knowledge about the artifacts. This seemed a promising possibility for attaining the goals of extending and reusing knowledge.

However, during the process of cooperation with the MSF, one result was the effect that an agent of multiple statuses had on the making of the exhibition. Given his experience with cultural and historical fieldwork investigations and his far more extensive experience with exhibitions than the current MSF planners, the representative of local council took part in all discussions about holding the exhibition (including the visit by tribal elders to the NTM's collection room). He gradually became the leading force during the structuring of the exhibition content and the rendering of interpretations about its content, despite the fact that he was not the chosen interlocutor for this cooperation project. His involvement reached the level of directly taking part in the recruiting of tribal artifacts, providing cultural and historical information and even writing up the exhibition content descriptions. In comparison, the MSF staff only took part in fieldwork interviewing and gathering information. This example, like the previous two examples, not only demonstrates the effect that an agent of multiple statuses can have on an exhibition, it also reveals the influence that internal source community power relationships have on such exhibitions.

From three case studies, it could be said that the choice of cooperation partner depends greatly on the objectives for the exhibition set by the planner, the resources that the cooperation partner possesses and the power and status of the cooperation partner in the

source community. The planners in all three cases chose partners who possessed knowledge resources and were willing to extend knowledge resources. They also chose certain individuals with multiple social or professional credentials and with experience or mastery of different fields since they greatly understood or controlled different rules and resources. Thus, during the cooperation process and the establishment of guidance relationships, they controlled the exhibition explanations and interpretive resources.

Relationship validation

After the determination of a cooperation partner, the mutual relationship should begin to function and the anticipated tasks should start to be undertaken. However, from my research, at the outset of establishing a relationship between exhibition planners and the source community, it must go through a process before the relationship is validated. This process often involves establishing acceptance. And during the process of establishing different types of acceptance, the power intersection between the two partners through rules and resources is an important medium of exchange when establishing the relationship.

Bunun Cultural Museum

For the exhibition planner of the BCM, the major crux of establishing a cooperative relationship between the planner and source community was to help the source community build self-identity and to build a basis for mutual trust:

Only when there is no fixed standard or limit on cooperation can the community take part and give its all without fear, and only thus can they create ideas that belong to them and can new ideas come forth. So the goal of the exhibition was for them to take part and give it their all. Also, a good collaborative relationship is the basis of the next cooperation. If they had not felt that there was acceptance of their own creation, there would have been no possibility of cooperation the next time (Ma, T., personal communication. 21 April 2014)

However, when collaboration is on a person to person basis, the risk lies in how well they identify with each other. Even though the museum director was himself born into the Chulai tribe, his life experience and acculturation while being educated outside the tribal area would perhaps differ somewhat from those tribal members who had lived their entire lives within tribe. From the perspective of the Nahaisulan and Ispalidav clans, he was not one of either clan which possessed a ritual site. So, when he thought of using the Nahaisulan and the Ispalidav clans as examples, to depict the appearance of the Ear Shooting Festival ritual site and to plan the activities associated with the opening ceremony, he still had to go call on the high priests of the two clans and explain the methodology and content of the exhibition. Only once he had obtained the assent of both clans could he begin to plan the exhibition and its related activities.⁴⁹

The high priest of the Ispalidav clan was an elementary school teacher who could visualize the possibilities for how the exhibition could appear as it was being described, so was glad to see it succeed. However, during discussions with the Ispalidav clan, at the outset many of the clan members took no position on whether they could take part in exhibiting their own clan's version of the Ear Shooting Festival. They felt that the museum was remote from their lives and found it hard to imagine how the ritual site would feel when presented in a museum exhibition. Yet when it was mentioned that the exhibition might perhaps help pass on their culture, they began to feel some expectation and gradually assented to cooperation with the museum. For them the main point in taking part in the cultural exhibition was not based on any understanding of the use of the exhibition, or to derive some benefit from it, but because in it they saw the possibility of rebuilding cultural identity.

⁴⁹ Publicizing this ritual observance via a museum and museum exhibition was an unfamiliar experience for members of the tribe. This was principally because the operational situation at the BCM had been unstable, thus members of the tribe found it difficult to believe that the BCM was a real and viable institution. Secondly, it was only in 2014 that the BCM began regular cooperation with the local tribe.

The interaction was quite different while seeking to convince the high priest of the Nahaisulan clan. He was a farmer who also did temporary road laying work. That meant he worked long hours and had no control over when he had work to do. In addition, he was not very clear about the concept of a cultural exhibition, so despite being asked several times for his support of the exhibition, he remained non-committal. Thus, the director called on him many times for a meal or just to chat, gradually developing a closer relationship and winning his trust. The scene that finally allowed the Nahaisulan clan to assent was highlighting the issue of whether the museum staff had the flexibility to work in concert with and respect the life and cultural habits of the source community. In order to work with the time that the Nahaisulan clan farmed every day, the director decided to invite them to come to the museum where he could use the exhibitions at that time to familiarize them with the nature and methods of exhibitions. That day, the Nahaisulan clan arrived at the museum just before daybreak and conscientiously listened to the director explain step by step how the exhibition would be a medium in the space of the museum and what images and content could allow the Ear Shooting Festival ritual site to be presented. As a result of this dawn effort, the Nahaisulan clan agreed to take part in the planning of the exhibition, around 6:30 A.M., to be exact.

Willingness to be flexible enough to comply with the time schedule of the Nahaisulan clan can be regarded as a demonstration of respect for their life and cultural habits and can be seen as symbolizing acknowledgement of their rights to their lifestyle and culture. Ultimately, a clan's high priest holds a position of respect within the clan, but in general society he is just a farmer and temporary worker. Compared to the museum director engaged in cultural work, perhaps there was no high or low, exalted or humble distinction of professional title, but neither really understood the nature of the others work, so a perception gap existed. When the director modified the opening time of the

museum to accommodate the Nahaisulan clan, it could be seen as the director modifying the scope of his own exercise of power in accord with the farming rights of the clan, and thus was acknowledging their right and supporting their continuing exercise of that right.

National Museum of Prehistory

The process of building relationships between the NMP planners and the source community had to be built on a very different basis. I will use the cooperation between NMP and the Taromak tribe as an example to explain the meaning of relation validation. The exhibition planners from NMP were not familiar with the Taromak tribe and had not been engaged in research of that group's traditions or culture before choosing them as a collaborative community. Thus, they developed their cooperative relationship on the basis of one-way cultural identity. This situation could be found through the choice of exhibition topic and the positions for displaying objects.

When planners were drawing up the topic for the exhibition in the beginning of research, they only grasped some obscure symbolic meanings of the whole Taromak culture such as lily, swing and butterfly. These objects were all considered by the planners while deciding the exhibition topic in terms of selecting one to be the exhibition topic. This situation was changed by seeking the opinions of tribal members after one-sided investigations. Finally, they realized the importance of the tradition sanga to the Taromak tribe and settled it upon as the exhibition topic.

When deciding where to place the objects to be displayed, the original place selected for displaying the clan chieftain's seal was next to the group's young people association ancestral spirit pillar, but this was not acceptable to members of the Taromak tribe because as high as the chieftain's status was, chief demonstrated respect within the tribe

to members of the association and kept his distance, allowing the association autonomy to decide its own matters. Thus, to members of the Taromak tribe, the chieftain's seal was placed too close to the association's ancestral spirit pillar and this was inappropriate. Once the planners understood the tribe's view, they did not insist upon responding solely in terms of exhibition technique, such as sight lines or content, but instead agreed to this suggestion based on considerations of source community religious beliefs and the tribe's internal social hierarchy.

In above two cases, confirmation of the relationship between the two parties was made via mutual interaction and communication regarding cultural knowledge and interpretation in which the planners and members of the source community each expressed their own views and interpretations of Taromak culture and then reached consensus on these cultural issues. However, the exhibition planners were not familiar with source community culture and saw their roles as one of assisting the source community in making the exhibition rather than playing a guiding role of controlling exhibition content. As a result, this strengthens the source community's cultural views and turned the cooperation dynamic into a simple one-way expression of exhibition planners cultural identification with the source community.

National Taiwan Museum

Unlike the previous two museums, the NTM's basis for building relations with the source community was based on identification with a cultural scenario, which means the objective of cooperation was to enhance the experience of local museum personnel with exhibition making, seek new significance to the NTM's collection and boost the influence of the collection within the source community.

Cooperation between the NTM and MSF was implemented to carry out the

government's Large Museums Mentor Smaller Museums sub-project, since the rules and resources framework called for the establishment of such a relationship and neither party has any leeway for changing the rules of exhibition building or vetoing the other party's opinions. This made it a one-way "give and take" relationship where the large museum gave resources to the smaller one in exchange for the smaller museum's local cultural knowledge and interpretations. Each of these exchanges was one-way in nature.

Nevertheless, during the exhibition installation process, NTM personnel were responsible for installing the objects from the NTM's collection. They, along with those executing the Enlivenment and Guidance Project used this opportunity to provide a workshop to museums of indigenous culture throughout Taiwan. As a result, the majority of personnel from other museums attending the workshop enthusiastically took part in the exhibition installation, sidelining the MSF personnel whose venue space was designated for the exhibition. As the hosts of the workshop and exhibition venue, they could only watch from the side lines to learn about exhibition installation. Although this unforeseen result did not affect the relationship between the NTM and MSF, it does underscore the fact that there are many levels of consideration that go into understanding such cooperative relationships beyond regarding them merely as exchanges of professional resources.

Among the foregoing three examples, the key word is "identification" or "acceptance" for building relationships between agents. In the case of the BCM, it was acceptance of the planner's status as an insider and director of the museum. In the case of the NMP, it was cultural identification, and in the case of the NTM, acceptance of professional collegiality. When such relationships are established or begin, there is a continuous process of mutual validation which involves continuing communication and

demonstrations of respect, as well as exchange of resources. In all these cases, the resources being exchanged included tangible manpower funding and the intangible right of interpretation and respect for knowledge. In most cases, the exchange of resources was not the unidirectional give and take of that between the NTM and MSF, the connections were often the points of consideration in validating the relationship. This also implies that such an agent can exert enormous influence over exhibition building.

Relationship extension and consolidation

With mutual identification or acceptance as the foundation and resources as the medium of exchange, the cooperative relationships exemplified by the three museums remained ongoing once they were established. During this process, the relationship between the two parties can undergo change. Thus, extending and consolidating relations is a major issue for the agents involved. The following are descriptions of the opening ceremonies for exhibitions at the three museums.⁵⁰ They will be used to elucidate how relationships are extended or consolidated after their establishment.

Bunun Cultural Museum

For the BCM's exhibition, the launch event involved more than a simple ribbon-cutting ceremony. Under the director's planning, it included a six-hunting rifle salute, a Bunun eight-part harmony choral performance, traditional dancing, Bunun exploit-praising ritual, and six rounds of a simulated Ear Shooting Festival, performances by the Chulai tribe musical band and an opening ceremony in the museum square. The director wanted the Chulai tribe to take charge of these activities, and hoped that the participation of some of the tribe would bring more of them as spectators into the

⁵⁰ These events were chosen as examples because these sorts of events constitute an important resource in the overall exhibition making process for bringing together all pertinent resources, personnel, power and rights at one venue. These events are most able to indicate the past, present and future of such connections or relationships.

museum exhibition area, and boost understanding of and identification with the exhibition, which would in turn raise the potential for cooperation the next time.

And since he hoped for a high degree of participation by tribal members, the director called on all clans many times to ask their assistance in holding the opening ceremony. It is noteworthy that he even asked others who were not taking part in the opening ceremony itself. One night he brought with him a slide projector and the Civil Affairs Section person in charge of the museum to hold an explanatory meeting with the Chulai village elders and solicit their participation. Those he met with included the village head, a dozen other members of the tribe and even the deputy speaker of the township council. His basic appeal to them was to “bring relations between the Ear Shooting Festival and Chulai tribe closer and thereby deepen outsider’s impression of the Chulai tribe”.⁵¹ He expressed the hope that the village inhabitants would support and take part in the opening ceremony. He said of this explanatory meeting:

Basically, one still had to consider the political situation and gain the maximum support of local political figures and tribal members. Furthermore, since the township council deputy speaker lived in the eighth precinct of Chulai tribe, few inhabitants of that precinct were taking part in the implementation of this event [namely, the opening ceremony], if his support could be won, this would be the best way to send out a message for everyone to participate. Add to this the fact that since the museum fell under the purview of the township hall, it was difficult to ask the head of that agency for additional resources [in the form of funds for a gala banquet],⁵² but with the support of the deputy speaker, it would be much

⁵¹ During personal conversations, the essence of what both the planner and source community elders said in their own ways was an expression of the hope that tribal harmony could be recovered. Another hope was to boost tourism. The deputy speaker during the meeting stated that other Bunun tribes did not have so complete a marketing method; thus, he hoped that during the exhibition launch ceremony everyone would wear tribal garb so that the media saw the traditional aspect of the Chulai tribe. This would bring people to the area thereafter and like the Amis Harvest Festival would attract greater numbers of tourists.

⁵² For the source community, the gala banquet was held after the conclusion of the Ear Shooting Festival, and constituted an important opportunity to demonstrate friendship within the community.

easier make such a request to the township magistrate (Ma, T., personal communication. 22 May 2014).

As the principal actors in this exhibition of the Ear Shooting Festival ritual site and the major participants of the opening ceremony, the Nahaisulan and Ispalidav clans expressed the same thoughts about this approach. They felt that the village mayor represented the township hall, and thus he had the authority to obtain a relatively large amount of resources without controversy.⁵³ In addition, since the mayor had jurisdictional authority over the village, it was necessary to inform him of activities being held in his area of jurisdiction to lest they be unable to gain his support on any other matter requiring help from the mayor.

Besides, the opening ceremony involved more than the aforementioned social relations; it presented another kind of benefit to local political politicians, given the impending election in 2014. It provided a natural opportunity for them to gain exposure to the electorate, and to toot their own horn regarding their political accomplishments, so they were naturally glad for such an event to take place. To stand on stage and say a few words to voters or to have the sponsoring government agency sing their praises would deepen their impression among the electorate. With a constituency of approximately 4.3 thousand people, it was an extremely important venue for garnering publicity. And taking part in the museum's exhibition and opening ceremony would also demonstrate that they were cared about cultural issues. Thus, the performers at the opening ceremony were not limited to members of the tribe, as local politicians regarded it as their own performing venue. The museum was able to utilize the opening ceremony to

⁵³ This also carried the implication of stabilizing internal tribal relationships as spreading the word about this event would prevent those tribal members who would not take part in it from idle gossip that might affect the impression of the exhibition throughout the source community and therefore the willingness of tribal members to participate in the exhibition.

show to elected officials, such as the township magistrate and town council members, all that it had done; and the fact that it had created a space and atmosphere beneficial to the politicians ought to be helpful when undertaking future enterprises.

National Museum of Prehistory

For the NMP's exhibition launch event, it similarly invited other members of the source community who had not participated directly in the exhibition-making process to take part in the ceremony and perform. This allowed more members of the ethnic group to establish a relationship between themselves and the exhibition via entering the exhibition venue and taking part or observing the event. The event also satisfied the internal and external political obligations of the museum and extended willingness to support the exhibition planner.

The launch ceremony for the exhibition took the form of a religious ritual involving the entire tribe, performances of indigenous music and dance, international exchange and an educational event. Under the premise of respecting the religious beliefs of the Taromak tribe, the day of the launch ceremony the tribal chieftain and tribal members were admitted to the space early to enact prayers via a traditional rite. At the outset of the official launch ceremony, elders and youths of the Taromak tribe of every social status performed traditional singing and dancing and introduced the traditional sanga deportment and deeds. Finally, Maori teachers and students from the cinema department of the University of Auckland in New Zealand arrived in Taitung as part of an exchange to trace their cultural roots. With song and dance arranged as the medium of communication and understanding for the Maori students and teachers, the entire launch ceremony became a venue for demonstrating the traditional spirit of the Taromak tribe.

The entire launch ceremony involved the participation of a wide range of the source

community, from tribal elders who sang in chorus to youths who danced and to primary school students who demonstrated their extracurricular skills, all took part through the invitation from the tribal development association. Of the more than 200 guests attending the event, there were local politicians, cultural and historical researchers, an indigenous university civic group, local civic groups and members of the media. From the perspective of the source community, those taking part felt that their own culture was being regarded by a national-level museum and such a large number of people, and thus felt energized, bolstering their cultural confidence and self-identification.

The importance that the NMP placed on the launch ceremony also indicates that the major significance of the event for extending person-to-person relationships and bringing resources into the museum. The day before the opening ceremony to the *Sanga: The Flying Warriors* exhibition, the NMP director made a special inspection of the temporary exhibition site. Besides checking on its progress, he also inquired a great deal about the opening event schedule. While doing so, he repeatedly reminded the staff to check on the politicians who would be attending, and to be sure to read the entire thank-you list of names of those attending to prevent leaving anyone out. This type of reminder completely explains the importance of Taiwan's local politicians and businesspeople for the NMP's acquisition of resources. A senior civil servant in the museum stressed that the influence of national legislators over the budget allocation to each museum was enormously large.⁵⁴

For the politicians taking part in the event, the NMP's launch ceremony provided an

⁵⁴ This situation was evident from the MOC's 2014 extempore budget supplementary funding. According to what senior officials at the NTM and NMP said, at the time certain national legislators invited the museums and the MOC to meet multiple times in the name of discussing and looking into the state of indigenous culture exhibition implementation. After this, the MOC used extemporary budget supplementary funding to provide the NMP with the funds for indigenous culture exhibitions.

excellent platform for media exposure. Political and business figures appeared at all five launch ceremonies held by the NMP in which I participated during my fieldwork. The only difference between the five was the length of the thank-you list read aloud and the hierarchical importance of the figures who appeared. Ironically, in the case of the opening event for the 2nd *Taiwan Indigenous Youth Arts Festival*, perhaps because it was not the first year that the exhibition was held, there was little media willingness to cover the event. Given that participants were mainly indigenous students, political and business figures likely sensed that there was little benefit in attending, so few appeared; and the NMP director in a rare case was also a no show.

National Taiwan Museum

The NTM's attitude regarding the utility of launch ceremonies to extend political relations was similar to the other two museums. For NTM exhibition planners, the event was seen as a major way to help the director create a good track record of performance and a medium for exchanging support between senior officials in the museum and exhibition planners. In the case of the exhibition featuring the return of Saisiyat artifacts to their place of origin, the opening event was divided into two separate press conferences, one held by the NTM and one by the MSF. The major center of activity was at the venue held by the NTM which was termed a send-off press event. The exhibition planner's thoughts on the event were:

Our museum cares about this [media exposure], so my thinking was to say I will make you satisfied, to attain what I want to do. I won't make this out as the standard, but I think this is a way to garner support. Over the past few years I have deliberately sought cooperation with several public relationship firms to gain media exposure. In the case of this press event about the return of the artifacts, I wanted nationwide media exposure, I held the event in Taipei so that it would at least garner top headlines on the culture pages of newspapers. I have paid attention to these things for several years because this delights my boss so he

supports these things...I don't particularly care about any definite publicity, I just hope for a certain degree of interaction with the locality; but if the local cultural museum wants exposure, the regard in recent years for exposure is because it has been discovered that it brings performance results for everyone, and those results for useful to the directors, so if we make them happy, they will support us (Personal communication. 27 June 2014)

This sort of thinking is not just the personal observation of exhibition planners; senior management of the museum also placed great value on opening ceremonies. During a meeting in which I took part, the NTM's deputy director specially stressed that certain political figures and MOC officials must be invited. This order may not directly express the clout that national legislators or MOC official have over museum budgets and supplementary funding, but it clearly indicates the importance of letting national legislators know about the museum's performance track record. One exhibition planner told me that the reason senior officials at the museum love the exposure could be that their appointment as director and deputy director is done by the MOC and that once their term of appointment is over, they hope to return to the MOC to hold a higher level position there as the basic career ambition. So they seek any opportunity of exposure that allows their superiors at the MOC to see what they are doing. This sort of personnel system perhaps is one reason that adds to the importance of the launch event.

The open ceremony not only allows the significance of the exhibition to be extended via rules and tangible resources created by museums, it also boosts the positive reaction of the source community to the exhibition and builds symbolic resources in the form of connections and opportunities so that agents can utilize these resources to undertake resource exchange. This extends past relationships and thus, can, with the support of stable rules and resources, provide the opportunity for reproducing rules and resources beneficial to making exhibitions.

Agents and agency — a summary

During the process of making an exhibition, the exhibition planner is the key agent, despite the fact that exhibition planners are still subject to the influences of rules and resources. However, the planner's own values, exhibition-making experience and reflexive insight demonstrate the effects that individual intention and capabilities have on exhibition making. Via the four interactive steps of setting cooperation objectives, choosing cooperation partners, building relationships consolidating relations between the exhibition planners and source community, the agent relationships that radiate out from exhibition planners form a platform for which the principal objective is resource exchange. The planners and source communities both build this platform to provide them with opportunities and capabilities to exercise their agency to reproduce or reconfigure the exhibition-making process. Resource exchanges reconstitute the nature of rules and resources and the methods of utilization and in different temporal and geographic contexts reproduce each unique exhibition-making structure.

Behind rules, resources, agents and agency: characteristics of factors affecting exhibition making

Following analysis of the factors affecting exhibition making, this study will attempt to determine the common and general characteristics of these factors and apply theory to elucidate their significance. These characteristics include ubiquity of rules and resources, the multiple statuses of key agents, cooperation stemming from acceptance and reciprocity as a method of cooperation.

Ubiquitous rules and resources

In addition to the obvious property of such factors as cultural policy, administrative systems and performance evaluation systems being rules and resources, the agency of exhibition planners and interpersonal relationships also display the characteristics and implications of rules and resources formulated by Giddens.

Cultural policy, administrative systems and performance and evaluation systems combine rules and resources to regulate the standards and objectives of museum exhibitions and use resources as media to impel actual generation of operations and to attain completion of the desired goals.

Similarly, the agency of the agents involved also possesses the characteristics of rules and resources. Taking the exhibition planners as an example, their ability to make a major difference and to dominate the rules and resources pertaining to the exhibition is precisely due to there currently being no rules among the administrative regulations pertaining to either local governments or national-level museums that regulate the professional authority or functions of exhibition planners. This unwritten set of rules directly allow planners leeway in controlling the rules and resources as well as the means of utilization when implementing each temporary exhibition. The social class of

those in Taiwan's indigenous societies who wield the authority of traditional cultural knowledge provides a stable set of social rules that allows them to control knowledge or wield their knowledge authority in a way that elicits respect from others. The cases of the BCM's exhibition planner of Bunun ethnicity and the exhibition planners of the NMP are illustrative. When gathering information, both were able to obtain it without restriction from the elders of their own tribe or from members of the tribal elite. At the same time, those agents possessing knowledge resources were able to use their knowledge authority in the exhibition-making process to influence the exhibition content.

Finally, the cooperative relationship between exhibition planners and the source community illustrates the reconstitution and definition of rules and resources. While setting the objectives of and guidelines for cooperation, the exhibition planners can use regulatory objectives and orientations to express the pertinent requirements for exhibition making. Thus, choosing cooperation partners is a sourcing choice of resources. During this process, the resources are not only concrete resources such as manpower, collection objects and funds, but also such intangible resources as knowledge, experience, interpretive opportunity and personal favors. And during the stage of relationship building and extension, the exhibition planners and the source community jointly set the rules with respect to the resources needed to make the exhibition in order to consolidate the pertinent resources.

For example, when the BCM exhibition planner made the Ear Shooting Festival the exhibition topic, this was tantamount to confirming that the resources he needed would come from his own homeland. This setting of the rules not only stabilized the sourcing of resources, it also delineated the scope of resources to be consolidated and stored. In

the case of the NMP exhibition, the characteristics of rule and resources were embodied in two separate venues. In the case of the Sanga exhibition, the planner wanted to put into practice the precept of giving the right of interpretation to the indigenous community, and also wanted to overcome the difficulties of funding and collection deficiencies, so chose cooperation with a tribe that had sufficient experience with interacting and cooperating with outside partners in order to verify the necessary knowledge for the exhibition and assure the loan of collection items and tribal manpower to the museum.

In the 2nd *Taiwan Indigenous Arts Festival* exhibition, the exhibition planners set the rules and resources in form of guidelines for the students' creative works and providing the opportunity for students to interpret their own works during the exhibition installation process in NMP. At the school, however, the hierarchical rule that "teachers can manage students"⁵⁵ and the fact that its teachers held the knowledge resource about fine art creation were manifested in the faculty intervention in the students' process of creating their own works and in deciding which students could go take part in the exhibition installation. Similarly, at the NTM the exhibition planners regulated the exhibition topics and methods of exhibition making, allowing the resources they had and those they needed under these rules to produce resource exchanges in line with the objectives they set.

Multiple statuses of key agents

From the foregoing section regarding the influence that key actors had on the

⁵⁵ This hierarchical authority of a certain venue is reflected in the Marxist concept of the power of the hierarchy and in Foucault's early discourses on the characteristics of power. Foucault used knowledge for corporal domination and discipline to elicit corporal obedience under the joint discipline of power and knowledge, which becomes the *assujettissement* or subjugation produced by power (1978[1975]:138, 1980[1976]:60).

exhibition-making process, one common trait to the key actors who exerted the greatest influence on the exhibition topic, content and design in all three case studies was that they held multiple statuses. This allowed them to bring or deploy the widest array of rules and resources during the process and unique exert the influence over its results.

The BCM exhibition planner was both a figure of authority in a public institution, the BCM, and a member of the source community. His multiple statuses allowed him an at least partially insider understanding of tribal culture and matters (he still needed to consult tribal and clan elders regarding many details about the Ear Shooting Festival Ritual sites and to employ an interpreter), a full understanding of the public institution of the museum and its mechanism for cooperation, such as specific policies, administrative systems and the rules of the appraisal system and their derivative resources. As a member of the community, he also had an insider's grasp of the cultural context of Bunun people, their cultural and social knowledge and their interpersonal relationships. When he decided on an exhibition topic that could reflect the indigenous culture with which he was familiar, his multiple status allow him to establish a bilateral cooperative mechanism and play the role of decision maker with respect to exhibition content. This multiple status also gave the Haiduan Township Hall confidence to rely on his concept, planning and intended content for the exhibition. It also allowed tribal members to be supportive and have faith in providing him with information regarding the Ear Shooting Festival Ritual, and to provide the technical and manpower supports for the exhibition installation and opening ceremony.

In the case of the NMP exhibition, the head of the association who assisted with making the exhibition also held multiple statuses, as association head and also a current staff member at the NMP with many years of experience working at an Indigenous People's

public service institution. In addition, he was in charge of public relations liaison and producing events, and the host of programs on the nationwide Indigenous People's television channel. Similarly, in the case of the NTM exhibition, the local council member who assisted with exhibition making held multiple statuses as a tribal member, local representative, experienced cultural and historical work and former museum worker. Both of these cases involved multiple-status actors who were not exhibition planners themselves, but had long served in public service institutions and were engaged in local cultural work. This gave them years of experience with museums and with liaising and cooperating with the outside world regarding tribal matters. They were also familiar with the exhibition-making process and rules for communicating between different groups (the museum and tribe), and how to use cultural and historical knowledge, artifacts and manpower resources needing for the exhibition. This led the actual exhibition planner in both of the cases to choose cooperation with them and to place great value on their recommendations. Thus, they both exerted considerable influence on the choice of exhibition topic, content, framework, objects and knowledge as a result of their multiple status.

Cooperation stemming from acceptance

During the process of relationship validation, the power to control exhibition rules and resources with which during the exhibition-making process to actually make the exhibition derives not only from the personal intentions of the agents, but also more importantly from whether or not both sides of the cooperation relationship can generate social identity, cultural or professional acceptance by the other party. According to three cases in this research, without such acceptance as the basis of the relationship, there is no way for the two parties to exert the power derived from rules and resources. This indicates that such power is based on acceptance or mutual identification between the

two agents of the relationship before it can be concretely exerted. In the case of the BCM exhibition, given the clan nature and obscurity of the two Ear Shooting Festival Ritual sites, acceptance of the exhibition planner by both Chulai clans was a key premise for cooperation. In the case of the NMP exhibition, it was the acceptance by the exhibition planner of Taromak autonomy in interpreting their culture that boosted tribal willingness to take part in the mounting of the exhibition and provide knowledge. In the case of the NTM exhibition, it took acceptance by the MSF staff member of the NTM's collection and exhibition-mounting professional experience and recommendations before the task of mounting the exhibition could be directed toward approaches with which the MSF staff member was not that familiar, such as fieldwork interviews and artifact recruitment.

This underscores a major difference between museums and other social institutions, such as police departments, libraries or schools. The latter three exert an inherently compulsory power that does not require discussion before obtaining acceptance. The police do not need to first obtain the acceptance of suspects before they can exert their public power. A library need not first convince readers of the reasonableness of the power derived from its collection of knowledge before it can control the relationship between it as the possessor of knowledge and the reader who needs to obtain such knowledge. A school's faculty need not first explain to the school's students the power of managing the students and mastery of knowledge that it possesses before the student can accept it. However, for a museum and exhibition planner making an exhibition with indigenous culture as its topic and the objective of initiating culture interaction and understanding, the acceptance resulting from communication is crucial, without this foundation to the cooperative relationship there is no way to exert the power of resource

exchange as the medium and no way to realize the exhibition.⁵⁶

Reciprocity as a means of cooperation

As a cultural phenomenon, reciprocity is expressed in different forms and with different meanings in different eras and social settings. In this section the concept of reciprocity will be used to highlight the way that during the exhibition-making process, the exhibition and bilateral relationships are affected following the exchange of resources between an exhibition planner and the source community. It will also be used to highlight how in the context of exhibition making in Taiwan, good will in the reciprocity process functions to consolidate bilateral relationships and generate sustainable reciprocity. This section will begin with a brief definition of reciprocity for this thesis, then explain the influences generated by reciprocity and the phenomenon of good will in exhibition making.

Reciprocity as it is used in this section means the qualitative value of exchange between two parties, as opposed to the Marxist quantitative exchange of commodities (Sahlins, 1972: 199; Gregory, 1994: 918, 923). Such reciprocity is not produced by a single factor; rather it is generated after the influence of the overall social structure. And in the cases of the making of exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan's museums, the reciprocity displayed in the case studies for this thesis inclined toward what Sahlins (1972:194) terms Balanced Reciprocity, which is the use of explicit resources for distinct economic and social interests of substantive value, and is an exchange between different organizations or ethnic groups in a non-kinship society. However, in Taiwan, this sort of

⁵⁶ This study cannot attest to what insufficiencies in an exhibition would result from a planner's decision to skip this process of fostering acceptance or identification in exerting power or what effect compulsory exertion of power on the source community might have. Nevertheless, given that museums are social institutions with responsibility for fostering cultural revitalization, preservation and mutual understanding, exercising their power on the basis of communication and acceptance is inevitable.

Balanced Reciprocity also appears in two reciprocity characteristics that Yan (2000) observed in Chinese agricultural villages with instrumental objectives and the hope that reciprocity can confirm and strengthen person-to-person relationships.

In the case studies used for this thesis, it was discovered that resource exchanges between two actors began with an instrumental objective, making the exhibition, and during the process, involves reciprocity of concrete resources such as manpower, funds, collection objects, knowledge and interpretation, to effect the making of the exhibition, which was of common benefit to all concerned. At the same time, this entire process affirmed the interpersonal relationships and brought with it stable relationships and prestige.

Stable relationships and prestige here went beyond the individual level to include the exhibition planners and the members of the source community, and the institutions or ethnic groups they represented. The exhibition planners belonged to a local-level or a national-level museum, the source community represented a particular clan or an entire tribe. Reciprocity brought with it more than concrete resources, it also created symbolic resources for each party to the interaction.

To cite an example, from the perspective of the indigenous source community worked with BCM, the BCM's exhibition regarding the ritual grounds of two of their clans could be exchanged for the opportunity to allow members of the public and even the tribe itself to better understand the ritual sites and strengthen the impression of outsiders toward the possibly only remaining contemporary examples of traditional Bunun Chulai tribe ritual sites. And for the Taromak tribe and the schools participated in indigenous arts festival exhibition, taking part in exhibition-making cooperation involved the exchange of the right to interpret their own culture and allowed them to present their

own view via the exhibition. Many source community members felt that being able to present their culture and artifacts via a national-level museum was an affirmation of their own culture or creativity. The local council representative who assisted the MSF helped the tribe secure the return of artifacts that had originated in it to their original cultural setting and to record continually evolving cultural memories. He also strengthened his image as a local cultural professional and right to speak on behalf of local culture. In 2015, the NTM published a pictorial catalogue of the exhibition and the council member's name was listed among the exhibition's authors.

For the planners, the value of understanding of the contemporary cultural context of the source community gained via such reciprocity was realized by what rules and resources involved in the bilateral cooperation could be grasped as the understanding and basis thereafter in deciding upon subsequent cooperation. Given the museum's dearth of resources and need for source community help, this was very important.

In the case studies used for this thesis, good will is manifested at times of reciprocity. While good will can be regarded as a kind of resource, (Huang, 1988:19) it is not just resource for exchange, it is inextricably bound up with the process of building relationships. In a Chinese society, good will is not only spoken of as something "owed" and "repaid" to explain the provision and receipt of favors, it is also spoken of as being "proactively made" in referring to the bilateral relationship. The concepts of good will being "owned" and "repaid" are similar to the form of a concrete social norm that exists in a particular temporal and location context. However, the giving and repayment of good will or favors often appears in completely different temporary and location contexts and involves completely different social norms.

Good will is a resource medium that produces reciprocity, its properties are dynamic

repayment and proactive investment. The latter occurs when an agent of his or her own accord goes beyond what their power or position would require in extending a favor to another party, often in the form of assistance. The other party senses that this has crossed the line of routine obligatory behavior dictated by the circumstances into a proactive demonstration of good will which can be seen by the giver as an “investment” in good will that can be repaid in many unforeseen ways and at some indefinite time in the future, depending on the recipients abilities or the giver’s needs, and where, unlike ordinary reciprocity, the favor is generally not seen as a chit that the good will giver can proactively call in for repayment. The recipient also realizes that a favor has been given, even if unsolicited or needed, and that a repayment will be necessary at some time or occasion in the future, even if that cannot be envisioned concretely at the moment. The value of the favor or good will is also indefinite, as is the value of its repayment, as different contexts and time spans as well as objective conditions affect the manner of repayment. Nevertheless, the recipient, if he or she cares about their personal reputation as a member of their society, will find ways or occasions to requite such good will in a sufficiently meaningful way that makes good on the implied obligation of the good will previously extended to them, even if that only involves enhancing or ameliorating to some subtle degree the exercise of power that they would otherwise have by virtue of their status or professional position.

The subtle ambiguity and flexibility of good will repayment offers an excellent key to why exhibition planners and their superiors set such great store by exhibition launch ceremonies and the publicity platforms they offered invited political and business dignitaries. Only a portion of the resources disseminated during such ceremonies could be immediately provided in substantive form to participants and members of the Chulai tribe to generate an explicitly reciprocal relationship. The rest were targeted at those

agents who controlled rules and resources, such as political figures with the expectation that future projects to make exhibitions would receive the assistance required in the form of rules and resources. However, the return on this expectation or investment could not be concretely anticipated. In other words, it was impossible to be certain of the resultant behavior that could be expected from this sort of proactive investment.

In cases where the source community proactively asked the NMP or NTM to collaborate on mounting an exhibition and was willing to provide the pertinent resources to the exhibition planners, this included a source community motive of proactive investment. More importantly, although national-level museum exhibition planners yielded the right of interpretation to the source community in exchange for the exchange media of knowledge, manpower and display artifacts, this exchange of resources took place in the same time and occasion context of the exhibition in question; yet, the exchange of rules and resources is not limited to the same temporal and occasional context, it can cross into the scope of other activities and in other such contexts continue the reciprocal actions between the two parties.

An example would be the Taromak tribe which directly participated in collaboration for the one exhibition, and regularly gain the opportunity to take part in other NMP activities, even though such activities and exhibitions were concerned Buddhist culture and did not involve any Taromak cultural symbols. Nevertheless, the Taromak participants in such activities were given opportunity from the museum for presenting their culture. In other words, the dynamic scope of repaying the good will generated therein was not limited to collaboration in making that particular exhibition, and carried over in the form of invitations extended to the Taromak people to take part in other types of NMP events.

In the case of the NTM, the representative of local council of his own accord took part in the exhibition interpretation process. Although this action was described by the representative himself as helping the inexperienced MSF staff with mounting an exhibition, his participation was tantamount to providing assistance to the NTM to help it complete the exhibition within the time limit. The repayment that the representative could obtain, beyond the context of exhibition collaboration, also included his fellow tribal members knowing that he had done something for the tribe, and this in turn would consolidate votes from the tribe when he stood for reelection to the local council. A further extension of the scope of repayment he could expect was to the level of local traditional knowledge authority, in that he could use the NTM's adoption of his fieldwork data as way to consolidate the degree of recognition within the tribe of his personal knowledge authority.

Good will can be seen as an integration of resources, and a resource ancillary to a social network that an individual can use. In other words, good will is an investment ancillary to social relations for which repayment can be anticipated. Good will and the repayment generated by it are linked with the relationships between agents and boost the development opportunities for agents, and have the ability to be organized into a certain temporal and occasion context. Thus, good will is more than a factor that influences exhibition making, it is a phenomenon that must be evaluated and monitored whenever undertaking research of museums in a Chinese society or cultural milieu.

Factors affecting exhibitions—a conclusion

The factors behind the making of exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan—the “one size fits all” model-museum mentality, obsession with quantitative metrics, local political interests, bureaucratic red tape, internal museum politics and an insufficient

budgetary system and resources behind the policy, administration and regulatory system, not only control the rules and resources involved in making exhibitions, they also influence the perceptions and responses of exhibition-making agents toward these rules and regulations. In addition, values, experience and reflexive insights of the agents themselves and the relationship between exhibition planners and source community explain the influence of such relationships on exhibitions and the distinctive authoritative features that appear during these connections—the foundation of mutual acceptance, the consensus of reciprocal benefit and the realization of operational authority all demonstrate a marked influence on the exhibition-making process.

As a result, exhibition making involves both being managed and managing. Exhibition making is subject to management by cultural policies, administration and the regulatory system, as well as the social climate and the demands of particular interests, which both constrain and enable the development of exhibition making. This impels agents within the museum to perceive and respond to the constraining or enabling forces that impinge upon its operation. However, agents and their agency are not totally constrained or managed; they use their personal intentions, professional capabilities and the relationships they build with other agents to form a resource-exchange platform by which they reproduce the structure or change it. Thus, the managing proactivity of museums is constituted by these agents and their agency.

This in turn showcases to a considerable degree the duality of structure that Giddens speaks of, in which structure and agent are not in dualistic opposition, but rather are mutually complementary. Structure is a medium and a result of social interactions, thus is not external to agents. It naturally constrains agents, yet also enables their agency (Giddens, 1984:25). Thus, for Giddens, a person's agency is the source of producing

and reproducing the structure, without such agency nothing would happen (Yeh, 2006: 305). Giddens also articulated the function of the two major elements to structure, rules and resources, for agents: resources are the tools by which an agent completes agency; while rules can be regarded as generalizable procedures, i.e., operating methods or techniques used by agents during agency (Giddens, 1984: 16, 23). These concepts of Giddens show that when examining the elements or systems that affect exhibition making, we need to look beyond the structural influences of such resources and rules to consider the influence on exhibitions resulting from exhibition planners' agency, relationship between exhibition planners and source community and the mutual influence and mutual formation of structure between agents and rules and resources.

CHAPTER 6

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIGENOUS RIGHTS AND MUSEUM EXHIBITION MAKING

Beyond what an exhibition presents to museum audiences, it constitutes a structure of exhibition making, which involves various rules and resources, the observance or utilization of which can produce intended or unintended constraint or enablement of the indigenous rights associated with the indigenous culture that constitutes the exhibition subject or topic. This chapter depicts the rights of Indigenous Peoples (hereafter, “indigenous rights”) and their connection with museums to serve as a foundation for subsequently examining what effect observed practices in Taiwan’s museum exhibitions of indigenous culture might be understood to have on the exercise or honoring of indigenous rights

The concept of indigenous rights

The concept of “the rights of Indigenous Peoples” comprises two core elements—“Indigenous Peoples” and “rights”, and, can be seen as an extension and refinement of the broader concept of human rights. Given the varying interpretation of “indigenous rights” by various academic and professional disciplines, this chapter will first examine the terms implicit in the concept—Indigenous Peoples, rights, human rights and indigenous rights— before proceeding to use the concept in analyzing the relationship between indigenous rights and museum exhibition practices in Taiwan.

Indigenous Peoples

To date, various countries differ greatly on the definition of the term, “Indigenous Peoples” (Pulitano, 2012:11). The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN Declaration) explicitly defines the rights and interests of Indigenous Peoples and the regulatory safeguards of such rights and interests. However, it does not clearly and systematically define the term, “Indigenous Peoples” itself. Nevertheless, the unique nature of the United Nations allows it to provide a relatively complete understanding of the concept of Indigenous Peoples. Thus, this essay examines the development of its definition in past UN research reports and the public documents of UN umbrella organizations to formulate a broadly acceptable definition of the concept.

In 1972, the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities began studying employment discrimination against Indigenous Peoples. In its 1986 “Study on the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations”, it offered an initial definition of Indigenous Peoples. After three revisions, the 1986 report read:

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 on 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 system (United Nations, 2004:2).

In 1982, the UN, responding to the demands of Indigenous Peoples’ movement organizations, established the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) under

the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). In 1985, work was begun on writing a declaration of the rights and interests of Indigenous Peoples. During this process, it proved impossible to reach consensus on the definition of Indigenous Peoples. Thus, in 2007, it was decided to base it on the principle of self-determination, rather than pursuing a single definition of the term “Indigenous Peoples”. In lieu of so doing, pertinent principles were listed for reference in providing a definition of the concept:

1. Self-identification as a person of indigenous ethnicity at the individual level and accepted by the indigenous community as a member
2. Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies
3. Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources
4. Distinct social, economic or political systems
5. Distinct language, culture and beliefs
6. Formation of a non-dominant group in a society
7. Resolution to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities (United Nations, 2007a)

In addition, the UN-umbrella International Labor Organization in 1989 approved the Convention No.169: Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, which further defined “Indigenous Peoples” and “Tribal Peoples” as:

...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 or the establishment of present state boundaries and who irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions (International Labor Organization, 1989).

However, Article 1 of the Convention states that: “self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply” (United Nations, 2004:2). From this it is evident that the UN and international community currently lack an accepted unified

stance on the definition of Indigenous Peoples, and from the stress on the principle of self-determination, the UN study and determination of the essential nature of indigenous populations is focused upon negotiation and communication between a particular indigenous population and its respective country or polity. In positive terms, this approach could be construed as sanctioning the right of self-determination for Indigenous Peoples and recognizing the differences between various Indigenous Peoples in terms of culture and grievances. However, this approach also leaves Indigenous Peoples with no way to cooperate internationally and pool their resources to demand respect from their country or polity for the existence of Indigenous Peoples. All they can do is seek opportunities for recognition, tolerance and co-existence in their own respective political environments.

Rights

The term “rights” has a long history of philosophical and legal development. Xia (1992) links “rights” with the five attributes of benefit, claim, entitlement, power or authority and freedom. In other words, a right exists or is formed to maintain or obtain a benefit. A benefit must be demanded or claimed before it becomes a right or interest during interaction with others. Unless it is claimed, it is subject to being influenced or threatened by other rights and interests. When a person claims a right, whether or not he or she can obtain the support of others depends on possessing the corresponding entitlement. Determination of such entitlement is connected with both the sanction of others and with determining the connection between the entitlement and a given environment or social conditions. Once a benefit is claimed and entitlement determined, it cannot be established or sanctioned on its own, it depends on whether one has the authority or power to exercise it as a right and can protect the said right from being threatened or undermined by others. However, if this exercise depends solely on power

or authority in the absence of the other accompanying attributes, it becomes hegemonic and cannot be seen as an objective right. Xia (1992:26-48) defines the attribute of freedom as the free-will choice of an individual to exercise or waive a right. Relatively speaking, once this attribute of freedom is lost, even with the preceding four attributes of benefit, claim, entitlement and power, it can only be termed a duty or obligation. This is consistent with the theory of free will, which believes that a right is not merely expressed by an individual wanting to obtain a benefit and thus seeking a right. The attribute of being able to be freely claimed or waived better expresses the unique character of what a right is when people confront such issues.

Wenar (2005) utilizes some of the same concepts in his analysis of the nature of rights. In addition to citing the same attributes of claim and power as Xia, Wenar feels that there are two other unique characteristics to rights: privilege and immunity. What Wenar terms “privilege” contains the implication of freedom. He feels that having a certain privilege by which one can exercise a certain type of right indicates that one has no duty not to do something, and the liberty to choose whether one wants to exercise a right or not. Immunity could be said to be another form of power. Rights can be expressed when an individual declares that he or she has the power to obtain a benefit and can express when a person has lost power and cannot obtain or exercise a right. Others not affected by the said right have immunity. In other words, for Wenar (2005:224-230) when a person lacks power or does not exercise it, to others this is equivalent to obtaining a right to not be affected by the said person’s rights.

In their analyses of the nature of rights, Xia and Wenar first indicate that the implementation of rights is person to person, person to group or group to group; and such practical issues as how one’s own interests are determined, how one stresses one’s

claim toward others, and how one proves one's entitlement to a given right, and how one demonstrates rights and capabilities and whether one possesses the freedom to exercise a right are determined not only by one's own understanding and means of exercising the said right, but also involve the recognition and response of others. In other words, the exercise of rights is a process of expression, recognition and response between individuals.

This process of mutual recognition and response can be discussed in terms of the motives and intentions behind the bilateral recognition of, and response to, a given right, but rights are only concretely manifested through actions. So analysis of the effectiveness and thoroughness of how a given right is exercised must begin with an examination of the results of specific actions or behavior. In other words, the effect produced by a specific action or behavior must be analyzed for what individual or organization it benefits or harms before it is possible to examine who benefits from the exercise of a given right, and whose right it is that is being exercised. This not only allows explication of the effectiveness and thoroughness of such actions, it also delineates the background factors that constrain or enable the exercise of the right.

To explicate the relationship between indigenous rights and museum exhibition practices in Taiwan, this chapter examines whether or not during the process of mounting a museum exhibition pertaining to indigenous culture in Taiwan, the actions on behalf of the interests, claims, entitlements, rights and capabilities, freedom, privilege and immunity effectively and thoroughly enable the exercise of indigenous rights, and what effect the process and result of making the exhibition has on indigenous rights.

Human rights

Indigenous Peoples are indisputably members of the human race, so inevitably the content and nature of their Indigenous People's rights overlap with their human rights. To a certain degree, human rights can be seen as the foundation for the development of Indigenous People's rights. Thus, examining the nature of human rights can help in analyzing Indigenous People's rights and the challenges that they face.

Understanding of the nature of human rights varies depending upon the field of application. Dembour (2010) in a comparative study categorizes the various significances and disparities regarding the definition of human rights into four schools of thought: Natural, Deliberative, Protest and Discourse. According to her analysis, the Natural school maintains that human rights are "entitlements, negative in character and absolute", and are innate. Thus, international law can allow the manifestation of inherently held human rights. For the Deliberative school, human rights are "political values that liberal societies choose to adopt", and only emerge via laws and regulations or political rules and regulations. Implementation of human rights must be carried out as stipulated by such laws, rules and regulations. They are not, as held by the Natural school, innately given. Thus, they require laws and political guidance for their expression. Supporters of the Protest school "intend to find their foundation in history". They believe that human rights have emerged from the social struggle resulting from poverty, inequality and oppression. Even if adherents of certain schools attempted to use laws to eliminate such social struggle, this requires the assistance and acceptance of high levels of society and bureaucratic institutions, and this sort of model becomes standardized practice that merely perpetuates expansion of the power of certain social classes. Furthermore, laws and regulations allow the poverty, inequality and oppression to continue, which causes continued expectation and pursuit of the emergence of human

rights. For adherents of the Discourse school, such rights only exist in human language but they "...recognize that the language surrounding human rights has become a powerful language with which to express political claims". This school also believes that there is no certainty to the demand for and development of all human rights. Thus, whether legal regulation and safeguards are necessary must be judged on an individual situational basis. Because of this, this school does not believe in the universality of human rights and argues that such a claim by the Natural school fails to meet the demands of different ethnic groups and eras; it berates the concept of universality as just another form of hegemony.

If we view human rights as the foundation for the development of Indigenous People's rights, human rights, like those of Indigenous Peoples, are subject to varying shades of identification and interpretation. While this inconsistency does not seem to have negatively affected promotion of the concept of human rights, it is deleterious to arriving at sufficiently precise definition of the concept for its application in legal systems. Rights issues center on people, and involve problems in interaction between people. An individual or ethnic group's particular perception of human rights combined with their particular world view, values or religious beliefs, result in varying interpretations of the concept. This inevitably adds difficulty to the assertion and exercise of human rights. At such times, "which type of human right" can be exercised and how it can be exercised may result in a couple of situations. One is that exercise of a certain type of human right may elicit suspicion or challenge from the holders of other human rights, leading to the potential for mutual rejection or the perception of its imposition as a burden on others. This works against ethnic groups requiring the benefit, entitlement and power endowed by human rights but can be a plus for ethnic groups who must expend corresponding resources to concede human rights entitlements and

power. Thus, the exercise of human rights definitely requires more than laws and regulations; it also involves a level of jurisprudence and power before every ethnic group in a society accepts the content of human rights, agrees to their implementation and assents to granting benefits, entitlements and power to others at the expense of their own rights.

Examination of the human rights agenda by museums is gradually changing their attitude toward minority ethnic groups (Sandell, 2012b). However, since the definition of human rights is not yet set, in very likely combination with differences in world view, values and religious beliefs, it is impractical to expect museum curators and exhibition planners to demonstrate consistent familiarity with human rights and willingness to comply with them, especially in the absence of conceptual, ethical and jurisprudential consistency. When mutual rejection of conflicting rights occurs, do museum curators and exhibition planners resolve such disputes based on jurisprudence and regulations or who holds the greatest power? This is the “sensitive issue” that museums as social institutions now face.

Indigenous rights

Despite the broad interpretive leeway evident in the foregoing section on Indigenous Peoples, rights and human rights, the international community has provided a clear model that depicts the basic definition and objectives of indigenous rights in the form of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, which was passed by the UN in 2007. It explicates what the international community can agree upon regarding indigenous rights and enumerates the various rights:⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Given that there are varying classifying standards for indigenous rights (Poiconu, 2007:146), this

1. The right to equality with other ethnic groups, including equality of social status (Article 2-6), equality of education (Article 14-2), access to all forms of non-indigenous media without discrimination (Article 16), child labor equality (Article 17), equal opportunity for compensation (Article 20-2) and equality of social wellbeing and guarantees (Articles 21, 22, and 24-2);
2. The right to self-determination (Article 3), including the right to autonomy or self-government (Article 4, 5), the right to belong to an indigenous community or nation (Article 9), the right to participate in decision-making (Article 18), the right to maintain and develop their political, economic and social systems or institutions (Article 20-1), the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to development (Article 23), the right to determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions (Articles 33 and 34), the right to decide responsibilities and obligations between individuals and the community (Article 35) and the right to decide autonomously cooperation with other ethnic groups or nations (Articles 36, 37 and 38);⁵⁸
3. The right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture and (by implication) to practice, display, manage, develop, teach, interpret and revitalize it (Article 8), including the right to practice, manifest, develop, teach and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs (Article 11, 12, 13) the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures (Article 15), and the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions (Article 31); and
4. The right to survival and to manage their land and resources, including right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources, maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources (Article 10, 25, 26, 29, 30, 32) (United Nations, 2007b).

chapter classifies them from the perspective of museum practices regarding indigenous culture.

⁵⁸ The right of self-determination was originally to help colonized peoples free themselves from the control of colonizers. Taking control of their own political, economic and cultural decision-making power continues today, and has become the basis for the exercise of political, economic and cultural decision-making power by Indigenous Peoples (Wiessner, 2012:35).

These four rights comprise the international community's core ideas of indigenous rights, and the perception of indigenous rights in Taiwan is very similar. Revisions in 2005 to legislation in Taiwan safeguarding indigenous rights incorporated these four core rights as the foundation of the Indigenous Peoples' Basic Law. Derivative laws, such as the Education Act for Indigenous Peoples, Protection Act for the Traditional Intellectual Creations of Indigenous Peoples and the Indigenous Peoples Employment Rights Protection Act stipulated concrete legal safeguards for the various specific rights enumerated in the four core indigenous rights of the Basic Law.

These rights to equality with other ethnic groups, the right to self-determination, and the right to practice, display, manage, develop, teach, interpret and revitalize their indigenous culture directly concern the process of making museum exhibitions of indigenous culture. The wording of the right of equality with other ethnic groups displays two core concepts: 1) their rights must be consistent with those of other ethnic groups and they must not be discriminated against (Articles 2, 6, 16, 17, 21-1, 22-1), and 2) whenever a situation of inequality exists, Indigenous Peoples must be accorded special safeguards and care (Articles 21-2 and 22-1). Thus, during the exhibition-making process, when Indigenous Peoples take part in pertinent museum functions, they must enjoy the same rights as other ethnic groups, and their interests, claims, entitlements, authority and freedoms should be equally respected or even subject to extra respect and treatment in order to avoid a situation of imbalance. For example, the bicultural policy in Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa stress as power sharing in the exhibition-making process. Museum's willingness to display respect for the holistic concepts of Indigenous Peoples clearly attests to the exercise of the aforementioned right of quality with other ethnic groups (McCarthy, 2011:113).

Secondly, the right of self-determination in its broad sense refers to the right of a people to freely determine their political status and freely seek their economic, social and cultural development free of external pressure or interference. As far as museum exhibitions are concerned, the ideal expression of respect for the indigenous right of self-determination might appear to be conceding all decision-making involving the exhibition to Indigenous People; however, if, as earlier stated regarding the nature of rights, they are not exercised solely by unilateral action but rather involve recognition and response between the party exercising the right and the party affected by respecting that exercise and the effect that exercise of the right produces. Furthermore, the literature indicates that the influence of national policy, ideological manipulation, acceptance of values and power interactions between ethnic groups are all key factors that influence how a culture is interpreted (Kaeppeler, 1994:21; Phillips, 2005:3; Macdonald, 2011; Watson, 2007). Thus, both in terms of the inherent practicable nature of such rights and or political realities, museums and museum exhibition planners must clearly “acknowledge a moral, ethical and political obligation to involve source communities in decisions” (Peers and Brown, 2003:520). This obligation goes beyond assuring the propriety or legitimacy of exhibition making to include helping Indigenous Peoples maintain the integrity or completeness of their self-determination process amidst complex political, economic and cultural changes. Moreover, a dynamic stance allowing modification of the definition of such rights as needed can be regarded as crucial to exercise of the indigenous right of self-determination. Tapsell in his study of the history of collaboration between museums in New Zealand and the Maori people found that due to enormous differences in values held by the Maori community and by museums, no framework for communication had been formed. By jointly sharing decision-making power, clarifying the legal and regulatory responsibilities and obligations of the two sides and most importantly, allowing toleration of customary and

sentimental needs beyond what was stipulated in the formal laws and regulations, such cooperation could be long-lasting and could help the minority culture through such cooperation with museums more clearly sense a relationship of bilateral cooperation and efficacy, gradually dispelling their dissatisfaction with the previous colonial experience in New Zealand. It also made it easier for acquire and find cultural materials with which they identified, and which beyond their role in an exhibition helped their own task of cultural revival (2003:249).

Ultimately, the connection between indigenous culture rights and museum exhibitions of indigenous culture can be seen in such issues as the right of cultural ownership and repatriation, intellectual property rights and cultural management. Despite many disputes with museums over cultural ownership, continued reflection over the issue in recent years has led to acceptance of the concept and approach that Indigenous Peoples have the right to own, manage and speak for their own cultures. This change has not come without intense academic debate. During the early period of this dispute, Richard Handler felt that declaring that a particular cultural object that was originally produced by a certain ethnic group or country under old concepts still belonged to that group or country was tantamount to abusing cultural rights. He felt that the meaning of the object was whatever it gave to its observer or those who came into contact with it, and not just how the group in its country of origin themselves interpreted it. He also asserted that neither the originating ethnic group nor national museums could guarantee that they could provide the cultural object with a complete and clear environment for displaying the object and its connection with its original culture. Thus, intellectual property rights in a culture are disputed (Handler, 1991:66-73). This sort of concept continues even to this day, while those espousing the views of cosmopolitanism build upon it to aver that culture is continually changing and fluid. All cultural objects should be given an open

interpretive space; thus, only by regarding it as the common property of all mankind can the completeness of its interpretation be guaranteed, and every person have equal access to it and the right to interpret it (Appiah, 2006; Brown, 2003; Cuno, 2008).

However, Busse (2008) regards this view of those espousing cosmopolitanism as overlooking the power relationship between museums and their source communities. During Tapsell's research into cultural rights and the significance of returning cultural objects to control of the Maori people (1997, 2002; 2003), he discovered that the right of cultural ownership asserted by the source community to buttress calls for returning sacred cultural objects actually boosted trust of the museum among the Maori people, and even allowed some of them to be willing to regard the possibility of handing over some of their precious cultural assets for safekeeping by the museum. Geismar (2008) cites the example of the Te Papa Museum which, when faced with the assertion by the Maori community of its possession of Maori culture, shifted its institutional role from ownership to guardianship in order to resolve their differences. Thus, the issue of cultural ownership between Indigenous Peoples and museum is more than a simple issue of asserting rights, it involves how the two sides identify with and exercise the existing right.

To sum up, indigenous rights are of a special type that inherently are closely bound up with the prevailing historical and social context; thus, they are defined through mutual recognition and communication between Indigenous Peoples and other ethnic groups based on the historical and social context of the time. Whether or not this communication is effective depends on whether the interests, claims, entitlements, powers and freedoms of Indigenous Peoples can be completely exercised and on what perceptions and responses to the indigenous community the non-indigenous population

expresses and makes. Although the specific declarations on indigenous rights formulated by the international community cannot meet the needs of every historical and social context, they can be regarded as reference points for the exercise of such rights. Thus, examining the nature and state of the exercise of indigenous rights requires consideration of the behavior by which it is exercised in a specific historical and social context and the effects that this behavior produces rather than any fixed or universal standard or unpracticed law. Finally, the rights of self-determination, cultural ownership and equality can be regarded as the fundamental bases for examining the exercise of indigenous rights in the process of exhibition making.

Exhibition practices and indigenous rights—a critical analysis

Whether the exercise of a given right ultimately facilitates or undermines the interests of the party exercising it depends on the results of the behavior connected with its exercise.

This section discusses the effect produced by three key factors influencing museum exhibitions of indigenous culture—rules and resources, the actions and intentions of exhibition planners themselves, and interpersonal relations—to examine how the assertion of indigenous rights is constrained or enabled.

Rules and resources

In the case of exhibition practices at local-level museums, policy attempts to facilitate the development of the museums via revitalization guidance projects and quantitative indices; but as the analysis in Chapter 5 indicates, practicing classic museum functions and using quantitative indices to manage local indigenous culture museums limits local-level museums that each feature different cultures to following a single developmental direction. This sort of practice causes the voices and views of the source community, as Spivak said when speaking of post-colonialism and native informants, to be indispensable, yet always subject to foreclosure (1999:4). Such an approach, which overlooks the unique local circumstances of a given museum, leaves the staff at such museums with no means of choosing a representation method appropriate to their own culture. The museum is forced to use classical museum functions to serve as a major medium of cultural reproduction, or must comply with the project's requirements in order to obtain funding, even though this does not help the local museum operator discover the most appropriate method of cultural representation required by the surrounding cultural context or to develop a diversity of museum functions. For example, the Laiyi Indigenous Museum in Pingtung County has devoted considerable museum resources to conducting fieldwork research on tattoos and publishing its results;

the Chimei Cultural Museum in Hualien County regards its museum as a base for culturally experiencing life aboard rafts on the water. Both of these approaches underscore the fact that local museum of indigenous culture begins to innovate museum operating approaches appropriate to their values and contemporary needs of the indigenous community in which they are located, as well as the economic conditions they face rather than be limited by traditional museum concepts and functions.

Secondly, this compensatory top-down policy does not help local-level museums reduce or free themselves from reliance on the local governmental authority or institutions in charge of the local indigenous community. The complexities of local politics continue to influence the development of the local-level museum. This directly reflects the difficulties facing the development of indigenous rights in Taiwan, which include not only inequities in power between indigenous and non-indigenous ethnic groups, but also rule and resource competition between museum and non-museum institutions. Among the museums I observed, the BCM, due to the support of its local government, clearly had local museum functions, but when I went to other local museums, I often observed those attempting to implement such an exhibition constrained by policy and funding considerations controlled by their local government, and were unable to produce concrete exhibition results. Similarly, another example is the Chenggong Urban Township local indigenous culture museum in Taitung County, which due to the aforementioned factors, given that it was not valued very much by the Chenggong Urban Township government from which gets funding, was severely lacking in resources. With a total of 4,360 square meters of administrative area covering three floors, it only had one in-house exhibition planner who had to double as a docent, and was responsible for exhibition planning, installation and even janitorial work. Although this planner, like the BCM exhibition planner was a member of the local indigenous

tribe and was keen to utilize the exhibition to represent local culture, given that the local political authorities were unwilling to provide resources, the exhibition results were not very apparent. Another example illustrates the effect of a local government where authority is concentrated and which controls rules and resources can even affect whether operation of a particular local cultural museum is sustainable at all. In April of 2015, the group that had run the Chimei Cultural Museum in Hualian County for a decade and which had earned outstanding evaluations was forced out by the new head of the local government who had differing views on the way to utilize a local cultural museum. Even though the new team brought in to operate the museum were themselves indigenous in ethnicity, they lost cooperative links with the local tribe and the museum then lost the special character of the Chimei tribe. Its exact identity as a museum of indigenous culture thus became obscure.

Although the effect of extant practices on national-level museums with regard to mounting exhibitions of indigenous culture is neither as direct nor obvious as it is with local cultural museums, it nevertheless underscores the fact that policy has yet to regard indigenous culture as an empowered entity. The current central government agency supervising such museums has designed an administrative system that requires national-level museums to apply to designated funding programs in order to make up for funding or resource shortfalls, requiring compliance with central government policy and project objectives before resources can be obtained. If senior museum officials, who control the regulations and resources of internal museum administration and development, identify with, or must follow central government policy and systems out of consideration of career promotions, this can easily distort the objectives or function of the museum exhibition. In 2015, the central government continued implementation of a policy

effecting a transition to economic metrics.⁵⁹ This brings to mind the example of the mindset of the director of NMP, who stressed the importance of how many members of the public were admitted, which reflects a mentality of making quantitative efficacy the index of museum performance. A study by Liu (2010: 405-421) into Taiwan's indigenous culture policies indicates that this is not a new development; the political authorities in Taiwan have long regarded cultural activities as an industry with economic potential and the symbols of Taiwan's indigenous culture as possessing commercial value. This as mentioned before reflects a continuation of the mentality of disregarding the key factors of the empowerment and rights of Indigenous Peoples.

The effect of this sort of policy that concentrates power at the central government level for national-level museums and fails to reduce reliance on local political authorities for local-level institutions leads to enervation and burn out, and undermines empowerment. The effects it produces, when viewed in terms of who is benefited and who is harmed, ironically undermine its ostensible good social intentions. During this process, indigenous culture and the local museums designed to promote development of indigenous empowerment have no power to decide on their own development; on the contrary, guiding policy as well as the central government, local governments and elected officials during this process continue to maintain control over their own resources and authority. The quantitative performance mindset of the central government and museum administrative systems might appear to help national-level museums maintain stable operation, but in fact, they firmly maintain control of the museum's representation topics and approaches.

⁵⁹ For fiscal year 2012, the central government implemented a multi-disciplinary value-adding public infrastructure fiscal planning project; and in 2015, passed the Museum Act. Both stipulated the goal of boosting the economic efficacy of public social institutions.

This appears to accord with Bennett's description of the relationship between museums and Foucault's "governmentality", wherein although contemporary museums appear to have devolved administrative and even representation power to the public, the center of this political power is still as before to consider museums as tools of power to set norms for and constrain the public (1995:89-98). This is a trait that extant practices in Taiwan's political world demonstrate toward exhibitions of indigenous culture, a kind of *symbolic violence* attitude,⁶⁰ which runs counter to the spirit of self-determination, cultural ownership and equality that are the spirit behind indigenous rights.

Exhibition planners

The personal motives and experience of exhibition planners examined for this study demonstrated a high degree of commitment to the objectives of safeguarding indigenous rights, cultural ownership and equality. In the process of making exhibitions, these objectives were fully translated into concrete actions that rarely involved compromise. indigenous rights appear to have been completely exercised and manifested as a result of their efforts; yet, in terms of the actual process and effect, there is clearly still room for further effort.

As was true of the planners at the BCM collaborating with that museum's source community, or those at the NMP or the NTM who handed over the authority of interpretation to their respective source communities, each exhibition planner strictly observed the principle of gathering information and interpretive information from the source community. Such actions not only accord with acceptance of the interests, perspectives, entitlement, authority and freedom inherent in indigenous rights, as well

⁶⁰ This is a borrowing of the term as coined by Pierre Bourdieu to explain a kind of self-serving autocratic class that intends to preserve social order in line with the wishes of the autocratic class, and which are usually ignored by people or falsely defined as "natural" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2001:2).

as concrete autonomy and equality; they have the effect of bringing positive effects for indigenous rights. This allowed the source community which originally was unfamiliar with museum exhibitions to take part in the production and decision-making aspects of making the exhibition. This boosted understanding of the exhibition and led to a sense of collective creativity resulting from the process of participation. As in the case of building the forest visual construction at the BCM, members of the source community serving as tour guides, and the Taromak community and a high school of students of indigenous ethnicity being asked to directly take charge of producing the entire exhibition, this helped demonstrate collective autonomy of decision-making that created cohesiveness among Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples. And in all three cases, the aforementioned behavior has helped balance the originally skewed power relationship between the Indigenous Peoples and the museums.

However, the process of deciding the exhibition topic and content, the narrative logic of the planners themselves and the demonstration of their exhibition planning experience in fact ended up constraining the assertion by the source community of its own interests, perspectives, entitlements and freedom. In the case of the BCM, the exhibition planner was in control of the entire exhibition content and did not need permission from either a higher authority or the source community. This kind of freedom allowed the planner, who was in fact a member of the source community, to gather all kinds of information from the source community; nevertheless, he chose to use academic terminology when writing the exhibition's explanatory descriptions and cited academic reference materials to back up and justify the orthodoxy and accuracy of the exhibition content. Obvious examples can be seen in his description of the Ear Shooting festival site as a theatrical arena and introducing academic studies as supporting evidence for his description when explicating the religious beliefs of the Bunun people.

As a researcher with a non-indigenous person ethnicity who comes from a Taiwan's cultural context, I can understand this sort of interpretive approach, and feel that even if Han Chinese who comprise Taiwan's social mainstream have been influenced by the Orientalism that Edward Said speaks of, the pursuit and reliance on academic terminology and logic is more than just a kind of demonstration of aspiration, it is also the result of the constraint and enablement stemming from a long period of education and living abroad. Thus, from the exhibition planner's perspective, this is an indispensable strategy since the entire climate of discourse in Taiwan's Han Chinese society views such terminology and logic as symbols of rationality.⁶¹ To persuade others or to prove that one's concepts are reasonable, one must use the rules that others can accept and identify with in order to communicate. After all, most people who came to see the exhibition were of non-indigenous ethnicity. Although seeking their understanding and acceptance of the entire exhibition's content was not the first priority, it was not something that could be left unaddressed in the actual situation.

Although we could view this kind of form of expression as a transitional model before completely perfecting the rules for expressing indigenous thought, an inescapable concern is that remaining with this transitional model for a long period of time might deepen the reliance of the source community itself on mainstream expressions and logic

⁶¹ After the ROC government lost the civil war in China to the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, it strategically relocated to Taiwan. Thereafter, it maintained various types of political, economic and military cooperation with countries in Europe, North America and with Japan. This resulted in the establishment of numerous institutions in Taiwan that bear the hallmarks of tremendous systemic and philosophical logic influence from these overseas areas. Higher education in Taiwan provides an example. Practical implementation of evaluation and ranking of universities and colleges in Taiwan, research discourse logic, and even judgment of whether a particular monograph has academic value all rely to a considerable extent on models borrowed from educational systems in the aforementioned overseas areas. Thus, the academic logic used by the BCM exhibition planner in presenting the exhibition content on the display boards cannot be regarded as purely the manifestation of a Taiwan Indigenous People being influenced by mainstream educational values, it reflects the result of the entire educational system in Taiwan being influenced by the educational systems, practices, discourse and logic of these overseas areas.

and undermine any chance of discovering their own cultural expressions and logic. Tempus fugit, once the older generation of Indigenous People who preserve traditional expressions and logic pass away, there are many variables affecting whether the next generation born since the 1950s and restricted to having received a Han Chinese education can discover anew the world view and values of their indigenous culture and its own expressions and logic. The approach of the Te Papa Museum to emphasize long-term research of the Maori worldview and cultural reproduction is a reminder to those engaged in presenting and preserving the indigenous culture of Taiwan of the importance to museums and source communities of mastering the intrinsic meaning of culture (McCarthy, 2011:114-6).

Besides the lack of value placed on the interpretive terminology and logic of indigenous culture, the methods of delineating exhibition topics used by the NTM based on the motives and previous experience of its exhibition planners similarly reflect the difficulties of putting into practice the indigenous right of self-determination. When the exhibition topic was defined by the NTM as a return of cultural objects to their community of origin during the process of collaboration between the NTM and the MSF, and the objective of collaborating in mounting the exhibition was to foster new thinking about the cultural objects and stimulate the cultural revitalization of the source community, the actual situation appeared as a unilateral decision made without any consideration of equality between the indigenous community and the museum, or of indigenous self-determination. Although this cooperation produced “contact zones” between the museum and the indigenous community, much as Boast was concerned, such collaborative programs overlooked historical and political issues of representation and bilateral power and rights reflexivity regarding the museum and source community leads to the concept of the contact zones readily being simplified into “dialogue” and

“cooperation” and even becoming yet another neo-colonialism (2011).

As for the issue of ownership of the indigenous artifacts in this exhibition, source community members who encountered the artifacts for display all planted the seeds of hope that sometime in the future the artifacts would be returned to the tribe (Li, 2011; Wu P.L., 2011). This reflects the reality of how difficult it is to repatriate artifacts to an indigenous tribe under the rules of the current order.⁶² However, the effect of this exhibition was in fact to inspire the source community to value its own cultural artifacts and to visualize their functions. Thus, this sort of exhibition of objects returning to their place of origin did serve a positive purpose in inspiring a sense of cultural ownership in the source community.

Interpersonal relationships

In the examples studied, the relationship between actors (here, meaning exhibition planners and the source community) is close and interactive, since the exhibition functions as a medium of exchange. This allows both sides the opportunity of carrying out a wide range of exchanges and get to know each other better. In terms of effect, it gives the indigenous community more opportunities and capabilities to understand the significance and function of the museum and the exhibition, and to gain a more complete and equitable opportunity to participate in the exhibition-making process. This in turns affords a method for self-determined cultural development.

However, clearly for a portion of the cases, since the exhibition planners had not considered the power structure within the source community and placed too much emphasis on interpersonal interaction, the power oppression likely elicited in the

⁶² Most of the indigenous artifacts in the NTM collection were acquired or purchased during the period of Japanese colonial rule or legally purchased by the NTM, so ownership still remains with the NTM.

process of power interactions between agents was overlooked. In the process of the NMP exhibition mounted in collaboration with aboriginal high school students, and the NTM collaborating with the MSF, one can see the negative effects caused by the exhibition planners failing to take into consideration the interactive power relationships within the source community. The NMP planners failed to anticipate that aboriginal students would defer to the authority of their non-indigenous teachers, even when nominally empowered to create and interpret their own works and to decide who they would be displayed at the NMP. The NTM planners failed to anticipate that MSF staff member would be sidelined by a local politician engaged in local cultural work.

Comprehensive Cooperation Models

Comprehensive Cooperation Models are beginning to appear in different types of museums in Taiwan. The indigenous source community is beginning to have the opportunity to take part in parts of the exhibition planning process by choosing topics, providing interpretations of exhibition content, participating in exhibition design and installation, performing in the exhibition launch ceremony and acting as exhibition docents. This model not only fosters more complete understanding in the source community of what effects an exhibition has on the exercise of indigenous rights but redefines the power relationship between exhibition planners and the source community.

In the case of BCM, the director see tribe as a collection room, which both tangible culture and intangible value and spirit should be transfer into exhibition. By inviting source community participate in all exhibition-making process, source community could exercise of and build their identification, thoughts, ideas, even reflection.

Moreover, In the example of the *Sanga: The Flying Warriors*, from topic selection, to display design and installation such as this Panel sculpture area of meeting ground, Taromak tribe members put down their daily works and came to museum to build this

exhibition by hand. Meanwhile, exhibition planners in NMP relocate their roles from decision maker to accompanist which just highlight a theme of tribe's culture, not a highlight itself.

By establishing of their own accord close cooperative relations with the tribe, these two museums are attempting to remain in touch with the tribe's cultural perspective and knowledge. Also, by identifying with the collective rights of source community, it has won their approval of the right to record and interpret the contemporary local culture and even to serve as a bridge between the source community and mainstream society. This helped the exhibition planners bring the source community into the museum, and the museum into the hearts and minds of the source community through demonstrating respect for their rights and getting them thinking about what could best convey the genuine "feel" of their ritual ground.

Exhibitions interacting with contemporary indigenous culture

Another upside to the efforts is that more and more members of the source community see such exhibitions as depicting contemporary indigenous culture as opposed to preserving or recreating its past. In some cases, the exhibitions are even regarded as platforms for communication within the contemporary indigenous community.

This is exemplified by the collaboration between the NTM and the MSF to produce an exhibition involving the repatriation of Saisiat people's artifacts to their place of origin. Given that the topic of the exhibition was the "homecoming" of Saisiat people's artifacts, the NTM provided the MSF with an inventory of artifacts gathered from the MSF locality over the years, as a kind of checklist among which the MSF could make its choices. At the time the selections were made, the NTM invited elders from the Saisiat community to the museum's collection room to jointly inspect the artifacts.

During their inspection, the elders felt that some artifacts were not from their particular tribe, while others, given their unique historical significance, proved to be exciting for the descendants of those involved with them. This not only helped verify and fill in information about the artifacts in the museum's collection and eliminated objects that were not suitable for exhibition, it also brought with it a certain bonding between the members of the source community and the objects that endowed them with meaning and value.

Another example of addressing the struggle between tradition and modernity can be found in the BCM's exhibition of the Bunun Ear Shooting Festival Ritual Site in which the director enumerated the contemporary difficulties for the Bunun people of continuing to observe the ritual, and called upon tribal members to reflect on how to come together and overcome them. These difficulties had been learned by the director himself during preparatory fieldwork for the exhibition. The exhibition descriptions and visual installation all implied that the source community lacked solidarity about the future of its own cultural practices and members of the community needed to think about the future of their culture.

A third example would be the NMP's Taiwan Indigenous Arts Festival exhibition involving cooperation between the museum and educational institutions. The exhibition planner felt that mainstream society in Taiwan rarely gave indigenous high school and college students the opportunity to express themselves through their own artistic creations, so the museum asking some schools to allow their indigenous students to create their own art works and then inviting the students to come display their creations at the museum by providing display panel space for them to array their own works.

In all three of the foregoing examples, respecting indigenous rights not only enriched

the functions of the museum and built connections with its source community, they also brought members of the source community into the exhibition-making process. This familiarized them with the significance and potential of such exhibitions and embodied the exercise of the right of acknowledging and situating contemporary cultural value and change.

Internal power disparities

When the NMP exhibitions planners chose the indigenous high school for collaboration, they overlooked the disparity of power between the school faculty and students produced by the norms of social class. The result was that teachers interfered with the creativity of the students during the process and usurped the opportunity of the students to arrange the exhibition by themselves. This caused the resource given by the exhibition planners to the students, the power of interpretation, to be taken over by the teachers who exercised it in place of the students. Since the hierarchical regulations and norms of the school were administered by its teachers, the faculty exercised disciplinary authority throughout the students' creative process. The result was that indigenous students dealing with indigenous culture with which they were quite familiar were unable to realize subjective control over their own creative works due to the hierarchical power and knowledge power wielded by their teachers. When installing the works at the museum, due to alienation from their own creative works and the decision-making power wielded by their teachers, the students ended up handing back to their teachers the opportunity of interpretation given them by the exhibition planners. Thus, the power of hierarchical norms trumped the power of controlling creative resources. This not only reaffirms that rules are the source of authority, it also elucidates the dominant versus subordinate nature of the two types of power.

A similar situation occurred at the NTM. Since the planners did not first observe the power relationships amongst those with whom they collaborated, they overlooked the many conditions for exerting power on the part of elected officials (in this context, the politician in question not only had political power, he also held considerable sway given the professional knowledge gained as one engaged in cultural history work, and his role as a power medium able to straddle both social identities). The result was that the MSF personnel who originally should have been the major players taking part in mounting the exhibition were sidelined by the politician. This undermined a principal function of the collaboration—the transfer of professional know-how and experience to the MSF personnel, and the power of cultural interpretation was usurped by a local politician engaged in cultural history work.⁶³

The appearance of these internal inequalities of power not only explains the complexity of power exchanges between the actors; it also highlights an issue that those working at museums must face: If during the process of mounting an exhibition observation of power relationships within the indigenous community is overlooked, there is no way to exclude the possibility of rights inequality within that community itself. Besides the potential for the power of social status to oppress the exercise of a certain internal right, the power generated via political, knowledge and liminal status can exacerbate the inequality of power within an indigenous ethnic group at the expense of mutual benefits and entitlements. This not only serves to restrict the indigenous right of autonomy in

⁶³ This kind of power inequality did not only derive from differences in social status. In the societies of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples, a widespread phenomenon is for young people in an aboriginal tribe to move away from the tribal area for economic reasons, leaving behind only the aged and very young. This results in a pronounced generation gap manifested in alienation and difficulties of communication, which is another sort of power inequality. An exhibition planner of indigenous ethnicity and one of the tribal elders each told me that the younger members of the tribe neither believed in the culture of the older generation nor had any interest in it. This resulted in the tribal elders who possessed traditional knowledge and wisdom being reticent to express their views. Thus, who held authority within the tribe had less to do with how much they knew or their social rank than with a very complex set of rules and resource needs.

decision-making to an elite, it also undermines of the right of cultural ownership and equality within the tribe.

For museum exhibition planners, if the exhibition subject or theme involves a particular Indigenous People or tribe, failing to sufficiently ascertain internal tribal power relations could lead to overreliance on certain sources of knowledge or information required for the exhibition at the expense of others that might foster greater objectivity or representativeness. As demonstrated in the case of the NTM cooperating with indigenous high-school students, this can even result in an internal usurpation of power to speak on behalf of the source community, and influence the objectives of the exhibition. Thus, maintaining the comprehensive and complete participation and voice of the entire community is helpful for the completeness of exhibition content and assists the source community in internally exercising its right of collective decision-making.

In terms of museum functions and goals, conveying from a holistic and objective perspective knowledge and information about the culture, ethnic entity or minority group that comprises the topic of the exhibition is what the function of the museum should be and is a core value that cannot be compromised, since the content displayed in the exhibition influences how museum goers thereafter perceive the particular culture, ethnic entity or minority group. If exhibition planners do not grasp this importance, or chose a method of mounting the exhibition without understanding the power structure of the source community, they may on the surface appear to avoid the possibility of disputes, but from the cases examined for this study, the effect produced by this could in fact undermine the exercise of indigenous rights during the exhibition-making process and the original objectives of making the exhibition.

Can the opportunity of exhibition interpretation become a unit of exchange?

The NMP and NTM cases in this study clearly indicate that the opportunity of interpretation is used as a kind of resource, and via reciprocal relations, can be exchanged for artifacts, knowledge and manpower. In terms of effect, this is indeed beneficial for the exercise of indigenous rights and the assertion of the right of autonomy in decision-making, the right of cultural ownership and the right of equality. However, it is worth asking on what basis it is decided that the opportunity of interpretation functions as an exchange of resources, and whether this basis is good or bad for the practice of indigenous rights.

In the cases examined for this study, the system for exhibition making in Taiwan's local-level and national-level museums have already given exhibition planners a great deal of leeway in decision-making authority. Planners can decide which type of exhibition-making process to use (in-house, on loan from other institutions or collaboratively produced), the exhibition topic, and with which partners to collaborate. Relative to this, the indigenous source community may control such resources as artifacts or cultural knowledge, but their power, cannot readily match the decision-making authority in the hands of the museum and exhibition planners. This power inequality forms the decisive basis for how the opportunity of interpretation is exercised.

Although the reflexivity of exhibition planners among the cases examined for this study led to a redefinition of interpretation in an exhibition and an increasing appearance of explanations within the exhibition that reflected an indigenous perspective; nevertheless, this change in interpretive perspective was determined by whether or not the exhibition planner had reflexively decided to allow it. Entrusting individuals to allocate the manner of exhibition interpretation ignores the necessity of museums to reflect on the source of their power and on whether it has been fairly exercised, and narrows the opportunity of

interpretation to the level of individual capabilities and how through the exchange and reciprocity of interpersonal relationships it can be regarded as a resource, since the person obtaining the opportunity of interpretation is merely a specific actor as opposed to the entire source community.

Although the entire tribe may become the beneficiary of this process due to the results of the exhibition, the power of interpretation continues to be exchanged between the museum planners and specific actors and regarded as a unit of resource exchange. From the perspective of indigenous rights, the interpretive opportunity is obtained by an individual member of the indigenous community due to a disparity in power. The greatest contradiction lies not only in the scope and effectiveness of how this opportunity is exercised, but in it being limited to a small number of people, thus causing the museum to violate the objective of representing culture in a holistic and equitable manner.

The relationship between the rights of Indigenous Peoples and the making of museum exhibitions—a conclusion

This chapter has attempted a comparison of extant practices and agents, including exhibition planners themselves and interpersonal relationships with the nature of indigenous rights on a foundation of the venues or behavior in the making of exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan and their effects. This in turn was used to explicate the influences that exhibition making has on the exercise of indigenous rights in Taiwan.

The concentration of power, burn-out and undermining of empowerment evident in extant practices not only highlight the disempowering pursuit of a single exemplar and pursuit of economic effectiveness behind the rules and resources, and thus are the very essence of *violence symbolique*. They also undermine the opportunities for Indigenous

People to revitalize their culture via the right of self-determination and the right of demanding equality with other ethnic groups in the society. Although the exhibition planners succeeded in changing the disparity of power in the past during the exhibition-making process between their museum and its source community, the manifest result of their own agency was to underscore how they were subject to the constraint of a structure even larger in scope, as evidenced by the appearance of academic terminology and delineating a return of artifacts in the museum's collection to their source community. This underscores the importance for exhibition planners when attempting to grant rights to indigenous society to reflexively examine their own volition, experience and power.

They should not regard understanding the internal power situation of the source community as a pie-in-the-sky ideal or a flaw that must be accepted. If an actively administered museum sets the research and reproduction of a specific culture as its objective, then it should recognize that the cultural information that it provides not only affects the way that its museum goers perceive that culture and how they subsequently respond to it, it also influences how the source community within its internal structure allocates norms (social rank) and resources (knowledge) and reproduces structure. This in turn influences whether or not the exercise of indigenous rights is complete, and is intimately connected with the perceptions and responses between Indigenous Peoples and the non-indigenous segment of a society, as well as the degree of tolerance demonstrated between different ethnic groups within that society.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study has examined three different types of exhibition-making processes based on cases studies of exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan's museums. They are: 1) how a local-level museum produces an exhibition with the local indigenous community, 2) how a national-level museum goes about the process with indigenous groups, and 3) how a national-level museum collaborates with a local-level museum in producing an exhibition. The four sets of research questions asked during the examination of each case study were: 1) what are the elements of exhibition making, 2) what key factors influence this process, 3) what effect has the process had on the exercise of indigenous rights in Taiwan, and 4) how power relations are implicated in the making of museum exhibitions. This concluding chapter comprises five sections: research limitations, research discoveries, analysis of the nature of exhibition making, recommendations for establishing a mechanism for observing power operations, and the contribution of this study to knowledge and research outcomes. The first of these sections details the limitations of this study and defines its scope. This is followed by a section explicating the rules and resources, agency and personal relationship of pertinent agents that constitute key factors affecting the making of such exhibitions and the positive and negative effects that exhibition making has on the exercise of indigenous rights. The analysis section entails building on the foundation of the aforementioned research discoveries to examine the connections between the exhibition-making process and power, and attempts to define the meaning of exhibition making to highlight the

dynamic nature of the process. The fourth section of this chapter provides recommendations regarding the positive and negative effects of exhibition making on the exercise of indigenous rights. The fifth and final section then summarizes the contributions of this study to knowledge.

Research limitations

Financial, temporal and access limitations have inevitably influenced the scope of this study. Such limitations primarily include the number of case studies selected, the type of museum exhibitions studied, the choice of exhibition topic and collaborative partners, the type of interpersonal relationships studies, and the channels of public influence exerted on exhibition making.

Regarding the museums chosen as case studies, besides the select group of local-level museums of indigenous culture or national-level museums that comprise the case studies of this research, Taiwan has a private museum of indigenous culture, a national-level indigenous culture park which primarily functions as a venue for cultural performances and 25 other local-level museums of indigenous culture where no participant observation or interviews were conducted. Since this latter group was not included in this study, the ways in which they make exhibitions might possibly differ from the case studies that were included. Thus, the discoveries of this study might only be applicable to the cases studied. Also, the regional nature of political, economic and cultural conditions in Taiwan, the extremely wide diversity of local political autonomy and of indigenous as well as non-indigenous cultures in Taiwan could mean that the research findings and critical viewpoints of this study might only apply to the settings of the selected case studies. Whether or not this study's findings and critical insights are universally applicable must await subsequent research validation.

Furthermore, the case studies used for this research were all specific temporary exhibitions on topics pertaining to indigenous culture. The process of making exhibitions on other topics, such as artistic creations or photographic exhibitions was not included for observation in this study. Also, the cases studies used for this research all involved exhibition planners and members of the indigenous community collaborating in the process of exhibition making; thus, the interpersonal relationships mentioned in the foregoing analysis refer only to those between these two groups, not those between exhibition planners and their administrative superiors or exhibition planners and members of the museum-going public.

Finally, this study did not incorporate any museum audience influences among the factors affecting the exhibition-making process. Although no such influences were observed in the case studies, there is always the possibility that there are some. Interactions between the exhibition planners and museum-goers in the exhibition space and audience reaction questionnaires regarding the exhibition could influence the subsequent exhibition-making process. Determining the extent of this must await subsequent research validation.

Even given these limitations, the case studies selected, the interviews and participant observations conducted and the analytical criteria applied have produced a substantial body of research findings of direct relevance to museums producing temporary exhibitions of indigenous culture, and to the objective of fostering the development of indigenous rights within and without Taiwan. These findings are detailed in the following section.

Research discoveries

The exhibition-making process

In Chapter 4, information obtained from participant observation, interviews and government statistics with respect to the objectives of this study provided the basis for describing the background and process by which exhibitions of indigenous culture are produced in Taiwan. The decision to describe the background context was based on the fact that this study aspired to construct a micro-viewed and holistic depiction of the environment in which such exhibitions are produced to allow readers to understand the political, economic and cultural conditions in which museums and these types of exhibitions are situated and to further understand the connections between the current peripheral environmental conditions and exhibition making. The reason for describing the exhibition-making process is that this study has discovered that in all types of exhibition-making cases studied—local-level museums, national-level museums and local-level museums collaborating with national-level museums—all were based on a pre-, ongoing and post-stages of making exhibitions this three-stages cycle, and that this cyclical process was subject to influence by both objective factors and an extremely rich set of subjective ones, such as the agency and the interpersonal relationships of exhibition planners. This necessitated constructing a very detailed description of the process in order to elucidate the effects produced by these factors.

Chapter 4, which is divided into sections corresponding to the museum case studies, introduces the developmental history, operational and exhibition-administration framework of each case-study museum and the local political, economic and cultural characteristics of each; and in the description of the exhibition-making process of each case, divides the process into five segments: 1) setting of exhibition topic, 2) gathering and research of exhibition topic data or display objects, 3) exhibition design and

installment, 4) exhibition content, and 5) opening ceremony.

This study has discovered that during the pre- and middle exhibition-making stages, objective environmental conditions, such as national cultural policy, the political, economic and cultural conditions of the museum locality, museum budget and personnel system, exhibition-planning mechanisms and developmental trends constitute the basis originating the exhibition. While the post exhibition-making marketing and launch ceremony activities do not appear to be part of the exhibition-making process, exhibition planners in fact regard them as integral to the process. Among the subjective factors in these three case studies, all exhibition planners demonstrated the same trait—they all responded to the political, economic and cultural conditions around them, using them as the basis for deciding on the objectives, topic and method of making the exhibition. In responding to the surrounding political, and economic conditions, they all needed to respect the cultural policy, funding and personnel utilization rules and regulations of their respective local governmental or central governmental authorities, and needed to heed the interests of local political authorities or the wishes of internal museum management. In responding to the cultural conditions, in all case studies, they regarded collaboration with the local source community as mandatory and hoped to use the exhibition to manifest the local indigenous culture's state of development.⁶⁴

Factors influencing the making of exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan

Chapter 5 addresses the second research objective of this study: analysis of the factors influencing exhibition making. The chapter uses grounded theory to analyze the data gathered and isolate the factors in this particular setting that affect the making of

⁶⁴ This is borne out not just by the participant observation and interviews conducted for this study, but also by the operational and exhibition statistics gathered by museums over many years, exhibition content and promotional events, all of which display a consistency of traits during the process.

exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan. It also applies concepts from the structuration theory of Giddens regarding structure and action, and regarding the duality of structure to elucidate the traits and mutual connections between the factors affecting exhibition making. This is because the complexly interwoven and interactive factors affecting exhibition making described in the literature or observed during the course of discovery for this study all manifest the traits of rules and resources, the individual agency of actors and their interpersonal relationships. The most important reason is because the mutual linkages among these factors influence the exhibition-making process.

For Giddens, the traits manifested by structure include the dual elements of rules and resources. These two elements each represent the reliance of people on routinization and the media needed when building structure. Agency is the mindset and behavior as well as the interactions between people produced after an actor or actors are subject to the aforementioned traits of structure. The duality of structure, as formulated by Giddens stresses that structure and the agency of actors are not independent of each other. This research insight captures the factors observed during this study to influence exhibition making and the linkages between them.

Chapter 5 then utilizes these analytical approaches and theoretical concepts to determine the factors influencing exhibition that constrain but also enable the actors in the process of exhibition making as they produce or reproduce the process within the structure of extant rules and resources, the individual agency of exhibition planners and the relationship between planners and the source community.

Factors influencing exhibition making—rules and resources

In the rules and resources analysis, this study discovered that cultural policy,

administration and performance evaluation constitute the most salient factors affecting exhibition making. In the cases studies of local-level museums, this study discovered that the central government concept in the 1990s of beginning to promote local museums elicited high public and governmental expectations regarding the newly constructed museums. However, due to a lack of familiarity and long-term planning on the part of local governments throughout Taiwan regarding the museums, the actual operation of local museums of indigenous culture did not live up to expectations. This led the central government in 2007 to begin instituting a system of incentives and evaluations as well as quantifiable performance metrics regarding economic benefit that enabled but also constrained the use by museums of indigenous culture of exhibitions as a primary means of representing indigenous culture. This affected how local governments set the rules and allocated the resources pertaining to such museum exhibitions. And when faced with many media for representing indigenous culture, exhibitions continued to be regarded by local museums as the primary media for cultural representation and revitalization. When requiring the necessary administrative approval at the implementation stage, this study has discovered that personnel and funding systems that pertain to local political interests and the exhibition are completely under the control of local government leaders and elected representative bodies. Also the perceptions of the exhibition among local decision-makers and auditors directly affect the personnel funding required by the exhibition and the means by which the exhibition planners make the exhibition and the exhibition topic. These factors during the decision-making process control the key position of the rules and resources required to make the exhibition. This explains why administrative systems are not just objective operating processes; everyone who appears in the administrative system can utilize the power given by bureaucratic institutions and subjective judgement of the benefit to the person him or herself to influence the making of the exhibition. Finally, the symbolic

honor and substantive financial aid provided by the evaluation system for museums of indigenous culture run by the central government highlight the routinization resulting from the regulations themselves. The close cooperation of resource-like media such as honor and financial aid also make the curators and exhibition planners at local-level museums continually subject to the influence of cultural policy.

In the case studies of national-level museums producing exhibitions of indigenous culture, this study discovered two levels of constraint and enablement by cultural policies on temporary exhibitions of indigenous culture. The first was a change in resources resulting from budget cuts at the central government level, and the second was collaborative exchanges resulting from specific exhibition cooperation plans. The first level has its origins in a 2008 initiative to streamline the central government and institute a policy of frequent cultural budget cuts. The resultant resource shortfall led museums who lack resources to revamp their relationships with indigenous culture in order to obtain greater resources. This increased the willingness of national-level museums to mount temporary exhibitions of indigenous culture and led to a new approach by such museums to mounting such exhibitions. My research indicates that the NMP, given its insufficient collection of indigenous artifacts and funds for exhibitions has made use of a more proactive approach to collaboration with the indigenous community and has turned over to the source community with which it cooperates the opportunity to interpret exhibition content in order to obtain source community support and knowledge feedback; while the NTM, which can hardly be said to lack resources and funding, still remains oriented toward mounting exhibitions of its own design and has not especially made a change in direction toward indigenous culture. The second level of constraint and enablement results from specific exhibition cooperation plans, such as the Large Museums Lead Small Museums project, which in the form of

regulations impels national-level museums to assist local-level museums in exhibition planning, and to provide the pertinent resources, such as funds to mount exhibitions, exhibition-mounting experience and professional staff assistance in mounting exhibitions. This project has directly enhanced the experience of local-level museums with exhibition making and has stimulated enthusiasm among members of the indigenous community for re-exploring and reviving their own culture. It has also allowed national-level museums to obtain assistance from the source community in verifying and identifying artifacts in the museum's collection and the image of reaching out to the source community. In the analysis of administrative systems, one discovers that the factors most influencing the making of exhibitions of indigenous culture are the central-government systems for operation of personnel and funds, national-level museum administrative systems, curatorial responsibilities and prerogatives, and the internal museum exhibition-mounting system. The operation of personnel and funding is subject to the impact of central-government regulations and budget implementation, forcing planners to complete exhibitions in a very short period of time, which makes closer the cooperative relationships of exhibition planners with the source community to facilitate efficiently completing the exhibition in time. In addition, the central-government level MOC, the competent agency administratively supervising national-level museums, has not set explicit goals regarding museum operations. As a result, senior-level museum officials such as the museum director and internal exhibition review committees have considerable influence on the direction or methods of exhibition making. In the case studies of the NMP and NTM, I discovered that the personal mindsets of museum directors were sufficient to influence whether or not a particular exhibition was mounted and whether or not it could obtain the necessary resources; and the museum's internal review system influenced the allocation by exhibition planners of exhibition resources. Finally, although the central government

does not carry out any kind of evaluation of national-level museum exhibitions, annual performance reviews and promotion evaluations of exhibition planners cause some national-level museum exhibition planners to give top priority to research publication and carrying out tasks assigned by the museum in order to obtain good performance reviews. Correspondingly, an exhibition planner's record of accomplishment and efforts in making exhibitions count for very little in comparison. Add to this the fact that exhibition planners have less power to take part in administration than the museum director or senior administrators and it is relatively difficult to change the current evaluation and promotion system. The result is that some planners may decide against becoming exhibition planners at all, which affects the exhibition direction, type, method of implementation and maintenance of exhibition quality.

In sum, this study has found that cultural policy, administration and performance evaluations are the major factors affecting the making of exhibitions. Although they affect the process different in the various contexts of each case study, they all have the functions and traits of rules and resources and they generate links with actors connected with the exhibition-making process as it proceeds, constraining and enabling the exhibition-making actions of the actors.

Factors affecting exhibition making—Agency and relationships of actors

The second part of Chapter 5 explores two other factors that influence exhibition making, the self-agency of actors and the relationships between actors. Both of these additional factors interact with rules and resources as they affect the exhibition-making process.

This study utilizes values, exhibition-making experience and reflexive insight to indicate how the exhibition planners themselves affect the exhibition-making process. It also utilizes the process of establishing connections, such as choice of cooperation

objectives and partners and the extension and consolidation of such connections to explain how relationships between exhibition planners and the source community affect the exhibition-making process.

During analysis of how exhibition planners affect the process, this study discovered that the will and the ability of the actor(s) to make a difference had the potential to remake rather than reproduce the structure of exhibition-making practices. The values, exhibition-making experience and reflexive insights into the making of exhibitions of indigenous culture held by planners of local-level museums and national-level museums and practiced in different contexts in the case studies used for this research practices were used to overcome the limitations of the existing rules and resources. In the case of the BCM, the planner overcame the reality of lacking a museum collection by regarding an intangible cultural asset of Bunun tribes as a potential exhibition topic. He practiced Bunun values during the exhibition-making process and used the exhibition as a response to the difficulties of cultural development he had observed in the source community. At both the NMP and NTM, the exhibition planners faced similar limitations with their collections or a limited understanding of the articles in their collection, a lack of exhibition funds or the fact that mounting an exhibition would not enhance their performance reviews. At the same time, however, they all sensed the value and significance of such exhibitions in helping serve as mouthpieces by which the cultural entity on exhibit could speak up for itself and seek anew its own cultural confidence and understanding. These realizations among the exhibition planners all derived from past exhibition experience and reflexivity. Although influenced by changes in the attitude of mainstream society toward indigenous culture, these realizations impelled the planners to overcome limitations of rules and resources and stress the necessity of cooperation with the source community and the importance of depicting the

developmental state of indigenous culture with the source community as the subject. This in turn influenced their exhibition objectives, topics and methods.

In addition, this study regards the relationship between exhibition planners and the source community as a combination of judgments regarding rules and resources and the interaction resulting from making a goal of constituting rules and resources following responses to one's own agency. Precisely because the rules and resources needed for exhibition production are reconstituted during this stage, the structure of exhibition making also undergoes change. The planner's choice of cooperation objectives during this stage is based on a foundation of the planners' will and needs. In the three case studies, their cooperation goals included obtaining the information and viewpoints required for the exhibition (especially viewpoints coming from the indigenous source community), consolidating bilateral relations and using the exhibition to provide the opportunity of cultural revitalization for the source community. During the stage of selecting cooperation partners, in order to obtain credibility, knowledge and labor assistance, the planners chose use of multiple roles to serve as a variety of information and resource actors to build cooperative relations. During the stage of relationship validation, the basis for both sides being willing to establish a relationship was contact, understanding and mutual acceptance of each other's status, a premise of cultural and exhibition professional skill, and building mutual recognition of each other's role and capabilities. Using collaborative exhibition making as a medium, they exchanged such resources as the labor, knowledge, experience and funds they had in hand to validate their relationship. The relationship extension and consolidation phase involved extending the relationships in all three case studies by use of launch ceremonies to boost public participation in the exhibition-making process and identification with the exhibition. This also disseminated the tangible and the intangible resources generated by

the exhibition launch ceremony to the other actors in the process with decision-making power over the exhibition in order to consolidate accepts to the rules and resources needed for the next such exhibition.

Common traits of the influencing factors

After completing analysis of the factors that influence exhibition making, this study then enumerated discoveries regarding the traits that these factors have in common. The first is that all the factors influencing the production of exhibitions have both the constraining and enabling nature of rules and resources. The second is that during the exhibition-making process, actors with multiple statuses were most apparent at the intervention and influencing aspects. Third, mutual recognition of the other's status, culture and professional credentials was the basis of bilateral cooperation. Fourth, among the factors of interpersonal relations that affect the making of exhibitions, establishing mutual reciprocity is extremely crucial. The exhibition production process, if functions as a mutually reciprocal platform for resource exchange and a medium of mutual reciprocity. The latter involves tangible resources such as personnel, collected artifacts, and funds and intangible resources such as knowledge, experience, the opportunity to interpret, and personal favors.

To summarize, using the duality of structure viewpoint propounded by Giddens, Chapter 5 finds that the influential factors during the exhibition-making process are not mutually independent individuals; the influencing factors of a rules and resources nature are both media for the agency of actors in the exhibition-making process and the results of the agency of said actors. The mutual interweaving and mutual influence between rules and resources, as well as the agency of actors and their interpersonal relationships constitute the process of exhibition making.

The influences of exhibition making on indigenous rights

In Chapter 6, this study attempts from a critical perspective to address the third research objective of this study—the influences of exhibition making on indigenous rights. This section first confirmed the nature and meaning of indigenous rights, then analyzed the concepts of Indigenous Peoples, rights, human rights and indigenous rights. This study found that indigenous rights have local traits and that testing indigenous rights requires a set temporal and geographic scope and must be based on the results and effects of exercising such rights. Meanwhile, this study, after reviewing the literature regarding indigenous rights and museum studies, finds that the right of equality, the right of self-determination and the right of cultural preservation among all the elements of indigenous rights are the most closely connected with museum exhibitions. Thus, this section focuses on how exhibition making affects these three rights in particular.

In the portion of the chapter devoted to critical analysis of how exhibition making affects indigenous rights, this study finds that the top-down cultural policy of the central government in Taiwan produces an ossified set of administrative regulations and evaluation system and turns exhibitions into an important method of cultural reproduction for local museums of indigenous culture throughout Taiwan. This discourages local museums from finding the most appropriate ways to reproduce their own local indigenous culture. It also requires them to continue being subject to the rules and resources of the central government and their respective local governments, which undermines exercise of the right of self-determination, the right of cultural self-preservation and management, and the right of equal treatment with the social mainstream that are part of indigenous rights.

In addition, the effect of the agency of exhibition planners during the exhibition-making

process and their substantial respect for the source community's interpretation of the exhibition content is that source communities have opportunities to exercise the right of self-determination with respect to its culture. It also balances the decision-making power relationship between the indigenous source community and the museum during their period of collaboration. However, some exhibition planners during the exhibition content making process incline toward use of academic terminology and logic as the method of expressing the exhibition content. This may make the indigenous community and museum-viewing public more reliant on the mainstream terminology and logic, and thus, may hinder them from developing their own cultural expression and logic. The fact that museum exhibition planners still for the most part decide with which party to cooperate and what the exhibition topic shall be constricts the right of indigenous self-determination, the diversity of cultural development and reproduction, and the right of cultural self-management and preservation.

During the exhibition-making process, interpersonal relationships similarly enable and constrain the development of indigenous rights. The positive aspect is that in the case studies of this research, exchanges between exhibition planners and the source community during collaboration for making a particular exhibition was very close, allowing both parties the opportunity to redefine their understanding of the nature and function of the exhibition. The participation in the process by the indigenous community expanded their understanding of the museum and the meaning and function of its exhibitions, and they began to use the medium of this exhibition to interpret the representative development of indigenous culture. However, during collaboration, the exhibition planners failed to heed the internal power structure of the source community. The result was that certain individuals ended up making decisions or securing the opportunity of cultural interpretation. In the case studies used for this research, this

caused inequality within the indigenous source community itself with respect to the indigenous right of self-determination and the right of equal treatment.

Further analysis—the nature of exhibition making

In this section, this study attempts to use research to analyze whether there are other implications behind the factors affecting exhibition making and their characteristics. It uses the concept of power in the structuration theory of Giddens as a tool of argumentation to explain the significance of power behind the exhibition-making process. The second part of this section builds upon the conclusions in the first section to provide a new definition of exhibition making.

The role of power in the exhibition-making process

In the discourse of Giddens, his thinking about the notion of power is concentrated in the two concepts of resources and agents. To Giddens, “power is the transformative capacity of human agency”. The agency of an actor has to function as a basic medium for reproducing structure via rules and resources. Thus, resources are the media for exerting power, and “power is generated in and through the reproduction of the structure of domination” (1984:16, 258).⁶⁵ Giddens specially uses the concept of storage to explain how the storage and concentration of tangible and intangible resources with respect to power generate substantive influence (1976:111; 1984: 259-261). In addition, for Giddens, as social actors produce and reproduce structure, relationships of mutual reliance must exist which provide both sides with certain resources. This makes the

⁶⁵ Although Giddens has stated “domination could be seen as an expandable property of social systems” (Giddens, 1984:258), he does not fully distinguish between power and domination. Argust steward concedes that this formulation of Giddens has created positive value for power and has weakened the repressive meaning of power. Nevertheless, it has led to “the effective collapsing of a necessary and meaningful distinction between power as concerted agency and domination as structured and durable constraint into an ersatz resolution in which strategic power as transformative capacity expresses an empirically determining but untheorized ‘institutional mediation’ or ‘overall distribution of power’” (Steward, 2000:17).

agency of both parties subject to influence and containment, which generates reliance (1984:16). Thus, power is exerted by social agents and is subject to the mutual influence of agents.⁶⁶In sum, it can be viewed as the “capacity and results manifested between agents during the process of building structure through resource storage, concentration, mutual affirmation and even exchange”.

When the factors that influence exhibition making and their traits as deduced by this study are read in terms of these concepts of power formulated by Giddens, it is apparent that the core appearance and operating models behind them are the power implications and connections displayed between actors using resources as media.

First, the rules and resources involved in exhibition making, be they tangible resources such as labor, collection objects, or funds, or intangible resources such as knowledge, experience, the opportunity to interpret or personal favors, all become media by which exhibition planners and members of the source community exert power in the decision-making, interpretation-making and relationship-making process. Actors lacking these resources to serve as media cannot take part in the exhibition-making process to exert influence. At the same time, actors with multiple statuses aggregated the most information and were found to wield enormous influence over the exhibition-making process. This in turn allowed them access to the most resources amidst the mutual influence of actors and the ability to influence the actions of others during the exhibition-making process.

In addition, the mutual identification among actors observed for this study can be

⁶⁶ Giddens thinking about power has not always been consistent. In his early statements, he feels that when spheres of power intersect, use of authority, threat or force generates domination, influence and control (1976:112).

regarded as protocol that precedes the bilateral power interactive influence. The main goal of this protocol is to inquire and understand the significance and potential for the rules and resources that each of the two parties control to be mutually influential, or suitable for mutual reliance or exchange. Mutual identification is tantamount to mutual affirmation of the other's power, and to agreeing to allow each other's power in the form of resource media to intervene in each other's actions and judgement thus produce influence. The exchange of resources at first glance appears have reciprocity as its principal goal, but in fact it serves to increase the possession, storage or concentration of resources in order to consolidate or enhance one's own power. Among the case studies for this research, all exhibition planners had to face a lack of resources, such as collection objects, knowledge of indigenous culture or indigenous viewpoint, or a shortage of staff or funding. The lack of these exhibition-making resources affected the progress of exhibition making and even the exercise of the exhibition planner's own agency (i.e., values, experience and reflexivity). Thus, they leveraged such resources as the exhibition space, opportunity of interpretation exhibition-making experience or funds they had on hand as resources to be exchanged as bargaining chips for building reciprocity, and use in extending the power of planners to make exhibitions.

Correspondingly, members of the source community who collaborated with exhibition planners could use this opportunity to accumulate or concentrate such resources as knowledge of indigenous culture, exhibition-making experience, interpersonal relationships, opportunity for interpretation, and even tangible assets to consolidate or further their own power pertaining to cultural representation.

Finally, based on the foregoing analysis, this study has discovered that these power operations and relationships can often function to restrain as much as to enable, especially when it comes to which party will continue to hold the power or authority.

The “one size fits all” cultural policy of the central government discourages local-level museums from seeking the most appropriate methods of representing their particular indigenous culture in a number of ways. The control by local governments of operating rules and resources undermines the operational autonomy of local-level museums. The academic terminology and logic of exhibition planners inhibits the recovery of indigenous expressive logic regarding indigenous culture. National-level museums husbanding such resources as funding and collection objects when using the return of objects from their collections as exhibition topics end up suppressing the potential for different exhibition topics. Exhibition planners controlling the opportunity for interpreting an exhibition inhibit the normal development of indigenous source community participation in the interpretation. Schoolteachers appropriating the prerogative of indigenous students to create and interpret their own creative works in effect completely undermined the intentions of exhibition planners to empower younger members of the indigenous source community to exercise self-determination of cultural creativity, interpretation and presentation. These examples all manifest the use of power as a medium of exerting influence over the development of indigenous rights through the exercise of authority.

Exhibition making as an authoritative allocation of rules and resources

Museum exhibitions of indigenous culture in this study are not just subject to the constraint or enablement of rules and resources; they are also subject to the influence of the agency and interpersonal relationships among actors. Thus, the process of making exhibitions of indigenous culture virtually goes beyond the meaning of representing otherness. When viewed purely in terms of representation, differences between the indigenous culture in question and its representation perhaps highlight agency differences in prior knowledge, beliefs and values between the interpreter and the

interpreted subject, and differences in the political, economic and cultural context that produce such agency. However, this cannot express the factors affecting exhibition making during the process, or the trait of mutual interaction between interpreter and interpreted subject, or the effects that the exhibition-making process produce.

Thus, this study finds that when exhibitions represent cultural reproduction by a museum, the process of making them is one of authoritative allocation of rules and resources. The connotation of rules and resources in this definition includes cultural policy, administrative rules and regulations and performance evaluation systems, as well as the exhibition planners themselves, and their relationship with the source community.

The term “authority” is complex in meaning, and requires brief discussion and definition. In the field of political science, the word “authority” often appears interchangeably or overlapping in usage with the terms “legitimacy” and “rightful power”. What these three terms have in common is the power to compel compliance, while they differ over the basis for the origins of power, exercising power and compelling compliance (Beetham, 2011:1414; Uphoff, 1989:301).⁶⁷Max Weber distinguishes between different kinds of authority: traditional, charismatic and rational-legal. The bases for exercising each of these three kinds of authority are, respectively, traditional or obligatory rules, individual charisma and laws to generate the authority that compels compliance (2009 [1947]: 341-386). There is a wide array of sources of power by which authority is exerted. Besides the aforementioned tradition, individual character or law; professional knowledge, joint religious beliefs, values or heritage can

⁶⁷ This study distinguishes between compliance and compulsion in terms of rational persuasion. Compulsion involves the use of force or threats to compel obedience; while rational persuasion uses argumentation to elicit belief and obedience, and compliance means use of authority to make people willing to obey and act as one directs.

be sources of the power to compel compliance and constitute a kind of authority (Uphoff, 1989). Based on the foregoing analysis, this study shall define authority as the ability to compel compliance via different sources of power.

Authoritative allocation during the process of exhibition making studied for this research was manifested in four ways. First, in the bureaucracy that the national-level museums and local-level museums found themselves situated, as the power of interpreting indigenous culture that national-level museum exhibition planners and local-level museum exhibition planners carried. That allowed exhibition planners the ability to utilize rules and the power to allocation exhibition resources and to obtain public compliance to accept such allocation. Second, the knowledge, experience and reflexivity of exhibition planners themselves regarding exhibitions constituted the basis of authority that exhibition planners had during the exhibition-making process. This allowed them when cooperating with the source community to maintain the power to define exhibition functions and objectives and to the power to allocate the time, funds and interpretive opportunities for the exhibition-making process, so that the source community produced compliance with the exhibition planner(s). Third, when exhibition planners and members of the source community jointly collaborated to make the exhibition, both sides allocated the resources needed by planners and the source community. During this process, the basis of exercising authoritative power for the exhibition planners was the first and second points just enumerated, while the corresponding basis for the source community was its mastery of knowledge about its own culture or artifacts. Thus, the concrete allocation of resources involved both sides undertaking mutually reciprocal types of tangible and intangible resource allocation based on what the other already had. Fourth, the process of making cultural exhibitions is by its very nature a cultural representation based on the understanding of a certain

culture by the exhibition maker or interpreter, which centers on that person's own perceptions and familiarity with the subject. While this inherently gives the exhibition maker or interpreter a basis of authoritative allocation power; nevertheless, during the exhibition-making process, whether said person is willing or forced to accept the influence of other actors can shift the basis of power from that held at the outset away from the exhibition maker who originally held it.

The importance of this definition lies in the inherent connotations of the exhibition, from attention paid to a static exhibition subject and methods to stressing a dynamic process and effects. Extant studies of exhibitions regard them primarily as contested media of representing otherness. The relative differences between interpreter and interpreted subject and their background context involved in exhibition making indicate this. Exhibitions of indigenous culture also demonstrate the aforementioned two traits as well as a close co-existent relationship with the process of pursuing the development of indigenous rights and mission objectives. But this definition fails to address the dynamic characteristic and effects of exhibition making and fails to go beyond interpreting the subject-object relationship and subjective-objective perspectives regarding the influence of exhibition implications.

However, this study has found the influence that exhibition making generates on the exercise of indigenous rights can change both the exhibition content and how people thinks of the notion of exhibition. Thus, viewing exhibition making as authoritative allocation of rules and resources can further highlight the interaction among rules and resources, the agency and personal relationships among actors and how both of these influence the exhibition. It also highlights the importance of exhibition making and its effects on the rights of exhibiting subject.

Recommendations—establish an operating mechanism for observing power

From the above-mentioned conclusions, it is apparent that the making of museum exhibitions is a process of allocating rules and resources pertaining to the exhibition within the intersection of different powers. However, this study indicates that this process does not necessarily help foster the better understanding and exercise of indigenous rights. Thus, it is worth considering what sort of recommendations based on its findings might help avoid the negative effects that this study has found. As a museum studies research project endeavoring to foster the healthy and substantive development of museums, this section provides personal insights and recommendations based on observation of phenomena in the context of Taiwan's indigenous culture. Although thesis recommendations arise from the case studies utilized for this research, they are based on a foundation of observations regarding power and rights; thus, they may be applicable to museum exhibition-making practices in other social and political contexts.

First, museums practitioners need to realize that the practices and activities of museums, such as exhibitions, collections and educational activities all can serve as venues for fostering the exercise of indigenous rights. As mentioned in the literature review section of this study, the process of Indigenous Peoples seeking their rights early on formed a mutually supervisory and supportive relationship with museum development. In the case studies selected for this research, the agency of exhibition planners and members of the source community all demonstrated realization of the potential for museum exhibitions to help revitalize indigenous culture. It was precisely because they realized this that their behavior during the exhibition process and ultimate results facilitated the exercise of the right of self-determination, the right to receive equal treatment and the right of cultural management and preservation. For an ethnic group that had been long

ignored politically, economically and culturally by Taiwan's mainstream Han Chinese society, this was a considerable breakthrough. This serves as a reminder to exhibition planners who control most rules and resources that when considering their role of fostering knowledge, exercising power and facilitating cultural representation, helping mainstream society encounter, understand and respect the identity and differences among its various members and generating cross-cultural understanding and respect is necessary lest it all be reduced to empty talk.

Second, thinking about the cultural representation strategy and media of local conditions should be from a framework that is divorced from museum functions and should profoundly understand that exhibitions are not mandatory media for museums that pertain to indigenous culture. The effect of the Large Museums Lead Small Museums of the central government authority in Taiwan very clearly refers to the function of cultural representation. Only thinking of this within the framework of museum functions may result in ignoring local characteristics and needs, which then leads those implementing the policy to lose confidence. From observation and interviews at other museums of indigenous culture, such as the Chimei Museum and the Museum of indigenous Culture of Laiyi Township, they each began by seeking the most appropriate mode of cultural representation for their respective cultural settings. This had positive results for these museums and opened up other possibilities for museum development.

In addition, transparency of the exhibition-making process is essential. From this study, it is evident that the exhibition-making process involves a wide variety of rules and resources and the exchange of resources between actors is extremely widespread. If rules and resources serve as the basis and media of power, the first step toward

balancing power pertaining to this process should be to make the process transparent to inform the public about the operation of rules and resources. This concrete act of making the process transparent would involve making the documentation and process open and even make the process of exhibition making itself part of the exhibition content. In this way, public understanding and caring about the process might conceivably progress from on looking out of curiosity to the intersection of power within the process of actual understanding to realization of the importance of caring about and supervising cultural representation issues.

At the same time, this study suggests the importance of replacing permanent exhibitions with temporary ones. The diversity and mutability of indigenous culture is an acknowledged fact. On this basis, if we can regard exhibition making as a process of authoritatively allocating rules and resources, than quite obviously, the rules and resources extant in the process of mounting permanent exhibitions and the power behind these rules and regulations is enormous. However, what is most crucial is that the long-term existence of permanent exhibitions is tantamount to consolidating and storing this extant power, which certain actors (exhibition planners or the collaborating source community) possess, and there is no way to share it with other indigenous groups. The effect produced by permanent exhibitions also continues to feed back to these specific actors. In addition, a permanent exhibition that cannot reflect the mutability of indigenous culture also continues to provide the public with outdated information. Correspondingly, a temporary exhibition by its very nature requires the museum and its planners to periodically shuffle the rules and resources at their disposal or even change the object of the resource exchange. This could perhaps result in creating a normalized mechanism for balancing the power relationship between the museum and indigenous source community, and changing collaborative partners or topics would reflect the

diversity and mutability of indigenous culture.

Finally, exhibition curators should strive for a more detailed understanding of the power structure in the source community to weigh varying sources of information. The appearance of these internal inequalities of power explains the complexity of power exchanges between the actors. It also highlights an issue that those working at museums must face. If while mounting an exhibition observation of power relationships within the indigenous community is overlooked, there is no way to exclude the possibility of distorting the power of interpretation or even leading to great disparities of power within the source community. Besides the potential factor of social status oppressing internal rights, the power generated via political, knowledge and liminal status can deepen the inequality of power within an indigenous ethnic group and result in the usurping of mutual benefits and entitlements. This serves to restrict the indigenous right of autonomy in decision-making to a tribal elite and undermines of the right of cultural ownership and equality within the tribe.

If the exhibition subject or theme involves a particular Indigenous People or tribe, insufficient effort to ascertain internal tribal power relations could leave museum exhibition curators with incomplete knowledge or information to determine the fairness and objectivity of the information required for the exhibition, or even to balance the sources of knowledge or information required for the exhibition. As demonstrated in the cases examined, this can even result in an internal usurpation of power to speak on behalf of the source community, and influence the objectives of the exhibition. Thus, maintaining the comprehensive and complete participation and voice of these agents is helpful for the completeness of exhibition content and assists the source community in exercising its right of collective decision-making. When an exhibition topic involves a

culture, ethnic entity or minority group, the function of the museum is to convey the knowledge and information about the culture, ethnic entity or minority group from holistic, objective and diverse perspectives. If exhibition curators do not grasp this importance, or chose a method of mounting the exhibition without understanding the power structure of the source community to avoid the political sensitivities of internal power interactions within the source community, they may appear to avoid the possibility of disputes; but from the cases examined for this study, the effect of this conservative action actually undercuts the museum's function and professional ethics.

Contribution to knowledge and research outcomes

In terms of research objectives and methods, this study fills in a gap regarding the rarely considered process of exhibition making as manifested in several different ways: how a local-level museum produces an exhibition with its local indigenous community, how a national-level museum goes about the process with various indigenous groups and how a national-level museum collaborates with a local-level museum to produce an exhibition. This study also isolates the factors that influence exhibition making and their effect upon indigenous rights. In addition, it uses participant observation to analyze the process and compensate for any analytical limitations to use of interviews or literature. It also uses chronological, social and cultural perspectives to provide a comprehensive array of research observations.

The multiple levels of power inequality that confront Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples and their cultural development present a unique case for museum studies and exhibition studies research. The case studies selected for this thesis drawn from this environment explicate the power inequalities between indigenous and non-indigenous ethnic groups and between museums and non-museum groups. They also point to potential

inequalities of interpretation opportunity within members of the source community.

This study utilizes the theoretical formulations by Giddens regarding structure, agency and the duality of structure to determine and interpret the factors that influence exhibition making and provides a theoretical framework of rules and resources, and the agency and personal relationships of actors to analyze the exhibition-making process.

This study indicates that research regarding exhibition making should broadly include the pertinent behavior before, during and after exhibition making before the factors that influence exhibitions can be completely understood. And while conducting such research, consideration should be given to how exhibition promotional activities influence the exhibition being promoted and subsequent exhibitions.

This, among the different types of exhibition making examined, has isolated the joint characteristics of factors influencing exhibition making: rules and resource-like traits, the influence exerted by actors' multiple statuses, the importance of identification as a premise of cooperation and reciprocal relationships between actors. Its discussion pertaining to reciprocity stresses the significance of personal favors in Taiwan society.

This study has examined from a critical perspective the influence of exhibition making on indigenous rights and has determined that exhibitions should not be the only medium of indigenous cultural representation; and that current administrative policies, however often end up limiting the means by which Indigenous Peoples can seek cultural representation that accords with their needs. Exhibition planners should realize that understanding the internal power structure of the source community is helpful in understanding, interpreting and displaying a broader sense of indigenous culture.

This study has utilized the pertinent theoretical arguments of Giddens to construe exhibition making as a process of using resources as media and their accretion and concentration as means of consolidating or enhancing the power of actors in the field of cultural representation. And because of this, in the context of exhibitions of indigenous culture in Taiwan, exhibitions can be viewed as a process of authoritative allocation of rules and resources. This definition highlights the dynamic process of interaction and effects generated by exhibition making.

These research findings indicate that among studies pertaining to exhibitions, the significance of determining the factors that influence exhibition making and its effects is that this expands the interpretive perspective regarding exhibitions themselves and their influence and enhances understanding of the connections between the pertinent factors and the exhibitions. Even more importantly, describing the power relationships that appear during exhibition making and its effect on the exercise of indigenous rights can allow minority ethnic groups, museums and museum audiences, all three parties, a basis for reflecting on what sort of cultural, power and rights foundation they shall build their perceptions and attitudes toward the other two parties, and how they shall mutually interact and link up, what sort of influence they shall have on each other and how they shall adopt more realistic changes in their roles to regard the connection between themselves and the represented otherness.

As for prospective future research, in view of the ongoing developments in indigenous cultures and museum exhibition practices, engaging in participation, observation and analysis of the pre-, ongoing and post-stages of making exhibitions of various types and topics spanning different periods and social settings, and incorporating analysis of how museum audiences and other key actors influence the exhibition-making process would

enhance the findings of this study and make them more comprehensive. Ultimately, this will bring even more profound and beneficial changes on behalf of the interaction and development of relations between minority ethnic groups and museums.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Lists of interviewees

Field Site	Name	Position	Work Experience	Ethnic Group	Notes
National Museum of Prehistory (NMP)	Chang, Shan-Nan	Director	4 years' director experience at NMP	Han Chinese	
	Hsia, Li-Fan	Senior administrator	13 years' work experience at Exhibition and Education Division, NMP	Han Chinese	10 years working experience in the Planning Bureau of NMP
	Interviewee1	Senior Curator	14 years' work experience at Exhibition and Education Division, NMP	Han Chinese	
	Lin, Jiann-Cheng	Senior Curator	10 years' work experience at Exhibition and Education Division, NMP	Han Chinese	Former Supervisor, Exhibition and Education Division
	Liu, Shao-Chun	Curator	6 years' work experience at Exhibition and Education Division, NMP	Amis people	
	Huang, Yulun	Curator	5 years' work experience at Exhibition and Education Division, NMP	Han Chinese	
Senior High School	Interviewee 2	Art Teacher	11 years teaching experience	Han Chinese	Co-operator for exhibition at NMP
	Interviewee 3	Exhibition Participant	Graduate	Bunun people	Creator / Participant for exhibition at NMP
	Interviewee 4	Exhibition Participant	Graduate	Amis People	Creator / Participant for exhibition at NMP
National Taiwan Museum (NTM)	Li, Tzu-Ning	Supervisor, Research Division	20 years' work experience at NTM	Han Chinese	Planner of Indigenous Exhibitions
	Interviewee 5	Curator	9 years' work experience	Han Chinese	

Field Site	Name	Position	Work Experience	Ethnic Group	Notes
Bunun Cultural Museum, Haiduan Township (BCM)	Lin, Chung - Ping	Chief of Civil Affairs Section	4 years' work experience for the Chief at HTO	Amis people	
	Lin, Gui-Feng	Administrator	3 years' work experience for BCM affairs	Amis people	
	Kao, Ging-Lan	Administrator	3 years' work experience for BCM affairs		
	Ma, Tian	Director	4 years' leading BCM; 10 years' art workings	Bunun people	Planner of Indigenous Exhibitions
	Yu, Hsiao-Hui	Administrator, commentator	5 years' work experience at BCM	Bunun people	
	Hsu, Hong-Syue	Administrator	2 years' work experience at BCM	Han Chinese	
	Interviewee 6	Elder	Cultural worker in source community	Bunun people	
	Interviewee 7	Elder	Head of a clan in source community	Bunun people	
	Interviewee 8	Exhibition Participant	Member of source community	Bunun people	
The Ketagalan Culture Centre (KCC)	Feng, Chao-Hong	Administrator	5 years' work experience	Amis people	
Museum of Saisiat Folklore in Nanzhuang Township (MSF)	Interviewee 9	Administrator/ exhibition planners	9 years' work experience	Saisiyat people	
	Interviewee 10	Exhibition assistant / Saisiyat language expert		Saisiyat people	
Chenggong Township Indigenous Culture and Art Museum (CIM)	Interviewee 11	Administrator / exhibition planners	4 years' work experience	Amis people	
Laiyi Indigenous Museum (LIM)	Interviewee 12	Administrator / exhibition planners	10 years' work experience	Paiwan people	
Ministry of Culture	Interviewee 13	Counselor	23 years' work experience in governmental affairs	Han Chinese	Former Associate Director of a national-level museum

Appendix 2: The Bunun people and their Ear Shooting Festival and ritual site

The Bunun are currently among fourth-largest Indigenous People in Taiwan in terms of population at 55,815 (CIP, 2015). They originally populated both sides of Taiwan's Central Mountain Range, but now are scattered across southern and southeastern Taiwan. They can be divided into 6 sub-tribes among which are some differences in language and culture. Generally speaking, the Bunun constitutes a patrilineal society, with clans as the traditional social unit.

They are pantheistic in religious belief, their belief system is built upon two fundamental concepts, Dihanin and Hanidu. In simple terms, Dihanin is the sky spirit, the heavenly locus of all rules, with ethnical, orderly and collective symbolic significance. Hanidu spirits exist in everything, some with great power, some with little. An individual's capabilities manifest his Hanidu power. As for those with major contribution to the group, once they die, their Hanidu can enter Maiason, the perpetual residence of the spirits of great ancestors), while other people become animals or even vanish. Thus, Bunun males care about the pursuit of capability, and for those of strong abilities to take care of those with weaker ones, or similar contributions to attain a state of *sinpakanasikal*, where "everyone is satisfied" (Huang, 2006:31; Yeh, 2002:1). This type of belief system not only permeates social relations among the Bunun, it also appears in their practice of seasonal rituals. They anticipate that the Hanidu power of those who carry out the ritual will be stronger or will dominate the Hanidu power of other things during farming or hunting to ensure a good catch or harvest.

Politically, the Bunun live in a Big Man society without castes. An individual's abilities determine whether or not he becomes the leader of a locality. Tribal members with

exceptional martial or hunting skills often lead a locality in dealing with problems pertaining to the external order; while those with abundant farming, meteorological, shamanistic or ritual knowledge can become leaders overseeing internal tribal matters (Huang, 2006). For a leader to share his power with others by using his own Hanidu power to help everyone gain a bountiful harvest not only demonstrates use of stronger power to take care of weaker power in pursuit of a state of *sinpakanasikal*, it also proves the efficacy of his own power as a way to gain the mabeedasan or approval of the locality to continue serving as leader (Huang, 2006:37, 93; Yeh, 2002:5).

Economically, the Bunun traditionally practiced slash-and-burn agriculture, with hill rice, taro and maize as their main dietary crops, supplemented by the meat of animals they hunt and wild vegetables they gather (Huang, 2006; Tian, 2013). During the period of Japanese colonial rule (1895–1945), they switched to planting aquatic rice in order to meet the demands of the colonial government, which continued into the era of rule by the ROC government. However, by the end of the 1960s, their subsistence economic model began to give way to cash crop economy and they began expansion of transactions with the outside world. This made mastery of new farming know-how, capital and marketing channels a necessity. Thereafter, the influence of new concepts imparted by churches and farmer's associations regarding farming knowledge or financial information gradually took hold in Bunun society. This transformed their economic model into a capitalistic one, and also had an impact on their system of beliefs and building social relations.

The Ear Shooting Festival is the most important rite in the year for the Bunun people. The ways in which it is observed vary somewhat by locality. The Bunun of eastern Taiwan traditionally observe the ritual according to clan. It is generally held between

April and May of each year in a period of agricultural leisure following the millet harvest. The venue is a ritual site that each clan establishes and uses (Huang, 2006:33). There are two principal meanings to the ritual. First, praying to ancestors to beseech them to grant a bountiful harvest and hunting catch, and second, for tribal elders to lead all males of the tribe to the ritual site to undertake shooting the ears of the catch from a recent hunt, symbolically passing on the spirit and technique of hunting (Hu, 2007:1) and announcing their prowess to others. Thus, the Ear Shooting Festival is the only Bunun ritual where friends and relatives, and even non-Bunun people, can be widely invited to attend.

Preparations before the ritual takes place involve hoeing and clearing the ritual site of overgrowth, then members of the clan bring to the site the mandibles of animals they have hunted over the past year, which are then hung up at the ritual site to showcase the clan's hunting track record. Before the ritual begins, adult males must first go into the mountains and hunt, then cut off the ears of their catch and hang them on a wooden frame or on trees at the site. Then, during the ritual males of the clan, including young children, take turns shooting at the ears with bow and arrow, passing on the skills of hunting. The females then serve fermented millet wine and boiled rice or pigeon pea soup to friends who have been invited to attend the ritual. Observance of the Ear Shooting Festival generally begins just before dawn and only males can attend this part of the ritual, the presence of females is thought to invite sickness or injury. The entire ritual process can be divided into a fire-lighting rite, blessing of hunting weapons, shooting of deer ears, and the casting and scattering of wine dregs in prayer of benediction. The clan member officiating at the ritual utilizes the crackling sound of the ignited tree bark and branch tinder for the fire as symbolically communicating with the spirit world. Hunters hope that the prayers and blessings of the officiating clan member

will give their weapons greater power. Before the ritual concludes, the millet wine dregs are distributed to each individual. They all then hurl the dregs at the bones of the hunted animals, in part to assuage the spirit of their kill and in part to pray for a bountiful harvest for the clan.

During the ritual, the ritual site has the symbolic significance, as it is laden with spirits and taboos. In their pantheistic worldview, the site is full of Hanidu spirits of people and hunted animals. To avoid any negative influences of these spirits, clan members are forbidden to enter the site except when the ritual is being observed. Thus, the ritual site is usually located at the periphery of the tribe's locality, far removed from the area of everyday life.

Nevertheless, the religious, political and economic aspect of Bunun society and culture have undergone change under the influences of Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary proselytizing, as well as the policies of the Japanese colonial government and, later, the ROC government. As far as the topic of the exhibition under discussion in this thesis, the Ear Shooting Festival Ritual Site is concerned, it has experience decline, transformation and revival (Hu, 2007; Yang, 2011:58). The opportunity for the revival of traditional culture came in 1974 with changes in the ROC government's thinking under the one-party rule of the Chinese Nationalist Party on how to govern Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples. Initiation of the Governance Project to Protect Mountain Culture by the Taiwan Provincial Government encouraged and provided financial subsidies to various government-recognized Indigenous Peoples to recover their traditional culture (Yang, 2011:61). Under the encouragement of this project, the Ear Shooting Festival was regarded as important by local rural township, urban township and city halls. Only with the regular disbursement of resources to various Indigenous Peoples was gradual

recovery of the ritual possible. However, the traditional form and rules of the ritual underwent change, integration or modification, and some disappeared. For example, the ritual and ritual site originally were run by each clan separately; now all clans in a sub-tribe jointly observe the ritual and use a common ritual site. However, in Haiduan Township, two clans of the Chulai tribe, Ispalidav and Nahaisulan, have preserved a ritual site very akin to tradition (Hu, 2007). This has given the BCM's exhibition a more solid basis for displaying the local cultural landscape. For members of the Chulai tribe, the Ear Shooting Festival Ritual serves as an important rite to preserve cultural practices and strengthen sentimental connections and cohesiveness between local clans. As the only Bunun ritual where outsiders can be invited to witness the event, it serves to maintain or publicize the traditional nature of their culture, especially given the mentality of the Haiduan Township and Taitung County governments to use it as a way to generate tourism and boost the local economy.

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