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後藤朝太郎

〈臺灣の美點を内地へ宣傳するには〉之 宣傳重點與文本策略

曾若涵

國立中正大學

摘要

本文以後藤朝太郎(Goto Asataro, 1881-1945)之「臺灣宣傳」為主題，以他在一九二二年七月十三日至二十三日間，於《臺灣日日新報》發表〈臺灣の美點を内地へ宣傳するには〉系列文為材料，這些文章於「平和紀念東京博覽會」期間刊出，是他參與「臺灣館」事務的實踐與心得。

後藤〈臺灣宣傳〉系列文有以下重點：首先，從宣傳內容來看，〈臺灣宣傳〉可總結為「殖民地展示」、「建構南進論述」、「臺灣宣傳策略」等三個焦點。其次，從〈臺灣宣傳〉的思想來看，亦可概略為三點：一、從官方政策的單向宣導拓展為由臺灣人宣傳臺灣；二、宣揚東洋協會宗旨以及真實的殖民地臺灣；三、強調大東亞共存與殖民地臺灣的關係。最後，從〈臺灣宣傳〉文本策略來看，後藤利用了博覽會期、報紙刊載、分批刊登、標題文法、通俗敘述、關鍵詞重複、動之以情等策略，以達訊息傳遞、思想共感、帝國想像等宣傳目的。

關鍵詞：後藤朝太郎、臺灣宣傳、東洋協會、《臺灣日日新報》、平和紀念東京博覽會、帝國想像

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前 言

一、研究背景

明治、大正時期的日本漢字學者後藤朝太郎（Gotou Asatarou, 1881-1945，以下簡稱後藤），於一九〇七年畢業於帝國大學文科大學言語學科，其後加入東洋協會，參與殖民地事業。其簡歷如下：一九一二年任東洋協會學術調查部員；一九一四年任臺灣總督府高砂寮寮長囑託；一九二〇年任東洋協會所屬拓殖大學教授；一九二二年任東洋協會大學教授。^[1] 東洋協會前身為臺灣協會，於一九〇七年改組為東洋協會，雖是致力於殖民地事業的民間組織，但亦透過複雜的人脈關係影響政治（林呈蓉、荒木一視 68）。後藤長期參與東洋協會活動，其行跡與思想，與日治臺灣時有關涉。此外，後藤也擔任《臺灣日日新報》（簡稱《新報》）之「特別寄稿家」^[2]，有多篇論及臺灣的文章。

東洋協會任務之一，乃向日本內地宣傳臺灣與東洋、南洋，進行殖民所需調查工作，〈東洋協會定款〉第一條第一款即言：「臺灣、朝鮮及滿州ニ於ケル社會狀態及產業上ノ調査ヲ爲シ拓殖ニ關スル各種ノ問題ヲ研究シ其真相ヲ闡明スル事（尾池禹一郎 164-170）」。後藤擔任東洋協會幹部，積極向日本宣傳臺灣，本文在此基礎上，將後藤「臺灣宣傳」作為觀察對象，以一九二二年七月十三日至二十三日間，後藤自稱「東洋協會主事」，於《新報·臺日講壇》專欄發表之〈臺灣の美點を内地へ宣傳するには〉(1922a)（為了向內地宣傳臺灣之美，簡稱〈臺灣宣傳〉）為討論焦點。

這些文章既是他擔任「平和博審委員」（後藤自稱）的心得，也是他參與臺灣事務的經驗歸納。「平和博」乃指「平和紀念東京博覽會」，一九二二年三月十日至七月三十一日於東京上野舉行。後藤負責「平和博」中的「臺灣館」，而於博覽會期間所撰〈臺灣宣傳〉系列文，正是後藤透過宣傳手段，展現對臺灣之物產、人才、文化與社會之政治思想。

後藤在一九二二年之前，於同報紙論及「支那の國民性」時，曾云臺灣和中國的情態有別；^[3] 其後從「日本の國民性」來論述臺灣時，亦曾強調「臺灣是臺灣人的臺灣」^[4]。周俊宇論文肯定後藤的臺灣經驗，並以後藤《現在的臺灣》(1920)為基礎，指出其「臺灣人觀」就算囿於「支那」框架，仍有

意識將臺灣人與支那人進行比較(57)。日本政府以臺灣人的漢人血統為立論工具，透過國族論述，使臺灣人有別於中國人，背後隱藏了深刻的殖民思維。

二、文獻探討

近人論文中，未見專文討論後藤與宣傳的關係，但仍可從與宣傳相關的「博覽會」、「南進政策」探討宣傳背後之政治議題。

首先，從「博覽會」的角度來看，作為權力與政治的展示空間，日治五十一年間，臺灣參加島外大型展示活動計有七十四次（呂紹理 25）。此種展示的基礎固然是移植歐洲經驗，但日本政府在民族主義的塑造上強調了日本的特殊性（李政亮 34）。吉見俊哉則指出：博覽會是一種國家和資本共同演出、人民被動吸引的制度性存在；如果博覽會是被演出的文化性文本，前來參加的人羣就是作者，在上述文本中自由投射自我意識(18)。換言之，博覽會可以作為文本而存在。後藤朝太郎既參與了平和東京博覽會此一文本，也利用報刊如《新報》做為另一文本，來闡述他欲宣傳的內容，促成他所期待的帝國想像。

回顧班納迪克·安德森(Benedict Anderson)於其《想像的共同體：民族主義的起源與散布》提出的觀點：當我們思考興起於十八世紀歐洲的想像形式「小說與報紙」的基本結構，就能明白何以這個轉型對於民族的想像共同體的誕生是如此重要，因為此兩種形式為「重現」民族這種想像共同體，提供了技術上的手段(24)。從此觀點出發，把一事件刊登於報刊，與其他不相干的事件並列，是作者在讀者心中製造了一個共時的時間感，並且引發了意象，能在讀者心中喚起對社會與世界的想像。進而，這些描述事件的名詞若是地名，就能喚起一個社會空間；若是堆疊物產，就能喚起豐饒的想像。進而，當我們將「平和博」與後藤的〈臺灣宣傳〉，以及《新報》擺在一起看，便能感受到後藤強烈的宣傳意圖。安德森也曾指出，人口調查、地圖和博物館這三者，一起深刻地形塑了殖民地政府想像其領地的方式——在其統治下人類的性質、領地的地理、殖民地政府的家世(ancestry)的正當性(Anderson 187)。我們可將博覽會可看作是博物館的一種型態，可用作展現民族共同體，或作為建構民族想像、認同建構的媒介。

再者，關於「南進政策」，後藤〈臺灣宣傳〉中多次提及南洋，而臺灣也正是南進的重要跳板。若說博覽會是展示殖民成果的舞臺，臺灣總督府的南

進政策便是殖民擴張的要角。此南進政策，又稱「南支」或「對岸」政策，本質上是一種自華南開展的「大陸政策」，始自日本取得臺灣之後（王學新 100）。自一八九六年第二任總督桂太郎起，便主張將臺灣作為南進論中的據點，一八九八年桂太郎任臺灣協會（1907 年改制為東洋協會）會長，一九〇〇年擔任臺灣協會學校初任校長。日本政府殖民地經營中，臺灣總督府、臺灣協會（東洋協會）及其關聯學校等三方之間，形成相互支援的關係。

日俄戰爭(1904-1905)後，日本一躍而為世界強國，陷入自滿的大和魂，由媒體擴散，成為全日本社會的普遍信仰；總督府的南進政策，與日本中央的大陸政策並無二致，都是以「日支親善」為掩護，扶植日本帝國在華南的潛在勢力，藉以擴展帝國勢力（王學新 103）。臺灣不僅在大正南進期發揮重要地位，「臺灣籍民」^[5] 也成為日本「扶植潛在勢力」的政治工具。一九三一年九一八事變之後，日中關係緊張，籍民在兩種國族認同的衝突下而被犧牲，反日聲浪也越加遽；但本文所聚焦的一九二二年〈臺灣宣傳〉尚未觸及此一階段。總言之，臺灣的開拓與建設是為了下一步對華南與東南亞的擴張勢力做準備；對遠程的南洋而言，臺灣則做為南進的據點，支援太平洋戰爭，是大東亞共榮圈的中心（梁華璜 i-ii）。

民族與政治有著不可分割的關係，當民族被想像為一個共同體，而且是一個有限的想像，儘管在民族內部可能存在普遍的不平等與剝削，民族仍被設想為一種深刻的、平等的同志愛；也正由於這種友愛關係，驅使人們甘願為民族去屠殺或者從容赴死(Anderson 7)。無論是殖民歷史、博覽會，乃至後藤的〈臺灣宣傳〉敘事，都能展現此種對「想像的共同體」的積極營造。本論文希冀在前人研究啟發下，歸納後藤如何透過「平和紀念東京博覽會」對臺灣及日本內地進行臺灣宣傳，包含宣傳內容及宣傳重點；文中並將探討後藤之宣傳思想及其文本策略。

壹、〈臺灣の美點を内地へ宣傳するには〉之時空背景

〈臺灣宣傳〉以淺白文字傳遞思想，符合東洋協會宣傳部的宣傳要旨：著眼文化、經濟發展，並試圖採取通俗性的介紹（尾池禹一郎 1）。後藤原先是學術部調查員，自執行宣傳部任務起，其行文與重點有所調整，以配合東洋協會的宣傳目標。

為便於瞭解後藤〈臺灣宣傳〉系列文之時空背景，整理事件表如表一：

年	月 日	事件
1920	Mar. 3	後藤朝太郎於拓殖大學進行臺灣文化相關課外演講。
1920	Apr.	拓殖大學支那語、臺灣語、朝鮮語三學科，改為支那語、俄語、南洋語（蘭語・馬來語），臺灣語改列選修，朝鮮語廢止。
1920	May 30	東洋協會新設宣傳部，將臺灣實況活動之照片，展示於東宮御所（皇太子宅邸）。
1920	July	後藤朝太郎撰《現在の臺灣》出版，東洋協會刊行。
1921		東洋協會宣傳部與拓殖大學學生團合作播映臺灣、朝鮮、滿州、間島的實況活動寫真，舉辦演講會，以上並在全國展開活動。
1921	Summer	後藤朝太郎教授帶領拓殖大學學生四五名，前往臺灣、朝鮮、支那等地旅行。
1922	Mar.10-July 31	平和紀念東京博覽會，東京上野。
1922	Mar. 11	《東洋事情の宣傳》於東京出版（尾池禹一郎1922）。此為東洋協會宣傳部所製平和紀念東京博覽會記念刊行物，〈序〉與〈凡例〉皆識於二月。
1922	July 13-23	《臺灣日日新報》陸續刊登後藤朝太郎〈臺灣の美點を内地へ宣傳するには〉系列文。

表一：「後藤朝太郎與臺灣宣傳」相關事件表（筆者整理）（拓殖大學創立百年史編纂室 335-336）

自表一可推測後藤正式投入臺灣宣傳的契機，乃是東洋協會新設宣傳部，宣傳部並以日本的殖民地為主要宣傳內容，試圖透過殖民地宣傳，改變內地對殖民地的看法。後藤時任臺灣留學生高砂寮寮長，多次造訪臺灣，能直接接觸臺灣留學生，對臺灣總督府及教育界有一定的瞭解。表一也能看到，後藤在拓殖大學進行臺灣文化演講，指導拓殖大學與東洋協會宣傳部合作舉辦活動，也以教師身份帶領學生前往臺灣、朝鮮、支那旅行。東洋協會更委託後藤撰寫《現在の臺灣》。後藤可說是東洋協會擔任臺灣宣傳的重要人物之一。

其〈臺灣宣傳〉系列文，即是配合宣傳部活動，因應平和博覽會而展開的宣傳。他將「臺灣宣傳」的重要性展現在臺灣的報刊上，呈現給臺灣的知識分子或當局。可見「臺灣宣傳」在後藤的觀點中，並非只是將殖民地介紹給內地、亦非僅向日本內地宣傳。他將宣傳變成是雙向的資訊互動，認為不僅應讓臺灣人知道，還於文中期許臺灣人應負起將臺灣介紹給日本的責任。

後藤在《新報》歷篇文章中，最早題示「宣傳」二字者即〈臺灣宣傳〉系列文。推測平和紀念東京博覽會的會場實況，以及他參與「臺灣館」的過程，讓他深刻體察到臺灣宣傳重要性。他後續於《新報》所刊與臺灣相關的宣傳主題，有〈南支及び臺灣を諒解せしむる民衆の方法：行啟記念事業となすべき宣傳事業〉（後藤朝太郎 1923a: 3），以及〈不景氣にふつて消長ある内地人の海外發展：臺灣を宣傳するの必要〉（1923b: 3）。後藤於此二文指出日本領臺三十年，依然不清楚臺灣的優勢及發展，因此宣傳仍有急遽的必要。

後藤又在〈内地と臺灣との接觸は是からが本舞臺である〉（1923c: 3）強調臺灣之風俗民情能與日本共存共榮，為增進彼此理解，當局應提供更多政策方針與行政協助，以提升日臺實際接觸，作為東洋政策的參考。〈内地人の思想轉換期〉（1923d: 3）中，後藤則強調「宣傳」可改變人們思想，可養成社會氛圍。換言之，後藤深知「宣傳」是建構思想、實現日本和平統治的重要手段。

後藤在拓殖大學任教，參與東洋協會調查部及宣傳部工作，但他未曾擔任拓殖大學課程中有關中國語、中國學的課程。^[6] 其主要工作是拓殖宣傳或情報蒐集，拓殖大學的教學輔導只是其東洋協會任務、或其殖民地拓展任務的一環。

貳、〈臺灣の美點を内地へ宣傳するには〉之 宣傳主題及內容焦點

一、宣傳主題

後藤〈臺灣宣傳〉之出處及出版時間，整理如表二，作者署名「東洋協會主事後藤朝太郎」，可知是以東洋協會的立場寫出。

文章標題 (括號為筆者自譯)	日期 (1922年)	版次 (日刊)
作者署名：「東洋協會主事後藤朝太郎」 文章總標題：[臺日講壇]〈臺灣の美點を内地へ宣傳するには〉		
一、〈從來の宣傳振り〉(歷來的宣傳狀況)	Jul. 13	3
二、〈臺灣と云ふ言葉の響きが人氣を呼ばなかつた事〉 (臺灣一詞未受矚目)	Jul. 14	3
三、〈臺灣實情の無理解〉(對臺灣實情的不理解)	Jul. 15	3
四、〈官民相互の片手落〉(官民相互的偏見)	Jul. 16	4
五、〈役人氣分の印象〉(官僚氣息的印象)	Jul. 19	3
六、〈臺灣歸りの話〉(遊臺話題)		
七、〈優秀青年の宣傳〉(優秀青年之宣傳)	Jul. 20	4
八、〈南洋氣分の親み〉(南洋氣氛的親近)	Jul. 21	3
九、〈田舍氣分〉(鄉村氣氛)		
十、〈幼年青年の讀む雜誌に宣傳すること〉(幼年青年雜誌中之宣傳)	Jul. 22	3
十一、〈觀光團〉(觀光團)		
一二、〈俱樂部の設置〉(俱樂部之設置)	Jul. 23	3
一三、〈東洋協會の事業〉(東洋協會之事業)		

表二：〈臺灣の美點を内地へ宣傳するには〉系列文出處列表(筆者整理)

關於〈臺灣の美點を内地へ宣傳するには〉此一主標題，從文法「V するには B」來看，V 在此即「宣傳（する）」；而 B 通常為動詞 V 所不可或缺的、必要的內容或要素，B 在主標題中省略，但依序出現在次標題中。亦即，〈臺灣宣傳〉系列文的次標題，即是後藤所提出的宣傳方法，或者他關注的宣傳重點。

由次標題可知，後藤的論述策略是從歷來宣傳狀況談起，提及日人對臺灣的不瞭解與不感興趣，接著提及治理上的問題，論述多從困境出發，突顯宣傳方式的重要。第七則起，明確指出臺灣的優點，正向提出宣傳策略，最終歸結於東洋協會事業，重申東洋協會任務。以下分列四個項目，逐一概述十三則內容。此外，因〈臺灣宣傳〉出處已列於表二，下文皆以「第○則」標示。

二、內容焦點

（一）作為殖民地展示的臺灣宣傳

從博覽會視角出發，博覽會既是工業的展示，也是帝國的展示；一八七〇年代後期在巴黎舉行的萬國博覽會，出現大規模殖民主義展示，約略在日俄戰爭前後，日本的博覽會也明顯如此，除設置朝鮮館、臺灣館、滿蒙館、南洋館等人氣展館，也推出愛奴人、琉球人、臺灣人的公開「展示」（吉見俊哉 19）。後藤〈臺灣宣傳〉也在「平和博」的基礎上展示日本在臺的殖民成果。

後藤指出「平和博」臺灣館中，展出了豐富的物產，如樟腦、砂糖、阿里山的檜材等等，以及豐富的人才；許多日人以為臺灣還是「生蕃の國」，「土人」居住其中；為消弭這些落後印象，應加強宣傳臺灣輩出的優秀青年（fig. 2: no. 7）。據後藤所述，當時赴日留學的臺灣學生已破六百人，都由東洋協會照顧。他特別提到美術學校雕刻科畢業，獲得帝展入選的黃土水，^[7] 指出像黃土水這樣前途開闊的學子都應被注意；這些臺灣青年，都是宣傳重要元素（fig. 2: no. 7）。

再者，臺灣風土也是宣傳的重點。臺灣發展狀況的傳播，有賴遊歷過臺灣的人分享經驗，後藤於是針對「遊臺話題」提出看法：以往，臺灣回國的人常講起令人不愉快的旅遊見聞，例如被水牛逼車、山邊遇到黥面生蕃拿著

竹槍捕獵香魚等等(fig. 2: no. 6)。後藤認為這些話題多帶有誇張、演繹的成分，又如他描述，在嘉南等地，夏夜的壁虎常出沒於天花板，若食物未加蓋沾到壁虎尿，會使人腹瀉(fig. 2: no. 6)。他所批判的並非這些話題之真假，而是日人描述臺灣的態度與方式(fig. 2: no. 6)。他認為臺灣話題不該只強調珍奇異事，而是要關注人與人、人與社會的連結，以描述常民文化，如生活安定、熱帶氣氛、和平景象、風俗習慣、年中行事、婚冠喪祭、宗教活動、市場景象等為要(fig. 2: no. 6)。

上述觀點也涉及南國意象，後藤指出：臺灣的南國氣氛不僅能在都市感受到，還能在田園恬靜氣氛中體會(fig. 2: no. 9)。為讓內地人瞭解臺灣是「樂土」、感受亞熱帶田園生活的安心，衛生狀態、保安警察、農民能夠溝通相處，乃至日臺小孩能在學校和樂相處等生活實情，都應加以宣傳(fig. 2: no. 9)。至於開墾、治水事業的進展，這些圍繞田園生活的宣傳，亦有必要強調(fig. 2: no. 9)。

「樂土」兩個漢字，正是後藤用以反向創造民眾想像的工具，此即安德森所謂「符號的非任意性」(Anderson 16)，將「樂土」與「殖民地」、「臺灣」形成意義的聯繫，以漢字表意特徵構建人們的印象，利用東亞漢字文化讓漢字跨地域產生影響。進而，後藤熱衷使用漢字較多的文體進行宣傳，也是同樣道理。若失去了漢字，此種文化共同體的想像、民族共同體的建構，更加難以達成。

第三，後藤反對殖民地人種展示，認為應展示的是人才；人種展示會破壞宣傳效果。更指出：政府當局曾多次邀請臺灣生蕃到東京觀光，雖是人類學的考量，但也使日本國民誤以為臺灣各地都是持長槍在山野奔馳的蕃人，臺灣文化的進步不僅沒有被看到，反而造成反感(fig. 2: no. 2)。

關於種族宣傳，前人論文中也提及類似事件：日本於第五屆國內勸業博覽會中(1903)，於「人類館」展示了北海道蝦夷人、臺灣生蕃，以及沖繩人，引發沖繩人強烈不滿，此乃沖繩史上的「人類館」事件；此事件背後的「南洋道」構想，讓沖繩社會擔心沖繩殖民地化，更擔心沖繩作為日本帝國南進門戶的角色被臺灣所取代，進而喪失主體性（林呈蓉、荒木一視 53-54）。

後藤指出，臺灣的衛生狀態、都市發達、公設市場的完備、道路路面施設等，可作為日本文明建設的範本(fig. 2: no. 2)。把殖民地臺灣建設成日本南

門、南國樂土，正是臺灣價值及宣傳重點所在；故而多次強調統治成果的展示，應遠遠優先於人種展示(fig. 2: no. 2)。

(二) 建構南進論述的臺灣宣傳

中村孝志將日本以臺灣為中心的南洋政策概分四期：其中第二期是一九一六至一九二三年的積極南進時期，此時期臺灣總督府除了編列南支南洋設施費、航海補助費等大量經費，同時也擴張設立各種華南及南洋的經濟、文化事業，希望擴大日本在華南與南洋的影響力（中村孝志 1988: 5-6）。

臺灣的地理位置及氣候風土，對日本深具戰略地位。後藤文章直稱臺灣是「南國的玄關口」(fig. 2: no. 8)。他呼籲當局務必要將臺灣立於南洋發展的立足點來看待，除了要持續開放南洋補助航路之外，還要開始南洋語的研究，訓練具備語言能力的青年往返臺灣及南洋，進行各種調查(fig. 2: no. 8)。如此，臺灣的存在意義能加深，南洋的持續開發也能帶動臺灣發展；親近南洋，就能同時親近臺灣(fig. 2: no. 8)。後藤此言，得以印證上述中村的研究成果。

〈臺灣宣傳〉一開頭，後藤即響應後藤新平(1857-1929)觀點，指出：「對於臺灣內外事務之對待，政府與民間攜手真正地理解臺灣、對臺灣擁有確切的認識，乃為要務。若不如此，臺灣的（統治）工作會一直處於受阻狀態」(fig. 2: no. 1)。當然，後藤新平任臺灣總督府民政長官之領臺初期，^[8] 與一九二二年「平和博」之時空不同，當時日臺交通便捷，臺灣可說是「內地的延長」(fig. 2: no. 1)。只要是與臺灣商業貿易、行政事務有關的日本人，多會把臺灣視為自己職涯的舞臺，進而認同臺灣是帝國南方希望之地(fig. 2: no. 1)。為了讓更多有志之士聚集，並透過臺灣來進出南方，後藤支持在日本設立大型俱樂部。

所謂「俱樂部」乃用以宣傳的活動組織及場域，可理解為俱樂部會館。文中以當時的「臺灣俱樂部」^[9] 為例，指出築地知名飯店精養軒內，^[10] 設有「臺灣俱樂部」，會長是男爵後藤新平，^[11] 亦當時東洋協會會長。後藤朝太郎透過後藤新平的身份，將「臺灣宣傳」、「臺灣俱樂部」、「東洋協會」、「拓殖」等概念連結。他說，要在日本進行有效的臺灣宣傳，務必在東京顯要處設立宏大的俱樂部設施，需兼有旅館、食堂等功能(fig. 2: no. 12)。不僅要能陳列物產，介紹臺灣故事、展示臺灣風土照片，還要提供臺灣及南洋旅

遊、出差的基本諮詢；除了需要龐大資金，亦須有獨立建築物(fig. 2: no. 12)。然而，後藤也知不景氣之下難以實現，因此他聯想到「平和博」臺灣館：博覽會結束之後，臺灣館如何保存利用的問題亟待討論。讓此建築物持續讓內地人目擊，是最好的宣傳(fig. 2: no. 12)。後藤從臺灣俱樂部的設置，聯想到結合「平和博」臺灣館既有資源，以擴大臺灣俱樂部的規模，此是後藤深切的期望。

此外，為持續推廣南進論述，〈臺灣宣傳〉並介紹東洋協會的月刊《東洋》。東洋協會還發行後藤所著《現在の臺灣》^[12]；後藤作為宣傳主事者，強調東洋協會雖兼行朝鮮、滿州、西伯利、樺太、南洋、南米等地宣傳，仍希望各式臺灣宣傳皆能獲得政府當局及社會的瞭解(fig. 2: no. 13)。後藤亦期許自己能以東洋協會永田（秀次郎）專務理事的協定為基礎，^[13]亦即配合東洋協會方針與目標(fig. 2: no. 13)。從當時東洋協會及總督府積極南進的態度來看，後藤〈臺灣宣傳〉實際展現出的宣傳立場，也確實是與官方相符的。

（三）臺灣宣傳之現況及改善策略

〈臺灣宣傳〉的宣傳內容中，除了臺灣殖民地展示、南進政策的響應之外，後藤也用不少篇幅論述宣傳策略，可從行政態度、宣傳文宣、宣傳對象來說明。

首先是行政態度。他批判總督府雖看似有所行動，透過活動、照片等方法擴大宣傳，卻欠缺對「知曉臺灣實情的重要性」的考量(fig. 2: no. 1)。後藤認為，透過行政力量改變內地人看法是第一要務，除大量廣告宣傳外，還要將宣傳作為社會教育的一環；因此，認為當局者更應積極找方法來宣傳臺灣(fig. 2: no. 1)。

後藤並對當局提出意見如下：其一，要有吸引人羣的作為，需要帶點演技，營造展演或公演（興行）等氣氛。其二，同時考量時機與人選，掌握時機，挑選適才適用之人。其三，要有相當的經費預算。其四，讓越多人有材料能閱讀、引發討論，單方面成為重要話題是必要的(fig. 2: no. 2)。

此外，臺灣現況從外部的宣傳到內地的鼓吹，都與各級官員、役所內的權限相涉；可惜許多官員並無自覺，導致很多事務無法推動，預算也闕如(fig. 2: no. 4)。他將這種「無法推動」的困境做了描述：臺灣福爾摩沙儘管擁有世

界等級的行政與產業，其指導方法之良善也成為世界羨慕的目標；然而日本民眾卻不瞭解博覽會宣傳資料中大部分的內容 (fig. 2: no. 4)。

臺灣作為「樂土」卻不為人知，日本政府及臺灣總督府亦沒有從內而外的行政改善。「樂土」是東洋協會的宣傳策略，《現在の臺灣》及《東洋事情の宣傳》都提及「現在的臺灣是南方的樂土」(後藤朝太郎 1920: 3、尾池禹一郎 48)。要在日人的普遍認知中建構新的國體想像、讓殖民地成為樂土或者國土的延伸，並不容易。

後藤曾描述其造訪臺灣的印象，^[14] 自基隆上岸後，歷訪宜蘭、臺北、新竹、臺中、嘉義、臺南、阿猴等地，感受到濃厚的官僚氣氛(fig. 2: no. 5)。又說，該次訪臺後又隔四五年，官僚氣息還在，但不像以往濃烈。^[15] 後藤批判：行政機構所發表的宣傳多展現出行政式的官僚氣息，若要有效的宣傳，政策宣導之外的方法是必要的(fig. 2: no. 5)。他說，從宣傳目的來看，應著眼於內地人需求，應積極讓日人知道臺灣的社會文化、自然生態、交通設施等資訊(fig. 2: no. 5)。換言之，他認為應將臺灣作為「南國の樂土」來經營，並將成果宣揚出去。

其次，關於宣傳策略，後藤強調了宣傳文宣的重要性。從文宣的載體來看，後藤認為新聞媒體不報導、教科書中殖民地介紹不充分之情況急需改善，各級學校地理教師，若能對臺灣進行調查，便能對臺灣宣傳發揮一己之力；又如，執筆殖民地新聞的記者，應嘗試改變文風與主題；甚至，有能力者可買下廣告篇幅，自由闡述自己的主張(fig. 2: no. 3)。他批判當時的報紙經常大量刊登世俗新聞，如誰落軌而死之類，並感嘆忠實反映殖民地的新聞不受世人期待(fig. 2: no. 3)。再者，根據他的觀察，標榜臺灣主題的單行本，在日本書鋪是賣不出去的；標榜支那、滿州、朝鮮的書籍也類似(fig. 2: no. 10)。故而，後藤認為讓臺灣宣傳讀物搭上繪本、雜誌這種載體是較好的方案(fig. 2: no. 10)。

此外，後藤認為報紙宣傳也要有策略。單純宣傳臺灣沒有人要看，在東京、大阪的大報中增加臺灣版，或許能增加一些話題；但在日本報紙中以週刊或半月刊來刊登臺灣版也不實際；況且，東京的大報紙常被賣藥廣告占據全版，版面很可能反被廣告淹沒(fig. 2: no. 10)。

再從文宣內容來看，當時「平和博」已展出數月，無論會場多麼賣力宣傳臺灣，民眾依然聚焦砂糖不景氣、經濟難復舊等議題；臺灣官民全力投入日月潭電氣事業，以及臺灣人才需求，都是不爭的事實，卻少有人知(fig. 2: no. 6)。後藤陳述，當他與友人談及臺灣話題，對方大多如此反應：「你們與臺灣有因緣，所以凡事都只看得到臺灣，這難道不就是所謂的灣化嗎(fig. 2: no. 3)？對他而言，「灣化」或許是種推崇、是種能彰顯宣傳的奉承；當然他也知是嘲諷，故說：「冷評かす意味で言ふのであるまい」(fig. 2: no. 3)。

概述後藤觀點，當日人遊臺話題過分集中於奇珍異事，彷彿把日本與臺灣劃上清楚界限，形成各自獨立的世界與文化，使得日人永遠無法從根本接納臺灣的社會人文與建設成果。日本人不關注臺灣，就會持續產生誤解，對帝國發展有害。因而，他強調遊臺話題的重要性，此亦正是文宣內容的基礎。

第三，關於宣傳對象。後藤認為宣傳要推展到所有年齡層的讀者，因此聯想到幼年、青年讀物，並且要把握實際赴日的臺灣人，讓其與日人多方接觸。

後藤注意到，日本內地提供幼年、青年閱讀的讀物本來就不多，而供幼童閱讀的繪本中，更未見提及臺灣風物的作品(fig. 2: no. 10)。故期許：「我不禁希望，今天日本內地的雜誌店裏，能夠擺上刊載臺灣風情的雜誌，描繪臺灣兒童玩耍的景象，或是家庭日常生活，或是家禽、家畜嬉戲的景象，或是保母唱搖籃曲的景象，又或任何天真爛漫的情境」(fig. 2: no. 10)。後藤也說，在專門刊載臺灣消息的雜誌上也難以爭取幼年讀物版面，但可從小篇幅逐步取得教育成效；青年雜誌也不必非以專業知識為訴求，持續刊登能滿足興趣本位、智識本位、教育本位的內容，一樣能有效宣傳(fig. 2: no. 10)。

後藤也注意到宣傳對象並非只有閱讀的讀者，還應把握實際接觸的對象。他指出臺灣仕紳非常重視教育，子弟人才輩出，這些青年在臺灣已受到良好日語訓練，到了東京換穿日本服裝，竟與內地學生無別(fig. 2: no. 7)。後藤曾在神田的明治會館演講，讓一位來自臺中的學生站上講臺分享臺灣的今昔，該生用日語侃侃而談，現場聽眾驚嘆不已(fig. 2: no. 7)。後藤亦引用大阪商船數據，指出「平和博」會期中，自臺灣到日本的觀光團約有兩千人(fig. 2: no. 11)。後藤認為這是讓臺灣人對內地進行宣傳的最好場合，也是讓日人對臺灣文化改觀的時機。後藤刊登文章之日期為七月二十二日，「平和博」

會期尚未結束，故後藤指出，與來自臺灣的觀光團的合作方式，尚需縝密規劃(fig. 2: no. 11)。

綜上所述，後藤〈臺灣宣傳〉的主題雖是「臺灣的美點」，實際闡發的焦點則是當時東洋協會之拓殖目標，以及臺灣總督府的南進政策。東洋協會於一九二〇年新設宣傳部，後藤實際參與此宣傳部之業務，故他在〈臺灣宣傳〉最末也明言：平和博覽會設立了東洋活動寫真館，用以宣傳臺灣的建設事業，這些相片是由臺灣總督府教育會攝影，該建築則是得自當局者(臺灣總督府)及滿鐵的援助，在東洋協會的事業範圍內，盡力宣傳臺灣(fig. 2: no. 13)。

參、〈臺灣的美點を内地へ宣傳するには〉之 宣傳思想及文本策略

前一節，本文從後藤〈臺灣宣傳〉的文本出發，歸納其聚焦於殖民地展示、南進政策、宣傳方式等內容。雖然已經確知其宣傳乃是配合官方當局的目標，背後的宣傳思想及文本策略，還是值得進一步討論。以下，先討論〈臺灣宣傳〉想傳達的思想。其次，討論他撰寫此宣傳文時所使用的文本策略。

一、〈臺灣的美點を内地へ宣傳するには〉之宣傳思想

(一) 從官方政策的單向宣導拓展為由臺灣人宣傳臺灣

東洋協會的「臺灣宣傳」，原是希望向日本社會傳達殖民地消息。而後藤〈臺灣宣傳〉中則多次呼籲，希望臺灣人也能知道宣傳的重要性。在第一至五則中，後藤反覆申說當局應積極尋找有效方法宣傳臺灣，並強調要有政令宣導之外的方法。第六至九則，鼓勵日人要關注人與人、人與社會的連結，進而認識真正的臺灣，及臺灣的優秀青年。第十至十三則，則討論了宣傳的媒介及場域，期待臺人與日人的直接互動。其中，後藤於第七則提到他在演講會中邀請臺灣學生上臺侃侃而談，於第十則〈觀光團〉也提到讓臺灣仕紳直接至日本進行宣傳是最有效的方法。可以推知，後藤在一九二二年即已建構「由臺灣人宣傳臺灣」的想法，因此做為媒合場域的「臺灣俱樂部」至關重要。

此種由臺灣人宣傳臺灣的想法，可以與南進政策相連結。田健治郎及內田嘉吉主政總督府之時，是臺灣不可多得的南進南洋的支持者，兩位總督時期的南侵熱，可謂達到絕頂期，而自一九二〇年日本經濟大恐慌、一九二三年關東大地震之後逐漸沉滯（中村孝志 2002: 3）。〈臺灣宣傳〉撰文期間，南進潮尚在高峯，培養臺灣籍民前往南支南洋，是後藤的目標之一。此觀點早在大正四年(1915)民政長官下村宏論及教育時已提出，他不贊成在臺受教育的內臺學生赴日本深造，而是希望他們前往對岸或南洋發展（中村孝志 2002: 17）。在此背景下，後藤希望由臺灣人宣傳臺灣的想法，也是順勢而生，只是後藤的宣傳對象不只是針對臺灣與南洋，也企圖改變日本內地對臺灣的看法。

後續為達成「臺灣宣傳」的理想，後藤甚至於一九二四年參與了蔡惠如、蔡培火、林呈祿、蔣渭水等人所主唱的臺灣議會懇談會。在《臺灣民報》所刊〈臺灣議會設置請願懇談記〉記載了後藤的發言：

其次有東洋協會大學教授的後藤文學士說：「由來東洋人口唱親善不見實行，是基於缺相互理解，此後內臺人的智識階級相接觸，是很切要，議會設置運動，不是急速可以成功，須要十分忍耐，內地人須要氣宇濶大，本島人須要竭力喚起內地人的注意，這兩點都是要辦的」。(12)

後藤的發言重點，與一九二二年〈臺灣宣傳〉文旨呼應，他說東洋人嘴裏倡導親善和平，卻未能實踐，根本原因是缺乏相互理解，因此內地與臺灣的知識分子多方接觸是很重要的；不僅需要內地人心胸寬闊，臺灣人也需要更加努力，喚起內地人的關注。後藤〈臺灣宣傳〉的「由臺灣人宣傳臺灣」，到「本島人須要竭力喚起內地人的注意」，是概念一貫的想法。〈臺灣宣傳〉的策略與方法，已兼顧雙向宣傳，不僅著重政府當局之宣傳策略，減少日人的誤解；也強調營造臺人與日人接觸的機會與空間，以便讓臺灣人能竭力喚起內地人的注意。

(二) 宣傳臺灣宣揚東洋協會宗旨以及真實的殖民地臺灣

回到「東洋協會」的話題，日本的國策外圍團體如臺灣協會與東洋協會，與臺灣總督府有密切關係；再者，日本政府注意到臺灣社會於海外貿易的可能性，臺灣之於東亞的地位不容小覷（林呈蓉、荒木一視 55）。

前文指出，後藤積極投入東洋協會事業，並至東洋協會之教育機構任教，他的教職與宣傳任務，有何關聯？觀察伏見岳人之論文，其透過〈線上版後藤新平文書〉觀察後藤新平與桂太郎、小松原英太郎等人書簡，整理臺灣協會學校、東洋協會專門學校、拓殖大學等學校營運背景資料，從辦學角度探討殖民地經營以及這些學校與臺灣總督府間的關係(105-140)。這些資料可側面顯示後藤朝太郎是以代理人或媒介身份，代表東洋協會至臺灣進行教育視察或人才育成，並對日本傳達殖民地業績、提供建言。

檢索〈線上版後藤新平文書〉，後藤新平書簡中有兩則與後藤朝太郎有關，皆為一九二一年十月三十日來自後藤朝太郎書簡，大致內容如下：「江木千之が提案した大日本製糖の藤山雷太の拓大基金寄付の件と、鉄道協会における支那文化事業関係者の会合についての私見」（後藤朝太郎 1921a）。以及「東亜文化事業打合せへの招待状の配布先について」（後藤朝太郎 1921b）。前者，後藤針對大日本製糖株式會社社長藤山雷太捐贈拓殖大學之事提出看法，當時大日本製糖的主要工廠在雲林虎尾，此事展現臺灣實業是東洋協會進行臺灣宣傳或殖民地人才培育重要後援。於兩封信之概要，也能看到後藤對於支那及東亞文化事業的關心與介入。他所重視的宣傳，優先在產業與文化，透過教育的宣傳只是其次。

然而，後藤不甚滿意臺灣館的成效，故而寫出〈臺灣宣傳〉系列文。觀察平和博覽會新聞，可知臺灣館營運成績頗佳，如〈臺灣館成績〉(5)除記載營業額外，還列出參觀臺灣館的諸多皇族、政壇人物等。此外，臺灣館除在博覽會中高居營業額第二位，展品也有獲獎，但仍有如〈臺灣館の授賞は他の特設館に比して好成绩だがまだまだ心細い〉（臺灣館的獲獎成績優於其他特設館，但仍讓人遺憾）之文章刊登(9)。該文指出，日本人想看的臺灣，並非臺灣的真實樣貌。後藤也在〈臺灣宣傳〉刊登之前，以「平和博覽委員」身份撰文〈臺灣館（二）出品物批評〉(1922b: 4)，指出臺灣館的展示內容及商品雖獲不錯回響，卻不是「純臺灣式」的，盡是模仿內地風的，變成既非

臺灣也非日本的奇怪風格。他認為應付日本人喜好的作法應該改善，才能展現臺灣物產跟手工藝的真正風貌與價值。而他希望宣傳「真實的臺灣」，亦即宣傳真正的殖民地建設的想法，在〈臺灣宣傳〉中也處處可見。

（三）強調大東亞共存與殖民地臺灣的關係

若後藤所要宣傳的是「真正的臺灣」，那麼在他的認知裏，臺灣與日本是本質相異的；既是相異的種族、民族，就有不同的文化積累與社會價值。將臺灣人有別於日本人的想法，一直延續到後藤後期的思想。此議題，即當時日本知識分子所熱衷的「民族性」或「國民性」論述。

藍弘岳將「國民性」與「明治知識」做了連結，提出「明治知識」承載東亞國家共有的漢學傳統，故成為東亞國家和殖民地獲得現代性知識的主要媒介(152)。然而，若臺日需要透過近代知識進行溝通，意謂雙方的血統與文化是割裂的，進而影響殖民的政策。日治的「國民性」問題成為殖民的重要議題，東洋與南洋的殖民環境及國際關係持續變動下，作為知識分子的後藤朝太郎對臺灣有其獨特觀察，並以「支那の國民性」指稱臺灣（人）的性格。後藤自認為是「支那通」（石川泰成 47-69），涉入臺灣拓殖事務之後卻未以「臺灣通」自稱。他將臺灣放在大中華、乃至大東亞的位置上進行思考，其宣傳也是希望從臺灣放眼東洋及南洋。

劉家鑫指出：戰前戰中的日本極端侵略主義者及侵略反對者都是少數，佔據絕對多數的是中間立場的知識人，其中一種知識人集團即為「支那通」。所謂「支那通」，原先可理解為，直到江戶時代具備漢學素養的知識人，明治維新以降因西化的關係，「支那通」大為減少但並未消失，而以其他的知識人形態來表達知識與立場（劉家鑫 1999: 2）。

後藤的「中國通」特質，以及對於中國文化的興趣，使得於文章中多次展現出希望日本政府或日本社會反思的態度。此後，因戰爭局勢越演越烈，後藤逐步走向批判日本的道路，獲得極負面的評價（石川泰成 55-59）。但重新審視他歷來的論述，即能理解以下評價：「後藤朝太郎的初意與發念，是希望在『高級知識人的限界』的基礎上，努力從事並促進日中理解」（石川泰成 63）。而臺灣與臺灣宣傳，正是後藤促進「日中理解」，甚至「南洋理解」、「華僑理解」的重要媒介。從〈臺灣宣傳〉內容來看，也能反映這種

趨勢，臺灣的「南洋氣分」、「田舍氣分」，成為讓日本認識中國、東洋、南洋的重要中介；觀察後藤的實察遊歷之足跡，也能看到相同徵象。^[16]

〈臺灣宣傳〉提倡的「南洋氣分」，雖亦東洋協會、臺灣總督府之方針，但後藤認同此發展。其〈南方發展の要訣〉（後藤朝太郎 1925a）中，他認為從臺灣治理經驗長遠來看，「支那民族」都能逐漸凌駕「大和民族」，取得經濟及文化上的優勢(1925a: 54-57)。因而呼籲：在臺官民，為了南洋的經濟發展以及民族的發展，時常要有自覺，擔任大和民族南方發展的氣壓計(バロメーター, barometer, 用為顯示輿論或形勢趨勢的隱喻) (1925a: 57)。

後藤於〈内地と臺灣との接觸は是からが本舞臺である〉(1923c: 3)亦強調，日臺官民的接觸，能提升日本對臺灣風俗民情之掌握，進而能讓日本與東洋「共存」，增進大東亞福祉，達到共榮的理想。此文雖寫於一九二三年，但後藤之「大東亞共存」理想，早已隱含在〈臺灣宣傳〉(1922)之中。

二、〈臺灣の美點を内地へ宣傳するには〉之文本策略

前文說明〈臺灣宣傳〉利用日語文法上的特點，讓主標題複查出現，次標題則提示宣傳重點（見表二）。觀察《新報》版面，採用類似標題策略的作者並不多，此卻是後藤常用的寫作方式。

從宣傳的寫作、刊行策略來看，後藤善用「平和博」會期間的聲量，利用報紙進行臺灣宣傳。為增加讀者接觸率，以東洋協會提倡的「通俗」文筆，將文章斷裂並重組，分十三小標題，以九天陸續刊出。以詹姆斯·凱瑞(James W. Carey)所定義「傳播的傳遞觀」^[17]來看，後藤成功將他想傳遞的思想分批搬運至報章。傳播的「傳遞觀」著重於位移、空間移動的隱喻，這種觀點也適用日治時期的政治宣傳。後藤於〈臺灣宣傳〉第十則也強調報紙比專書更適合用於宣傳，因為報紙除了「傳遞」，也具備「儀式觀」的要件。安德森也指出：如果我們研究報紙這種文化產物，定會對其深深的虛擬想像性質(fictiveness)感到吃驚，為甚麼那些事件會如此並列？是甚麼把他們連結在一起？這並非純粹的任意而為。這些事件被如此任意地挑選和並列在一起，顯示他們彼此之間的關聯是被想像出來的(Anderson 33-34)。亦即，後藤掌握了報紙提供平民廉價取得資訊的機會，反過來創造出眾多的讀者。加以，後藤刻意將一篇文章分多日刊登，也能反覆營造出他所需要的讀者想像。

凱瑞認為從儀式觀的角度來看，報紙不一定使人學到東西，但是能夠對特定的世界觀加以描述或強化，進而指出：「傳播的儀式觀並不在於信息的獲取（雖然從中也獲取了信息），而在於某個戲劇性的行為，在這種戲劇性行為中，讀者作為戲劇演出的旁觀者加入了這一權力紛爭的世界。這時，我們面對的不是訊息的效果或功能問題，而是（報紙）的呈現和介入在建構讀者的生活與時間中所扮演的角色」（Carey 9）。

後藤透過報紙，將他所欲傳達的宣傳內容頻繁展示於讀者眼中，即便文章的內容充斥個人情感、或帶有偏見，不盡然符合理性事實，但他促使讀者與他共感，是報紙媒介欲達到的目的。此種共感，不僅能溯及亞里斯多德《修辭學》中提示的「情感(pathos)」層面，也符合十九世紀以來透過電報、印刷等媒介，讓傳播影響讀者的思想文化；將資訊與思想傳遞到另一地域與空間，便能將觀念與思想共享出去。因此，凱瑞指出：「傳播的儀式觀並非直指訊息在空中的擴散，而是指在時間上對一個社會的維繫；不是指分享信息的行為，而是共享信仰的表徵」（Carey 7）。而後藤深知宣傳具有改變思想、建構社會氣氛的功能，這種觀點不僅呈現在〈臺灣宣傳〉文章中，後來他更在〈內地人の思想轉換期〉(1923)中明確點出宣傳與思想營造的關係。

〈臺灣宣傳〉文本策略，利用了博覽會期、報紙、分批刊登、標題文法、通俗敘述、關鍵詞重複、動之以情等。與「平和博」著重於人潮、活動內容、展品販賣等一般宣傳有極大差異。他藉由〈臺灣宣傳〉宣揚臺灣的殖民地展示、南進政策及建設成果，以及對宣傳策略的批判，來達到總督府及東洋協會的拓殖方針，並且透過報章宣傳，建構大東亞共存的帝國想像。

結 語

本文以後藤藤太郎在《臺灣日日新報》所發表題為〈臺灣の美點を内地へ宣傳するには〉系列文為討論基礎，探討後藤於平和東京博覽會期間，所進行之臺灣宣傳內容，兼及其宣傳思想及文本策略。

經過討論，後藤〈臺灣宣傳〉系列文的內容，符合東洋協會當時的事業目標，以及臺灣總督府的南進政策。首先，從宣傳內容來看，〈臺灣宣傳〉之十三則次標題即是宣傳的內容，可總結為「殖民地展示」、「建構南進論述」、「臺灣宣傳策略」等三個焦點。其次，從〈臺灣宣傳〉所欲傳遞的思想來看，亦可概略為三點：一、從官方政策的單向宣導拓展為由臺灣人宣傳臺灣；二、

宣揚東洋協會宗旨以及真實的殖民地臺灣；三、強調大東亞共存與殖民地臺灣的關係。最後，從〈臺灣宣傳〉之文本策略來看，後藤利用了博覽會期、報紙、分批刊登、標題文法、通俗敘述、關鍵詞重複、動之以情等策略，企圖達到宣傳之訊息傳遞、思想共感、帝國想像等目的。

◎本論文為國科會計畫「從漢字到漢學：『中國通』後藤朝太郎的漢字音研究」(NSTC 112-2635-H-194-001- MY2)之部分成果。初稿曾口頭發表於「第五屆臺灣研究世界大會：變動世局中的臺灣：過去、現在與未來」(中央研究院, 2025.5.21-23)，承蒙陳偉智教授、王麒銘教授不吝提攜指點。投稿期間亦獲得本刊匿名審查人提供寶貴意見，在此一併致謝。文中若有疏漏之處，筆者文責自負。

註釋

1. 拓殖大學設立目標之一，乃為養成「台湾及南清地方において公私の業務に従事する」之人才，歷經數度更名，依次為臺灣協會專門學校(1904)、東洋協會專門學校(1907)、東洋協會殖民專門學校(1915)、拓殖大學(1918)、東洋協會大學(1922)，最後改回拓殖大學(1926) (拓殖大学創立百年史編纂室 2005 vii-viii)。關於「臺／台」二字，本文之行文以「臺」字為主，引用文獻時尊重原文用字。
2. 「特別寄稿家」為《臺灣日日新報》對後藤之稱呼(新刊介紹 1925: 3)。
3. 參《臺灣日日新報》(後藤朝太郎 1918a: 3)。或參後藤朝太郎於該報發表的〈支那の國民性(一-九)〉(1918: 3)、〈支那國民性講話〉(新刊介紹 1927: 3)。專著如後藤朝太郎《支那の國民性》(1926)。
4. 〈支那より見たる臺灣の美觀：理解ある内地人の永住〉末段，後藤指出：「臺灣は内地人の影がうすく矢張り自然の大勢が臺灣は臺灣人の臺灣なりとの事を裏書させるやうにも見える」(臺灣的日本内地人的影子不深，在自然情勢下，確實印證了「臺灣是臺灣人的臺灣」這樣的事實)《臺灣日日新報》(後藤朝太郎 1925b: 3)。
5. 「籍民」泛指華人擁有外國籍，且受到所持國籍領事的保護，不受中國官吏管轄之人。甲午戰爭之後日本佔領臺灣，擁有日本籍的臺灣人也被列為外國籍民，且數量遠超過以往之外國籍民。有些籍民身份乃不法取得，於是部分有籍、無籍之臺灣人混居中國人之間滋擾生事，成為中日兩國政府的棘手問題。大正南進政策實行的同時，臺灣總督府不得不徹底解決與東南亞華僑相關的臺灣籍民問題，使其成為日本國民，加入日本南進的戰略行列(中村孝志 2002: 75-77)。

6. 《現代日本に於ける支那學研究の實狀》載拓殖大學中國相關課程教員：支那語／包翰萃。支那語／齊藤甲一、宮原民平。支那事情／長野朗、木村増太郎（中村久四郎 1928: 214-218）。東洋協會相關學校實際授業科目與教育目標可參〈東洋協會の植民地実業教育について〉（三代川正秀 2018: 5-36）。
7. 一九二一年十月十四日，黃土水以作品《甘露水》，在東京入選第三回帝國美術展覽會。
8. 後藤新平在一八九八年三月二日至六月二十日任職臺灣總督府民政部民政局長，同年六月二十日至一九〇六年十一月十三日之間，改任民政部民政長官（原職位改制）。
9. 臺灣俱樂部成立於一九一一年四月，由後藤新平任會長歷十九年，接下來是內田嘉吉(Sept. 1929-Jan. 1933)，接著兩年十個月是幹事合議制，又由石塚英藏任會長(Dec. 1936-Jul. 1942)，臺灣俱樂部的活動情形不詳(林炳炎 1998: 82-86)。
10. 精養軒於一八七二年（明治五年）在東京府築地創立，原名「西洋館ホテル」，次年改名為「精養軒ホテル」，即「築地精養軒」。因持續擴大營業範圍，一九一八年精養軒株式會社成立。一九二三年築地本店因遭遇關東大地震而燒毀，此後由上野精養軒取代而為本店。（〈会社概要〉）
11. 後藤新平於一九〇六年四月十一日至一九二二年九月二十五日之間，授勳為男爵爵位。
12. 該書書首有當時臺灣總督田健治郎（でん けんじろう，1855-1930，號讓山）題詞：「美哉山海／讓山健題」，作序者有東洋協會專務理事永田秀次郎，以及後藤朝太郎本人，永田序中提及：反戰、人種平等、東洋協會、宣傳等關鍵詞；而後藤序之主旨，與其〈臺灣宣傳〉系列文之內容相符（後藤朝太郎 1920: 1-12）。
13. 當時之東洋協會會則及理事名單由後藤撰稿（尾池禹一郎 1922: 164-170）。
14. 此應一九一五年八月以東洋協會學術調查部員及東京高砂寮長身份之訪臺行。
15. 此應一九一九年七月至九月，以高砂寮寮長身份來臺行程。
16. 一九〇七年後藤自帝大畢業後即開始遊歷中國、滿州、南洋等地，下舉中國報紙之記載為例：「日學士視察漢族文化：日本文學士後藤朝太郎、為視察馬來及南洋漢民族文化、且為完成所著《中國文化之研究》一書起見、擬赴福建廣東及新嘉坡爪哇臺灣方面旅行、已由橫濱乘郵船賀茂丸出發、定今日來滬」（本埠新聞 1925: 11）。
17. 凱瑞(James W. Carey)將十九世紀以來美國文化中傳播分為兩大類，傳播的傳遞觀(a transmission view of communication)和傳播的儀式觀(a ritual view of communication) (Carey 2005: 4)。

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Exposition and Promotion The Promotional Focus and Textual Strategies in Gotou Asatarou’s “Promoting the Beauty of Taiwan to Japan”

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on Gotou Asatarou (1881-1945) and his “Taiwan Promotion” work, particularly the article “Promoting the Beauty of Taiwan to Japan,” published in the *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo*. These writings, produced in the context of the Peace Commemorative Exposition, reflect his active involvement in the Taiwan Pavilion.

Gotou’s “Taiwan Promotion” series highlights several key aspects. First, in terms of content, its thirteen subheadings outline the main themes of the propaganda, including Gotou’s own suggestions. Second, the series embodies three guiding principles: (1) extending beyond official policy advocacy to emphasize promotion of Taiwan by Taiwanese themselves; (2) publicizing both the mission of the Oriental Association and the “true nature” of Taiwan; and (3) stressing the relationship between Greater East Asia and colonial Taiwan. Finally, in terms of textual strategy, Gotou employed methods such as situating his writings within the exposition period, utilizing newspapers, staggering publication, manipulating title grammar, adopting popular narrative styles, repeating keywords, and appealing to emotion—all to transmit information effectively and evoke resonance among his readers.

KEYWORDS: Gotou Asatarou, promote Taiwan, The Oriental Association (Touyou Kyoukai), *The Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpo*, The Peace Commemorative Exposition, imperial imaginary

光影交織下的文化永續之路

皮影戲推廣的跨界與創新

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摘要

本研究旨在將皮影戲文化作為核心素材，透過社會創新行動方案的實施——課程教學與活動推廣，回應在地文化傳承與社會需求。研究以質性訪談資料為主，結合教學實作與活動參與觀察，以社會創新理論四主題(Lettice and Parekh)作為資料分析依據，對課程與活動實施成效進行探討。研究發現，跨領域課程設計與活動將皮影戲定位為教育媒介與文化創新資源，呈現出「改變視角」的應用策略。在「建立缺失的市場連結」層面，課程整合科技應用、語言學習與社區參與，提升文化活動參與度及資源流動。在「吸引新客羣」方面，跨域課程拓展了大學端文學院、工學院師生的參與，工作坊與社區活動則深化受眾參與，形成文化認同與參與感。最後，「善用同儕支持」則有助於促進跨域單位間的連結與交流，建立文化共學網絡。研究建議，未來在課程與活動推廣上應導入多元觀點與跨域整合策略，建立支持網絡與評估機制，以提升文化教育的永續性與社會創新價值。

關鍵詞：社會創新、皮影戲、體驗學習、跨領域、文化永續

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前 言

高等教育近年來的角色不僅專注於學術研究與人才培育，也逐漸擴展至促進在地發展與建構社會連結；透過與在地社區合作共同推動城鄉發展並將研究轉譯於解決在地問題，能使居民切身感受到大學的存在與價值。大學社會責任應被理解為一種回應社會問題的方式，且更應關注尚未獲得充分重視的議題(qtd. in da Silva Faria 291)。進一步而言，大學社會責任可被定義為：運用管理、教學、研究與推廣等過程，以傳遞大學的理念與價值觀(Giuffré and Ratto 231)，並在此基礎上將各項功能和活動與社會需求相結合，以道德和透明的方式回應利益相關者的期望(Esfjani et al. 280)。此種實踐模式有助於強化大學對地方與區域發展的貢獻，並透過正式與非正式的連結，實現社會、公民與文化等面向的目標(Albulescu and Albulescu 10)。

實際上，大學可提供應對當前社會挑戰的最佳實踐場域，透過社區發展活動與學術方案，不僅能培育年輕人成為具備社會能力與責任感的人才，以推動有建設性的社會變革(Albulescu and Albulescu 7; Ali et al. 17)，更能引導師生走出校園參與公共事務，使學習與研究成果轉化為具體的社會影響力(翟本瑞、蔡勝男 47)。同時，大學在提升校內教職員工的社會責任意識上亦具關鍵作用，能促使其展現出共同的社會觀點(Bokhari 8)。

因應高等教育角色轉換，教育部近年來亦積極推動「大學社會責任實踐計畫」(University Social Responsibility, USR)，除強調人才培育、在地連結與國際交流外，也期能運用創意與專業知識縮減學用落差、促進在地認同之建立，進而與國際接軌(〈關於 USR〉)。此外，一〇八課綱實施及 USR 計畫推動，在強化探究與實作能力的同時，也積極將學習場域連結至社區，藉此提升對在地文史的重視，並促進與博物館或其他相關單位的合作(王御風 13)。就大學社會責任而言，文化既是羣體理解世界及適應自然與環境的途徑，也是推動永續發展的重要基礎。因此，文化保存與傳承不僅具教育意涵，更蘊含重大的社會價值。透過 USR 參與文化保存與傳承，大學不僅能強化與地方的互動，也有助於培育學生的文化敏感度與公民責任感。

鑑於前述高等教育機構之社會責任，國立中山大學 USR「城市是一座共事館」計畫以高雄在地博物館作為實踐平臺，透過課程設計與場域議題的結合，培養學生的在地行動能力與國際視野，並促進公民探索，讓學生與社區

共同參與城市歷史文化的理解與再創造。以隸屬於高雄市立歷史博物館下的高雄市皮影戲館為例，隨著近年娛樂方式改變，年輕世代對皮影戲文化日漸疏離，單靠博物館及劇團難以有效推廣與傳承，因此跨領域、多元合作的教育與文化推廣模式成為必要策略。本研究旨在探討「城市是一座共事館」計畫如何透過跨域課程方案和活動方案促進皮影戲文化的推廣，並採 Fiona Lettice 與 Menka Parekh 提出的社會創新核心主題作為分析架構，系統性檢視該計畫如何透過改變視角、建立市場連結、吸引新「顧客」及善用同儕支持(139)進而引發大學生與民眾對皮影戲的興趣，以及對在地文化的認識，實現文化傳承與社會創新的可能性。

壹、文獻探討

一、社會創新概念、策略與文化創新

「社會創新」的定義為任何針對社會需求或問題所提出的新穎且具實用性的解方(Mulgan et al. 8; Phills et al. 36)。社會創新方案需在效率、永續性或公平性上優於現有方法，並將其創造的價值回饋於社會而非個人(Phills et al. 39)。社會創新的概念如同其他許多形式的創新，是集體創新的過程，同時也涉及多方利害關係人，例如社會企業、公司、服務使用者、監管者、資助者、以及政治人物等(Leadbeater 14)。翟本瑞與蔡勝男(2020)亦指出，社會創新是透過技術、資源與社羣間的合作，促進不同羣體之間的互動，並運用科技或商業模式尋求解決社會問題的新方法，以創造社會價值。

Fiona Lettice 與 Menka Parekh 透過訪談十位英國創新者，探討如何將一般商業創新理論與實務經驗應用於社會創新，並深入理解社會創新的運作過程。研究發現，這些創新者以非傳統方式應對社會或環境問題，提出最初被認為屬於邊緣且不太可能成功的解決方案，例如：為無家可歸者創造就業機會、減少時尚產業剝削、以及設計電動跑車等(Lettice and Parekh 139, 147)。基於其訪談資料，Lettice 與 Parekh 整理出四個反覆出現且主導的核心主題：

- (一) 改變視角(Changing the lens)：以新的觀點重新審視問題，重新建構問題框架(139, 145, 147)。

- (二) 建立缺失的市場連結(*building missing market links*)：在市場中找到空缺的部分或利基，建立連結，減少資訊不對稱(139, 147)。
- (三) 吸引新的「客羣」(*engaging a new “customer” base*)：將受益者或目標羣體視為「客戶」，確保方案能符合其需求，並促進創新從邊緣走向主流(139, 148)。
- (四) 善用同儕支持(*leveraging peer-support*)：建立創新者社羣網絡，以獲得更多資源或靈感的對接(139, 149, 153)。

雖然 Lettice 與 Parekh 僅以十個社會創新案例訪談作為研究基礎，其研究結果在普遍性的推論上仍需謹慎，但其提出的四個社會創新主題仍具有重要參考價值。這四個主題不僅適用於商業或一般社會創新案例，其核心概念也可延伸至文化教育、USR 實踐與社區合作等領域。例如，da Silva Faria(2022)提到大學社會責任應關注那些尚未獲得充分重視的議題，亦呼應了主題中的「建立缺失的市場連結」與「吸引新的客羣」。目前，似乎尚未有研究明確以 Lettice 與 Parekh 提出的四個社會創新主題作為分析架構，以深入理解不同大學社會責任計畫、文化保存或其他社會創新專案的運行；然而，從本研究整理的案例顯示（見表一），這些案例的運作模式與成果確實可與這四個主題相互呼應，可見該分析架構在理解專案如何實現正向社會效益上，具有核心的參考價值與應用潛力。

首先，在大學社會責任(USR)與文化保存結合的案例中，例如 Lisa L. Higgins 提到的美國密西根州立大學的密西根傳統藝術計畫(*Michigan Traditional Arts Program, MTAP*) (119-126)與密蘇里大學的密蘇里民俗藝術計畫(*Missouri Folk Arts Program, MFAP*) (127-133)，皆透過大學博物館與地方藝術委員會的合作，將傳統藝術的保存推展至社區與政策層面。這些計畫的推動與執行重新定位了大學的角色（改變視角），建立藝術文化與人才培育的制度，彌合學術與民俗間的間隙。它們也透過課程設計來吸引學生族羣，例如針對青少年設計的密西根州文化遺產教育方案——*FOLKPATTERNS*，其課程教材至今仍在 4-H (126)、博物館和學校課程中使用，並擴展到其他州；MFAP 則與國家藝術基金會(*National Endowment for the Arts, NEA*)合作，推動「民俗藝術學校駐校計畫」(*Folk Arts School Residency Project*)(130)，培訓傳統藝術家進入學校授課，並發展一套課程指南，聚焦於密蘇里的傳統、

藝術家，以及在地知識的融入。MFAP 的相關活動超越了博物館和大學校園的界限，藉由表演和展覽吸引許多新的社區成員參與，也透過社區學者計畫 (Community Scholars Program)(127)，培訓地方居民成為文化記錄者，提升了社區參與度與地方文化自主性。

其次，在社會創新專案中，英國的 *The Big Issue* 將街友從「受助者」轉變為「自營者」(改變視角)，並以雜誌販售模式填補就業與收入缺口(市場連結)，創造出一羣既是銷售者也是議題推廣者的新客羣。此模式亦促進街友羣體的互助與社會支持網絡，成為全球街頭報紙運動的領導者，也激勵了世界各地類似組織的誕生(Swithinbank 17, 19)。

再者，地方創生與文化保存的案例，如日本奈良的今井町活化，顯示了將「空屋閒置」轉化為可利用的文化資產(改變視角)，藉由觀光產業建立新的市場連結。同時，透過居民互助會與大學協力，吸引外部遊客與年輕族羣，展現同儕支持與合作的重要性(林子園 paras. 4-9)。García-Mieres et al. (1186-1187)的研究則提到，為因應西班牙農村人口老化與外移，以「積極保存獨特語言和傳統節慶」取代「人口危機」，透過數位科技與代間學習將文化保存與社區活力相結合，展現出兼具社會創新、地方創生與文化保存的多重意涵。

案例	類型分類	改變視角	建立缺失的市場連結	吸引新的客羣	善用同儕支持
MSU – Michigan Traditional Arts Program (MTAP) (Higgins 119-126)	大學社會責任、文化保存	傳統藝術與當代生活、教育、社會認同產生連結，從「典藏保存」的概念轉為「教育課程」的素材	連結教育、觀光、數位典藏、經費支持等各項資源，找到新的展示交流平臺	透過教育計畫、獎項設置等，邀請不同羣體加入文化傳承與推廣	與推廣人員、藝術家、民俗學者、收藏家、政府單位、教育機構、社區居民、博物館及基金會等形成跨界合作
MU – Missouri Folk Arts Program (MFAP) (Higgins 127-133)	大學社會責任、文化保存	博物館轉為文化推廣者	師徒計畫、研究生培訓與實習、數位展覽等	吸引學生、社區羣眾	與官方機構、教育機構、博物館、藝術家等合作

案例	類型分類	改變視角	建立缺失的市場連結	吸引新的客羣	善用同儕支持
<i>The Big Issue</i> (UK) (Swithinbank)	社會創新	將施捨轉為自立、商業道德領導	雜誌販售模式補足收入	街友成為銷售者，大眾關注議題	企業人員、政府、警方合作
西班牙農村文化復興 (García-Mieres et al. 1186-1187)	社會創新、地方創生、文化保存	從「人口危機、青年外移」轉為「文化復興」	數位科技典藏與傳播文化、代間學習促進社區認同與互動	居民投入學習與文化保存、傳承	社區居民
日本奈良 今井町活化 (林子園 paras. 4-9)	地方創生、文化保存	閒置空屋轉化為文化資源	觀光產業、請人制度	吸引年輕世代、遊客、外地商家	公部門、居民互助會、大學
蘭子 (《認識蘭子》)	文化保存、社會創新、地方創生	傳統蘭編轉譯為現代設計、品牌經營	跨界產業鏈 (工藝、設計、農事、生態)	民眾體驗、年長藝師/弱勢婦女/種子教師培訓	工藝師社羣平臺、跨界合作
臺灣「嫻」 原民婦女品牌 (關於「嫻」)	文化保存、社會創新	婦女從受災弱勢羣體轉為品牌創造者	建立品牌、提升產品價值	網路平臺市場、非原民消費者	原民女性、設計師、基金會、部落工坊
臺灣文化資產保存與修復推廣 (盧薇喬 et al.)	文化保存、大學社會責任	將文化資產與修復技術轉為教育資源	以教育體驗、導覽等落實文化扎根與永續發展	學生、家長、一般民眾	公部門、博物館、學校、民間修復團隊

表一：以 Lettice 與 Parekh 社會創新四個主題分析案例

最後，在臺灣的文化保存案例中，無論是蘭子工作室（《認識蘭子》）、原住民婦女品牌「嫻」（《關於「嫻」》），或文化資產保存與修復推廣（盧薇喬 et al. 30），都嘗試突破現況，找出傳統文化技藝與當代接軌的可能性。蘭子透過跨界設計與產業鏈提升蘭編價值，「嫻」則將受災婦女轉型為品牌創造者，而修復計畫則將文化保存轉化為全民參與的教育資源。三者皆拓展了新客羣（國際市場、消費者、學生等），並連結工藝師社羣、基金會、政府與學校機構等不同網絡，形成強大的同儕支持。

整體而言，雖然這些案例類型有所差異，但大多同時觸及「文化保存」的核心議題；而 Lettice and Parekh 所提出的四個核心主題則成為各專案項目能否順利運作並達成目標的關鍵檢視點，顯示其在多元領域中的適用性，也為本研究後續以此架構分析 USR 與文化教育推廣專案提供了論述依據。

二、皮影戲的歷史背景與現況

據傳皮影戲於明清時期在臺灣落地生根，並以高雄為中心的南部地區發展。日治時期受限於當局的管制，僅有少數劇團可演出帶有日本童話色彩的皇民劇。二戰結束後，皮影戲重回民間舞臺，活絡於廟會神誕慶典，也進入各地劇院演出（內臺戲），風靡一時（〈臺灣皮影戲發展〉(a-d)；〈皮影戲〉）。作為現代電影形式的濫觴，皮影戲的出現不僅見證了時代的潮流與演變，也乘載了許多人的記憶與情感。然而，隨著電視影音等新興媒體的崛起，早期農業社會酬神娛人的傳統戲曲逐漸被取代，大眾娛樂習慣也隨之改變，皮影戲觀眾面臨斷層以及劇團數量由全盛時期的上百團，逐漸沒落萎縮，使得演出與傳承皆大受影響（石光生 9-21；李依依 81；陳佳杰 362；盧明均 285-287；〈臺灣皮影戲發展〉(e)；〈皮影戲〉）。目前，皮影戲劇團經文資登錄者僅有東華、永興樂、高雄（原宏興閣）及復興閣等四團（〈皮影戲〉；顏怡今 para. 2），復興閣皮影戲劇團現已暫停營運。

現階段因政府與民間團體對於藝文保存與推廣的重視，皮影戲館的成立即肩負起重任，專責典藏臺灣及他國的劇本、影偶與相關文物，辦理展覽及出版專書等（石光生 19-20）。在推廣工作上，除了定期辦理皮影戲及創意影戲創作暨表演比賽、偶戲 DIY 課程與導覽，亦不定期舉辦展演活動（〈臺灣皮影戲發展〉(f)）。此外，皮影戲劇團也積極參與文化展演和各類皮影研習推廣，進行演出創新如結合動畫舞臺效果、客製化劇本等，試圖重新找回觀眾（陳佳杰 379；顏怡今 para. 3）。然而，除了博物館與劇團的投入外，文化藝術的推廣與傳承尚需更多個人、組織與團隊共同參與，相互交流學習，方能擴大影響力，進而引發更多關注的目光，以及持續推動與前進的力量。

將皮影戲融入校園課程與社團活動中，即是讓更多師生能夠接觸到這項文化的策略之一。藉由校園中的推廣，例如教師皮影藝術研習、皮紙影戲教育、紙影戲表演比賽等（孫鳳吟 49），形成培育皮、紙影戲人才的管道。從

教學上而言，孫鳳吟(55)也提到可將皮影戲視為多功能教學計畫，在不同的領域科目中融入不同的課程活動，例如美勞課中融入戲偶與道具製作、國語課中帶入故事劇本編擬、音樂課中加入文武場音樂學習等，進而達到整合教學的效果。然而，校園推廣難免遇到困境和阻礙，除了皮影戲日漸式微，教師轉調、可支援師資不足之外，校內教學指導工作勞累、為因應比賽組團，以及活動經費限制等因素（孫鳳吟 54），也揭示著校園傳承所面臨的困境。儘管高雄在地有少數學校將皮影戲納入校本課程，也有個別學校長期實施皮影戲課程，但整體而言，國中小的教育推廣仍受到升學制度的框架影響，難以持續深化（顏怡今 para. 5）。此外，皮影戲演出中相當重要的燈光來源，因傳統燈泡容易過熱導致危險、光源亮度單一無法調整（顏怡今 para. 6）、傳統戲偶製作不易、演出語言與後場音樂、以及傳統戲臺龐大不易搬運等因素，皆是皮影戲在推廣上所面臨的限制與挑戰。

因此，若想保存與推行皮影戲文化，需考量與當代接軌，融入想像力與獨特性，結合科技以創造吸引力（許寧珍 181）。同時，串聯各方資源，例如與大學端、長照中心、民間企業等展開合作（顏怡今 para. 5），提升大眾對此文化的關注與理解，進而促成皮影戲的傳承與永續發展。

整體而言，文物保存、展演、校園推廣、活動辦理等皆是文化推廣傳承的重要策略，而新夥伴的加入以及創新方案的推動亦有其必要性。「城市是一座共事館」計畫團隊與高史博、高雄市皮影戲館合作，結合大學教學資源與師生參與，提供在地民眾重新認識皮影文化的途徑，並以跨領域、跨組織的社會創新方案，推動文化藝術的傳承與未來發展。然而，若僅從課程設計或活動辦理的角度切入，分析將侷限於大學社會責任與文化保存的層面，有可能忽略文化推廣在當代社會創新中所需的動能與條件。因此，本研究採用 Lettice 與 Parekh 提出的社會創新核心主題作為分析架構，以系統性地檢視該計畫的推動模式與社會影響。

貳、研究方法

本研究採行動研究作為主要方法，透過「城市是一座共事館」計畫的推動歷程，反思團隊在研究過程中如何實踐議題，以及與合作對象互動所產生的影響。行動研究強調實務與研究的結合，針對特定時間、地點與情境中的

問題特性進行系統性探究，並透過行動改善實務環境、解決現存問題（陳向明 610）。

本研究所述行動參與者包括：高雄市立歷史博物館（以下簡稱高史博）、國立中山大學師生與 USR「城市是一座共事館」計畫團隊，並結合具有二十年以上經驗的皮影戲專業教師，以及參與不同活動的在地民眾。透過這些跨領域的行動者，計畫融入社會創新的概念，共同建構推廣方案與合作機制，以實踐皮影戲文化的跨界傳承與再生。具體而言，本研究行動方案涵蓋兩大面向：(1)課程方案設計：以大學課程與教學資源為基礎，融入皮影戲元素，讓學生從學習與實作中參與文化傳承。(2)活動方案設計：結合高史博及在地社羣力量，舉辦多樣化推廣活動，吸引不同年齡與背景的民眾參與，形塑文化共享的平臺。

一、課程方案設計與實施

為了將皮影戲融入大學的教育現場，課程設計主要將體驗學習(experiential learning)與主題式學習(phenomenon-based learning)的概念納入，前者由杜威「做中學」概念延伸，以各式活動為媒介，經由反思、歸納、及分析，最後應用於解決實際問題上；後者則是將皮影戲作為融入課程的主題，進行跨領域、跨學科的教學，培育學生具備連貫不同學科和領域所需的能力。

在課程正式實施前，計畫團隊邀請並徵詢校內教師的參與意願，經數次討論後，以盡量不影響教師原訂教學內容的前提下，由「光電創新」與「閩南語敘事工作坊」課程進行皮影戲融入教學。討論課程設計時，因教師本身對皮影戲也無深入了解與接觸，且教學重點並非在將學生訓練成如劇團般能進行專業演出，因而決定將皮影戲的相關元素進行拆解應用，包含影偶製作、燈光設計、劇本創作、戲臺設計、後場音樂等，再依課程目標融入教學。

在「光電創新」課程中，因高史博提出皮影教具箱設計與應用於校園教學推廣的需求，因此，授課教師規劃皮影戲實作專題，請學生結合光電知識，以「讓現場教師能便利地進行皮影戲教學推廣」為目標，不拘泥於傳統形式，依設計思考步驟，創作出輕便好用、價格平實且易於操作的教具。本課程修課人數十八人，專題實作規劃為期一個月，共分為三次課程，分別是皮影戲簡介與教具需求說明、提案報告、與模型發表。學生以抽籤方式分為六組，

進行資料蒐集、討論、草圖繪製、模型製作與修改，以及成果發表。由於多數學生對皮影戲是陌生的，因此第一次的課程著重在皮影戲的簡介，包含影偶材質、劇場表演方式、燈光布幕投影等，接著說明對教具與燈具的需求，並請學生依照使用者需求進行草圖規劃與設計。第二次課程則是請學生進行初步提案報告，內容涵蓋設計理念、教具設計的樣式、媒材、價格等，並由授課教師與計畫團隊給予回饋建議。最後一次課程則邀請高史博專家人員、光電領域教師等，共同參與成品發表，並針對學生作品進行意見回饋。

「閩南語敘事工作坊」屬跨院選修課程，修課學生共十人。授課教師以「演出一場閩南語皮影戲」為教學目標，嘗試以當代元素連結傳統文化，指導學生進行閩南語劇本創作，並以公開演出作為學習成效檢核。課堂中也邀請國小專業教師講授皮影戲的緣起背景，指導學生利用描圖紙、油性麥克筆、棉線等工具製作戲偶，並利用生活周遭常見的物品架設輕便簡易的舞臺，打造出常民生活的廟埕場景，讓學生演出原創劇本。

二、活動方案設計與實施

在展演與活動辦理上，為使社區民眾有更多機會參與並親近皮影戲，計畫團隊邀請皮影戲專業國小教師協助辦理一系列「奇幻光影 SHOW」活動，期待使更多人接觸高雄在地文化並對其產生興趣。因此「奇幻光影 SHOW—戲偶工作坊」內容主要為皮影戲介紹，以及影偶製作教學，參與者主要涵蓋國小學生與家長、大學師生等，藉由描圖紙、油性麥克筆、棉線等素材，完成可操演的創意戲偶。本系列活動共舉辦四場工作坊，總計七十八位參與者。

「奇幻光影 SHOW—光影展演」（見圖三）則以中山大學隧道防空洞為展演地點，因隧道內光源微弱，適合皮影戲演出，現場除了展示皮影戲的起源與特色，陳列相關課程與活動的影像紀錄，也邀請兩所國小影戲團以及校內學生的閩南語皮影戲劇「轉(tńg)」進行演出。此外，活動也結合計畫團隊的大漁旗文化復興專案，設計出獨特的影偶絹印體驗活動，最後連結至鄰近的登山街六十巷時空廊道文史導覽，讓校園師生、在地居民能夠一同參與。這一系列的活動設計，不僅僅是介紹皮影戲的背景脈絡，而是連結計畫團隊本身關注的在地議題，以及高史博的資源網絡，透過多次的會議和討論，最終促成跨校、跨系所、以及跨年齡層的合作。本項活動共辦理兩梯次，總計約五百四十三人次參與。

三、資料蒐集與分析

資料蒐集來源包含課堂觀察、活動觀察與反饋、以及授課教師、學生、高史博專家人員訪談回饋。在資料分析上，本研究採用 Lettice 與 Parekh 提出的社會創新核心主題作為分析架構，包括：(1) 改變視角、(2) 建立缺失的市場連結、(3) 吸引新的「客羣」、(4) 善用同儕支持。藉由此四大面向，系統化地檢視行動研究過程中課程與活動設計的影響，並探討其在文化傳承與社會創新上的價值與可能性。

參、研究結果與討論

大學對社會角色的承諾在於將社會責任納入其願景或使命，藉由課程、活動和競賽、參與鼓勵等，使學生能夠認知社會責任的概念，及其對個體與社會的影響(Bokhari 15)。社會創新方案則著重在透過不同技術、資源與社羣間的合作，關注組織團體的連結，回應在地問題，進而推動創新方案的永續治理機制。本研究在高史博、中山大學師生、以及 USR 計畫團隊的合作下，以行動研究模式探討跨域課程設計與推廣活動是否可形成保存皮影戲文化的社會創新方案，並以社會創新核心主題作為分析架構理解其運行。本研究結果分別就「課程案例」與「活動案例」探討社會創新核心主題分析，藉由具體實踐經驗檢視社會創新核心主題在合作歷程中的展現。

一、跨域課程設計方案案例分析

將皮影戲文化導入不同領域的大學課程，是創新與傳承推廣的開端，以下依據 Lettice 與 Parekh 提出的社會創新核心主題，分析跨域課程設計方案如何透過四個面向，推動皮影戲文化保存於大學教育場域中的延伸與創新。

(一) 改變視角

在「改變視角」的面向中，跨域課程設計方案突破了皮影戲僅被視為傳統藝術保存或專業劇團演出形式的框架，將皮影戲拆解為影偶製作、燈光運用與音樂設計等元素，進一步轉化為跨領域教學與學習的素材，使皮影戲成為一種可供知識轉化的教學媒介，讓學生在多元學科情境中重新理解文化資源的價值。

在「光電創新」課程中，教師運用合作學習與設計思考的概念，將皮影戲作為光電知識應用的媒介，透過皮影戲教具設計的專題，讓學生對皮影文化產生初步認識並嘗試將所學光電理論應用於實際問題解決，尤其著重在皮影戲演出時的燈光設計與燈具改良。這樣的教學設計打破了過去「皮影戲只能與藝文表演類科連結」的迷思，成為課程推廣上的突破，授課教師 Y 也提到：

學生還有蠻多的回饋是，他們自己也覺得很神奇，就是以往他們也沒有想過他們自己學過的光電的相關知識，可以用在一個很傳統的戲劇上面、傳統的文化上面，所以一方面我覺得……對學生也是一個蠻好的刺激，就是說科技的東西也不往往只有在科技先進的產品裏面才可以應用，就是在傳統裏面也可以用到，那對我們老師而言，就會覺得這樣的一個練習跟這樣的一個例子，在教學生的時候，就會比較好上手一點……當學生有感的時候，你就會覺得，這樣的一個整個呈現跟互動，就會比較熱烈一些。（教師 Y）

光電領域教師 L 在看過學生的作品展示後，也表示「真的沒想過光電科技也可以跟這麼傳統的文化藝術作結合」。換言之，此類跨域課程設計對教師而言，這是一項新的挑戰；對學生而言，則兼具新鮮感與實作性，使其將專業領域所學習到的知識作嶄新的連結和想像。

在「閩南語敘事工作坊」中，授課教師將「演出一場閩南語皮影戲」作為課程目標，引導學生從劇本發想到戲偶創作、戲臺搭建，再到口白與操偶練習，最終在公開演出其創作戲劇〈轉(túg)〉。課程設計將皮影戲的不同元素作為語言學習的載體，且從「被保存的傳統文化」轉化「可參與、具體、生動且具文化意涵的學習活動」。學生 C 在課後訪談中指出：「我覺得就是讓我們真的有機會去做文化參與跟文化實踐，這是我覺得很棒的」。另外，學生也提到，若能從不同角度切入，將傳統文化連結年輕人的興趣並結合體驗或活動，即可能重新詮釋傳統文化的形象，引起興趣，讓年輕人更有意願深入了解該文化：

現在的小朋友看到這種傳統的東西，通常不太會有興趣，所以一定要跟他的興趣做一些結合，他才會對這種東西有興趣，他才會了解說這個東西原本應該長什麼樣子。(學生C)

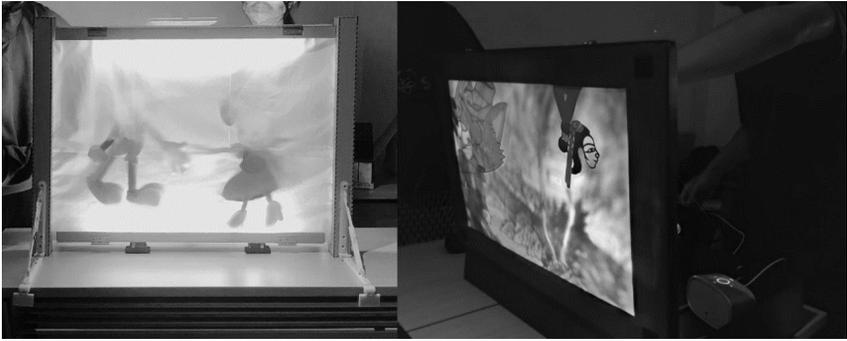
我覺得如果想要讓年輕的人接觸這種東西的話，可以把它弄得像是一種定期的活動...我自己覺得我做了一個體驗。就是有一個皮影戲館，他就是一個閒置在那邊的空間，然後...我覺得它沒有一個亮點或是沒有在大家心目中形成一種格調，所以大家才不會主動願意去那個地方。就對我來說它就是一個傳統的東西，它應該留下來，但我不會想去。但是如果大家在大家心中有形成一個...我覺得主要是打造這個形象，它不會是皮影戲而是這個活動，它有一個形象出來，那我覺得後面就會慢慢地變好。(學生Y)

綜合上述案例可見，皮影戲在「城市是一座共事館」的跨域課程設計方案中被重新定位為教學設計的媒介與素材，成為「文化 × 科技 × 教育」的交會點，而非單純的藝術表演形式，呼應社會創新核心主題中的「改變視角」，透過重新定義文化資源的功能與意義，開啟文化保存與教育創新的新可能。

(二) 建立缺失的市場連結

在「建立缺失的市場連結」面向，跨域課程設計將皮影戲連結至教學現場、語言運用和日常生活，提升學生對皮影戲的理解與親近感，也使傳統文化在日常生活中重新具備可及性與趣味性。在「光電創新」中，學生的專題設計直接回應高史博在校園推廣皮影戲時遇到的實際問題：因缺乏合適教具而限縮文化資源的有效傳遞與推廣。透過設計思考流程，學生運用光電專業知識改良燈具與光源，亦考量材料價格、操作便利性與教學現場需求，想像可能適合教學現場使用的光電皮影教具，縮短「文化資源」與「教育現場」之間的落差，也成為了文化和科技領域之間長期缺乏的連結。整體而言，學生設計的教具在材料與技術運用上連結所學專業，並結合日常生活素材，呈現與傳統皮影戲不同的創新風格（見圖一）。考量使用者需求為教室可用的皮影戲教具，相較於傳統戲臺而言，學生設計的戲臺在尺寸上縮小許多，訴

求輕便、折疊組裝、易於攜帶使用為主。在戲偶製作上採用紙類為主，結合竹筷或吸管等隨手可得的素材作為操作桿，部分組別則以透明片製作場景圖，或以投影圖像替代換場效果。燈光設計上以 LED 燈條、迷你投影燈、燈管等為主，背景音效則多以藍芽喇叭或手機播放。這些低成本與高可行性的設計，為傳統皮影戲開啟了嶄新的應用場景，降低推廣文化教育的門檻，也看到了不同領域間合作的方向與可行性。



圖一：學生設計之教具模型案例

「閩南語敘事工作坊」則透過語言教育與戲劇表演的結合，突破語言學習僅限於課堂操練的侷限，建立語言學習和文化實踐與推廣間的新連結。課程中，學生需運用閩南語編寫劇本、排練、及公開演出皮影戲，將語言運用於文化推廣活動中。這樣的設計使學生能在真實情境中運用課程中所學，建立語言與地方文化之間的緊密關係。參與學生於訪談中回饋：

我覺得語言本來就是拿來用的，而不是說我專門去學一個語言，所以我為了要把皮影戲演好，我可能就是試著把臺語要講的東西講出來，那這個過程其實我也同時也就是學到了臺語。所以我覺得把皮影戲融入課程中，特別是這種語言類的課程，然後語言只是一個能實現這些事情的工具，我覺得是很好的。

（學生 Y）

過去皮影戲分為「公戲」——由寺廟爐主邀請戲班演出酬神，和「私戲」——個人邀請戲班為還願、祝壽、新居落成演出等（李偉麟 para. 3），也曾有大量商業劇場演出（內臺戲）的黃金期（李偉麟 para. 4；〈臺灣皮影戲發展〉

(d)。然而，科技的迅速發展以及大眾娛樂方式的轉變，電視與電影逐漸取代了皮影戲在日常生活中的角色（李偉麟 para. 4；〈臺灣皮影戲發展〉(e)）。對新世代而言，皮影戲已不再是日常娛樂的一部分，而被視為陌生且難以親近的宗教酬神儀式或傳統民俗活動，僅在特定節慶、特殊場合或博物館展示中方能接觸。本研究跨域課程設計案例皆重新連結「傳統文化」與「日常生活」，讓學生能以更自然、輕鬆的方式接觸傳統文化，進而培養親近感與認同感。光電創新的皮影教具讓學生思考如何透過日常可得的材料重新詮釋傳統藝術，讓皮影戲從戲臺走進教室，成為可隨手操作的學習工具；教師也建議，傳統文化的推廣應思考如何讓該文化變得更有可及性與趣味性：

推廣的話，當然就是他的普及性跟可及性要稍微高一些，也就是說當我平常要做這件事情的時候，我可以很容易找到工具或是找到地方可以去做這件事情，這樣的話可能普及度……可能會好一些，另外就是……增加趣味性吧，因為大部分的人都喜歡有趣一點的事情，如果他體驗的過程中有些趣味性……共同產生的話，在參與的意願跟後續參與的機會就會比較高一些。
(教師 Y)

「閩南語敘事工作坊」的學生在皮影戲專業教師的指導下，採用與傳統牛皮製偶工序繁複方式不同的簡易製作方法。學生使用描圖紙繪製，運用麥克筆上色，護貝，以棉線組裝並裝桿，完成戲偶的製作，降低了傳統技藝的操作門檻。舞臺設計上，摒棄傳統大型戲臺，而採用日常生活中易取得的素材，如鐵架、布幕、PP 板與探照燈，搭建小型戲臺（見圖二），並在隧道防空洞中進行演出。這種空間與材料的創新運用，不僅使演出形式更貼近生活，也引起觀眾的好奇心，使皮影戲呈現出平易近人的形象，吸引許多師生與民眾共賞。



圖二：閩南語劇本創作演出

呼應光電創新 Y 教師的回饋，日常可得的工具與簡化的製作方式，使「閩南語敘事工作坊」的學生在實作過程中對皮影戲產生親近感，並認為戲偶設計與劇本安排應可融入現代元素，與當代生活和創作實踐接軌，設計體驗環節讓變得更有趣，也能吸引更多人對皮影戲產生興趣：

像傳統藝術中心他們就必須得把皮影戲營造的很古早味的樣子，所以演的劇一定要是傳統的劇……西遊記啊之類的…可能還會跟你介紹皮影戲的那些材質是用什麼皮……。老師有辦一個工作坊，請附近國小的一個專門在帶皮影戲的老師來，教我們做皮影戲偶…把圖畫在描圖紙上，剪下來，用護貝的方式，然後就會變成一個戲偶……而不是像是真的請那個傳統那種用某種動物的皮來做，因為那個工法很繁複然後又麻煩，但是可能效果比較好之類的。所以第一個不一樣的印象是，原來皮影戲偶也可以比較現代或比較貼近一點點。(學生 Y)

我終於知道說哇！原來皮影戲之鄉就在高雄！……多一個親切感，這是第一個。然後第二個是，自己操作完發現其實滿有趣的，因為……我們設計一個操作的環節，然後不管大人或小孩都滿好玩的，因為沒有玩過這種東西，尤其都市小孩更不可能。(學生 C)

本研究的跨域課程設計案例試圖建立傳統文化與現代社會需求之間缺失的連結，期能促進文化資源的可及性與永續推廣。光電創新的皮影教具將皮影戲、科技知識與教學現場需求加以連結，而閩南語敘事工作坊則將語言

學習應用於皮影戲的實踐及推廣。此外，兩個課程皆以易取得的素材讓皮影戲貼近學生的日常生活，使傳統文化不再顯得疏遠或難以親近。

(三) 吸引新「客羣」

將皮影戲融入大學跨領域課程設計，已使受眾羣體成功拓展至傳統觀眾之外——大學教師與學生也成為文化資源的使用者。以光電創新課程為例，史博館的專家人員 H 指出：「能夠有光電系師生參與，其實也是以往都沒有這樣的機會，所以我們很高興有不同領域的人來參與皮影戲這件事」。換言之，將皮影戲帶入科技領域，讓不同領域的學生成為皮影戲的受眾是有意義的。大學社會責任計畫與博物館的合作能開啟不同的跨域互動，讓傳統文化能接觸到原本不在其觀眾範圍內的羣體，拓展其客羣。

閩南語敘事工作坊則將原本缺乏皮影戲經驗的大學生置於表演與語言實踐的核心，從劇本發想、戲偶製作、舞臺搭建到最終演出，學生由文化的被動學習者轉變為積極創作者。學生 Y 提到：「我們的劇是自己排的，時間點是設在現代，所以演出當下會有一種跟你印象衝擊的感覺...自己下去做的時候會有一種衝擊感或是有點改變印象。」由於劇本由學生自主創作並設定於當代情境，學生能改變對皮影戲「古老、距離感強」的既定印象，顯示將參與者轉化為創造者，對於傳統文化傳承與創新的重要性。此外，在親身體驗皮影戲文化、參與戲劇創作及展演的過程中，學生也增強了對於未來參與文化傳承、創新與推廣的動機：

修課前對皮影戲的印象就是有點神秘、接地氣、非常本土化的感覺……工作坊老師有提到皮影戲是非常瀕危的傳統文化，所以感覺好像應該要保存它。不過到課程後期，我開始會思考說要保存文化好像不是單單只把技藝工法保存下來……其實我們可以更思考怎麼樣以現代化的方式來經營它……讓它可以跟著時代留下來。(學生 T)

……當我們去學到這個東西，了解這個傳統文化的價值在哪之後，我們畢業以後也可以把它應用在我們的拿手領域裏面。……我覺得這門課可以帶給很認真參與的學生，到了出社會之後有

一份傳承的責任感……我會願意把它帶回社會裏面去發揚光大。(學生 T)

儘管光電創新課程與閩南語敘事工作坊皆達成「吸引新客羣」，但二者在參與層次上呈現出差異化的策略。光電創新課程主要展現了新受眾拓展：透過跨領域的合作機制，將理工背景的師生納入皮影戲的文化場域，使其首次接觸並認識皮影戲，且需運用自身專業知識設計出符合教學現場需求的光電教具。相對而言，閩南語敘事工作坊則體現了新受眾的深化與轉化：不僅成功吸引原本對皮影戲缺乏認識的大學生，更進一步使其成為創作者、表演者和未來的推廣者。此一差異顯示，「吸引新客羣」不僅可透過拓展至異質領域達成，也可經由轉化參與者的角色與經驗實現。

(四) 善用同儕支持

在跨域課程設計中，同儕支持與跨域協作對學生的學習深度與創意發揮具有重要價值，而參與文化創作與推廣活動亦促進學生的人際協調能力與團隊向心力。在「光電創新」課程中，學生需以小組形式共同設計光電皮影教具，過程中互相分工與討論技術運用等細節，在初步提案報告時由授課教師與計畫團隊給予回饋建議，成果發表時接受光電領域教師、專家以及同儕的多方回饋，形成多層次支持網絡，強化學習效果與創意表現。

閩南語敘事工作坊的訪談回饋也突顯團隊協作與互助對學習與文化參與的重要性。教師 T 指出，學生在劇場搭建、演出及觀眾互動過程中，需掌握分工協作、容忍他人出錯、溝通與協調的能力：

因為我們自己去搭臺啊，然後自己演出、自己要敲鑼打鼓、呼朋引伴，就是呼喊那些觀眾，我覺得大家其實真的就是因為有活動，所以大家那個向心力很夠。我們分工也滿清楚的……當然工作難免會有一些摩擦……那就要去協調……學習怎麼跟別人共事……我覺得還滿好的。因為有那個活動，所以他們學的不僅僅只是臺語文跟皮影戲，他們還學到怎麼合作……去容忍別人的出錯……我覺得也是有滿大的學習跟成長。(教師 T)

教師 T 也觀察到，參與跨域課程設計及文化推廣活動的學生展現出高度的團隊向心力，並在學習過程中表現出正向的成長：

我那時候看他們（學生回饋）日誌都覺得哇！真的很感動。就是每個人都是真的從這個活動裏面……真的就不是只有臺語文的寫作而已，他們從團隊合作、怎麼去創意發想、怎麼跟人合作溝通，從他們的日記本裏面就是也看到很多他們的成長，所以回饋其實是都還滿正向的，而且因為大家感情變得很好，就幾乎都是很正向的回饋。（教師 T）

學生 Y 的回饋也呼應了學生團隊的正向互動：

我當時喜歡的是那種有一個劇組，我們就小小一個團隊，一起去想我們要怎麼演，所以假設還有什麼演出的東西，不見得是皮影戲，我可能會想參與這樣。（學生 Y）

團隊合作與共同決策的過程強化了學生之間的正向互動，同時提高了他們參與跨域文化創作活動的投入、學習動機和未來參與動機。

對授課教師而言，在跨域課程方案設計中若能建立一個與文化專業業師的同儕支持網絡，有助於確保文化知識能被準確傳遞與創意轉化，是提升課程品質的重要基礎。閩南語敘事工作坊的教師 T 強調，文化跨域課程「跟一般傳統教學很不一樣……這種課是絕對不可能一個人教完的，它一定要去做很多的合作。」而教師端、高史博專家人員和學生的訪談回饋亦顯示本研究跨領域課程案例中同儕支持網絡與協同互動仍有不足。高史博館專家 H 針對光電創新課程中學生所設計的教具指出，由於學生與教師對皮影戲的熟悉程度仍有限，甚至可能從未看過實際演出，這些教具設計雖概念良好，但尚難直接轉化為可應用於教學現場的具體方案，H 建議：

未來如果課程有機會讓學生也先到皮影戲館作個了解，或是我們皮影戲館先帶學生做一堂課的認識的話，當然我覺得或許他們就會有更多的成果接下來是可以被研發或被運用。（高史博專家人員 H）

教師 T 亦強調，該跨域課程需整合臺語文教師、皮影戲業師及民俗或歷史專業顧問的協作，由於授課教師主要專精於其專業領域知識，因此在文化推廣與傳承相關的教學部分，仍需倚賴更多業師的專業支持與跨域互動，以確保課程能兼顧文化內容的準確性與實務落實：

我覺得這門課一定是需要協同教學，就是我可能是還是比較站在比較臺語文的這個部分，口語寫作、表達的這個部分的訓練。可是因為要結合皮影戲這種表演，我們就需要比較多皮影戲的業師進來幫忙。(教師 T)

要讓這個劇本更專業的話……就是要做一些考究。就像現在很多的戲劇，他們都要做一些史實的考究……如果我的劇本跟民俗有關，那也許就要再多一個業師是跟民俗有關係的來當顧問，看一下我們這些論述是不是有問題。(教師 T)

但若學生與業師之間的互動及即時指導有限，可能會影響學生在創作、演出與專業知識整合中的文化理解與創意發揮。

因此，未來跨域課程設計需調整以強化同儕支持與跨域協作：首先，可在課程初期安排皮影戲館實地參訪或入門工作坊，使師生對皮影戲有基礎認知，降低學習門檻並提升後續創作效率；其次，建立結構化的同儕互動機制，如分組討論、定期檢討會與互評系統，以促進學生間，或教師及業師間的經驗分享與協作能力的提升；最後，強化師生與業師間的協同互動，確保能及時提供文化專業指導，並在課程進行中形成持續的支持網絡。

二、活動案例分析

創新活動方案設計可將傳統皮影戲文化以多元形式觸及不同世代與社羣，以下將依據 Lettice 與 Parekh 提出的社會創新核心主題，分析跨域活動設計方案如何在四個面向上促進皮影戲文化的在地推廣與創新實踐。

(一) 改變視角

在文化推廣活動的設計中，「改變視角」的策略體現於對皮影戲傳承方式的重新定位。傳統上，皮影戲多由專業劇團操演，觀眾僅作為觀賞者的角色，文化參與性相對有限。然而，「奇幻光影 SHOW」系列活動嘗試將皮影

戲轉化為全民皆可參與的文化體驗。例如，「戲偶工作坊」使參與者能親手繪製與製作戲偶，並實際操作，讓民眾從單純的觀眾轉變為創作者；而「光影展演」則邀請兩所國小影戲團的學生，及「閩南語敘事工作坊」的大學生演出三齣皮影戲，並同步展示國小學生自製的戲偶，現場亦安排親身體驗的操偶活動。此類設計打破了專業與業餘、表演者與觀眾的界線，讓文化傳統的承載不再侷限於專業劇場，而能以跨世代、跨場域的方式進入社區與教育現場。一位參與家長也回饋指出：

本來只是陪孩子們一起來參加活動，沒想到自己跟著動手操作之後，也想要瞭解更多皮影戲的內涵，像是學習更多的演出說唱技巧、後臺音樂表現、以及劇本創作等；而且我們也是第一次知道高雄還有這麼棒的在地文化，應該要讓更多人瞭解皮影戲的。(活動現場家長)

這一過程不僅重新建構了參與者對皮影戲的認知，也拓展了文化參與的可能性。透過將文化體驗從被動觀賞轉向主動參與，民眾的學習動機與文化投入均得到提升，未來可期形成更為積極的文化互動模式。

(二) 建立缺失的市場連結

「奇幻光影 SHOW」系列活動將皮影戲與社區教育、家庭休閒及不同文化資源等領域建立新的連結。高史博推出的皮影戲研習活動與工作坊多以傳統專業技能傳授為主，與日常生活及社區參與的關聯有限；相較之下，創新活動方案設計案例構築較多元的文化體驗活動，讓不同世代的參與者可以一起同樂。例如，「戲偶工作坊」將皮影戲製偶流程簡化，連結成為親子體驗活動。「光影展演」中不僅有皮影戲文化歷史背景的靜態展示、操偶體驗、影偶網印，臺語問答遊戲，還結合科普知識的光譜沙盒。同時，活動中也邀請高雄在地國小校園劇團及「閩南語敘事工作坊」的師生參與演出與互動，並設計「與偶合影」打卡分享元素，使民眾可參與、體驗文化，並以現代化的方式在社羣媒體上分享文化活動資訊，擴散活動文化推廣影響力。



圖三：「奇幻光影 SHOW—光影展演」活動規劃

此外，「光影展演」活動不僅止於皮影戲本身，還融入計畫團隊所關注的在地文化議題，例如重新想像閒置的隧道防空洞空間用於展演、結合大漁旗文化復興所設計的影偶絹印體驗，以及延伸至登山街六十巷的時空廊道的文史導覽，透過連結在地、創新想像，讓民眾體驗更完整的地方文化脈絡。傳統的皮影戲「文化保存」概念被轉化為兼具教育和社區發展功能的新市場連結，未來亦可能連結至文化踏查小旅行，形成文史遊程。

（三）吸引新「客羣」

傳統皮影戲的主要觀眾多為特定族羣，如劇團觀眾與民俗活動參與者，「奇幻光影 SHOW」系列活動則藉由多元化的活動設計，成功觸及跨世代的參與羣體，嘗試將皮影戲轉化為一種全民共享的文化資產。例如，「戲偶工作坊」共舉辦四場，吸引七十八位親子共同參與；「光影展演」總計參與人次達五百四十三人次，涵蓋了國小學生與家長（親子同樂）、大學師生（課程與文化體驗），以及在地居民（文史導覽與社區參與）。

同時，高史博專家人員 H 的觀察進一步突顯了創新活動設計方案的意義；她指出，觀眾之所以能大幅擴展，關鍵在於活動設計突破了單一文化形式的限制，使民眾更容易接受與參與。專家 H 表示，若單純以皮影戲為主

題，活動較可能僅吸引專業羣體，難以觸及新的觀眾，然而，透過跨領域整合與串連不同文史內容成為活潑多元的活動設計，則「可以觸及到很多原本對皮影戲沒有在關注的人」，有效拓展受眾結構。

將皮影戲活動設計得更貼近生活情境，並融入教育、休閒與社區元素，可降低文化參與的門檻；民眾不需具備專業背景即可進入體驗場域，這不僅促進了傳統文化的再認識，也能讓皮影戲成為一種跨世代共享的日常文化體驗。

(四) 善用同儕支持

在「奇幻光影 SHOW」系列活動中，善用同儕支持的要素展現在多方單位的跨域協作與支持網絡的建構。活動籌劃歷程涉及高史博、皮影戲館、大學授課教師、USR 計畫團隊、國小教師及專業藝師等多元角色，這些成員透過反覆溝通、課程設計與資源協調，共同形成一個跨領域的合作體系。此過程不僅體現了組織間的互補與支持，也確保活動在資源調度與專業知識上的完整性。

皮影戲在此扮演了重要的橋樑角色，促進跨領域單位之間的連結與交流。藉由共同參與與合作，活動夥伴間得以提升彼此的能見度，進而增加文化與教育資源的影響力。更重要的是，此外，實際辦理的活動現場成為了一個互相觀摩與學習的平臺，參與者在欣賞展示和參與活動互動的過程中，能借鏡他人的經驗、獲得靈感、啟發更多討論與交流和發現未來合作的可能性。

這些同儕交流網絡並不僅限於專業夥伴之間的合作，而能在活動舉辦的過程中，擴散至參與活動的學生與在地居民，形成更廣泛的「文化共學網絡」。此種共學模式能吸引更多人共同參與文化的傳承與擴散，有助於推動地方文化的持續延續與創新發展。

討論與建議

傳統文化資源如皮影戲，受限於表演形式與展示方式，其教育價值與社會影響力往往難以充分發揮。本研究旨在探討如何透過跨域課程設計方案與創新活動方案，推動皮影戲文化的跨域社會創新，以回應 Lettice 與 Parekh 所提出的的社會創新核心主題。

研究結果顯示，在跨域課程與創新活動中，皮影戲不再被視為傳統藝術表演，而是透過「轉換視角」成為跨領域學習的媒介與可參與的文化體驗資源。這一新定位也呼應 Carolina Jonsson Malm (215)的研究，即透過正式或非正式學習過程，有助於參與者在知識、技能與態度上的發展，並培養新的價值觀與行為模式。本研究也發現，皮影戲與不同專業領域及社會需求建立「缺失的市場連結」，學生得以將所學與文化資源相結合，形成知識、技能與文化認同的互動循環，在體驗學習中提升課堂參與度(Li, Öchsner, and Hall 3)、進而而在生活場域中實際運用、反思及精進課堂所學(李懿純、紀俊龍 43)。此外，「奇幻光影 SHOW」系列活動將皮影戲與社區教育、在地文化議題及家庭活動建立連結，成功「吸引新客羣」，讓過去沒有接觸皮影戲的民眾對該文化產生一探究竟的興趣。而跨域課程將皮影戲的客羣擴展至文學院及理工背景師生，也讓學生角色從觀眾轉化為創作者。在「善用同儕支持」的面向，研究結果顯示跨域課程與活動皆重視協作網絡的建立。透過小組合作及專家、教師與計畫團隊的資源整合，逐步形成多層次的支持體系，促進學生的協作與問題解決能力。這些互動亦能擴散至在地居民，進而在未來建構更廣泛的「文化共學網絡」，成為文化傳承與擴散的基礎。

然而，本研究分析之案例中的皮影戲推廣皆採創新方式，而非傳統皮影戲的傳承。在文化保存上，雖然創新推廣能提升文化的可及性與社會參與度，但仍需尊重其核心脈絡與價值，以避免偏離傳統文化精神。在創新實踐中，文化保護與教育推廣之間仍存在一定張力與限制，如何在創新與傳統之間取得平衡，仍是一大挑戰。此外，教師與專家回饋皆指出，跨域協作網絡在整合不同領域專業與文化專業知識方面仍有改善空間，需要更多持續性的互動與深度連結。因此，未來在設計傳統文化跨域推廣的社會創新方案時，可邀請更多文化專業人員，如高史博專家或藝師，直接與教師或參與者互動，以完善同儕支持機制並提升知識傳遞的品質與效果。

本研究對課程設計、社區文化推廣及永續策略提出以下建議：在課程設計上應採跨域整合方式，將文化、科技、教育及語言學習結合，並透過角色轉化策略增強參與感及社會責任意識。其次，在社區文化推廣方面，可設計多元參與活動，如親子工作坊、展演與社區導覽，促進跨世代參與並建立文化認同，同時兼顧文化核心脈絡。最後，為確保文化資源永續，應建立跨域

協作與同儕支持網絡，整合教育、社區及專業資源，提升知識傳遞與創意轉化的效能，形成長期共享與傳承的文化生態系統。

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The Path to Cultural Sustainability under the Interweaving of Light and Shadow Cross-Disciplinary and Innovative Approaches in Shadow Puppetry Promotion

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to employ shadow puppetry as the core material to respond to local cultural transmission and social needs through the implementation of social innovation initiatives, specifically curriculum-based teaching and promotional activities. The research adopts a qualitative methodology, primarily utilizing interview data, complemented by observations of instructional practices and participation in outreach events. Data were analyzed using the four themes of social innovation theory proposed by Lettice and Parekh, focusing on the effectiveness of curriculum and activity implementation.

Findings indicate that interdisciplinary course design and activities reposition shadow puppetry as an educational medium and a resource for cultural innovation, embodying a “changing the lens” strategy. In terms of “building missing market links,” the curriculum integrates technological applications, language learning, and community participation, thereby enhancing engagement in cultural activities and the circulation of resources. Regarding “engaging a new ‘customer’ base,” the interdisciplinary curriculum broadened participation among faculty and students from both the humanities and sciences, while workshops and community-based events deepened audience involvement, fostering cultural identification and a sense of engagement.

Finally, the theme of “leveraging peer-support” facilitated connections and exchanges among cross-sector collaborators, contributing to the establishment of a cultural co-learning network. Based on these findings, the study recommends that future curriculum and outreach initiatives incorporate diverse perspectives and interdisciplinary strategies, supported by robust peer networks and evaluation mechanisms, to strengthen the sustainability of cultural education and its value as a form of social innovation.

KEYWORDS: social innovation, shadow puppetry, experiential learning, interdisciplinary, cultural sustainability

Local Participation and Sustainable Development of Art Festivals

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that standardized festival programming threatens the long-term sustainability of art festivals because the absence of local context reduces community participation. Facing the global trend of using festivals to enhance local development, Taiwan's urban and peripheral areas have likewise witnessed a proliferation of art festivals. However, current phenomena reveal concerns of increasing homogenization of festival programming and an excessive tourism orientation. Without substantive participation by local residents, art festivals risk becoming short-lived political showcases or hollow cultural consumption. The motivation of this study is therefore to reassess the role and value of art festivals from a community-driven perspective and to foreground the importance of locally embedded practices. Theoretically, this research reviews the evolution of art festivals from primarily economic instruments toward multidimensional cultural infrastructures that emphasize social and cultural outcomes, with particular attention to how rural art festivals, through community participation, deepen local identity and accumulate cultural capital. Methodologically, using the Mipaliw Land Art Festival in Fengbin Township, Hualien County as a case study, this paper analyzes its curatorial discourse and mechanisms for local participation to explore how community involvement contributes to cultural construction and enhances the

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possibilities for long-term development of the festival. The case shows that a local curatorial team established mutual trust with the community through long-term communication and adopted a triennial model along with an “art creation” plan, enabling indigenous residents to become deeply involved in various aspects of the festival—from providing materials and co-creating artworks to guiding festival activities. Local residents thus became active subjects of the festival. At the same time, the curatorial team avoided letting the festival grow into a tourism spectacle, emphasizing local identity and cultural context to ensure that the event did not deplete local cultural resources. Taken together, these findings demonstrate that locally grounded, bottom-up participation serves as a critical mechanism of differentiation that enables festivals to resist standardized models and fosters more embedded, long-term forms of development.

KEYWORDS: art festivals, festival programming, local participation, embeddedness, sustainable development

Introduction

GLOBALLY, the vision of sustainable development has rapidly expanded into all facets of life, and approaches using “culture” and “art” as vehicles have gained widespread acceptance. Employing art festivals for urban regeneration, city marketing, industrial stimulation, regional development, or even to solve social issues like depopulation and population aging has been the subject of many case studies and discussions (Qu and Cheer 1756). However, Rebecca Finkel (20) concludes that the trend toward standardization, in which art festivals are formed with similar formats and programs forming a homogeneous festival type, weakens the symbolic ties between festivals, places, and residents, creating an increasingly standardized cultural landscape. Building on this concern, this paper foregrounds homogeneity as a critical challenge for the sustainability of contemporary art festivals.

The early discussions of sustainability in festival and event studies were largely framed in terms of economic growth, tourism performance, and development-oriented indicators (Butler 5-12; Urry 1-15; Getz 2008: 403-428). In recent studies, the concept of sustainability has increasingly been understood in social and cultural terms. Scholarship argues that cultural initiatives such as art festivals should be evaluated not only by their immediate economic outcomes but by their capacity to sustain social relations, cultural meanings, and institutional continuity over time (Finkel 3-21; Duxbury and Campbell 111-118). In this regard, sustainability is perceived as a relational and place-sensitive condition that depends on local engagement, cultural embeddedness, and community recognition.

Art festivals are predominantly hosted in metropolitan areas. Seen as potent tools for urban development, art festivals can create tourism momentum for a city and serve as attractions to draw visitors, thus bringing economic benefits. They have also become a method of urban regeneration, functioning as both cultural movements and injections of vitality into city economies, as well as excellent marketing for city branding. Consequently, arts festivals have bloomed across numerous cities worldwide. John Clark (10-12) noted, however, that modern art festivals are becoming increasingly homogeneous, raising the danger of devolving into empty spectacles. This tendency is particularly acute in metropolitan settings, where competitive pressures and branding strategies often drive cities to imitate successful festival models (Finkel 17-18), reinforcing standardized templates. Yet because art festivals can produce a brief period of prosperity for a city, political forces often intervene in their organization, which leads to further variables and challenges.

A growing number of studies has focused on the development of art festivals in rural contexts as rural regions join the craze of hosting arts festivals. Apart from

economic contribution, Qu and Cheer (1759) observe that art festivals as a means of revitalizing rural areas have proven effective in injecting creative energy, attracting more artists and creative workers to settle in and invigorate rural creative networks. Following this context, art festivals are applied to tackle problems like depopulation and aging of rural areas. Increasingly, however, research questions whether art is being reduced to a tool for political and economic agendas, with the art itself becoming secondary, and cautions that arts festivals may end up commodifying local culture. Moreover, rural festivals are not immune to homogeneity: top-down tourism-led models often reproduce programs that mirror metropolitan events rather than responding to local cultures.

In recent years, focuses have deliberately been shifted from narrow economic metrics to the non-economic values and functions of art festivals, foregrounding their roles as infrastructures for social inclusion and diversity. Studies show festivals can support identity formation and belonging among indigenous youth while interweaving environmental consciousness (Skogvang 2); build bonding and bridging social capital and enhance subjective well-being; provide platforms of visibility and advocacy for marginalized publics such as LGBTQI+ communities in regional settings (Vorobjovas-Pinta et al. 7). Urban cultural scholarship likewise reframes festivals as social infrastructures capable of widening participation and cultural encounter (Quinn 2025: 1). At the same time, critical evaluations caution that inclusion is not automatic: without intentional design and community leadership, festivals may reproduce boundaries rather than bridge them (Abbasian 476-478). Taken together, this positions art festivals as sites of social learning, visibility, and intercultural encounters whose non-economic dividends are central to sustainable development. Yet these social and cultural benefits depend heavily on the specificity of place and community involvement, and are significantly weakened when festivals adopt standardized programming models. Furthermore, a growing number of studies sheds light on art festivals to strengthen community resilience and commoning practices through co-creation and place-based participation in art festivals (Dalla Torre et al.1-16; Black 183; Mahon and Hyyryläinen 612-632). This paper aligns with and extends this strand by emphasizing differentiation—rooted in community authorship—as a necessary condition for sustainability.

In Taiwan, this wave of art festivals swept from cities into rural areas, and some researchers have noted that art festivals in Taiwan have reached a point of saturation (Lü P.-Y. para. 1). Viewed positively, this trend means the public has ever more opportunities to participate in arts and culture. However, this leads to the core question this paper aims to discuss: as festival formats and programming choices grow increasingly similar, what is lost in terms of local meaning, community identification, and long-term sustainability? This paper argues that such replication

and homogeneity weaken place-specific symbolic meanings, increase the likelihood of festivals becoming detached from local life, and ultimately jeopardize their sustainability. Accordingly, this paper issues a warning: sustainable art festivals must be considered from local perspectives. Only by cultivating meaningful local participation and enabling festivals to be embedded within local cultural and developmental contexts can art festivals differentiate themselves and remain flourishing and sustainable.

Taiwan's cultural policy trajectory—from the Community Empowerment initiative in the late 1990s, through the promotion of Cultural and Creative Industries, to more recent Regional Revitalization programs—has provided the institutional scaffolding within which art festivals have proliferated. Across these phases, local subjectivity has been progressively articulated and folded into national development agendas, with festivals deployed as instruments for implementing cultural policy and catalyzing cultural-economic revitalization. At the same time, because festivals often depend on public funding, they remain vulnerable to political instrumentalization; even where urban events contribute to city image-making and urban regeneration, they risk devolving into short-term performances of political achievement rather than durable cultural interventions (Li J.-X. paras. 5-11; Qiu, 2012). Arguably, political factors threaten development of art festivals when it comes to embeddedness and sustainability.

In the academic literature, rural festivals are frequently framed from an instrumental premise: they are mobilized as remedies for demographic decline or as policy tools for social and economic purposes. A smaller strand demonstrates that festivals can serve as vehicles for cultural preservation and dissemination. Still relatively rare are de-instrumentalized approaches that center residents' meaning-making, identification, and substantive participation. This paper contributes to this gap by arguing that rural festivals must shift toward residents' identification with and authorship of the festival. Only when such identification is secured and participation deepened can festivals differentiate themselves from other art festivals and move toward sustainable development.

Methodologically, this research applies a case analysis of the Mipaliw Land Art Festival (Fengbin Township, Hualien County). The case draws on secondary sources—curatorial statements and program descriptions published on the official website, supplemented by related audiovisual documentation. This data shows how local participation is organized, how identity is articulated in and through festival processes, and how curatorial framings mediate the balance between cultural sustainability and tourism-led imperatives. Through this case, the paper demonstrates how locally authored, place-embedded approaches counteract homogenization and enable festivals to cultivate embedded and long-term forms of festival development.

Art Festivals in Urban and Rural Settings

THE historical trajectory of art festivals shows that their function has gradually shifted from being purely economic drivers to becoming multifaceted platforms that also carry social and cultural values. In earlier stages, art festivals were regarded as important mediums for stimulating economic development, widely used by cities in global competition to create local distinctiveness and shape city brands. However, research indicates that this economically driven interpretation is too narrow and often overlooks the social benefits that art festivals can bring (Quinn 2005: 1758-1759). In fact, art festivals can enhance social inclusion, facilitate diverse cultural exchange, and improve quality of life, thereby strengthening a city's social capital and deepening civic participation.

In contrast to urban settings, research on rural art festivals highlights a different developmental logic and social significance. Klien (513-539) notes that rural art festivals are often seen as important cultural vehicles for promoting local revitalization, using cultural exchange and social interaction to address structural problems such as population loss, economic decline, and aging communities. Japan's experience shows that models based on "socially engaged art festivals" can successfully mobilize local resources and drive regional regeneration (Favell 2017).

In rural contexts, art festivals not only facilitate cultural preservation and innovation, but also increasingly exhibit linkages with local innovation and market-oriented development (Mahon and Hyyryläinen 632). Such festivals are frequently incorporated into local development blueprints as concrete regional development strategies, and are entrusted with the hope of solving rural population crisis (Crawshaw and Gkartzios 134). Studies likewise show that rural art festivals can attract urban youth and members of the "creative class" (Florida 38-44) to relocate, thereby boosting local cultural vitality and community resilience (Zollet and Qu 1). The underlying reason is that a creative atmosphere forges a unique local appeal that draws people in (Su Y.-H. 18).

Compared to their urban counterparts, rural art festivals generally operate with more limited resources, which makes support from the public sector especially critical. However, when government intervention is insufficient, the community's agency, residents' participation, and the strength of local networks become the core factors sustaining a festival's success (Qu and Cheer 1757). Thus, rural art festivals are not only arenas for cultural and creative practice, but also important strategies for promoting local sustainable development, demonstrating a diversity and uniqueness distinct from the urban context (Woods 7). In this sense, the degree to which rural festivals are genuinely authored by local actors—rather than designed

through externally imposed templates—becomes central to whether they can resist the homogenizing programming associated with policy-led festivalization.

Political and Economic Aspects of Art Festivals

LI JUN-XIAN (paras. 10-18) identifies art festivals in Taiwan as a notable outcome of the Community Empowerment policy, observing that early iterations were primarily oriented toward local industrial development. Through the staging of carnivalesque events designed to attract large audiences, organizers often achieved spectacle and visibility, while the artistic substance could be uneven. With rising public demand for in-depth cultural and leisure experiences and sustained arts promotion, programming quality has generally improved, and a growing number of festivals now target audiences seeking higher-caliber artistic content.

A review of domestic practice indicates that the continuity of most festivals depends on recurrent infusions of central and local government resources, underscoring their status as instruments of cultural policy. However, annual procurement cycles and rotating implementing teams constrain institutional memory and community relationships, making it difficult for festivals to embed deeply in local contexts. This structural volatility raises concerns about alignment with community development priorities and the cultivation of long-term cultural value. It also favors short planning and limits experimentation with locally specific content.

Although festivals are typically supported by both public and private funds in Taiwan, public financing remains dominant. As external funding becomes more uncertain and volatile, some festivals have shifted toward greater commercialization. In such conditions, professional guidance can enhance the economic feasibility of small-scale rural festivals by strengthening managerial capacity and operational efficiency (Getz 1991). Yet this trajectory also heightens the risk of mission drift, whereby artistic events cede core cultural and aesthetic commitments to commercial imperatives.

Concurrently, the rising demand for cultural consumption has encouraged a consumer-oriented model of festival development. From a tourism perspective, festivals can stimulate creative tourism through innovative place-making (Borrup 1) and co-creation, meeting visitors' preferences for deeper or customized experiences. Here, co-creation extends beyond transactional participation by tourists (Chou, Huang, and Mair 405-418) to include joint learning through creative interactions between visitors and residents, as well as collaboration in tourism development and marketing (Duxbury and Richards 1-14). These approaches can deliver substantial economic benefits to host localities.

Nevertheless, the distribution and durability of such benefits depend critically on the depth of local participation. Where resident involvement remains minimal or primarily symbolic, identification with the festival often stagnates, and the event can become a burden on everyday life. Over-commercialization—frequently justified by economic viability pressures—can fracture relations between organizers and residents and erode community support (Quinn 2006: 299). In extreme cases, surges in visitation produce social and infrastructural strains that compromise local acceptance, as evidenced by periods of resident fatigue and protest during the Setouchi International Art Triennale (Hazama). Taken together, these dynamics indicate that tourism gains alone are insufficient as indicators of success; sustainable festival development requires locally grounded governance, stable organizational learning beyond annual tenders, and participation designs that protect cultural integrity while distributing benefits equitably over the long term.

Social Aspect of Art Festivals

SCHOLARS consistently demonstrate that arts and creative activities exert a decisive influence on community building in rural settings. As Duxbury and Campbell (111-122) note, festivals curate distinctive place atmospheres that can attract in-migrants and consolidate locally rooted creative communities, thereby functioning as catalysts of sustainable revitalization (Koizumi 141-146). Beyond demographic and cultural replenishment, festivals are widely recognized as mechanisms for identity formation: they mobilize and reproduce shared symbols, narratives, and practices through which communities recognize themselves and are recognized by others (Jaeger and Mykletun 216-222). In rural contexts in particular, this identity work proceeds alongside the accumulation of social capital—both bonding within groups and bridging across groups—and contributes to enhanced social well-being (Jackson and Herranz 32-35 ; Rota and Salone 92). Extending this line of inquiry, Jaeger and Mykletun (213) show that festivals, as recurring sites of social practice, shape the identities of participants and host communities by offering structured occasions to express belonging to a group or place and to co-produce shared cultural experiences and collective values.

Complementary research foregrounds festivals' role in cultivating community resilience and cultural capital. Arts-led processes in rural communities have been shown to deepen residents' sense of place and attachment, while simultaneously seeding innovation and adaptive capacities that underwrite longer-term cultural development (Gibson and Connell; Fountain and Mackay 84-98). In operational terms, festival participation thickens local networks and supports more cohesive civic interaction, strengthening the relational infrastructure upon which resilient communities depend (Derrett 127-144; Mahon and Hyyryläinen 617). Together,

this literature positions rural art festivals not merely as episodic entertainments but as platforms for social reproduction and change—arenas where identity, capital formation, and resilience are co-constructed in place. Recent scholarship further elaborates that such social benefits are intensified when festivals are planned and produced through locally embedded processes that draw on situated knowledge and existing community relationships (Lynch and Quinn 248-258). This suggests that the social value of festivals relies not only on “having a festival” but on how far planning and programming depart from standardized templates to engage with the specific histories, relationships, and aspirations of the communities in which they are located.

Building on these foundations, recent scholarship intentionally shifts attention from narrow economic metrics to the non-economic values and functions of festivals, foregrounding their roles as infrastructures for social inclusion and diversity. Empirical studies show that festivals build bonding and bridging ties and elevate subjective well-being (Ahn 11); create platforms of visibility and advocacy for marginalized publics, including LGBTQI+ communities in regional settings (Vorobjovas-Pinta, 2024); and support belonging and identity among indigenous youth while interweaving environmental consciousness (Skogvang 2). Urban cultural scholarship likewise reframes festivals as forms of “social infrastructure” whose planning shapes local encounters and community life (Quinn 2025: 3). At the same time, inclusion is not automatic: without intentional design, community leadership, and equitable governance, festivals can reproduce social boundaries rather than bridge them (Abbasian 476-478). Taken together, this corpus consolidates the view that art festivals—especially when co-created with local actors—are sites of social learning, visibility, and intercultural exchange whose non-economic dividends are central to sustainable community development. This emphasis on community-led co-creation resonates with recent festival-planning studies highlighting the importance of participatory and co-creative planning as a condition for meaningful cultural inclusion (Foster 384-389). For the purposes of this paper, it also underscores that the capacity of festivals to enhance social cohesion and inclusion is undermined when planning mechanisms prioritize easily replicable formats over processes that enable locally specific co-creation.

Local Participation and Sustainable Development of Art Festivals

AS the twenty-first century unfolds, place, culture, and economy are increasingly understood as a mutually constitutive system, a shift that complicates the relationship between place and culture and reframes prevailing imaginaries of

place-based sustainability (Su Y.-H. 18). This encourages but also challenges development of art festivals. Allen J. Scott (189) contends that festivals must be locally made—rooted in situated production—if they are to embed and grow a place’s cultural economy. This view helps explain the expanding prevalence of in-situ production and artist–community co-creation within contemporary festivals, although such practices do not automatically resolve ambiguities surrounding local authorship. Building on these insights, this article posits that recognition and protection of local autonomy constitute a decisive hinge for aligning art festivals with sustainable local development. Recent festival planning research strengthens this argument by demonstrating that planning processes explicitly grounded in local histories, spatial conditions, and community dynamics create festivals that are more deeply embedded and more readily embraced by residents (Quinn 2025:1-6).

Charles Landry (62) observes that when festival design privileges external audiences and attendance metrics while neglecting resident participation, the dialogic interactions from which artists learn—questions, challenges, critique—become thin and superficial. This dynamic helps explain why festivals are often criticized as instances of “touristic incursion” (qtd. in Su Y.-H 17). In parallel, Qu (2019) cautions that when festivals re-articulate place through artistic representation, performance must remain accountable to the destination’s image and culture; otherwise, communities risk being rendered as an art-themed playground. These critiques converge on a common imperative: meaningful local participation. Research on co-creative festival production adds that participation must be incorporated early in the planning phase—rather than merely during implementation—so that community knowledge shapes programming, spatial decisions, and festival narratives (Foster 389). Only by centering local contexts can festivals be integrated into the lived socio-cultural fabric of a place..

In particular, the participation of local residents is meaningful and vital as to sustainable development of art festivals. Qu and Cheer (1772) argue that strengthening new forms of creative capital and human capital is essential for future sustainability and resilience. While this emphasis productively highlights artists and cultural practitioners, a broader lens is required: most residents must be recognized not merely as audiences but as co-authors whose identification with—and authority over—the festival substantively shapes its legitimacy and effects. Studies of rural art festivals in Japan further demonstrate that sustained revitalization typically emerges when residents participate as co-planners and co-creators, thereby transforming festivals into endogenous cultural practices rather than externally imposed events (Klien 514). This shift from externally driven to locally authored practice also entails a shift away from replicable programming toward practices that are necessarily diverse because they are grounded in particular communities and places.

From the standpoint of sustainable local development, the long-term benefits of festivals remain contested. If an event generates only a few days of vitality each year, its contribution to development trajectories may be limited. Short-term economic returns require assessment against long-run and often hidden costs—for example, environmental burdens, or the pressures of cultural consumption that may erode cultural authenticity. Questions of participation depth further complicate these evaluations: residents may be present primarily as spectators, offer only bounded support to artists, or, in some cases, remain only vaguely aware of the event. Large inflows of visitors can discourage local use of public space, and the specialized expertise demanded by festivals may not align with existing local capacities, thereby widening the gap between festival operations and community life. Recent analyses of sustainable festival governance therefore argue that sustainability depends on embedding festivals within local cultural ecosystems—artistically, socially, and environmentally (Polivtseva 49).

Within this context, Mahon and Hyryläinen (612) propose examining the festival-sustainability nexus through three interlinked dimensions: cultural capital, resilience, and resourcefulness. Cultural capital remains pivotal throughout festival implementation; community-based festivals tend to bind tightly with cultural resilience; and entrepreneurially structured festivals often correlate with resourcefulness, that is, the capacity to mobilize and recombine assets. On this basis, inclusivity and participation emerge as core criteria for evaluation (Mahon and Hyryläinen 632). In Japanese rural practice, “sustainable revitalization” frequently implies self-sustenance, achieved through active bottom-up participation, with co-creation between residents and external groups now commonplace (Klien 513). These examples illustrate a plausible pathway by which participatory cultural practice can build community resilience.

In sum, the locality of festivals must be conceived not merely as a geographical referent but as a question of local subjectivity—manifest in residents’ proactive and meaningful participation. Following Tuan’s (1-6) formulation of “sense of place,” we underscore a dimension of affect and identification that exceeds spatial description and indexes lived attachment. Thus, this article argues that art festivals are more likely to achieve long-term sustainability when their planning processes are explicitly rooted in local contexts, shaped by resident knowledge, and responsive to place-specific social dynamics (Foster 381-389; Quinn 2025: 6). At the same time, such locally grounded processes generate differentiation in both programming and experience, providing an alternative to the homogenized festival forms produced under economically and politically driven festivalization. The subsequent case analysis of the Mipaliw Land Art Festival in Fengbin Township (Hualien County) elaborates this argument by demonstrating

how identification and substantive local participation operate as necessary conditions for aligning art festivals with place-based sustainability.

Case Study: Mipaliw Land Art Festival

THIS study adopts an exploratory case study approach to examine local participation in art festivals. The case study primarily draws on secondary data, including curatorial statements and introductory texts published on the festival's official website, as well as publicly available interview videos. In addition, the researcher conducted informal communications—mainly through phone calls and messaging—with one of the curators to gain contextual understanding of the festival's planning process. The collected materials were subsequently analyzed using document analysis and qualitative content analysis to identify patterns related to local participation.

Art Festival Overview

The Mipaliw Land Art Festival is a land art event nurtured within the indigenous communities of Fengbin Township in eastern Taiwan's Hualien County. In 2016, the Hualien Branch, Forestry and Nature Conservation Agency of Ministry of Agriculture and related agencies launched an initiative, which echoes with Satoyama Initiative, in the villages of Xinshe and Gangkou in Fengbin. Local tribal members were invited to identify pressing ecological and livelihood issues, which a cross-ministerial public-sector collaboration then worked to solve. Under this initiative, government agencies assisted the tribes in successfully restoring a coastal rice paddy, and carried out a series of collaborative actions with tribal members. Among these were small-scale artistic events, which eventually became the origin of the art festival. The festival thus emerged not from a top-down template imported into the locality, but from an ongoing process of addressing place-specific ecological and social concerns, offering a contrasting trajectory to the homogenizing models discussed earlier.

The festival's programming includes inviting artists for village residencies with deep interaction and learning in the tribal communities, creating and exhibiting land art installations, conducting tribal youth forums, and offering indigenous culture and ecology guided tours. These activities showcase the wisdom of indigenous people living in symbiosis with nature, while also addressing challenges the communities face in contemporary society. Since 2018, the festival has operated on a triennial cycle. During the two-year intervals between festivals, public agencies continue to provide resources for a "Art Creation Plan". This plan centers on field research into traditional indigenous ecological

knowledge, to understand the interrelationships between tribal material usage and resource management. By inviting artists to spend time in the tribes and interact with residents, the process serves as both a way to gather creative materials and a means to document tribal life and wisdom. In addition, different community groups are empowered according to each tribe's circumstances, collaborating with the tribe on various creative outputs – such as innovative uses of traditional materials, publications, and documentary films – which are then presented in the third year as the festival's outcomes. Through this cyclical structure, the festival's content and form are continually renewed from within the community, rather than being driven by standardized programming.

Cultivation of Identity to the Festival: The Art Creation Plan

From 2012 to 2015, the author (researcher) was involved in a program, initiated by the Ministry of Culture, entitled “Assisting core creative workers and independent creators in residency at cultural creative clusters,” which aimed to promote and support the development of cultural and creative clusters in Taiwan. At that time, a creative plan proposed by one member of the curatorial team was approved under this program and implemented in Gangkou in Fengbin Township. Moreover, a few arts administrators and cultural workers with expertise had long been introducing arts and cultural resources into this area. As a result, the whole community had developed capacity for arts activities, and tribal residents were familiar with engaging with art.

As mentioned, this art festival adopts a triennial format, with the off-years dedicated to executing an “Art Creation Plan” that focuses on grassroots engagement in the community. The curatorial team invites artists to reside in the tribes during these off-years, facilitating interviews primarily with tribal elders and culture-bearers. Through these interviews, traditional indigenous life experiences and wisdom are collected and recorded. These materials function, on the one hand, as sources of inspiration and content for artistic creation. In doing so, they demonstrate the embeddedness of the festival and reflect the principle of locally made art festivals.

On the other hand, these materials are used by the artists to lead tribal children and women in artistic creation and experimentation – essentially serving as a form of arts education. Through this process, as artists enter the village or as the festival is organized, tribal residents gradually develop a stronger sense of identification with the endeavor.

I don't understand art, but I know that when artists come to our tribe, they are here to help the tribe record our life. (retold by curator A)

Art thus becomes a method and a bridge of translation – documenting and transforming the life wisdom and cosmology of the indigenous community into the vocabulary of contemporary art. This approach to art creation and revitalization is closely tied to the tribe’s sustainable development: the festival is not something imposed from above, nor simply a tool for external tourism development, but emerges from the community’s own context. That is to say, the festival’s creative process is inseparable from the lived experiences of residents, generating a program that is difficult to replicate elsewhere.

Mutual Trust between the Curatorial Team and the Tribe

The concept of “mutuality” is embedded in this art festival as “mipaliw” means “mutual assistance” in Pangcah/Amis language where Amis is the largest indigenous group in Taiwan. This defines the art festival and becomes the guidance for the curatorial practice.

In planning art festivals, organizers often prioritize quantifiable outcomes – gauging success by visitor traffic and economic impact. As a result, event management or public relations firms with experience running large events are usually favored. However, if we expect an implementing team to approach the festival from a perspective of local sustainable development, it becomes difficult to carry out truly community-rooted planning and reflection for non-local teams or firms, as well as the unstabilised procurement procedure in public sectors in Taiwan.

Local teams get very few of these projects; almost all go to non-local marketing or PR companies. They are unable to understand local needs or build anything lasting. (curator A)

In this case, all members of the festival’s curatorial team are from the local area, including one member who is from a tribe hosting the festival. With such deep connections to the place, the curatorial team is well-versed in the local cultural context and cognizant of the community’s developmental needs, allowing the festival’s planning to be grounded in the tribe’s culture and future.

A local team knows what to avoid so that the festival will not unduly disrupt local life. (curator A)

Because of the emotional bonds and trust we’ve built with the tribe over the past few decades, we constantly think about ways of doing things that suit the tribe’s developmental state and human resources, and we adjust accordingly. (curator A)

Because the team members are from the locale – indeed from the tribe – organizing the festival is both a demonstration of their professional capabilities and an opportunity to contribute to the land they love. This relationship prompts the curatorial team to proactively attend to the tribe’s needs. Hosting the art festival is not only a vehicle for promoting arts and culture, but also a means of furthering the tribe’s sustainable development. The team devoted considerable time to internal community communication and gradually established a mechanism of “mutual trust”. For example, in the first year the team spent a great deal of time conversing with tribal members, explaining, “Why should we hold an art festival here?” (curator A) and “What is the relationship between the festival and the people of the tribe?” (curator A), and correspondingly did far less in terms of outward, large-scale marketing.

Additionally, in a 2016 interview with the curator (curator B) for the author’s doctoral dissertation, the curator noted that to advance any initiative in the community, a consensus must first be reached. This shows an existing mechanism of consensus and respect within the tribe, which proves crucial for this art festival as well. This also encourages the curatorial team engages in good-faith communication with the community and thus builds mutual trust with the tribes. The trust embedded in the relationship between the tribe and the festival is also evidenced through a blessing ceremony. According to the introductory texts and visual materials published on the festival’s official website and social media platforms, tribal elders conducted a blessing ceremony for the festival prior to its official opening. This practice indicates the tribe’s recognition of the festival and reflects an established relationship of trust between the tribe and the festival organizers.

This case study highlights how locally embedded teams are able to cultivate festival forms that are more responsive to the specificities of place than to generic performance indicators. Furthermore, it demonstrates the pivotal role of trust-based relationships between local communities and festivals in sustaining art festivals in peripheral settings.

Locally-Authored Programs and Meaningful Community Participation

Generally speaking, an art festival is a stage for artists to showcase artistic concepts and works. The artists’ subjectivity is emphasized and appreciated by audiences – indeed, some visitors attend specifically to view particular artworks of specific artists. With the growing trend of co-creation, artists do often invite local residents to participate in producing artworks. However, such participation tends to be quite limited and superficial. In contrast to most art festivals where the artist’s

creative presentation is the centerpiece, the Mipaliw Land Art Festival's artistic creations are intimately connected with the tribal communities.

During the off-year periods, invited artists enter the tribes to conduct interviews – mainly with tribal elders – covering many facets of indigenous life (for example, foraging practices or fishing and hunting). The artists then transform the content of these interviews into materials for innovative material experimentation for later artworks creation, as well as leading art education, guiding tribal women and children in the creation of art. The outcomes of these efforts are exhibited during the festival. In this way, the festival becomes an opportunity for tribal residents to showcase not only their co-creations with the artists, but also presenting indigenous culture and knowledge in an innovative way. Furthermore, the art festival also becomes a venue for cultivating artistic talents of the tribal community. Local participation in the festival is no longer a brief or superficial collaboration at the margins of an artist's project. Furthermore, during the festival period, tribal members take on active roles as well – they perform in the opening ceremonies and serve as guides for the artworks, leading visitors through the village and introducing the art pieces from a local perspective.

Analysis of the curatorial discourse and media interviews reveals that, although the festival organizers are not opposed to tourism per se, they are even more intent that the festival not degenerate into a tool purely for boosting tourism. Instead, they emphasize that the festival is rooted in local identity and arises from local community energy. The curatorial statement on the festival's official website notes:

In 2018, the Mipaliw Land Art Festival shifted its orientation away from tourism and back to an intrinsic focus on local participation and locally felt meaning. (“Origin of the Project”)

Looking further at the festival's extended activities makes the degree of local participation even more evident. For example, a “Tribal Culture Learning Camp” is held, in which artists are invited – before beginning their residencies – to join a cultural immersion and learning in the tribal communities. This experience helps the artists better understand the tribes, learn about the tribe's traditional ecological knowledge, become familiar with the local landscape and biocultural diversity. Through this interaction, the relevance of the artists' creations to the locale is then strengthened. Another program, the “Creative Exchange and Interdisciplinary Experts Symposium,” invites experts from various fields related to the festival's local issues to give lectures, while also inviting youth from each of Fengbin Township's villages to join the visiting artists and tribal artists in discussion and sharing.

In addition, a “Tribal Youth Bonfire Forum” is organized to discuss local issues and conditions in each tribe, linking together people from inside and outside the communities for dialogue. Notably, the 2024 forum was planned and led directly by the young people of the various tribes, who presented the issues they observed from their own perspectives. Through these activities and programs, one can discern a profound level of local participation in the festival. In contrast to festivals where “participation” is largely confined to audience consumption, this case study demonstrates that local residents assume active roles not only as participants across the production process, but also as co-authors who organize events that reflect their own concerns and interests regarding local development issues. Thereby, such locally grounded participatory approaches give rise to a festival form that is structurally resistant to homogenization.

Conclusion

IN summary, this study finds that the development of art festivals—especially in rural regions—has traversed a path from an economic orientation toward a balanced emphasis on social and cultural values. Under the cultural policy context that the state has advanced since the 1990s in Taiwan, from “Community Empowerment” and “Cultural and Creative Industries” to the recent “Regional Revitalization,” art festivals have clearly become important strategic tools for local development. At the same time, the number of art festivals nationwide has surged, even to the point of saturation and homogeneity. Researchers have warned that if too much emphasis is placed on tourism and economic outcomes, art festivals may degenerate into fleeting political performances or hollow cultural consumption, thereby neglecting the deeper values they can bring, such as social cohesion and cultural transmission. This research echoes those viewpoints, stressing that evaluations of art festivals should return to the perspective of the local community and focus on the long-term socio-cultural implications. Only by ensuring meaningful participation of local residents and by carefully considering actual local needs can art festivals be embedded and sustainable. This study therefore underscores that resisting the homogenizing pressures prevalent in Taiwan’s festival landscape requires place-specific, community-led approaches that anchor festivals in their cultural contexts.

The key for an art festival to be flourishing and sustainable lies in achieving bottom-up local participation; establishing mechanisms of mutual trust between the community and organizers; and granting the local community sufficient subjectivity and decision-making power. In doing so, art festivals can take root in the local context and respond to local needs, rather than remaining top-down, short-term tourist performances. Conversely, if local identity and engagement are

lacking, even an abundance of outside resources poured in will be difficult to transform into momentum for long-term development. The case study of the “Mipaliw Land Art Festival” in Fengbin Township, Hualien, corroborates the above principles: the local curatorial team built a relationship of trust with tribal residents through long-term, in-depth community communication. On the basis of achieving local consensus, they adjusted the festival to a triennial schedule and invested in foundational work during the interim years, such as collecting traditional knowledge and providing arts education in the community, to avoid the event excessively draining local resources. In this process, local residents ceased to be mere passive observers and instead became active creators and performers: tribal elders provided their life wisdom as material for the artists’ creations; women and children collaborated with artists to complete artworks and jointly presented the results during the festival; tribal members also served as performers in the opening event and as guides interpreting the artworks, allowing visitors to learn about the local culture through local perspectives. Such deep local participation not only nurtured the community’s own cultural capacity, but also turned the festival into a platform for the community to display themselves and engage in dialogue and exchange. At the same time, the organizing team deliberately avoided letting the art festival become purely a tourism-oriented showcase and instead refocused the event on strengthening local identity and inwardly felt experience. This approach prevented excessive consumption of local culture and ensured that festival activities were built upon local sentiment and cultural context, preserving their authenticity and value. Accordingly, this paper argues that sustained engagement with local actors constitutes a key condition for the festival’s long-term sustainable development.

In sum, by bolstering local participation, cultivating mutual trust and cooperation, and empowering the local community, the festival can be embedded in local contexts and grow potentials for long-term development. This study therefore contributes to festival studies by demonstrating how locally authored, place-anchored practices provide a concrete pathway for differentiation, countering the homogenizing tendencies that increasingly characterize art festivals. Furthermore, although the short history of Mipaliw Land Art Festival might limit the representativeness of being a case study, this paper is an attempt to show how a festival with a relatively short history exhibits strong embeddedness through active community engagement. For future research, interviewing tribal residents and community participants could further strengthen the analysis by revealing how local actors interpret, negotiate, and internalize the festival’s meanings at the grassroots level. Ultimately, such inquiries will deepen our understanding of how place-based authorship can evolve over time and how festivals may accumulate long-term cultural value beyond the transient effects of a single event—becoming a critical driving force in promoting sustainable development of art festivals.

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藝術節慶的地方參與以及永續發展

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摘 要

本研究旨在探討當藝術節慶內容過於一致性時，將會影響地方自主參與，進而不利於地方藝術節慶的長遠發展。在面對全球以藝術節慶促進地方發展的熱潮，臺灣都市與偏鄉地區亦興起大量藝術節慶。然而，當前現象出現同質化及過度觀光導向的隱憂。若缺乏在地居民的實質參與，藝術節慶恐淪為短暫政績展演或空洞的文化消費。因此，研究動機旨在呼籲從在地視角審視藝術節慶對地方永續發展的意義。理論上，本研究梳理藝術節慶從經濟工具逐漸轉向社會文化價值並重的發展歷程，並特別關注偏鄉藝術節慶如何透過社區參與深化地方認同與累積文化資本。方法上，以花蓮縣豐濱鄉「森川里海濕地藝術季」為案例，分析其策展論述、節慶內涵與在地參與機制。案例顯示，在地策展團隊透過長期溝通建立社區互信，採取三年展模式與藝術創生計畫，讓部落居民從創作素材提供、作品共創到活動導覽皆深度介入。在地居民不再只是被動旁觀者，而是藝術節慶的積極主體，由此提升社區文化自覺與韌性。同時，策展團隊避免將藝術季流於觀光炒作，強調地方認同與文化脈絡，確保活動不致消耗當地文化資源。研究結論強調，唯有落實由下而上的在地居民有意義參與，並賦予地方社群主體性與決策權，藝術節慶方能深植在地脈絡，遂此，藝術節慶的長遠發展方能在健康與正確的土壤中發芽。

關鍵詞：藝術節慶、節目策劃、在地參與、嵌置性、永續發展

Participation, Performing, and Crowdfunding

The Democratic Engagement of Cultural Diplomacy in Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the participatory model of Taiwanese civil society in cultural diplomacy, with a particular focus on the role of the people and their methods of engagement. Through analyzing the 2017 National Cultural Congress, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' International Youth Ambassadors Exchange Program, and the We TAIWAN crowdfunding campaign, this study identifies three primary roles of citizen participation in Taiwan's cultural diplomacy: participants in policy-making processes, performers in cultural exchange projects, and sponsors of diplomatic initiatives.

The research reveals that while democratization and technological development have enabled cultural policymaking to shift from a top-down model toward a hybrid co-governance approach, citizen participation does not automatically equate to democratization. The 2017 National Cultural Congress utilized information technology to expand civic participation, demonstrating the potential of deliberative democracy. The International Youth Ambassadors Exchange Program continues Taiwan's tradition of conducting cultural diplomacy through performing arts. Yet it also reflects tensions between state instrumentalization and citizen agency. The

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crowdfunding cases demonstrate that when facing diplomatic isolation and government budget constraints, civil society can proactively initiate cultural diplomacy actions by mobilizing collective power through social media.

The article argues that “making Taiwan visible to the world” has become a cross-generational shared consciousness, motivating citizens to actively participate in cultural diplomacy practices. However, true democratization requires more than participation—it demands institutional reforms that ensure transparency, accountability, and inclusive decision-making in cultural policy. Taiwan’s experience illustrates both the possibilities and limitations of citizen engagement in cultural diplomacy, highlighting the need for resilient institutional frameworks that protect cultural initiatives from political volatility while ensuring equitable access and strategic coherence.

KEYWORDS: cultural diplomacy, citizen participation, Taiwan’s soft power, deliberative democracy, crowdfunding

Introduction

A country's cultural diplomacy involves multiple actors in both its policymaking and practice. While some researchers argue that cultural diplomacy fundamentally stems from governmental sources, there is now general scholarly consensus that it involves agents and institutions operating across various overlapping levels of engagement: supranational and transnational, national, regional and transregional, as well as local (Faucher and Zhu 2). In this perspective essay, I focus particularly on the interaction between citizens and government in the case of Taiwan, a country with its contested international status.

This article aims to illustrate and the roles those Taiwanese citizens actively played in Taiwan's cultural diplomacy. Through several cases presented in this article, I categorize the multifaceted public engagement in Taiwan's cultural diplomacy as an interaction between citizen diplomacy and cultural diplomacy. I also examine how the country's political status has influenced public actions in response to this political reality. I draw attention to and categorize several types of actions taken by the public. Most of the cases illustrated in this article took place between 2010 and 2025. They are not listed in chronological order but from the spectrum of engaging in policy formation, realization, and supplementation. First, the public was engaged in the policymaking process through the 2017 National Cultural Congress, operating in the spirit of deliberative democracy. Second, the public participated as performers in cultural diplomacy activities, such as the International Youth Ambassadors Exchange Program (2009-). Third, the public engaged as sponsors of cultural diplomacy initiatives in the case of the Taiwan Gallery (2013) and the Crowdfunding project We TAIWAN (2025). Through the design of policy formation processes, the government set agendas and raised awareness of new issues in cultural diplomacy and cultural relations.

However, this raises critical questions: does civil participation lead to the democratization of cultural diplomacy? By examining these three modes of engagement, this article questions whether such grassroots participation constitutes a distinctive characteristic of Taiwanese cultural diplomacy? What motivates citizens to voluntarily engage in these cultural diplomatic practices? Why does the collective aspiration to "let the world see Taiwan" resonate so deeply across society?

I subscribe to J. M. Mitchell's statement that a government's external cultural policy cannot be separated from its internal cultural policy. This interconnection is clearly visible in Taiwan's cultural diplomacy. Chun-Ying Wei (2017: 4) identified three key elements in Taiwan's cultural diplomacy from 1990

to 2014. First, it complemented traditional diplomacy by creating opportunities for informal exchanges between government officials and diplomats. Second, it provided an outlet for the formation of cultural identity. Third, it showcased Taiwan's creative and cultural industries. These three elements remain important in 2025. In this article, I argue that the third element also influences citizens' enthusiasm for participating in cultural diplomacy. This article examines how citizens respond to government-designed policymaking and agendas. Therefore, spontaneous people-to-people actions in everyday life that enhance cross-cultural understanding fall outside the scope of this study.

Artists and arts companies that receive government funding and participate in cultural diplomacy have long been engaged in this process. What is particularly noteworthy is that this passion for cultural diplomacy extends beyond professional artists to encompass ordinary citizens who actively seek to represent Taiwan on the international stage. Through curated showcases in international arts exhibitions, book fairs, and festivals, such as the Taiwan Season at the Edinburgh Fringe, cultural professionals demonstrate a range of motivations for engaging in cultural diplomacy, as Wei (2017: 131) has indicated in the research.

I focus on members of the public who may not have extensive knowledge of international relations or cultural policy. I particularly seek to illustrate efforts by individuals who initiated their own actions and are not necessarily employed by or representing any organization. While various non-governmental organizations have engaged in Taiwan's public diplomacy, I am intrigued by individual actions that, though potentially spontaneous and ad hoc, reflect a broader pattern of public engagement.

In response to Taiwan's diminishing formal diplomatic presence and reduced participation in global organizations, cultural organizations have championed the causes of "making Taiwan visible" and promoting "citizen diplomacy." The imperative to "secure recognition" has been a defining motto for Taiwanese society since experiencing diplomatic isolation beginning in the 1970s (Wei 2017: 167, 87). Melissa Nisbett, employing an arts management perspective, found that the cultural organizations in her study prioritized practical concerns—including partnership development and revenue generation—over overt political objectives. This contrasts sharply with Wei's (2017: 146) findings regarding arts institutions engaged in Taiwan's cultural diplomacy, where political messaging tends to be considerably more direct and pronounced, even appearing in their promotional campaigns. In the next section, I present relevant research and literature to understand citizens' engagement in cultural diplomacy.

Review on Relevant Literature Concepts and Differentiations

IN reviewing relevant theories on public diplomacy, citizen diplomacy, and cultural diplomacy. First, Edmund Gullion coined the term “public diplomacy” in 1965 to describe international information and cultural exchange (Cull 2009). Later, the meaning of public diplomacy evolves to nations engaging foreign publics to build long-term relationships and trust (d’Hooghe 20). Unlike traditional diplomacy that target government officials or diplomats, public diplomacy targets ordinary citizens, unofficial groups, and organizations in foreign countries, in contrast to traditional state-to-state diplomacy (Melissen 5). While the audience is clearly defined as the public, the actors who can practice public diplomacy remain ambiguous. Though commonly viewed as a governmental tool, public diplomacy is not exclusively conducted by states. When discussing public diplomacy, “the public” refers to “foreign publics,” which are not homogeneous and need to be segmented by their behaviors and attitudes (Tam and Kim 28).

In contrast, Sherry Lee Mueller (2020: 102) defined citizen diplomacy as involving unofficial ambassadors who participate in or interact with exchange programs. Citizen diplomacy can extend beyond government efforts, and these person-to-person interactions and relationships are fundamental to public diplomacy. In other words, the initiator of the diplomatic action and the nature of interaction between government and actors constitute the main distinction between public diplomacy and citizen diplomacy. This conceptual distinction generates two interpretive frameworks for citizen diplomacy. The broader interpretation functions as a metaphor for any individuals engaged in international interactions—what scholars’ term “citizen-initiated citizen diplomacy.” The narrower interpretation specifically refers to the governmental utilization of citizens within established diplomatic mechanisms—termed “state-led citizen diplomacy” (Tyler and Beyerinck 522).

Sherry Lee Mueller and Mark Rebstock (2012: 16-17) acknowledged the significance of citizen diplomacy and argued that its impact can be substantial. They identified two distinct categories: spontaneous citizen diplomacy, where everyday interactions naturally influence foreign perceptions of one’s nation, and intentional citizen diplomacy, which involves purposeful participation in programs specifically created to foster positive international relations. To trace the formation of the concept back in the Cold War, James Marshall (84-87) advocated for citizen diplomacy as democratic empowerment with active participation of ordinary citizens and voluntary organizations in the planning, development, and execution of foreign policy, not merely in post-facto

questioning of officials. He emphasized a process-oriented rather than outcome-oriented definition of democracy in foreign policy. Nonetheless, it is indicated in Li-Ping Bu (393-394) that the perceived Soviet threat to American institutions and societal values provided legitimacy for the U.S. government to mobilize private sector knowledge and assets in service of political objectives and national defence. National security concerns facilitated collaboration between governmental and non-governmental actors to enhance American global influence and authority. Government leadership in international exchange programs significantly transformed the character and operations of private organizations.

Like the “public” in public diplomacy, the “citizen,” as in citizen diplomacy, is not homogeneous either. Certainly, these are people who care more about international affairs or Taiwan’s international engagements. The individuals who participate in citizen diplomacy, as illustrated in this article, are not the citizen diplomats categorized by Anca Anton and Raluca Moise. The citizen diplomat examples that Anton and Moise (219-220) suggest were celebrities or people who achieved fame through their work. In contrast, participants in Taiwan’s citizen diplomacy do not necessarily seek or create fame through their actions. In the cases illustrated in this article, their engagements represent collective actions in response to policy encouragement and policy deficiency.

What sparks curiosity is the observable high motivation for involvement in citizen diplomacy and cultural relations. The latter, as Mitchell indicated, is a broad concept that extends beyond the actions of governments and agencies and can be conducted on the initiative of either private or public institutions.

Both cultural diplomacy and citizen diplomacy can be considered part of the broader concept of cultural relations. Cultural diplomacy has been associated with the idea “soft power,” defined by Joseph Nye. Nye indicates that a country’s soft power rests on three elements: culture, political values, and foreign policies (x). It has been noted by Gary Rawnsley (2022: 17) on the difference between soft power and cultural diplomacy. The former is a resource while the latter is an instrument. Regarding cultural diplomacy, its importance was identified in a report produced for the U.S. Department of State in 2005 (Rawnsley 2022: 21-22). The report stated that “cultural diplomacy is the linchpin of public diplomacy; for it is in cultural activities that a nation’s idea of itself is best represented,” and further suggested that cultural diplomacy forms the core of public diplomacy by authentically representing a nation’s identity while strengthening national security through subtle, comprehensive, and lasting means (Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy 1).

Concerning the concepts of cultural diplomacy and cultural relations, Mitchell noted that “cultural relations” encompasses activities beyond government actions and can be initiated by both private and public institutions. In contrast, “cultural diplomacy” is fundamentally governmental business. However, a universally agreed academic definition has yet to emerge. The often-cited definition by Milton C. Cummings describes cultural diplomacy as “the exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding” (2003: 1). These definitions reveal the fluid nature of cultural diplomacy and cultural relations, creating both problems and opportunities (Rawsley 2022: 20).

Stakeholders in Public and Cultural Diplomacy

Regarding the government’s role and its interaction with civil society, in Hwa-Jung Kim’s study on public-private partnerships in public and cultural diplomacy, Kim offered a typology to categorize the multi-stakeholder nature of cultural diplomacy, helping us understand how and why stakeholders participate in cultural diplomacy. The typology divided Public Actors (e.g. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Culture) and Cultural Actors (those taking on the role of boundary spanning both at home and abroad). Among Cultural Actors, Kim (2018: 73) categorized Public Sector (e.g. National Museums, Public Arts Galleries), Nonprofit Sector (e.g. International Festival Organizations, Civil Organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations, Volunteers etc.), and Private Sector (e.g. Profit-Making Institutions, Commercial Galleries, Commercial Theaters). In Kim’s typology, individual who engage in cultural diplomacy may do so as volunteers in the private sector. How actors in the private sector interact with other actors, and the motivation behind their actions, is a question requires further investigation.

However, the typology has not exhausted all kinds of citizen actions in cultural diplomacy. In this article, I aim to categorize their actions in greater detail. For clarity, the cases illustrated in this article primarily involve government-initiated cultural policy and diplomatic schemes with explicit political agendas. The citizens response to government policy formation and practice process and deliberately be part of the force in Taiwan’s cultural diplomacy.

Actors in Taiwan’s Cultural Diplomacy

Using the typology suggested by Kim (2018) to examine Taiwan’s public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, some shared characteristics are visible. The

volunteer efforts embodied in these processes and the agency that individuals perceive in identifying themselves as citizen diplomats are evident. Other non-state actors in Taiwan's cultural diplomacy, such as the Indigenous peoples, have been examined in Carla Figueira (62) as non-state actors and their capacity to shape the perceptions of foreign publics about the country. The importance of creating strong, lasting cultural ties across borders should be a top priority for nations. When governments fund arts events for diplomatic purposes, they create valuable opportunities to share their culture, values, and way of life with important international audiences (Figueira 66).

Rawnsley (2022) indicated that cultural diplomacy in Taiwan serves two crucial functions in generating and communicating the island's soft power capacity. First, "it is an instrument of statecraft, organized by the government and its agencies (including diplomatic missions) to persuade global audiences about mainstream world politics, and support its foreign policy agenda." Second, it "connects the political system to civil society" (24). Rawnsley particularly pointed out that Taiwan's liberal-democratic political culture, especially the activism of civil society and the freedom to hold and voice different opinions, constitutes Taiwan's soft power resources. While soft power may originate from political rather than artistic culture, the latter clearly reflects the former. The creative freedom that the Ministry of Culture promotes in Taiwan enables the use of cultural diplomacy to showcase how liberal democracies function and evolve, illustrating government collaboration but not interfering with civil society (31).

To further elaborate from Rawnsley (2022: 15-33) and Figueira (62-92), Taiwan's cultural diplomacy can showcase more beyond creative and cultural industries *per se*, but the lifestyle, political values, and cultural diversity to the international audience. Maintaining the autonomy of creative and cultural industries and civil society is crucial. In the next section, I will outline the landscape of Taiwan's cultural diplomacy and its relationship with civil society.

Institutional Landscape and Its Discontents

TAIWAN's cultural diplomacy currently lacks a flagship mechanism that provides stable bureaucratic infrastructure (Kuo and Wu 102). While cultural diplomacy or public diplomacy initiatives may be launched by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of Culture, the absence of a dedicated flagship institution remains a significant gap. Taiwan's exclusion from international recognition due to its ambiguous territorial and sovereignty status has necessitated the adoption of alternative diplomatic strategies (Wei 2025: 1-16). Consequently, non-governmental public bodies (NDPBs) and non-state actors

frequently assume critical roles in Taiwan's participation in international cultural affairs. This reliance on flexible, situational arrangements—involving the Ministry of Culture, NDPBs, and overseas cultural networks—reflects not only structural constraints but also adaptive capacity. Specifically, this flexibility enables Taiwan to circumvent Chinese political interference and maintain cultural engagement when formal governmental channels face diplomatic obstruction.

Operating under the arm's-length principle, NDPBs exercise autonomous decision-making authority over grant allocations, insulated from external political influence. This operational independence extends to budgetary and personnel matters, affording these bodies greater creative latitude and freedom from conventional bureaucratic constraints. In terms of cultural relations, for instance, the National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF) channels funding to arts and cultural activities and supports to international platforms; the National Performing Arts Centre (NPAC) actively maintains its professional connections and networks to facilitate cross-cultural collaboration. Collectively, these intermediaries constitute the operational backbone of Taiwan's cultural diplomacy apparatus (Wei 2019a: paras. 2-3).

Recent examples include the Cultural Taiwan Foundation (one of the NDPBs founded by the Ministry of Culture) actively executed cultural diplomacy programs, such as Taiwan Now in Japan in 2021, Win Together in the Cultural Olympiad in Paris in 2024, and We TAIWAN in Expo 2025 Osaka. In Kuo and Wu (100-104), the authors illustrated the case of Taiwan Now as an example of large-scale and mission-based cross-cultural collaboration. However, the project-based nature of these initiatives reveals inherent structural vulnerabilities. The absence of institutionalized mechanisms means that cultural diplomacy programs remain susceptible to domestic partisan politics. When shifts in political power occur, project-oriented task forces lacking permanent organizational status may face budget reductions or outright cancellation, rendering long-term strategic planning precarious. This institutional fragility is particularly problematic given the sustained commitment required for effective cultural diplomacy. Without stable funding streams and organizational permanence, Taiwan's capacity to maintain consistent international cultural engagement becomes contingent upon the prevailing political climate, potentially undermining the continuity and credibility of its soft power initiatives.

Citizens Engagement through Policymaking Process

The 2017 National Cultural Congress

I would like to note that citizens had opportunities to participate in structured engagement in cultural policymaking, particularly through the National Cultural Congress. Unlike previous National Congresses, where guests were mainly by invitation, the 2017 National Cultural Congress revolutionized Taiwan's cultural policymaking through five core values: cultural citizenship, public participation, diversity and equality, deliberative thinking, collaborative governance, and opened for public participation (Wei 2019b: para. 4). Between March and July, 15 regional forums and 4 thematic forums—including dedicated sessions for youth, new immigrants, cultural heritage, and culture-technology integration—were conducted across Taiwan. Topics relating to cultural diplomacy were placed under Cultural Inclusivity, with the aim of fostering diversity in culture and embracing exchanges. Other sub-agendas under this topic included cultural diversity, cultural equality, accessibility, and multiculturalism (Ku and Liu 305). Through conversations with government officials, the limitations of policy implementation could be discussed accordingly.

Advanced information technology transformed participation by enabling real-time access and engagement. Citizens could initiate online petitions requiring only 500 supporters for advisory board consideration, democratizing agenda-setting processes. This participatory approach marked a fundamental shift from top-down cultural policy formation to a mixed top-down and bottom-up approach (or co-governance approach) to promote citizens' cultural rights (Ku and Liu 294). The most notable paradigm shift in the Congress is that "making Taiwan visible" is no longer the sole focus of Taiwan's cultural diplomacy and relations. The emphasis moved toward cultural relations within domestic life. For instance, immigrants from Southeast Asia and their cultural rights became one of the topics discussed in the conference. This partly echoed the New Southbound Policy proposed by the Ing-Wen Tsai government to strengthen economic and cultural cooperation with Southeast Asia. It also responded to the gradually increasing awareness of immigrant workers' culture. Compared to previous discourse on cultural diplomacy that placed much attention on "exporting Taiwanese culture," cultural relations within Taiwan have gained considerable attention (Wei 2022: 491-551).

The congress demonstrated inclusive framework established new standards for democratic consultation in cultural policymaking, potentially serving as a model for other policy domains. The next National Cultural Congress in 2021 was interrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic and was postponed to 2022 with adjusted plans. Whether the 2017 model could be replicated for subsequent

National Cultural Congresses remains to be observed. Shu-Shiun Ku and Jerry C. Y. Liu (314) identified two critical challenges in Taiwan's cultural governance. First, while the co-governing mechanism between the Ministry of Culture, advisory committees, and the executive team created a bottom-up model for future cultural congresses, it relied on ministerial commitment rather than legal frameworks. The second challenge involves maintaining connections between academics, artists, cultural workers, the public, and the government. Sustained institutional mechanisms to preserve ongoing stakeholder engagement in cultural governance are crucial.

Further Challenges for the Engagement Mechanism

Whether the 2017 National Cultural Congress model and scale can be replicated remains unknown. This process echoes what Erik Pajtinka (168-177) discussed about public diplomacy. When new components are introduced into the political systems of states, ordinary people can potentially influence their own country's policy and further shape foreign policy through domestic policy formation. Combined with Mitchell's discussion, the influence on cultural policy further extends to cultural diplomacy. Democracy and citizens' agency are intertwined, I would argue. The more citizens feel empowered in policy formation, the more willing they become to participate in public and foreign affairs. However, the extent to which the Conference translated into policy remains contested. Furthermore, the state's convening power determines who participates and which issues gain visibility, revealing the limits of "bottom-up" engagement within state-orchestrated frameworks.

The 2017 National Cultural Congress nonetheless holds significant implications for Taiwan's cultural diplomacy discourse. By incorporating the New Southbound Policy and the cultural rights of migrant workers, the Congress expanded beyond the traditionally elitist orientation that had long dominated cultural diplomacy narratives. This inclusive turn represented a meaningful acknowledgment of marginalized communities' cultural agency, potentially fostering greater awareness of their rights within Taiwan's multicultural fabric. Yet critical questions persist regarding the sustainability and transformative potential of this discursive shift. Whether such progressive consciousness can be institutionalized and sustained over successive administrations, or whether it will ultimately fail to displace entrenched elite-centric paradigms, remains uncertain. Moreover, one must interrogate whether these ostensibly participatory deliberations merely reproduce state-sanctioned narratives rather than genuinely challenging hegemonic cultural diplomacy frameworks. The risk remains that grassroots voices, once absorbed into official policy discourse, become co-opted

instruments of state legitimation rather than catalysts for substantive structural change.

Citizens engagement in performances

The Chinese Youth Goodwill Mission and the Youth Ambassadors

TAIWANESE citizens have long participated in cultural diplomacy, with young students among the most active participants. As detailed by Chuan-Yi Chang, from 1974 to 1999, the China Youth National Salvation Corps annually selected members for the Chinese Youth Goodwill Mission as a component of public diplomacy efforts. This initiative had dual objectives: strengthening partnerships with international higher education institutions and building connections with overseas Chinese communities. Not only it serves as a precious opportunity for young students to go abroad when international travel was restricted under Taiwan martial law, the program also promotes the “Free China” image worldwide. According to Chuan-Yi Chang, this program not only achieved its cultural diplomatic goals but also played a significant role in reinforcing cultural identity among participants and audiences. Building on Chang’s analysis, it can be argued that the engagement of young students made them aware of their individual agency to contribute to public diplomacy (Wei 2017: 181-182).

However, a critical examination reveals deeper ideological complexities. The program functioned not merely as cultural exchange but as an instrument of state propaganda, with selection criteria and performance content carefully curated by authorities. This raises fundamental questions about whether participants exercised genuine democratic agency or served as vehicles for government-sanctioned messaging. The program’s termination during DPP governance (2000-2008) and its subsequent reconstitution cannot be divorced from Taiwan’s transitional justice discourse and contestation over national identity—shifting from a “Chinese” to a distinctly “Taiwanese” cultural orientation.

The end of the Chinese Youth Goodwill Mission mirrored shifts in Taiwan’s political landscape and cultural identity discourse. During the DPP’s governance from 2000 to 2008, this initiative was suspended. After the Kuomintang regained power in 2008, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs revived similar efforts in 2009 by establishing the “International Youth Ambassadors Exchange Program.” According to Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2015: paras. 1-3), this new initiative focuses on building relationships with citizens of Taiwan-friendly nations while showcasing Taiwan’s diplomatic capabilities and international contributions. The program serves multiple purposes: projecting Taiwan’s soft

power, exposing university students to global issues, and positioning Taiwan as a leader in cross-cultural dialogue. Essentially, this remains a state-funded initiative designed to advance public diplomacy objectives. Gary D. Rawnsley's (2014: 168) research on Taiwan's soft power highlighted the program's effectiveness in creating meaningful personal connections between Taiwanese participants and international peers. The evidence supports the value of face-to-face diplomatic engagement. These interpersonal bonds significantly shape how young people from Taiwan and partner nations perceive one another's societies.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2025: paras.1-2), the program aims to foster international engagement among Taiwan's youth by broadening their global perspectives, strengthening their capacity for cross-cultural interaction, and cultivating their sense of global citizenship, while simultaneously promoting Taiwan and enhancing bilateral relations with allied nations. This framing reveals the program's inherent tension between educational development and diplomatic instrumentalization.

Both the Chinese Youth Goodwill Mission and the Youth Ambassadors program function in the realm of youth and public diplomacy, with performances serving as "icebreakers" for their visits (Wei 2017: 183). This element remains crucial even in 2025. For selecting Youth Ambassadors. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs seeks students who demonstrate excellent academic and personal conduct while maintaining an optimistic, progressive outlook and genuine enthusiasm for international exchange. Furthermore, candidates should possess strong communication and expression skills, show active concern for their country's diplomatic affairs, and maintain a keen interest in global developments. Candidates should either be able to communicate about or introduce Taiwan in English or have dance and performance talents that can showcase Taiwan's cultural characteristics.

Yet the criteria warrant critical scrutiny. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs' selection criteria emphasize "optimistic, progressive outlook," "active concern for their country's diplomatic affairs," and the ability to "introduce Taiwan." It reveals that participants remain subject to state-defined standards of diplomatic utility. This raises the question: does citizen participation in state-orchestrated programs constitute democratization, or does it represent the co-optation of civil society into governmental foreign policy apparatus?

Showcasing the Ambiguity: This Is Not an Embassy

Another recent case may offer examples of incorporating different narratives of national and cultural identity into citizen performance. The National Performing Arts Center (NPAC), one of the NDPBs established by MOC, which

has involved Stefan Kaegi and Rimini Protokoll, in partnership with the National Theatre and Concert Hall (part of the National Performing Arts Centre), demonstrating Taiwan's democratic way of life. During a seven-week stay at the Taipei National Theatre, Stefan Kaegi collaborated with Taiwanese artists to carry out research, interviewing various professionals including diplomatic officials, earth scientists, semiconductor industry technicians, government officials, and corporate leaders. The stage performance "Dies ist keine Botschaft (This Is Not an Embassy/Made in Taiwan)" features three of these individuals: a former diplomatic representative, an advocate for digital rights, and a performer who inherited a bubble tea business empire (Kaegi para. 5). It is arguable that these performers are from an elite background with their expertise. But notably in the work, three performers present different political views in Taiwan. This example illustrates the NDPB's active role and professional choice to engage with artists, and the work itself reflects the complexity of Taiwan's politics.

Compared with the case of "This Is Not an Embassy," where citizens participated in performing arts production due to the director's decision, citizens' engagement as performers in the Youth Ambassadors program was not based on artistic decisions but rather served as a complement to the exchange program. Although it is arguable that candidates who audition to be Youth Ambassadors are those who pay more attention to international affairs and are more enthusiastic about joining foreign tours, the continuation of both the Chinese Youth Goodwill Mission and the Youth Ambassadors programs serves an educational purpose in raising awareness among young people that they can be part of foreign affairs initiatives, emphasizing that participation is crucial for everyone. By privileging candidates aligned with official diplomatic narratives, the state effectively pre-filters participants whose perspectives remain consonant with government objectives. The democratization of cultural diplomacy thus appears more as managed participation within state-defined parameters than as genuine grassroots agency—raising the question of whose Taiwan is being represented and whose voices remain excluded.

Citizens as Sponsors in Cultural Diplomacy

Building Partnerships with Overseas Communities

THIS section examines a different type of citizen involvement in cultural diplomacy, where the public acts as financial supporters of cultural diplomatic initiatives, most notably through fundraising efforts. A previously highlighted case was the Taiwan Gallery at the Queen's Museum in New York as a model of collaborative public-private partnership. When the museum underwent

renovations, combined financial contributions from the Taiwanese diaspora community (spearheaded by Dr. Lung-Fong Chen through The Taiwanese Art Endowment Fund), the Ministry of Culture (MOC), and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) secured designation rights for the Taiwan Gallery (Wei 2017: 185). This collaboration subsequently sparked the creation of the Taiwanese American Arts Council (TAAC) in 2014, which carried forward the work initiated by the Taiwanese Art Endowment Fund (Taiwanese American Arts Council). The Taiwan Gallery's designation creates groundwork for ongoing partnerships, supported by dedicated Taiwanese expatriate networks that offer essential local connections. Moreover, this example illustrates how Taiwan's cultural diplomatic agencies (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Culture, the New York Cultural Center) forged ties with a community arts organization through overseas Taiwanese as intermediaries. This case reveals how expatriate networks can support and establish enduring structures for advancing Taiwanese culture internationally.

Supports through Crowding Campaigns to Counter Policy Challenges

The mission to introduce Taiwanese culture can be an important motivation to join forces together, as this is particularly visible in crowdfunding campaigns. Funders do not necessarily need to be affluent, and small contributions count. For instance, prior to the 2014 Edinburgh Fringe Festival, Jade and Artists Dance Troupe and Tjimur Dance were selected for the Taiwan Season showcase by the Ministry of Culture. The notion of “letting the world see Taiwan” was used in both companies' fundraising campaigns for participation in arts festivals (Wei 2017: 167-168). The rhetoric is not to leverage government funding, as Nisbett found in other contexts, but to target members of the public. In the case illustrated above, the crowd-funding campaigns echoed political goals and helped to generate income.

Unlike donating to foundations and other non-governmental organizations to support cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy, citizens' actions directly provide funding and create a stronger sense of connection to the mission of the funded initiatives. Another notable and quite recent example is the crowdfunding campaign for the We TAIWAN initiative, launched by Sam Yang (lead singer of Fire EX) and supported by Nien-Jen Wu (screenwriter and director). According to the crowdfunding campaign webpage, the Ministry of Culture had curated Taiwanese cultural works to be showcased at Expo 2025 in Osaka, Kansai, Japan. However, when legislators completely cut the Ministry of Culture's originally

planned promotional budget, many of the prepared creative and promotional plans could not be executed therefore weakened the strength for attracting new attendees and reaching wider audiences at events designed to gain international visibility (Wu and Lee 2025: para. 6). This case exemplifies the institutional vulnerability discussed earlier: project-based cultural diplomacy initiatives lacking permanent organizational status remain susceptible to partisan budget decisions.

The reduction in the Ministry of Culture's international promotion budget occurred amid contentious circumstances. The situation was disorderly, as Chieh-Hsiang Wu (2025: para. 1) described: "[...] to the point where even the legislators who initiated them are unaware of which items were cut or frozen." Wu (2025: para. 1) also cautioned that these financial reductions harm cultural creation across various sectors, while stifling the public discourse and civic society interactions that have traditionally thrived through diverse cultural and artistic activities.

The funding cuts created a discouraging atmosphere for advocates relying on government support, particularly when reductions stem from political motivations rather than legitimate financial concerns (Wu 2025). Subsequently, frustration also mounted on digital platforms, and I suggest that these incidents, including the Great Recall campaign targeting underperforming lawmakers, heightened public consciousness about the budget reduction and subsequently supported the fundraising initiative. The swift actions demonstrated activism of Taiwan's civil society as part of the soft power resources, which has been visible since the 2014 Sunflower Movement (Rawnsley 2022: 23).

The idea of launching a crowdfunding campaign emerged, and in their statement reflected a civic determination to transcend governmental limitations. The organizers recognized external pressures constraining Taiwan's international visibility but rejected passive acquiescence, reframing Taiwan's diplomatic marginalization as a collective challenge demanding citizen-driven solutions rather than sole reliance on state action. The crowdfunding project reached its target of six million New Taiwan Dollars from 2,461 sponsors within 38 hours, faster than expected. The funds were planned to be used for promotional activities, including advertisements, a documentary film about this citizen diplomacy action, and press packs for Japanese media (We TAIWAN 2025). The Ministry of Culture acknowledged the power of the crowdfunding campaign and praised it as a joint effort in cultural diplomacy (Ministry of Culture paras. 1, 4).

Despite over a decade separating the 2014 and 2025 cases, both demonstrate striking continuities in Taiwan's cultural diplomacy approach. Most notably, the notion of "letting the world see Taiwan" or "making Taiwan visible" remains consistently prominent across both periods. Both the 2014 and 2025 initiatives

reveal how domestic audiences gain participatory engagement in cultural diplomacy through similar mechanisms. These fundraising campaigns consistently strengthen connections between arts companies and local audiences. Unlike typical crowdfunding ventures that offer tangible products in exchange for startup capital, overseas touring projects from both eras provide company memorabilia and promotional materials as tokens of appreciation. Since actual performances often occur abroad and are inaccessible to domestic sponsors in both cases, supporters consistently function more as donors than as consumers. Whether in 2014 or 2025, sponsors are motivated by belief in the cause rather than material returns, seeking intangible rewards such as acknowledgment and the satisfaction of contributing to a meaningful cultural mission (UK Crowdfunding Association para. 2). Both cases benefit from the expanding influence of social media on public engagement. As Clay Shirky (2011: 29) observed, “connected communities acquire improved access to information” and “strengthened capacity for coordinated action.” Digital platforms facilitate quick campaign launches with clear progress tracking. When paired with social media’s capacity for widespread sharing, these efforts—from the earlier 2014 initiatives to the 2025 We TAIWAN campaign—accomplish broad reach and accelerated progress toward meeting financial targets.

However, the sustainability of such citizen-driven crowdfunding initiatives warrants critical examination. The success of campaigns like We TAIWAN may reflect exceptional circumstances, such as heightened national consciousness with specific political catalysts or cultural moments. It may not be a reliable, long-term solution to systematic funding gaps in cultural diplomacy. Without institutional support and consistent policy frameworks, citizen-funded cultural diplomacy may become dependent on media visibility and popular appeal, potentially marginalizing less attractive but equally significant cultural exchanges.

Conclusion

CITIZENS have had long-standing engagement in Taiwan’s cultural diplomacy. Taiwan’s cultural diplomacy has undergone significant transformation alongside its political democratization. During the martial law period (1949-1987), cultural exchange was predominantly state-controlled, with organizations like the China Youth National Salvation Corps (1974-1999) serving as instruments of authoritarian cultural policy and ideological mobilization. The dissolution of such organizations during Taiwan’s democratic transition reflects broader shifts in how cultural exchange is conceived and practiced.

Cultural diplomacy has been considered a crucial element of public diplomacy. By reviewing relevant literature, I introduced the concept of cultural diplomacy and the differences between public diplomacy and citizen diplomacy. The agent who initiated the diplomatic action was identified as the main distinction between the two. However, in the cases illustrated in Taiwan, while the government designed some schemes, spontaneous actions from civil society are also visible.

It is crucial to distinguish between different institutional actors and their respective approaches to cultural exchange. The Ministry of Culture and Non-Departmental Public Bodies foster arts and cultural engagement, emphasizing cultural exchange rather than explicit political schemes. In contrast, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pursues more overtly political agendas through public diplomacy programs. These institutional differences shape the nature, scope, and objectives of civic participation, with implications for how to conceptualize “democratization” in cultural diplomacy.

In this article, I categorized three types of public engagement in cultural diplomacy. The public participates in policy formation, engages in public diplomacy programs as performers, and sponsors cultural diplomacy projects. First, the 2017 National Cultural Congress, which was held according to principles of deliberative democracy, invited members of the public to participate in the policy formation stage of cultural diplomacy. While the congress design can be argued to fulfill the government’s agenda, incorporating immigrants’ voices and delivering young people’s opinions demonstrates the development of Taiwan’s liberal democracy. It must be noted that people who are willing to devote their time and energy to discussing public affairs represent a small portion of society. This requires a willingness to contribute to relevant issues, understand them, and provide informed suggestions for cultural policy and cultural diplomacy.

These citizen engagement cases showed potential mechanisms for developing cultural diplomacy policies. First, the need to diversify resources that reduces sole dependence on government budgets to avoid political interference. Second, to realize social engagement and cultural rights in cultural diplomacy policymaking in reflection of the changing in society. This citizen participation can be channels for policy feedback and correction, enhancing the long-term adaptive capacity of policies.

Nonetheless, the engagement of young people in cultural diplomacy through foreign visits demonstrates its educational function. Government programs like the Chinese Goodwill Mission and the Youth Ambassadors clearly demonstrate the state’s established practice of encouraging private sector

participation in public and cultural diplomacy. I argue that it has created a shared awareness of Taiwan's challenge in international relations this also inspires young student to be able to contribute their part in public diplomacy.

This shared awareness further explains the sponsorship from civil society in cultural diplomacy. The enthusiasm of the Taiwanese American Arts Council in New York, which was notable for its support of Taiwanese artists in the United States. The TAAC case demonstrates that citizen participation extends to overseas Taiwanese communities, which can result from long-term relationships maintained by the government while also contributing to connections with local cultural networks.

Citizen diplomacy networks can be virtual in the age of social media. Internet culture enables collective actions to occur with incredible speed. The 2014 Taiwan Season at Edinburgh Festival Fringe and the We TAIWAN campaign for Expo 2025 in Osaka, Kansai, Japan illustrated in this article used crowdfunding websites to raise funds to cover their budgets for cultural diplomacy projects. These fundraising initiatives strengthen bonds between arts companies and domestic audiences, fostering cultural identity through shared participation. In their Edinburgh Fringe Festival campaigns, arts groups employed slogans like "let the world see Taiwan/the new dance aesthetics of the Payuan in Taiwan" to forge connections with supporters. These appeals highlighted the potential benefits of international touring, motivating funders to support overseas representation and generating collective pride in Taiwan's cultural presence abroad. The collective pride could potentially contribute to Taiwan's cultural identity formation with international visibility and recognition.

This notion remains strong in the We TAIWAN fundraising project, even after a decade. Citizen diplomacy compensates for cultural diplomacy when institutions fail to enable the government to maximize the effects of cultural diplomacy. The motivation for donating to the project has yet to be explored. While crowdfunding demonstrates social media's capacity for rapid mobilization, its sustainability as a funding mechanism remains questionable. The 2025 campaign succeeded during moments of heightened political crisis and national consciousness. However, episodic civic mobilization cannot substitute for institutionalized funding frameworks. Without stable budgetary support insulated from partisan conflicts, cultural organizations remain vulnerable to political interference, oscillating between governmental largesse and emergency fundraising. The author is also deeply aware that even though the momentum of citizen participation in cultural diplomacy is evident in these cases, appearing overall optimistic and enthusiastic, Taiwan's cultural diplomacy requires a critical examination. From aspects of ideology, concepts, strategies, and budgets, which are subject to complex political influences stemming from existing

geopolitical conditions, cross-strait relations, and domestic party politics. To move beyond individual case discussions toward a comprehensive examination, it would be necessary to thoroughly investigate aspects such as funding sources, collaborating organizations, and issue initiators. The areas left unexplored in this article remain as directions for future research. International precedents suggest the necessity of independent cultural funding bodies with statutory budgets or multi-year appropriations that maintain continuity regardless of electoral cycles. Taiwan requires similar institutional safeguards, for instance, through dedicated cultural diplomacy funds, legislative guarantees, or autonomous agencies, to ensure professional, strategically coherent international cultural engagement.

In Taiwan's case, the government aims to promote culture as part of soft power despite deficiencies in its conventional diplomacy. The characteristics illustrated in this article paint a picture of the democratization of cultural diplomacy in relation to international cultural policy. Through enthusiastic members of the public who respond to policy and make cultural diplomacy projects happen, participants gain a sense of community in cultural diplomacy. Although existing issues in domestic cultural politics also impact cultural diplomacy and vice versa, the collective power of citizens could be an essential force for sustaining effective cultural policy.

However, citizen participation in international cultural activities does not automatically constitute "democratization." True democratization requires more than participation. It demands institutional reforms that ensure transparency, accountability, and inclusive decision-making in cultural policy. This includes clarifying power structures, addressing cross-strait political complexities, and confronting questions of cultural identity and belonging that shape who can legitimately represent "Taiwan" internationally.

Taiwan's experience illustrates both possibilities and limitations of citizen engagement in cultural diplomacy. While democratic opening has created spaces for diverse voices and initiatives, structural challenges persist: political interference in budgeting, ambiguous institutional mandates, and unresolved questions about national identity in international representation. Moving forward requires not merely expanding participation, but establishing resilient institutional frameworks that protect cultural initiatives from political volatility while ensuring equitable access and strategic coherence. Only through more nuanced institutional frameworks that establish democratic participation mechanisms can Taiwan's citizen diplomacy truly transcend political discourse and existing limitations. It requires moving beyond both authoritarian legacies and market-driven expediency toward a more mature development that reflects the complexity and plurality of Taiwanese society.

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參與、表演與募資

臺灣文化外交的民主參與

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摘要

本文探討臺灣公民社會在文化外交中的參與模式，並批判性地檢視這些參與是否構成文化外交的民主化。透過分析二〇一七年全國文化會議、外交部青年大使計畫以及羣眾募資案例，本研究指出臺灣公民參與文化外交的三種可能方式：政策制定歷程參與者、文化交流專案的表演者，以及專案贊助者。

研究發現，儘管民主化及科技發展促使文化政策制定有機會從由上而下的模式轉向混合式的共治模式，公民藉參與機制表達意見，但公民參與並不自然而然等同於民主化。二〇一七年全國文化會議運用資訊科技擴大公民參與，體現了審議民主的潛力。國際青年大使交流計畫延續了臺灣長期以來透過表演藝術進行文化外交的方式，但也反映出國家工具化與公民能動性之間的張力。羣眾募資案例則顯示，在面對外交孤立與政府預算限制時，公民社會能夠主動發起文化外交行動，透過社羣媒體動員集體力量。

本文指出，「讓世界看見臺灣」已成為跨世代的共同意識，促使公民積極參與文化外交實踐。然而，真正的民主化需要的不僅是參與，更需要制度改革以確保透明度、問責制度，以及文化政策決策的包容性。臺灣的經驗說明了公民參與文化外交的可能性與限制，突顯建立具韌性的制度框架以保護文化倡議免受政治波動影響的重要性。

關鍵詞：文化外交、公民參與、臺灣軟實力、審議民主、羣眾募資

以死養生

對看朱賢哲《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》 與《莊子·養生主》

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摘要

目前對於朱賢哲《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》的論述，大多環繞影片內容與動保議題；尚未見到深入對讀《莊子》思想與流浪動物主題者。此影片與《莊子·養生主》的內容差異不小，但朱賢哲的影像引申了《莊子》。《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》是流浪狗的悲歌，《莊子·養生主》則像這曲悲歌的不和諧對位。本文主張：必須並置對看《莊子·養生主》，才更能得見朱賢哲《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》影像反襯出的深沉悲哀。

《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》片中人物對於流浪狗的處理方式雖無共識，但全片沒有壞人，每個角色都懷抱善意；在「善—善衝突」之下，人狗共生的理想顯得遙不可及，對於總體現實的無力與無奈不言可喻。這是紀錄影像，也是悲劇影像，其中逍遙不存在，幽默不可能，真實的體會便是面對動物的大悲心。《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》是對《莊子·養生主》的引申，更是沉哀的衍義。

關鍵詞：朱賢哲、《養生主》、《莊子》、流浪狗、以死養生

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前 言

臺灣紀錄片以流浪狗為主題者，近年較廣為人知的是二〇一三年《十二夜》和二〇二二年《十二夜2：回到第零天》。但更震撼也更深刻的，當屬二〇〇一年朱賢哲的《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》。《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》拍攝與剪接於一九九六到二〇〇一年之間，獲第三十八屆金馬獎最佳紀錄片；^[1] 主要場景是板橋浮洲橋下的動物收容所，一個大型垃圾場，是被忽略的荒地。大量的狗被遺棄在這裏，等同髒臭的垃圾。政府將流浪狗集中，卻未提供足夠的人力和設施，因此狗們只能自生自滅，甚至開始狗吃狗。《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》也紀錄了人物之間的衝突：愛心民眾楊秋華、湯臣女英、維安動物醫院獸醫師李政道、關懷生命協會祕書長釋悟泓、板橋清潔隊長鍾茂松，各個人物在不同身分和觀點下，有令人動容的陳述和激辯。

在公共電視臺的專訪中，朱賢哲表示：之所以會用「養生主」為紀錄片名稱，實與《莊子》有密切關聯（林文淇、陳德齡 145）。目前對於《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》的論述，大多針對影片內容與動保議題而來；^[2] 尚未見到深入對讀《莊子》思想與流浪狗主題者。《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》與《莊子·養生主》的內容並不相同，但如果就《莊子》道的廣袤來看，也很難說《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》逾越了《莊子》的道論。當然，《莊子》描述的道，思想範疇超出朱賢哲的電影，但朱賢哲透過影像傳達的情景與意涵，卻也衍繹了《莊子》的一些面向，可以看作莊學在當代傳播中被改編的一種觀點，表達了社會角落真實的殘酷。由此推想，可知以朱賢哲的《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》與《莊子》對照並觀，實非異想天開的比附——畢竟此紀錄片就命名為「養生主」，確實有充分的理由觀察其與《莊子》思想之間的異同辯證。^[3]

必須說明的是，朱賢哲《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》並不是對《莊子·養生主》的解釋，而是對《莊子·養生主》的引申；必須在《莊子》的思想底景上，影像深層的意蘊才得以伸展蔓衍。《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》和《莊子·養生主》當然有明顯的差別，但承認《莊子》的意思與流浪狗紀錄片不盡相同之後，我們可以調整焦距——畢竟更值得觀察的是紀錄片影像所延展的意涵，以及古典文本被引申的思想，兩者之間究竟形成了何種詮釋的張力。質言之，用以觀察此二者的原則，並不在於「類比」的思維，而是「對比」的視野——不是以《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》作為《莊子·養生主》的「類比」，

而是將兩者並置，思考它們之間的「對照」。所謂類比思維，乃側重於事物之共性，將觀察重點擺在事物雷同（或相似）的特徵上，以相似點進行推理。但我們也應當明白：就方法而言，凡是類比，就是不可能全然貼切的——否則那就不能稱為類比，而應視為同一。至於對比，則是將不同種類的事物並陳，交互對照，以突顯彼此之間的異同、距離、張力，甚至互喻；藉此，事物各自的特性可能更加明顯，進而呈現出鮮明的對照效果。採用對比視野所進行的詮釋，肯定與類比思維的詮釋很不一樣。本文主要採取的是對比視野，將《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》和《莊子·養生主》並陳看待——根本原因在於：我們必須深入對照《莊子·養生主》，才更能得見朱賢哲《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》影像反襯出的沉哀。

壹、誰養？誰生？誰主？

何謂「養生主」？在《莊子》學史裏大致可歸納出三種說法。第一種是「養生」之主。此解如郭象「生以養存，則養生者理之極也。若乃養過其極，以養傷生，非養生之主也」（郭慶藩 115），這是將「養生」兩字連讀，而以「理之極」，詮釋養生的「主」。此解法固有文獻依據，因為〈養生主〉裏文惠君賞畢庖丁解牛即言「得養生焉」；不過未必就是唯一解。第二種解法是「養『生之主』」，此解如宣穎「誰為生主無可指也。真宰真君。前篇又已昭揭。此篇止寫養之之妙」（16）。這種解法是將「生主」兩字連讀，而所謂生主，就是生命真正的主體，即「真君」。王夫之《莊子解》也採用這種解法：「形，寓也，賓也；心知寓神以馳，役也；皆吾生之有而非生之主也。……而養形之累顯而淺，養知之累隱而深」（104），表示既不是養形，又不是養知，若要養「生之主」，關鍵就在養「心」。第三種解法，是將上述二種綜合起來談：「養生」的主，在養「生主」；比如憨山釋德清言「本篇教人養性全生，以性乃生之主也」（59），這是以「全生」來詮釋「養生」，而以「養性」來解釋「養『生之主』」，換言之，養生之道，也就是養「生之主」的心性（王邦雄 149）。

《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》的主題，不同於《莊子·養生主》的本義，但以讀者與觀眾的角度觀之：影像中流浪狗的際遇，彷彿引申著「養生主」三字。如何養生？人穿梭於世界，如庖丁之刀出入牛體而多年無損；人能依此

道理去養生，但流浪狗只能在社會角落默默生死。若考究「養生主」的意含，進而擴充推想，更能明白《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》影像衍繹出的沉哀。養的主體為何，養的對象為何？在當代生活現實裏，作為寵物的狗，時常成了飼主的生活重心。影片中，一位母親帶著兩個小女兒來獸醫院，她們預計收養一隻棄犬——最小的女兒說「試試看」。這位母親立刻進行了機會教育，告訴女兒收養小狗可不是兒戲，一旦收養就要對狗兒負責到底。童言童語無傷大雅，但這畢竟呈現出小孩子的直接反應。如此的紀實片段，使觀眾得以聯想：是人（飼/棄）養狗，還是狗（教）養人？人是狗的生主（生活中的主人），或者狗是人的生主（生活的主要陪伴）？這些顯然已超出《莊子·養生主》的本義與討論範圍，卻是《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》可以延伸出的思索。

人該如何對待動物？其實這不是一個「關乎動物的問題」，而更是身為人類的我們如何回答「該怎麼身而為『人』」的問題。因為人也是一種動物，我們的天性是雜食，但食肉在道德哲學上很難得到全然合理性。簡言之，人類自許為「人」，自該遵循「人之為『人』所應遵循之道德」，但困難在於：人真可能同時面對道德理性與身為動物的天性嗎？《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》片中人物對於流浪狗議題呈現出不同立場，此中無刻意安排，卻形成了真實自然的戲劇衝突。比如，當楊秋華在收容所遇到懷孕的母狗時，她想的是為狗墮胎並結紮，墮胎是為了避免母狗無法撫養而導致幼犬死亡，而結紮則是為了控制流浪狗的數量。楊秋華認為，只有透過逐漸減少和控制流浪狗的數量，才能解決流浪狗問題。然而獸醫師李政道看法不同，他堅決反對為母狗墮胎與結紮。他認為，幼犬雖未出生，但在子宮內已經具有生命；墮胎和安樂死本質雷同，如果人類可以決定幼犬的生死，那麼安樂死也是可以接受的選項。李醫師堅持主張，如果真要給母狗墮胎，按照這套邏輯，那乾脆把所有流浪狗都給安樂死，如此更能澈底解決問題。此處的爭議在於：人是否有權決定流浪動物的生死？如果認為有，那麼是否將自己當成了主掌生殺大權之「主」？這些衝突與激辯，沒有任何刻意安排，每個人物都真心至性，反映了義工的無奈、法律的不足、協會與獸醫之間理念的衝突，以及懷孕結紮的爭議等，突顯了理念與實際之間的鴻溝。

《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》主場景是板橋浮洲橋下幾間破舊的鐵皮屋，是流浪狗收容所也是垃圾掩埋場，環境極度惡劣。大量流浪狗聚集於此，有些

骨瘦如柴，有些毛已脫落，有些皮膚傷口化膿不止，有些甚至四肢殘缺或癱瘓。狗們被當作廢棄物，於此自生自滅。楊秋華和湯臣女英全心全意投入照顧流浪狗，她們面對髒兮兮的狗，毫不猶豫地幫牠們清洗身體、擦拭傷口，清除寄生蟲。對此，我們可思及《莊子·養生主》公文軒與右師的故事：「公文軒見右師而驚曰：『是何人也？惡乎介也？天與，其人與？』曰：『天也，非人也。天之生是使獨也，人之貌有與也。以是知其天也，非人也。』」（郭慶藩 124）。對這段簡短的文字，黃睿整理了四種傳統解法，^[4] 並且提出新解。公文軒出於自身的誤解，認為右師只有一隻腳——這必定是天生的，否則他如何保有全人般的神情自信呢？公文軒認為，如果右師的獨腳是因為受到人間刑罰而被砍下，那麼他一定不會有怡然自適的態度。黃睿認為，以上的想法只是公文軒的誤解，實情可能是：右師有一定的道行，才能在面對自己身體的殘缺時，依然保有瀟灑的神情（黃睿 119）。由此回看《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》那些身體殘缺，皮膚受傷，長滿膿瘡，甚至因為病毒感染而眼睛幾乎睜不開的可憐狗們——身形殘缺的動物，不但沒有逍遙自在的神情，更因為缺乏安全感而長期緊張恐懼——令人感覺既悲且諷。動物沒有足以修道的智慧，但生而為人的右師卻能煥發道家的境界（因此能坦然面對身體的殘缺）。換言之，有道行的右師「養」了自己——人能自行養生，能養自己的生主——相較之下，流浪動物只能自生自滅。對比而言，右師體道的境界愈是高明，流浪狗的處境顯得愈加悲慘；或者說黃睿對《莊子·養生主》的詮解愈精彩，在讀者與觀眾眼裏，《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》就益發深沉悲哀。在《莊子》裏，右師身體的缺陷，反襯出的是養生之境；而作為對比的《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》，呈現的是狗身殘損的狀態。這樣的對比並不在表示動物比人的地位更低下，也意不在類比狗和人——而是試圖將兩種相異的情境並陳，對看其間距離和落差，以突顯紀錄片沉鬱的張力。

《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》裏有一情節支線：楊秋華將傷痕累累的小白狗帶到李醫師處，寄養在獸醫院，並為牠取名「隨和」。這個名字代表了人們對牠的期待，希望牠能降低戒心，與人好好相處。狗本來可以與人建立親密關係，然而種種苦難讓牠們遺忘了這種聯繫；這反映在「隨和」的行為上，牠不親人，根本拒絕與人接觸。我們很難想像究竟是什麼悲慘的遭遇，讓這樣一個小動物對外的一切完全失去信任，甚至連踏出籠子都完全不敢。若

與《莊子·養生主》對看，更可見此中悲哀：「澤雉十步一啄，百步一飲，不斂奮乎樊中。神雖王，不善也」（郭慶藩 126）。《莊子·養生主》描述了水澤區的野雞，活在野外，走十步才能有一啄食，走百步才能尋到一飲，寧可如此，也不願意被畜養在人的牢籠中；牠神態雖然旺盛，卻不可能愉快。反觀「隨和」，牠極度惶恐不安，完全不敢離開鐵籠；可能長期遭受其他大狗的欺凌，以致毫無安全感。一開始，鐵籠外的食物完全吸引不了牠；寧可挨餓，也要待在鐵籠裏以策安全。籠子雖是囚禁，但從另一角度看則是保護——《莊子·養生主》只提及野雞不愛樊籠，而《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》鏡頭裏飽受欺凌的流浪狗反而死死守著鐵籠，就連一步也不敢離開。這樣的兩相對比，成了紀錄片於《莊子》思想之外的反襯及辯證。

貳、「芻狗」能共生？

一般認為狗是人的好朋友，人狗互相陪伴，其樂無窮。但流浪狗也是人的好朋友嗎，能共生嗎？流浪狗的問題牽涉層面甚廣，極為複雜難解，交織了各種道德責任和價值思辨。狗是動物，人也是動物，在終極的意義上人和狗可有不同？在歷史上，絕大多數的主張都認為人並不完全等於動物，或者認為人是生物界的特例。人類多半不承認自己是動物，不想當動物，也害怕自己淪為動物；比如許多宗教認為人有靈魂，或者認為人有理智或具備道德之源，^[5] 所以並非禽獸。不過，這種認為人必定不同於動物，甚至將人之地位置於其他生物之上的想法可能是有問題的，甚至可能導致極端（梅蘭妮·查林傑 18-28）。

狗是「芻狗」，人也是「芻狗」。《老子》言「天地不仁，以萬物為芻狗；聖人不仁，以百姓為芻狗。天地之間，其猶橐籥乎！虛而不屈，動而愈出。多言數窮，不如守中」（陳鼓應 2011:74-75）。芻狗的原意，是草紮成的狗，用來祭祀、求福，擺放在先祖牌位旁陪祭，當祭典結束後就被扔棄。在王弼和河上公的注本裏，都將此二字理解為「芻」與「狗」，此應為錯解（王弼 4-5, 82）。《老子》之意應是要表達：天地沒有任何的偏愛，視萬物如同芻狗，任其自行生滅；而聖人也沒有任何偏愛（不仁），^[6] 將百姓視同芻狗，任他們自行興衰。需注意的是：道家對於此處天地不仁與芻狗等觀念，基本是肯定的。^[7] 在《莊子·天運》裏，師金嘲諷顏淵，說他老師（孔子）的行徑，

如同將祭典後拋棄的芻狗當成了珍寶，這還不夠，更召集了眾多弟子共同追尋，難怪處處碰壁，從不得志：「亦取先王已陳芻狗，聚弟子游居寢臥其下。故伐樹於宋，削跡於衛，窮於商周，是非其夢邪？圍於陳蔡之間，七日不火食，死生相與鄰，是非其昧邪」（郭慶藩 512）。從天地的角度觀之，或許任何生命都是可丟棄之芻狗。浮州橋下收容所裏的狗，因為過度饑餓，而開始狗吃狗，這是整部影片最令人震撼的片段之一。由於狗們被關在收容所內許久，沒東西吃，也沒人來餵食，在極度饑餓的情況下，狗開始同類相食，而且還不只吃掉一隻，湯臣女英說她走進去時，腳下踩到的是狗的眼睛。當把鐵籠的門打開時，狗們也不出來，因為饑餓到全身無力，腳也軟了，連跑出鐵籠的一絲力氣也沒有。狗在極端情況下同類相殘，而人在極端情況下也會食人肉，這類驚悚的事件在歷史上其實不少。如果處在唯有吃掉同類才能存活的情境下，那麼惡與道德就會形成最大張力——或者說，這裏頭有「惡」嗎？狗吃狗，如「芻狗吃芻狗」；如果世間生靈皆為「芻狗」，那麼求生不得而吞噬同類，也是芻狗可能的命運之一。

在人類歷史的大多數階段，動物都被視為「物」，被視為一種「東西」，是受人類支配的財產；換句話說，動物往往沒有道德地位，不在道德考量的範圍之內。半世紀以來，動物倫理開始受到重視，一些哲學家主張：動物不該被貶低為「物」，因其具備某些內在的特質，是以需要受到尊重。辛格(Peter Singer, 1946-)《動物解放》(*Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for Our Treatment of Animals*, 1975)主張動物具備感受痛苦與快樂的能力，因此需要在平等原則下得到相應的對待。辛格以效益主義為進路，將「最大利益考量原則」由人類擴及到動物。他接受邊沁(Jeremy Bentham, 1748-1832)的論點，認為應當讓有感知的個體之痛苦達致最小化。辛格指出，已有許多證據可證明動物有承受情感的中樞神經系統，因而任何能感知痛苦的動物，都應該獲得道德的關注與保護。若承認種族主義、性別主義都是不道德的，則也必須承認：物種主義也是不道德的(Singer 1989: 73-86)。不過，辛格並不是主張我們應當以完全一模一樣的方式和待遇來對待人與動物，而只是說，對於所感知到的痛苦，不論主體是動物或者人都不應有分別。^[8] 里根(Tom Regan, 1938-2017)認為效益原則不能解救動物，我們要做的應該是賦予動物道德權利，才能杜絕人類對動物的無謂傷害。他的《為動物權利辯護》(*The Case for Animal Rights*,

1983)以義務論為進路，以權利作為核心概念，主張凡是生命主體即有內在價值，因而享有道德權利。換言之，動物雖然不是道德主動者(agent)，卻是道德容受者(patient)，因此人類必須予以道德考量，不可任意對待。在里根看來，我們應以尊重的方式對待動物，因為動物都有內在價值——這不是仁慈的行為，而是公正的行為(Regan 1986: 179-189)。納斯邦(Martha C. Nussbaum, 1947-)則以「能力論」(或可稱為致善論)來修正並擴展羅爾斯(John Rawls, 1921-2002)《正義論》(*The Theory of Justice*, 1971)的正義觀、效益主義進路與義務論進路，改採亞里士多德式的方案，認為人類和動物都在追求繁興的生活(flourishing life)，以此構想另一種社會正義——動物當然必須被視為政治正義之主體，且有權享有符合其尊嚴之生活。在《為動物的正義：我們的集體責任》(2024) (*Justice for Animals: Our Collective Responsibility*, 2023)裏，她反對三種常見的動物倫理觀點：(1)自然階梯觀與「如此像我們」進路；(2)效益主義進路；(3)克里斯汀·科斯基德(Christine Marion Korsgaard)的康德式進路。納斯邦強調「能力發展」的重要性，^[9]換言之，消除人類對待動物之不正義，重點並不只在於減輕動物的痛苦，更在於使動物能發展出繁興的生活。不過，理論能幫助流浪狗嗎？錢永祥於《人性之鏡：動物倫理的歷史與哲學》的最後一講坦白提出此問：「不能不追問一個尷尬的問題：這些倫理的思考有用嗎？真的能幫助動物嗎？」隨後表示「我認為倫理學可以影響現實世界，不過這種影響注定是間接的」(200)。對於創造哲學理論以轉變政治現實，納斯邦也持樂觀態度(Nussbaum 2024: 426)。關於以上根本問題，如果連學者們都只能以「表態」的方式來陳述信念，形同顯示了此流浪動物問題之棘手。動物長期遭受痛苦，這不管依循義務論、效益論或致善論的進路，都很難得到圓滿解套。現實問題固然不易解決，但種種體認畢竟逼我們進入一種屬人之反思情境。德希達(Jacques Derrida, 1930-2004)曾指出動物所承受的苦難先於一切動物倫理的辯論，我們的惻隱之心也是無可質疑的；動物承受著苦難，我們也會因動物的苦難(先於一切理論)而感覺到真實的折磨(396-397)。以我的話來說，這表示我們希望救助動物的一部分原因，是為了緩和我們(屬人)的痛苦；看見動物活在地獄裏，而希望解救牠們，是因為我們盼望世界上不要有這樣的地獄。面對動物他者時，惻隱之心形成我們的痛苦，逼我們進入深度反省的狀態——我們被眼前的景象折磨內心，承認自己不該

掉過頭去，假裝不存在這些慘劇和苦難，畢竟這就是我們「身為人」的關鍵。正是在這個意義上，「種種理論難以真正救助現實中的動物慘劇」不至於令我們陷入全然的虛無主義，因為那觸及了人該何以體認自己作為「人」的問題。也如同阿多(Pierre Hadot, 1922-2010)不斷強調的，哲學話語應有一種（源自古代的）新倫理，即拒絕把理論話語自身作為目的或雄辯的展示，而是一種生活的方式與選擇，要以「精神修煉」的樣態，抵達宇宙理性並向他者敞開(103, 156-157)。

在《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》中可以見到捕狗大隊在執行任務，他們一進到巷弄，整個社區一下充滿了肅殺之氣。捕狗隊在捉流浪狗時，以最無情也最有效的暴力方式，以鐵線和鐵夾，將狗自頸部挾住，然後硬拖硬拉進卡車，牠們的叫聲充滿了驚心恐懼的痛感。片中也拍攝了用來執行安樂死的電籠——以紅銅線纏繞的鐵籠，以通電方式，將狗隻擊斃；或者將狗關入鐵籠，然後浸入水中淹死。這是那個年代的「安樂死」，不但毫不安樂，簡直是慘無人道。當年《動物保護法》還未通過，各種設備也遠遠不足，政府只能以直接而殘酷的方式來面對流浪狗問題。究其實，當時政府的想法並不是「養護」流浪狗，而是「處理」流浪狗；換句話說，是把流浪狗當作垃圾，當作「物」而非「生命」來處置。以上所言並不是要譴責政府，畢竟一個時代有一個時代的難處，也許如此粗魯的過程對當時來說是無奈的選擇，或許也是必要的現實處置。若再對看《莊子·養生主》，沉哀之意更明：

為善無近名，為惡無近刑，緣督以為經，可以保身，可以全生，
可以養親，可以盡年。(郭慶藩 115)

此段本義歷來難解，爭議重重。王叔岷於《莊子校註》以「養生義之善惡」解(100)。陳鼓應認為：做世俗上的人所認為的「善」事，不要有求名之心，做世俗上的人所認為的「惡」事，則不要遭到刑戮之害(2011:104-106)。張默生認為「為善無近名，為惡無近刑」應是倒句，該以「無為善近名，無為惡近刑」去理解。吳怡認為：「為善」和「為惡」的意思，是「一念為善，一念為惡」(127-129)。王夫之認為「惡」不一定是道德敗壞之惡，而是指稱「聲色之類，不可名為善者，即惡也」(104)。這段最難解之處就在「為惡無近刑」。《莊子》的意思應該不是提醒人作姦為惡時，要小心不被抓到並判刑，而當

另有深意。一種解法是：將這裏的為善為惡解釋為「對養生層面而言的增益或缺失」，因此「為惡無近刑」就成了「即使在養生方面有些缺失，也不要讓這些缺失導致『刑』」，^[10]此即王叔岷之意。另一種合理的解法如前述之陳鼓應，認為「善」「惡」之分本來就是世俗的認定，其中必有不完全合宜或爭議之處，因此在做一般世俗認定的善事時，不可有求名之心；而在做一般世俗認定的惡事時（由於不為世人包容、理解），也要讓自己免於遭受刑罰。依此衍繹：清潔隊與捕狗隊的行為，看似粗暴冷漠，其實是政府授權的必要之惡，是另外一種「為惡無近刑」。《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》情節與《莊子·養生主》的文句原意不同，但若將其視為當代情境的發揮，當可明白兩者的互文性。

參、解方向何在？

「為惡無近刑」的不只是捕狗隊。《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》裏關鍵的人物，獸醫師李政道，他曾是熱血的動物保護者，然而現實的種種無奈使他沉澱了原先的熱情。他的言行與想法時而尖銳，卻是出於善意的考量。他常義務幫忙治療犬隻，甚至自掏腰包支援醫療開銷，然而他和楊秋華的觀念有很大的分歧。一次，楊秋華想要將懷孕的母狗帶去結紮時，遭到了李醫師的強烈反對。他認為，如果小狗可以墮胎，大狗也可以安樂死。又比如許多動保人士舉行了會議，決定先採取狗籍管理、結紮和打晶片，但李醫師強烈反對這個決定。他認為在當時的條件下，打晶片是不切實際的，因為政府不可能在抓到流浪狗後，逐一掃描並辨識主人，再將牠們送回家——這樣的作法只是浪費時間。儘管打晶片是正確的方法，但在當時的時空背景裏是言之過早，最終必然失敗。關懷生命協會建議楊秋華和湯臣女英，在板橋也成立保護動物協會，李醫師依然大力反對；他不是澆人冷水，損害別人的熱情，而是不想看到楊秋華的愛心被動物保護團體給「利用」了。他認為，儘管協會的目的是整合資源幫助流浪狗，但實際上可能只有楊秋華和湯臣女英兩個人在付出，最終只會讓他們越陷越深。身為獸醫，卻要求義工們放棄努力，看似矛盾且殘酷；在影片末段，他激動地與楊秋華爭論，甚至眼眶泛紅，令人深感糾結。由影片可知，他並非真的不在乎，而是太過在乎，卻又無力改變現實。以他的理性與長期經驗來看，認為改變流浪狗的環境幾乎是不可能的，然而

善良的他仍以自己的方式默默付出。他看似無情，卻是一位真英雄，但面對現實大環境也是無可奈何。

《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》有一基調：以現實的眼光呈現出「沒有辦法」。問題一個接一個，環環相扣，且似乎沒有任何一個可以單獨或優先解決，遠遠超出了尋找真理、尋求最佳解答的思路——幾乎無法以量化的方式，去衡量各種選擇之間的機會成本。面對這樣的問題，我們無法不感受到思緒上的混亂。流浪狗的諸種問題不可能有標準答案，甚至「是否能找到答案」本身，也成為另一個先在問題。而在思考這些事情時，我們的各種思路和邏輯是否能完全避開矛盾？《莊子》言「吾生也有涯，而知也无涯。以有涯隨无涯，殆已；已而為知者，殆而已矣」（郭慶藩 115）。意思是：我們的生命有盡頭，但知識沒有盡頭，以有限的生命去追逐無窮的知識，終究是耗神損生的。在這裏，《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》遙望《莊子》而呈現出一幅殊異的對比——楊秋華和湯臣女英以有限的生命，去護養不斷增生、難以計數的流浪狗。《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》將《莊子·養生主》的「以有涯隨无涯」置換於異樣的脈絡中，延展出另一種面向的表達。這是對比視野下的引申，而不是紀錄片的引喻失義。

面對現實，很多時候是無能為力的，比如李政道醫師說：「你們都不要去餵流浪狗，生命自己會尋找出路」——這樣的話語自一位執業獸醫師（同時也是動物之家創辦人）的口中說出，顯得尤為諷刺，但他所言並非全無道理。如果解救的方式就是不要解救，甚至根本辦法就是讓它們死光，這也不能不說是一種理性推想，但違反了人的情感直覺。相反地，楊秋華女士主張持續餵食，逐一處理狗隻的病痛，這是人性化的作法，但在大規模的情形下根本不可能解決問題，結果就是毫無改變，將所有努力與資源一再投入無底洞。試問：哪一種方法才是最好的？不管怎麼推想，進行了如何的辯論，終究沒能解決困境。後設地看，《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》影像的深沉悲哀，彷彿補充了《莊子》表面逍遙背後的殘酷現實脈絡。紀錄片以賀伯颱風為結尾，在狂風暴雨侵襲下，流浪狗們只能依靠自身意志來求生，所有死亡彷彿都是大自然的意旨。風災後，浮洲橋收容所的慘況歷歷在目，鏡頭捕捉到狗兒的各種死傷，屍體身上被大羣蒼蠅環繞，泡在泥水裏，這些都是生命的實然。面對種種殘酷，楊秋華與湯臣女英始終堅強，甚至慶幸浮洲橋的狗至少可以

在垃圾場的開放空間中終結生命，不像其他收容所的狗是被關起來活活淹死。

《莊子·養生主》的最後一則故事，透過「老聃之死」說明「帝之懸解」，彷彿在說，倒懸之苦有「解」（自主、自由）的可能：^[1]

老聃死，秦失弔之，三號而出。弟子曰：「非夫子之友邪」？曰：「然」。「然則弔焉若此，可乎」？曰：「然。始也，吾以為其人也，而今非也。向吾入而弔焉，有老者哭之，如哭其子；少者哭之，如哭其母。彼其所以會之，必有不蘄言而言，不蘄哭而哭者。是（遯）〔遁〕天倍情，忘其所受，古者謂之遁天之刑。適來，夫子時也；適去，夫子順也。安時而處順，哀樂不能入也，古者謂是帝之懸解。」（郭慶藩 127-128）

「帝之懸解」，陳鼓應解為「自然的解除倒懸」（2011: 115），此解大致如成玄英言「帝者，天也。為生死所係者為懸，則無死無生者懸解也。夫死生不能係，憂樂不能入者，而遠古聖人謂是天然之解脫也」（郭慶藩 129）。另如陳深言「『懸』，如倒懸之懸，困縛之義」（陳鼓應 2011: 115），宣穎言「人為死生所苦猶如倒懸忘生死則懸解矣」（17），皆指出了生死之困苦猶如倒懸。關於「帝之懸解」，賴錫三的看法值得參考：

面對「倒懸」這個同時帶有「時空」與「身體」雙重意象之隱喻，或許可運用一點想像力，將「倒懸」意象加以情境化，以至聯想或共感於死亡的倒懸之苦：這就好像有人被矇眼而掛吊在無底深淵的崖邊之際，身體被捆綁而倒掛成腳上頭下的垂直落下狀態，崖底則是幽暗的深淵死地，此時身體與全然的恐懼化合為一，本能性地震顫於危脆之境，因為它同時聚集了凌空、倒吊、未知等怖畏。（2011: 5）

在自然中，人不僅受到種種法則（比如生物的、物理的、社會的、認知的）影響，而且受其限制。以《莊子》的思維而言，我們彷彿處於一種「懸吊」狀態；這意味著在自然法則與社會文化規範的約制下，生命就像是無形的絲線牽制（甚至控制）著（林淑文 95）。《莊子·大宗師》亦言「且夫得者，時也，失者，順也；安時而處順，哀樂不能入也。此古之所謂懸解也，而不

能自解者，物有結之」（郭慶藩 260）。重新審視這幾段話，更可體認《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》對《莊子》的引伸與反襯出的沉哀。片尾，狗們在颱風夜各自求生存，有些苟活下來，有些死在道路上，死在水溝邊，蒼蠅食腐而來，佔滿了狗的屍身——這殘酷的鏡頭以一種另類的「懸解」，衍繹了《莊子》的「懸解」。《莊子》所談的是人受制於社會規範與自然法則之「懸」，因而死亡即「懸解」，並隱然提示「以不解解之」。也就是說，人必先承認懸吊其實是不可解的，然後始可能將自身心安頓於看似不可解的自然秩序或社會文化習俗內；唯有如此，才不會執著於競逐權勢或財富，或痴痴滿足感官的各種欲求，而落入「倒懸」之悲苦。^[12] 而《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》裏的死狗，也解開了社會規範與自然法則之「懸」——所謂「解開自然法則之『懸』」，對比於死狗們不再受苦於狗之肉身；而「解開社會規範之『懸』」，對比於死狗們不再受難於人類社會將之棄如垃圾，任其自生自滅的「根本沒有任何規範的狀態」。^[13] 兩相對比，更顯哀戚。

當楊秋華提到，民間力量有限，政府對於流浪狗所能採取的措施僅僅是安樂死時——畫面轉向一對正在交配的狗。這樣的鏡頭語言充滿殘酷的諷意。對一般人而言，誕生值得慶祝，死亡必須哀悼；然而對於流浪狗而言，誕生不值得任何祝福；在人類的消費社會中，牠們沒有立足之地。只有在飼養關係中，狗為人類的生活帶來正面效益時，牠們的生命才被認為有價值。然而，一旦寵物經濟供需失衡，狗變為流浪狗，變為被人遺棄的垃圾。片末呈現了臺灣一九九六年時的幾處收容所，當時使用的安樂死方式為：將狗放入電籠裏電死，或者放入小籠裏浸入蓄水池溺死等。安樂死原應是以安樂的方式，減少痛苦，直達死亡；但以上作法實際上都讓狗承受了極大痛苦，令人備感哀痛，且偏離了安樂死之原初善意。在影片中，時任關懷生命協會祕書長的釋悟泓法師支持對流浪狗施行安樂死，他的理由是基於現實情境的不得不然。這既可能引發道德爭議，且在比丘必須受持的殺畜生戒上有犯戒律之疑慮。但如釋昭慧指出：在佛教護生的脈絡下，應以「自通之法」，將心比心理解動物遭受的苦難。即使護生者的視野不全面，但與其站在理論和道德的制高點，頻頻構思兩全的方法，而不在現實中伸出援手，不如順從當下悲憫心去施以援助——因為「見牛未見羊」的仁心，總比「俱不見牛羊之苦」的冷漠更好一點（釋昭慧 1996: 71-92）。

如果對照《莊子·養生主》「指窮於為薪，火傳也，不知其盡也」(郭慶藩 129)，更可見流浪狗與「天地不仁」之關聯。「指窮於為薪」該作何解，有不少爭議。許多學者認為「指」其實是「脂」的謄抄誤字或通假字，比如聞一多、陳啟天、朱桂曜都依此理解(陳鼓應 2011:115-116)。這個解釋，把薪材解釋為人類的軀體。軀體肉身會凋朽，就像木材會燃燒殆盡，可是火會不斷傳遞，從一些薪材傳向另一些薪材，亦即用火比喻人的精神。第二種解法可以俞樾為代表，他反對郭象將「為薪」解為「前薪」，而參《廣雅·釋詁》解為「取薪」，如此一來，「指」即為「手指」，「指窮於為薪」即是「指窮於取薪」(郭慶藩 130)——換句話說，就是天地造化的手指，忙著填補薪材。這樣的解釋就會變成：一代又一代的生命，在無止無盡的大化循環中，生了又死，死了又生，這就是天地造化的實際情況。這兩個解法皆言之成理，但不管選擇何種解讀，都加深了《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》的悲劇感。整部影片的悲慘氛圍，令人感覺小狗的降生是天地造化最惡劣的安排，彷彿在開最不好笑的玩笑——比如影像中，楊秋華於垃圾場邊取出一隻出生沒多久即死亡的狗嬰屍。這些畫面不只震撼人心，也一次又一次將「養生主」三字衍繹出悲劇涵義。養生可自主？養己的生主？在《莊子》原文「指窮於為薪，火傳也，不知其盡也」的對讀中，我們看見影片中狗們一隻一隻接連死亡，彷彿悲慘命運將不斷傳遞下去；又可聯想為：天地大化的手指，一邊忙著讓大量的芻狗降生，另一邊同時忙著讓芻狗慘死。經由對讀《莊子》原文，更可體會狗的悲慘遭遇，彷彿以陰影的方式，將「養生主」三字投射出深刻的哀傷。

《莊子·養生主》最著名的段落非「庖丁解牛」莫屬：「動刀甚微，謦然已解，如土委地。提刀而立，為之四顧，為之躊躇滿志，善刀而藏之」。文惠君曰：「善哉！吾聞庖丁之言，得養生焉」(郭慶藩 119-124)。此段落與《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》可以有一種令人玩味的後設關聯。在《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》拍攝過程裏，朱賢哲與釋悟泓產生了意見衝突，主要爭議在於該怎麼處理影片中李醫師的言論。李醫師在鏡頭前坦率批評了流浪動物之家、關懷生命協會和劉香蘭，質疑這些團體的經費運用方式。釋悟泓對於關懷生命協會受到批評並不在意，但對李醫師直接批評劉香蘭之言論感到不妥，擔心會對她造成傷害，因此希望這部分內容能消音，協會的其他人也提議刪掉這段

內容。但是朱賢哲拒絕，這導致後來影片一度停擺三年，甚至可能無法問世。直到協會人事有了變動，一切才得轉圜（朱賢哲；林文淇、陳德齡 161-162）。對此，朱增宏（原法名釋悟泓，後還俗）表示：

不過，作為紀錄片的一堂課，觀眾還是不妨想想：為什麼一向自認「卑微、氣弱」的朱導演，最後會忽然努力扮演起「好人」——肯主動、再三徵詢李醫師，且為李醫師的尷尬，而放棄堅持「最真誠令人動容的鏡頭」，並想出以狗叫聲來遮蓋「劉香蘭」三個字；初剪當時卻不肯因為「釋悟泓」的「怕對他人有所傷害」而妥協？難道只是「當事人」與非當事人之分（嚴格來說，「釋悟泓」也是片中當事人之一啊）？社會運動與紀錄片之間，真的「誰也幫不了誰」嗎？

這些問題或許終究無解，也或許，必須在時空變遷中，從社會運動與紀錄片相互主體性位移的可能性中，取得理解。就如同朱導演以《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》為片名，自有其主觀體會；而我則認為莊子《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》篇裏的「庖丁解牛」喻，用來描繪本片攝製經歷，倒有幾分貼切：

解牛者（導演）先是「所見無非全牛」（儘量什麼都拍）；「三年之後，未嘗見全牛者」（開始拿捏取捨，但堅守本分）；最後則是「神遇而不以目視」（心神領會，不被表象所困），才能「刀者無厚、游刃有餘」、「動刀甚微，謦然已解」（以簡單的狗叫聲修去爭議「之一」，但仍保留部分衝突性），而「牛不知其死也」（觀眾的意識還是悄悄被滲透了）。^[14]

以上，朱增宏提出了相當銳利的質疑；這是以後設的角度，將朱賢哲創作《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》的過程比喻為庖丁解牛。不過須指出的是，「牛不知其死也」這六字，在《莊子》通行本裏面是不存在的。^[15] 在釋悟泓的詮釋下，導演被比喻為庖丁，觀眾被比喻為牛體——但不知站在一旁觀賞宰牛的文惠君能比喻為誰，從中又該如何解釋「養生」精神？當然這是一個開放的詮釋，不必非要一一對應，然而這已反映出此片一波三折的拍攝過程。對此，朱賢哲於〈流浪狗紀錄片日記〉（2002）已有詳細記述。日記篇末引用《大智度論》

「二鬼爭屍」故事，其意為導演看似主導影片，實際上是被各種環境、情境條件推著走，很多事情並不由己意，^[16] 呼應了《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》在鏡頭裏外的種種波折。

結 語：以死養生

《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》令人深思之處，在於片裏一個壞人也沒有——每個角色都懷抱著善意，在「善—善衝突」之下，人狗共生的理想顯得遙不可及。現實大環境充滿無奈，影片最後，爽朗樂觀的楊秋華表達對劇組的感謝，語未畢，一瞬間落淚——觀眾可以感覺到她複雜的感激與無力感；處境太艱困，任何善意都會引發情緒潰堤。關於流浪動物的生死，人們明明可以坐視不管，假裝這一切都不存在——但有些人正視並試圖改善。逝者已逝，以死養生，這是社會得以向前進步的原動力。

世界並不完美，生命必將凋零；透過影片，狗之生死皆化為生者的教養。有人以一己生命飼養、護養流浪狗（志工、獸醫師），有人被民眾所養也養著民眾（廣義公務人員，如清潔隊員、捕狗隊員）；而狗和其他許多物種也奉養著人類的生活。人類在地球作主，大多數物類為人所取所用——甚至可以說，人主宰物，物供養人主。由此推衍：人類主宰萬物以養生，卻期待人與萬物能共生。這絕非《莊子》的本義，卻是《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》得以引申的多重意涵。「共生」是全人類的重要課題，近來臺灣學界亦展開許多討論。^[17] 透過《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》可思及：我們如果要說「共生」，時常是建立在以他者之死亡為基礎的共生。我們要追尋的正義，也可能是建立在不正義之上的正義；我們追求的公平，也往往是在不公平之上的公平。換句話說，我們所能過的實際生活，可能建立在我們所反對的價值基礎上。學說（比如倫理思考）看似可能改變現實，但現實往往凌駕學說。此種深沉的無奈感，或許是《莊子》未言明的底景之一，^[18] 而紀錄片《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》也呈現出類似的氛圍。

人該如何對待動物，這個問題已超越了「實事」層次，指向我們如何理解自己「身為人」，該怎樣作為能合理面對其他物種（為了你我而）生死的「人」——這樣一個極難避免自欺欺人的關鍵問題。動物倫理學的各式探討，即是從各自的進路去試圖回應這個「人」所難以迴避的質問。此問題，不只

在實務上難以解決，在理論上也充滿歧異。那當然就是《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》所要追問的，以及逼觀眾去面對的，也是《莊子·養生主》並未正面談及的。但是，如果《莊子》真的蘊含體道的思想，那勢必得從中詮釋以回應此提問——這大概就是朱賢哲將紀錄片以「養生主」三字命名，卻又說這個片名如同「強暴了莊子」之深意。^[19] 因為流浪狗的脈絡其實不在《莊子》字面上的語境內，但如依循《莊子》的思維，理應有以回應這些難題。然而如果真的按照這樣的思路去推想，我們所能得到的，終究只能是兩相對照下的沉鬱和哀傷——這和「逍遙」、「齊物」、「養生」等說法之間未嘗不會衍生諷意——當然，《莊子》也不會僅僅停留在沉鬱、哀傷和諷意裏，而是會再繼續開展出其他的生命風景。本文認為，這應是朱賢哲導演為何要說此片名「強暴了莊子」的核心原因。

《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》影像如今看來粗糙，實際上已是當時條件所能取得之最佳畫質，每段畫面的連接之間甚至使用同步對音器——這些線索可視為朱賢哲當年初試啼聲的初心與手痕。《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》是紀錄影像，也是悲劇影像，在這些畫面裏逍遙不存在，幽默不可能，真實的體會即是面對動物苦難的大悲心。《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》是流浪狗的悲歌，《莊子·養生主》則是這曲悲歌的不和諧對位。《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》不僅是對《莊子·養生主》的引申，更是一種大悲的衍義。為何必須對看《莊子》，才更能領會《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》沉哀之深度？本文已經有所闡明。

註釋

1. 《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》應屬於廣義的臺灣環境紀錄片。邱貴芬指出，臺灣的環境紀錄片即在 Paula Willoquet-Maricondi 對 *ecocinema* 一詞的定義下，是以環境議題或大自然為主，欲激發觀眾的環境意識乃至相關政治意圖(107)。
2. 比如黃宗慧(2006)、陳韻仔(2016)、郭于嘉(2022)等人的論述。
3. 況且朱賢哲另有兩部同樣以流浪狗為主題的作品：《逍遙遊》、《齊物論》。本人二〇二四年七月八日於臺北訪問朱賢哲，他表示：三部流浪狗紀錄片都選擇《莊子》篇名作為影片名稱，確實是有意藉此對《莊子》思想展開對話。朱賢哲相當喜愛《莊子》，在《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》片後花絮的「導演訪談」也有提及。

4. 根據黃睿的整理，傳統解法大致分為四種：(1)「命定說」認為右師實為受刑之人，但他「把一切都視為天命，甘於背負命運」。(2)「離物說」認為右師根本沒有任何身體上的缺失，將右師之「獨」解為「獨立」，即不與物接、特立獨行的精神氣質，是〈齊物論〉「與接為構」的對立面。(3)「獨立說」亦將右師之「獨」解為「獨立」，但理解為以一隻腳承受身體的全部重量，因此公文軒之間的意義是：「天生自然人就該這樣嗎？還是後天人為導致你這樣站呢？」(4)「殘全說」繞開右師之「介」究竟是什麼意思，不對故事情節進行明確的解釋，僅僅指出右師的修養境界在於化除「殘／獨」與「全」的對立 (91-115)。
5. 比如《孟子·離婁下》言「人之所以異於禽獸者幾希，庶民去之，君子存之」(朱熹 411)。
6. 此亦可聯想《莊子·天道》：「蠶萬物而不為戾，澤及萬世而不為仁」(郭慶藩 462)。
7. 此為陳鼓應之意見(2023: 75)。本人認同。
8. 「只要一個個體能感受痛苦，不論今天感受到這份痛苦的是人或非人類動物，我們就應說：這份痛苦造成的不適，沒有分別……許多人聽到這個想法時，都有嘲弄之意。所以在此我想強調的重點是，對相似利益給予平等考量，並不表示對於迥異的生命個體給予平等的待遇。人與非人類動物有共同的利益考量，譬如避免強烈痛苦，但是他們也會有不同的利益考量。所以前述原則並不代表我們應該以一模一樣的方式對待人與非人類動物，或以同樣的價值看待兩者的生命」(Singer : 152)。
9. 不過，納斯邦強調的能力論亦有缺失，事實上那難以調和人類與動物之間能力發展之可能衝突(王萱茹 125)。
10. 《莊子》裏的「刑」有三種：天刑、外刑、內刑。天刑即自然的生死，外刑表示法律上的刑罰，內刑表示人內心的憂患不安。此處就「養生」義去講，「刑」即為天刑義。
11. 孟子也提到「解倒懸」，但其意與《莊子》十分不同；旨在表達大國應該行仁政，使道德可以流行，使民眾心悅誠服，彷彿解開民眾處境困苦倒懸：「當今之時，萬乘之國行仁政，民之悅之，猶解倒懸也。故事半古之人，功必倍之，惟此時為然」。楊時認為此處「倒懸」用以比喻困苦(朱熹 316-317)。
12. 生命必然受到自然法則限制。但若後設地去看，這其實也就是我們所被賦予的「自然性分」，或許根本沒有任何「限制」或「不自由」可言。蕭振邦指出，莊子所要面對的主要難題即是：如何能阻止人落入「名」、「刑」判決(群體化社會建制既成的事實)的趨向，而又不違逆「順乎自然性地發展」。《莊子》這種既要「順乎自然」又要突顯「自我主體」(包含某種自主、自律、「自我-主導」、「自我-控制」的涵義)即是內七篇所要揭示的「體現大道」(蕭振邦 397-433)。
13. 本文以「懸解」來指稱死去的流浪狗不再受苦受難，這並不同於主張安樂死為解決流浪狗的最佳方案。本文的文意只是：如果受限於自然法

則和社會法則的人活得如同「倒懸」，那麼唯有到了死亡那一刻，才得以「懸解」——若從這樣的詮釋角度推想，流浪狗之死也未嘗不可視為某種解脫。

14. 朱增宏（釋悟泓）的說法可見〈庖丁解牛與動保運動：《養生主：臺灣流浪狗》的現代啟示錄〉（林文淇、陳德齡 155-156）。本人二〇二四年七月八日於臺北訪問朱賢哲，他的回應是：當時因為許多積累的小事，關懷生命協會與他之間失去信任，後來協會中止與他的合作關係。因此這進行了兩三年的流浪狗紀錄片無法繼續拍攝。當時，他每想起此事就會胸口悶痛。朱賢哲表示，他不是不顧及釋悟泓的立場，而是因為後來雙方失去信任，欠缺順利溝通的管道（雖然釋悟泓認為，關懷生命協會與朱賢哲有溝通，但在朱賢哲的記憶裏是沒有的）；而且當時朱賢哲也還沒想到該怎麼處理此片段，是後來才想到可以用狗叫聲來蓋過李醫師的批評。
15. 事實上這是由陳碧虛《闕誤》引文如海、劉得一之本，才留此六字（陳鼓應 2011:110）。
16. 龍樹(vol. 12, T25, no. 1509: 148c4-22)。庖丁解牛的典故，或許無法作為朱賢哲導演「很多事情並不由己意」之說法的註腳。但在朱增宏文章的脈絡下，庖丁解牛乃是用以形容拍片過程各個環節的情況——此中語意之形容層次一經辨明，典故如何適用即應得到更合宜的理解。
17. 「共生」思潮可說是各地知識分子在面對當前全球局勢時共同懷有的思考傾向。賴錫三主張共生在於拒絕兩極化的暴力衝突，拒絕「贏者全拿的生殺戰場」；中國的宋冰認為共生之一大要旨在於超克「零和心態」。此外，由 Alain Calle 等歐洲知識分子近年來發起的 *convivialist* 也呼應了共生思考（莫加南 2024；賴錫三 2023: 367-370）。
18. 或許會有一種想法認為，《莊子》思想是瞭解世間現實的限制後應世的暢達——這樣的想法雖不能算錯，但在我看來也只是表層理解而已。因為《莊子》思想並不會「只是」瞭解世間現實的限制後應世的暢達。《莊子·養生主》字面上雖未直陳無奈，但若合理推想《莊子》作者落筆的時代，當知應有特定之底景。陳鼓應甚至表述為「絃外之音」、「憤激之情」：「莊子逍遙遊最後一句話：『安所困苦哉！』從這絃外之音裏，我們可以體會到他的所謂『逍遙』，實際上卻有一種憤激之情在他生命的底層中波濤洶湧地激盪着」（陳鼓應 2011:3）。相關探討亦可參拙文（廖育正 651-690）。
19. 在片後訪談裏，朱賢哲提到《莊子》對他影響甚大；又說將電影取名《養生主》，簡直是對《莊子》的「強暴」。亦可見公共電視臺對朱賢哲的專訪（林文淇、陳德齡 145）。

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Nurturing Life through Death
A Comparative Study of Zhu Hsien-Zhe's *Pick of the Litter: Stray Dogs in Taiwan* and *Zhuangzi's* "Nourishing the Lord of Life"

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ABSTRACT

Current discussions regarding Zhu Hsien-Zhe's *Pick of the Litter: Stray Dogs in Taiwan* mainly focus on the content of the film and issues related to animal protection. There has been little in-depth analysis connecting *Zhuangzi's* philosophy with the film's theme of stray animals. While there are significant differences between this film and *Zhuangzi's* "Nourishing the Lord of Life," Zhu Hsien-Zhe's visuals extend *Zhuangzi's* ideas. *Pick of the Litter: Stray Dogs in Taiwan* is a lament for stray dogs, and *Zhuangzi's* "Nourishing the Lord of Life" seems like a disharmonious counterpoint of this lament. Watching *Zhuangzi's* "Nourishing the Lord of Life" can further reveal the profound sorrow contrasted in Zhu Hsien-Zhe's *Pick of the Litter: Stray Dogs in Taiwan*.

Although the characters in the film have no consensus on how to deal with stray dogs, there are no villains in the film; every character harbors goodwill. Under the conflict of "good vs. good," the ideal of human-dog coexistence seems out of reach, implicitly conveying the helplessness and frustration of the overall reality. This is a documentary image and a tragic image, where there is no carefreeness, no humor, and the real experience is the deep compassion for animals. *Pick of the Litter: Stray Dogs in Taiwan* is an extension of *Zhuangzi's* "Nourishing the Lord of Life" and a profoundly sorrowful interpretation.

KEYWORDS: Zhu Hsien-Zhe, *Pick of the Litter: Stray Dogs in Taiwan*, *Zhuangzi*, stray dogs, nurturing life through death

Narrating Tribal Stories in the Enemy's Language

Survivance Storyteller in *The Round House*

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ABSTRACT

Louise Erdrich's fourteenth novel, *The Round House* (2012), was the winner of the National Book Award for Fiction in 2012 and the American Book Award in 2013. Unlike Erdrich's previous works, which often feature multiple and shifting points of view, this story is narrated by an Ojibwe teenage boy who experiences the turbulent consequences of a crime committed against his mother and decides to seek truth and justice for his family. Described as a "gripping mystery" on the book blurb, the story can be seen as Erdrich's first attempt to make use of the detective genre to draw readers' attention to the complex social, political, historical, and legal situation on reservations. The ending of the story also poses a challenge to readers. In order to see justice done and protect his mother from further harm, the boy protagonist shoots the sexual violator of his mother and becomes a murderer. This paper aims to discuss Erdrich's use of the detective genre in relation to her revelation of the crime and corruption taking place on reservations. In light of Gerald Vizenor's idea of survivance, this study will demonstrate how Indigenous people have suffered, yet resisted, the unjust system of justice and jurisdictional failures brought by settler colonialism through their creative use of the enemy's language. It will also show how the boy narrator survives after he kills the monster in his community and becomes a unique storyteller.

KEYWORDS: Louise Erdrich, *The Round House*, survivance storyteller, tribal sovereignty, Wiindigoo justice

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LOUISE ERDRICH, an enrolled member of the Turtle Mountain Band of the Ojibwe Nation, is one of the most important and prolific writers of contemporary Native American literature. As a novelist, essayist, poet, and author of children's books, Erdrich has not only won critical acclaim but also garnered a large readership for her unique blend of narrative viewpoint, Indigenous oral tradition, and colorful imageries near or on a fictional reservation in North Dakota. Novels including *Love Medicine* (first published in 1984) and *Tracks* (1988) constitute part of her "North Dakota saga" (Van Dyke 100), which explores complex and interconnected relationships among different families across generations.

Erdrich's fourteenth novel, *The Round House* (2012), was the winner of the National Book Award for Fiction in 2012 and the American Book Award in 2013. Unlike Erdrich's previous works, which often feature multiple and shifting points of view, this story is narrated by an Ojibwe teenage boy who experiences the turbulent consequences of a crime committed on his mother and decides to seek truth and justice for his family. Described as a "gripping mystery" on the book blurb, the story can be seen as Erdrich's first attempt to make use of the detective genre to draw readers' attention to the complex social, political, historical, and legal situation on reservations. Along with *The Plague of Doves* (2008) and *LaRose* (2016), *The Round House* is seen by scholars as part of the "Justice Trilogy," which explores how trauma, both personal and historical, has long-term effects on Native communities in the absence of legal resolution, and how Indigenous people strive to preserve their traditional values against the erosion of settler colonialism (Kurup 100-101; Jacobs and Peterson xiii).^[1] The ending of the story also poses a challenge to readers. In order to see justice done and protect his mother from further harm, the boy protagonist shoots the sexual violator of his mother and becomes a murderer. This paper aims to examine Erdrich's use of the detective genre in relation to her revelation of the crime and corruption taking place on reservations. In light of Gerald Vizenor's idea of survivance, this study will demonstrate how Indigenous people have suffered, yet resisted, the unjust system of justice and jurisdictional failures brought by settler colonialism through their creative use of the enemy's language. It will also show how the boy protagonist survives after he kills the monster in his community and becomes a unique storyteller.

This paper is composed of three parts. In the first part, I will delve into the notion of survivance proposed by Vizenor and establish its connection with the necessary use of the enemy's language explored by Joy Harjo and Gloria Bird. I aim to show that Indigenous writers have a long history of making good use of Euro-American conventions to narrate their own experiences and offer their critique of the trauma and brutality left by colonial dominance. In the second part, I argue that Erdrich consciously appropriates the detective genre in an attempt to expose the daunting situation of sexual violence and gender injustice of native

women on reservations because of historically biased laws and a labyrinth of jurisdiction that protects whites committing crimes on Indian land. Through the dream talk of the boy narrator's grandfather, Erdrich skillfully weaves the values of the Ojibwe oral tradition into the boy's investigation, allowing readers to understand the significance of the round house and how it functions as a symbol of survivance for Indians. In the third part, I look into the history of the wiindigoo in the Ojibwe tradition and suggest that the boy protagonist has no choice but to kill the life-consuming beast. The consequences of taking a life are tragic, but the boy's action is redeemed because the whole community, including his father, a tribal judge, stands behind him to show their support and understanding. Surviving the ordeals of being a killer, the narrator reestablishes his confidence in his father's legal practice and becomes a public prosecutor later in his life. In other words, he has also learned to speak the enemy's language and endeavored to use that language to solidify tribal jurisdiction and strengthen tribal sovereignty for future generations. His resilience in defending his family and his faith in protecting his community bring forth the narrative of *The Round House*, making him a remarkable survivance storyteller.

Survivance through the Enemy's Language

TO understand how Indigenous people have reacted against social and cultural dominance, we can start by examining the idea of survivance introduced by Vizenor, an Anishinaabe^[2] writer and scholar. In *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, Vizenor indicates that "survivance" is related to "survival," and the suffix "ance" points to action: "Survivance is an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name" (2008a: 19). In other words, the practices of survivance go far beyond the basic instincts of survival or subsistence, and native stories can provide ideas of survivance, "the comprehension and empathies of natural reason, tragic wisdom, and the provenance of new literary studies" (2008a: 11). For Vizenor, stories of native survivance symbolize active rejections of "dominance, tragedy and victimry" (2008a: 19). As Alan Velie notes, survivance means "survival with an attitude," suggesting "activity rather than passivity," and "aggressive means" are used "not only to stay alive but to flourish" (147). According to Karl Kroeber, Vizenor warns natives not to be trapped in a "tragic vision" because if they do so they are willingly internalizing white people's definition of themselves and will be "imprisoned in an irrecoverable past" (28). If native people define themselves as victims, they psychologically contribute to their very own "not-quite-entirely successful physical genocide" (25). Kroeber points out that Vizenor is good at appropriating the language of his oppressor so as to disrupt its socio and political power

structures. As Kroeber observes, Vizenor's basic rhetorical strategy is to take hold of "sites of white racism and oppression" and then to transform them into bases for reconfiguring the enemy's language and cultural bias with the ultimate goal of initiating "new native imagining" (28). Therefore, by refusing to be defined as victims and reclaiming their subjectivity, Indigenous people can not only survive but actively resist the cultural and political dominance of the white people. In short, Kroeber believes that the practice of survivance "reduces the power of the destroyer" (25).

According to Kimberly M. Blaeser, Vizenor is aware that identities and meanings are limited or liberated through the constructions of language, and the fates of tribal sovereignty have everything to do with the "wresting of language from its colonial influences" (267). Kirby Brown also suggests that Vizenor shares with Arnold Krupat and Louis Owens their commitment to anti-imperial and anti-colonial critique, believing in the liberating potential of mixedblood identities and writings. Mixedblood identities, which in the past were thought of as degraded, unauthentic, or dreadful, are now turning into "hybrid sites," where issues of social, cultural, and political identities can be debated and negotiated (360). For Brown, Vizenor destroys "the 'manifest manners' of colonial binaries" and dismantles "the 'terminal creeds' of surveillance, containment, nostalgia, tragedy, and death in which Native peoples are often framed" (360). As Krupat observes, Vizenor replaces Western ideologies of "progress" and "dominance" with native "continuance" and "survivance" (114, 116). That is, survivance can serve as a "vision and methodology for tribal life" (Brown 360).

The practice of survivance can be observed by Indigenous writers' creative use of narrative strategies across different genres in order to tell stories and share life experiences. Deborah L. Madsen notes that Native writers have always shown "styles of expression borrowed from colonists" to create various forms of expressivity and to take advantage of non-native material that could increase communication, "often in the interests of cross-cultural explanations or to advance the rights of indigenous communities" (2016a: 36). In *Reinventing the Enemy's Language*, Joy Harjo and Gloria Bird argue that the strategic appropriation of the enemy's language is essential because it signals the construction of Native subjectivity and the reclamation of the rights to cultural production. As Harjo writes, "It is through writing in the colonizers' languages that our lands have been stolen, children taken away. We have often been betrayed by those who first learned to write and to speak the language of the occupier of our lands" (20). But Harjo also insists that "to speak at whatever the cost, is to become empowered rather than victimized by destruction" (21). In other words, the final result of this language reinvention does not serve the colonial establishment; on the contrary, it acts as a counterforce to dominance and becomes part of the vocabulary of mainstream

society. Following Harjo and Bird's justification of using the enemy's language, Kenneth M. Roemer indicates that Native authors have a long history of recreating Euro-American literary conventions "for their tribal or Pan-Indian purposes" (484). In his discussion of this "language reversal" of Native writers' strategic use of Euro-American traditions, Roemer notes that the creative reinvention of conventions can be seen "in a multitude of forms" (2016: 483), stemming from the publication of Native writers in English since the eighteenth century. For example, William Apress is famous for making use of Christian conversion narrative; E. Pauline Johnson for sentimental domestic fiction; Ella C. Deloria for ethnographic discourse; John Joseph Mathews for philosophical memoir in the style of *Walden*; and N. Scott Momaday and Leslie Marmon Silko for various modernist experiments (483-484).

Native writer and scholar Louis Owens expresses strong sentiments about the necessary use of the "colonizer's language" in *Mixedblood Messages* (1998: xiii). He disagrees with critics like Robert Warrior and M. Annette Jaimes, who call for a separatist stance to uphold the vaguely defined idea of "Indian intellectual sovereignty" (1998: 51-52). Owens believes that whether or not important academics and critics hear Native voices, they do not "have the luxury of opting out" because these voices "already function within the dominant discourse" (1998: 52). As Owens notes, "the very act of appropriating the colonizer's discourse and making it one's own is obviously collaborative and conjunctural" (1998: 52-53). In his book, Owens explores the idea of mixedblood writing of Indian writers who have articulated their Native experience while resisting the stereotypical Indianness invented and imposed by whites. For Owens, Mourning Dove is particularly skillful in making use of the Western romance genre in order to tell her own mixedblood story of resistance and survival. "Mourning Dove's subversion takes a variety of forms," writes Owens, "all of which add up to the fact that she has hijacked a genre in which Indians are reserved for marginal, binary roles as bloodthirsty or noble savages, and she has turned that genre into a vehicle for a very 'Indian' story" (1998: 65). Owens also thinks highly of Momaday, suggesting that *The House Made of Dawn* is a "Trojan-horse novel" in that the author not only displays mature use of modernist techniques and tropes but also remains thoroughly Indian (1998: 69).

Before *The Round House*, Native authors were known to appropriate the detective genre and narrate acts of crime committed against Indians or on Indian lands. Because the detective genre has been a popular form of storytelling, as Cortney Smith notes, when Indigenous writers make use of the form to tell their stories and educate non-Indian readers about social issues relating to Indian communities, it becomes "an act of survivance to write within this mainstream genre" (23). For Smith, what Native writers try to do is "to take a form from the

colonizer and make it your own” (23). Smith also agrees with Andrew Macdonald, Gina Macdonald, and MaryAnn Sheridan that “because the detective genre in no way parallels any Native American oral or literary traditions, its occasional use by a few Native Americans is clearly aimed at a mainstream audience” (qtd. in Smith 24). Sherman Alexie’s *The Indian Killer* (1996) tells a poignant story about the tensions brought to Seattle by a serial killer who murders and scalps white men. The protagonist, John Smith, is an Indian child adopted by white parents who know nothing about the child’s history and have raised him in a loosely Indian way. When John grows up, he longs for his Indian heritage and gradually loses himself over his obsession with mythic tribal ceremonies and hallucinations. At the end of the story, John, the prime suspect in a series of killings and child abductions, kills himself and leaves many questions unanswered. Alexie’s intentional ambiguity of the book title and the ending could be interpreted as either a killer who is an Indian or a killer of Indians. For Tova Cooper, John represents the estrangement from self and heritage that settler colonialism has inflicted on Indians; the tragedy foregrounds the consequences of the colonial erosion of tribal sovereignty, and John’s “detrribalized Indian identity” is the devastating result of “ideological reprogramming” from the government’s ill-designed assimilative policy (220-221). David L. Moore goes further, arguing that by linking murder with Indian blood rituals, Alexie reminds readers of the repressed history of Indian genocide and the repressed psyche of American violence; in other words, the horror and violence in *The Indian Killer* is symptomatic of America’s history of colonialism and brutality (304). Moore indicates that Alexie is playing against “white guilt” and “trapping the reader into assuming the worst about the Indian protagonist” in a detective story full of murder and mayhem (304). The ambiguity of the ending pushes the white reader to “scapegoat the Indian and thus experience the whole guilt yet again” (304).

Louis Owens also takes advantage of the detective genre to discuss the search for self-identity and the haunting legacy of the persecution of Indians in California. In *The Sharpest Sight* (1995), Deputy Sheriff Ramon “Mundo” Morales in Armarga, California, must solve the murder of Attis McCurtain, his childhood friend and Vietnam veteran, along with Attis’s brother, Cole. Both Mundo and Cole struggle to come to terms with their own “mixedblood” identity. While Mundo is the descendant of a Spanish slave owner and a Chumash slave, Cole is not sure about his Mississippi Choctaw roots as an Irish American. With the help of Mundo’s deceased grandfather Antonio and Cole’s Uncle Luther, they locate the body of Attis and lay his bones in the burial ground back in Mississippi. Chris LaLonde observes that Owens “establishes its concerns with and over canonical American literature” by making references to Jonathan Edwards’s sermons, *Moby-*

Dick, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, William Faulkner's "The Bear," and other texts (94). In the words of Uncle Luther, these texts are symbolic of white men's "romance" of death associated with Indians, and the dominant society aims to "write [them] to death" (qtd. in LaLonde 94). As a sequel to *The Sharpest Sight*, *Bone Game* (1996) again features Cole McCurtain, who is now a professor of Indian Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz. When Cole's alienated daughter comes to live with him from New Mexico, the body parts of a young woman are washed ashore. Cole starts to have recurrent nightmares about an Indian who was charged with murdering a cruel Spanish missionary in 1812, which makes him contemplate if the gruesome violence in the present serves as the Indian's ongoing cries for historical injustice. Jeff Berglund argues that Owens not only examines the brutal colonial history of Spanish missions in California but also scrutinizes academic researchers' ambitions and limitations of Indian studies (64-65). Cole's investigation of the crimes, past and present, helps him understand the death of his brother, strengthens his relationship with his daughter, and, most importantly, makes his search for self-identity meaningful and complete. As LaLonde suggests, Owens sidesteps the "stereotypical trap of being lost between worlds and doomed as a result," accepting the Choctaw values and worldview presented in the story (95).

LeAnne Howe explores complex tribal politics and the power of female agency in her murder mystery, *Shell Shaker* (2001). By juxtaposing two murders of corrupt Choctaw tribal chiefs—one in the eighteenth century during the French and Indian War and one in 1991 Oklahoma—Howe weaves the individual killing into the fabric of mass killings of Native people in colonial history. Shakbatina, who sacrificed her life for her daughter back in 1738, reincarnates in the early 1990s in a new "shell" to help another Choctaw woman, Auda, kill the corrupt tribal chief, reaffirming the values of community between the past and the present. As Howe writes in the novel, "[O]ne Indian can't do anything alone, but needs the help of ancestors and young people to build the future" (162). Initially, readers are led to believe that Auda is innocent of the murder, but at the end of the novel Shakbatina's spirit implies that she helps Auda pull the trigger. Monika Barbara Siebert notes that Howe challenges readers to question their assumptions about justice, agency, and perception from the Choctaw viewpoint (qtd. in Roemer 2016: 484). Roemer suggests that Howe subverts the rules of a conventional whodunit and invites readers to reconsider the case in the Choctaw way: "One 'solution' is valid in a 'rational' courtroom scene, the other in a traditional Choctaw matriarchal cosmology" (2016: 484-485).

Gender Injustice and the Round House

ALEXIE, Owens, and Howe respectively appropriate the detective genre, the enemy's language, to tell stories of crime and corruption concerning native people, resisting colonial oppression and reclaiming control of their subjectivity to demonstrate their spirit of survivance. In *The Round House*, Erdrich also uses the popular form of storytelling to draw readers' attention to the complex and urgent situation of gender injustice on reservations. The attack on Geraldine Coutts, the mother of the teenage boy Joe, highlights the vulnerable status of Native women on reservations and the disenfranchisement of tribal sovereignty in America. In "Rape on the Reservation," an article in *The New York Times* after the publication of *The Round House*, Erdrich indicates that one in three Native women is raped over her lifetime, excluding those who are too afraid to report rape, and "more than 80 percent of sex crimes on reservations are committed by non-Indian men," who can largely get away from the prosecution of tribal justice (2013: A25). The root cause of such alarming and unfortunate conditions has everything to do with the ongoing threat of settler colonialism in the form of a flawed justice system. According to Julie Tharp, several important legal decisions have contributed to the gradual loss of tribal jurisdiction in the past 130 years (26). The first one is the Major Crimes Act of 1885, which gives jurisdiction of major crimes on tribal land to federal courts. However, federal courts disagree on whether tribal courts have concurrent jurisdiction on tribal land. As such, every single crime would have to undergo "a jurisdictional maze based on location, severity of crime, state status, and race of perpetrator" (26). The second one is Public Law 280, which was passed 68 years later in 1953. The law has further damaged tribal sovereignty by giving certain states—California, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Alaska—criminal and civil jurisdiction over tribal lands within their state borders. This means that these states now have to finance legal actions previously paid for by the federal government, and consequently, it discourages the prosecution of many cases (27). There is also the Supreme Court case in 1978, *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe*, which decided that Indian tribal courts have no inherent jurisdiction over non-Indians. In this case, as Erdrich points out, an Indian woman abused and beaten up by her non-Indian husband cannot resort to legal action in tribal courts, even if both of them live on a reservation; the loophole has continued to provide opportunities for non-Indian sexual offenders to commit crimes on tribal lands (2013: A25).

Geraldine's harrowing experience testifies to the inadequacy of laws to protect Native women on reservations. When Geraldine is sent to the hospital, Bazil, Joe's father, a tribal judge, asks a local police officer, a state trooper, and a tribal policeman, respectively, to come and take statements because he is not sure

where the crime had been committed and by whom. “These questions would not change the facts,” as Joe recalls, “but they would inevitably change the way we sought justice” (2012: 12). Geraldine later says she was blindfolded and violated around the round house, a traditional log house near the Reservation Lake. She could identify a white man, Linden Lark, as her violator, but she could not tell the exact location of the attack. Both Bazil and Geraldine are aware that “three classes of land meet there” (2012: 122): tribal trust land, state land, and fee land, and her inability to pinpoint the location of her attack leads to Linden’s release. Joe feels angry and helpless, wondering why his mother couldn’t just “make up a place” (2012: 196). “I can’t ask her to do that,” Bazil says, “Lark committed the crime. On what land? Was it tribal land? Fee land? White property? State? We can’t prosecute if we don’t know which laws apply” (2012: 197).

As the son of a tribal judge, Joe has learned about the history of the loss of tribal sovereignty from his father. When Soren Bjerke, an FBI agent, first shows up in Joe’s house, the latter knows that the cause for Bjerke’s visit to his house can be traced back to the Major Crimes Act of 1885, when the federal government began to step in about the “decisions Indians made among themselves regarding restitution and punishment” (2012: 142). Joe is aware that the government’s intervention did not stop there:

The reasons for Bjerke’s presence continued on through that rotten year for Indians, 1953, when Congress not only decided to try Termination out on us but passed Public Law 280, which gave certain states criminal and civil jurisdiction over Indian lands within their borders. If there was one law that could be amended or appealed to this day, that would be Public Law 280. But on our particular reservation Bjerke’s presence was a statement of our toothless sovereignty. (2012: 142)

Sadly, the consequences of this “toothless sovereignty” provide opportunities for white perpetrators like Linden to sexually violate Native women while getting away with legal punishment. Geraldine remembers that Linden boasts about his knowledge of lawful loopholes and even claims he would not get caught because he has been “boning up on law” (2012: 161). Jacob Bender and Lydia Maunz-Breese indicate that the Natives’ loss of tribal sovereignty can be seen in Linden’s choice of the communal round house to attack Geraldine in that the round house is symbolic of a “feminine body,” representing Ojibway culture and way of life (145). What Linden has done inside the round house is, in effect, “symptomatic of a prolonged assault upon the larger reservation community” (144).

The round house serves not only as a reminder of gender injustice and loss of tribal sovereignty on reservations but also as an important symbol of cultural

survivance. From the story told by Mooshum, Joe's grandfather, the twelve-year-old boy Nanapush^[3] saves his mother, Akii, and receives direct instruction from the old buffalo woman. According to Mooshum, Akii used to have the ability to hunt animals to feed her family, but when the government forced her people into their "boundary" since "the reservation year," they had difficulty finding enough food (2012: 179). People became irrational in hungry times, and Akii's husband believed that his wife was a "wiindigoo," a man-eating monster who could cast its spirit inside a person and must be killed (2012: 180). Nanapush helped Akii survive multiple attacks from their tribal members, but they nearly lost their lives because of hunger. In his desperate search for food, Nanapush met an old, rickety buffalo, which had been disappearing for many decades on the land and had been missed by many kinds of animals. The old buffalo allowed Nanapush to "aim point-blank at her" (2012: 185), giving her heart and liver as food and providing her carcass as shelter in the heavy snow. When the snowstorm passed, Nanapush reunited with Akii and brought "every bit of the buffalo" back to their family and relatives (2012: 187). Many people were saved by the kindness of the buffalo, but Nanapush felt sad about all the losses in his life. The spirit of the buffalo woman asked him to look into his heart, telling him to build a round house so that "people could do things in a good way" (2012: 187):

Your people were brought together by us buffalo once. You knew how to hunt and use us. Your clans gave you laws. You had many rules by which you operated. Rules that respected us and forced you to work together. Now we are gone, but as you have once sheltered in my body, so now you understand. The round house will be my body, the poles my ribs, the fire my heart. It will be the body of your mother and it must be respected the same way. As the mother is intent on her baby's life, so your people should think of their children. (2012: 214-215)

The old buffalo woman often talked to Nanapush and comforted him. She knew what had happened to Akii and told Nanapush that "wiindigoo justice must be pursued with great care" (2012: 187).

The spirit of the round house has been passed on. In Nanapush's time, it was built to commemorate the generosity and kindness of the old buffalo woman, reminding people to do the right things. When Joe first visits the site of the round house after his mother's incident, he immediately recalls its history and significance to his communal members from his grandfather. Before the enactment of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978, Indians could not freely practice their religions, and the round house was used for ceremonies in a shrewd way. People would treat it as a social dance hall and even bring their Bibles to meetings. Whenever a priest or an official of the Bureau of Indian Affairs came to

pay a visit, people inside the house would see the headlights of their cars through the windows. Immediately, “the water drums and eagle feathers and the medicine bags and birchbark scrolls and scared pipes” would be removed to the motorboats in the middle of the lake near the round house (2012: 60). Priests and officials would see Indians reading out loud from Ecclesiastes. “Why that part of the Bible,” asks Joe. “*One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth forever,*” says Mooshum, “We think that way too” (2012: 60). Cultural exchange also took place inside the round house. Mooshum remembers that they “squaredanced,” and their “highest Mide’ priest was a damn fine caller” (2012: 60). Medicine people would sit down with a Catholic priest, who would help send officials home, and when the government people left, “the water drums and feathers and pipes” would return (2012: 60).

Mooshum’s storytelling also reflects the qualities of Indian oral traditions. In her discussion of Indian oral literature, Joy Porter suggests that Native ritual dramas, songs, narratives, and oratories—whether sacred or non-sacred—reflect Native people’s understandings of the origins of their lives as well as their relationship to the universe and these oral traditions continue to grow and expand in response to different contexts across time. According to Porter, oral traditions are not just about what is spoken; they are a “living dynamic practice” which involves a mutual and spiritual relationship to certain places (42-43). Porter suggests that an important message from Indian oral traditions is about the idea of balance: “These include a sense of the interconnectedness and relationship between all things, between animals, land, peoples and their language, and a requirement to seek individual, communal, and environmental balance” (43). As Porter notes, even though Native people have endured numerous hardships and afflictions, their oral traditions are still strong, reflecting the resilience and diversity of their cultures and their relationship with other Indians and non-Indians (43). Through Mooshum’s storytelling and Joe’s understanding, the round house proves to be a site of both resistance against political dominance and the continuance of tribal culture and stories, signaling a strong “sense of presence” over disconnection, uprootedness, and oblivion (Vizenor 2008a: 1).

Fighting the Wiindigoo: Survivance Storyteller

WHEN the Buffalo Woman warns Nanapush that “wiindigoo justice must be pursued with great care,” it foreshadows the critical challenge that Joe has to face in his pursuit of justice for his family. In Native American cultural traditions, the wiindigoo refers to a mythic man-eating monster that terrorizes Indigenous people. David Gilmore, in his study of monsters in various cultures, indicates that the

wiindigoo, also known as “Wendigo, Witiko, Wiitko, Wetikoo,” stemming from roots meaning “the one who lives alone,” has been seen by North American Natives as the “very incarnation of terror” (75). For tribal people living in the northern woodlands, food could be scarce during the harsh winter season, and death by starvation was an imminent threat. John Robert Colombo suggests that the monstrous wiindigoo, with a heart of ice and deafening roars, is the “personification of both physical and spiritual famine” (1). Bender and Maunz-Breese point out that the image of the wiindigoo is associated with “greed, lust, and uncontrolled appetites,” and the cannibalistic monster is a “potent metaphor for contextualizing and cautioning against self-indulgence, selfishness, and similar behaviors that threaten the harmony of the community” (146). Basil Johnson indicates that for Ojibwe people, selfishness is considered the “worst human shortcoming,” and the wiindigoo’s behavior of overconsumption ultimately results in the “erosion of principles and values” among tribal communities (qtd. in Bender and Maunz-Breese 146).

Joe Lockard argues that people need a survivance storyteller to combat such a monster in a community or society. In “Facing the Wiindigoo,” Lockard proposes that a survivance storyteller is someone who has looked at the wiindigoo in the eye and “lived to tell the tale,” or someone “who has told the tale and so lived”:

In Anishinaabe tradition, the wiindigoo is a once-human who has become a cannibal, a destroyer of humanity; the survivance storyteller is a human who has refused either to join cannibalism or to be consumed by cannibals. It is that refusal and resistance toward transformation into the nonhuman that marks out survivance literature. (211-212)

For Lockard, the monster that Vizenor has been facing is “violent monoculturalism,” the colonial Euro-wiindigoo with “destructive cannibalistic force” that dominates American society (209). Lockard indicates that such colonial violence aims to deny Native consciousness while subjecting Indigenous people to “displacement, exile, and extermination” (209). No longer the mythic monster in the northern woodlands, a “social wiindigoo” is recognizable as long as one does not refuse to “witness social cannibalism” or stay silent when the wiindigoo “transforms then consumes their neighbors” (211). Moreover, the wiindigoo lives off “victim-survivors,” those who have “fantasies of their own heroic identity and privileged trauma” (210). In short, to ensure survivance is to “refuse negation,” a repudiation of an identity based on social elimination (209). In this way, survivance can “turn violence back on itself” and reject various forms of cruelty by “reformulating them in storytelling,” which resists dominance and oppression (210).

In *The Round House*, Linden Lark is the living embodiment of the cannibalistic beast, violator of Native women, and attacker of tribal sovereignty. Before Joe's mother reveals the identity of her assailant, Bazil goes through his previous court cases with Joe to see if there is any potential suspect. The Lark family used to run a gas station surrounded by tribal trust land, and they insisted that the tribal court had no jurisdiction over their action of adding a twenty percent surcharge involving innocent, old, drunk, or simply confusing tribal members. According to Bazil, it is these "small-time hypocrites" who may be "capable of monstrous acts if given the chance" (2012: 50). The Larks lost the trial, and Bazil's ruling "held up on appeal" (2012: 49). The other case is involved with Linda Lark Wishkob, Linden's twin sister, who was left to die at birth in the hospital on the reservation because of her physical deformity. Betty Wishkob, a Native woman working as a hospital genitor, saved and adopted Linda, who grew up to inherit the Wishkobs's one hundred and sixty acres of land on the reservation. Then Grace Lark, the biological mother of Linden and Linda, appealed to the court to assume guardianship of Linda, whom she claimed was mentally unfit to run the Wishkob estate. With Bazil's ruling, the Lark family lost the case again, and their gas station was put out of business because Linda's adoptive sister organized a boycott to protest against the Larks's greediness and vicious behavior toward her family. During the trials, Linden became familiar with the jurisdiction issues related to the reservation, and he wrote to the Fargo Forum to express his resentment against Indians: "Let's dissolve reservations" because "we beat them fair and square" (2012: 52). As Laura Castor points out, the story of Linda, a white child "lost" to an Indian community, reflects Erdrich's subtle subversion of the "Indian Adoption Project" carried out between 1958 and 1967, and the stark contrast between Linden and Linda demonstrates that the inheritance of Indigenous culture does not rely on blood quantum (40-41).^[4] Moreover, Linda's nuanced portrayal further "humanizes" Linden, serving as a reminder to the reader that this particular Wiindigoo was also once a human being "who could have learned how to express empathy for his fellow humans" (41).

Linden's strong association with the Wiindigoo can also be observed in his abusive relationship with a young Native woman, Mayla Wolfskin. After losing the gas station, Linden went into politics and worked for Curtis Yeltow, governor of South Dakota. In the words of Joe's Uncle Whitey, Yeltow is the kind of politician who uses "the prairie nigger word for Indians," claiming that the Sun Dance is "a form of devil worship" (2012: 166). A collector of Indian war shields and beadwork, Yeltow would pay tribute to the "noble savage" while putting nuclear waste on sacred Lakota land (2012: 166). Mayla, a "model high-school sweetheart," was picked by Linden to intern for the governor because it would make Yeltow's administration "look good" (2012: 125). But Linden himself fell in

love with this young woman, and he did not expect to see Mayla give birth to Yeltow's child after the internship. When Mayla went to see Geraldine, a tribal enrollment specialist, to enroll her baby, Linden kidnapped Geraldine, raped her, and demanded that she give him the file concerning the baby's parentage. Linda tells Joe that her twin brother had twisted feelings towards Yeltow, and with the file, Linden might either save the governor's reputation or blackmail him. When Geraldine, Mayla, and Mayla's baby were taken to the round house, Linden shouted at them that Native women "had no standing under the law" (2012: 161). "Things are the wrong way around," said Linden bitterly, "The strong should rule the weak. Instead of the weak the strong! It is the weak who pull down the strong. But I won't get caught" (2012: 161). What is worse is that after Geraldine escaped from the round house, Linden killed Mayla because he thought Indian women would "diminish the white man" and "take his honor" (2012: 161).

Witnessing the traumatic experience of Geraldine, the physical collapse of Bazil, and the unbearable loopholes in the system of justice on the reservation, Joe braces himself to face the *wiindigoo* in his community. After the incident, Geraldine withdraws into herself for a long time. As Joe recalls, his mother has been "ascending to a place of utter loneliness from which she might never be retrieved" (2012: 43). Geraldine refuses to talk about her experience to Bazil and Joe until she learns that Yeltow is trying to adopt an Indian baby and Mayla might be dead already. As to Bazil, his hands are tied because of Linden's familiarity with the inadequacies of the law: "He's studied us. Knows we can't hold him. Thinks he can get away" (2012: 211). But when Bazil sees Linden in a local supermarket, the tribal judge instinctively grips Linden by the throat and gets himself into a nasty fight, resulting in his own heart attack. After Bazil is sent to the hospital, Geraldine's reaction makes Joe worried even more. "It's something Daddy told me. A story about a *wiindigoo*," Geraldine tells her son, "*Lark's trying to eat us*, Joe. I won't let him. I will be the one to stop him" (2012: 248; emphasis added). The determination in Geraldine's voice terrifies Joe, and he knows that if Geraldine plans to go after Lark, "he'd kill her" (2012: 248). When Bazil leaves the hospital, Joe knows that he has to act quickly: "Lark would appear again. Unless they found Mayla dead, or she showed up alive and filed a kidnapping charge, he was free to walk the earth" (2012: 264). With this in mind, Joe decides to kill Linden and protect his wounded, vulnerable family. He steals a deer rifle, practices shooting under the instruction of Cappy, his best friend on the reservation, and clumsily finishes his goal with Cappy's critical help at the last minute.

Although the community on the reservation is unaware of Joe's plan beforehand, many of them spontaneously protect Joe and stand behind him when the news of Linden's death breaks out. An enthusiast of police radio, Uncle Whitey knows what has happened as soon as he sees the pale and panicky faces of Joe and

Cappy after they flee from the crime scene on the day of the shooting. He calms them down with alcohol and asks them to leave their shirts before they go home. When the tribal police and the federal agent investigate the boys' whereabouts on the day of the murder, Uncle Whitey vouches for them and produces evidence for their alibi. Vince Madwesin, a senior member of the tribal police force, covers up for Joe by securing a pickle jar from Geraldine's kitchen left by the boys during their rehearsal process. Linda, too, helps Joe with the removal of the murder weapon. After the shooting, Joe hides the rifle underneath Linda's porch in a hurry. When he attempts to ask Linda to get rid of the gun, the latter says her dog has already found it, and it has since been disassembled and discarded in different states by her and her adoptive brother. Describing her twin brother as a "monster," Linda tells Joe that "no matter how much it ate, it couldn't get the right thing" because "there was always something it needed" (2012: 300). Although Linda was born white, she identifies with the Ojibwe values and way of life because the Wishkobs and the Indians on the reservation have given her a new life. She knows the terrible damage her twin brother has done to this community, and she admits to Joe that it is she who "should have shot him" (2012: 300). As someone familiar with the Ojibwe culture and tradition, Linda respects Joe's decision to remove Linden, and she even leaves him a piece of souvenir—a small black screw from the hidden rifle—to acknowledge his decisive action.

For Joe, the most unexpected support comes from his father, the meticulous tribal judge with a strict moral code. Bazil tells his son that although the death of Linden serves an "ideal justice," whoever does it will have to "live with the human consequences of having taken a life" (2012: 306). "As I did not kill Lark, but wanted to, I must at least protect the person who took on that task," says Bazil, "And I would, even to the extent of attempting to argue a legal precedent" (2012: 306). According to Bazil, he could argue that Linden fits the definition of a wiindigoo, and that "with no other recourse" his death satisfies the requirements of a traditional old law (2012: 306). Although Joe does not reveal the truth to his father, Bazil makes it clear to his son that Joe's action of killing is understandable, and he would do anything in his power to protect him from any legal ramifications.

Although Joe believes that he has no other option but to kill the life-consuming monster, and he has support from his familial and communal members, he struggles to face the aftermath of being a murderer. After the shooting, the first and most obvious dread that Joe has is his own similarity with Linden. "I'd wonder how my mother got her spirit to return to her body, and if it had returned, and if mine was fleeing now because of what I'd done," says Joe, "Would I become a wiindigoo? Infected by Lark?" (2012: 294). Linden may be dead, but Joe knows he is not safe from him because every night, Linden comes after him. In his recurring dreams, he and Linden "exchange selves" at the gunshot, and he is

trapped and left dying (2012: 307). He tries to warn Cappy that Linden is inside his body, but he can do nothing but wake up, shouting Cappy's name.

For Lockard, a survivance storyteller can deal with existential threats and change them into a cultural resource that strengthens Native civilization: "He is the one who can look the wiindigoo in the face and live to tell the stories that defeat their cannibalism" (217). The same can be said of Joe, who not only manages to survive the consequences of killing the physical wiindigoo because of the collective support from his communal members but also willingly goes after the larger, intangible social wiindigoo in America, namely the flawed legal system for Native peoples. Following his father's steps, Joe later goes to the same law school at the University of Minnesota as Bazil did and becomes a public prosecutor. He wears his father's tie to jury trials and uses his father's fountain pen to sign his "tribal court opinions" (2012: 246). The message here is strong and clear. As Bazil tells his son, "There was no justice for your mother, his [Linden's] victim, or for Mayla, and yet justice exists" (2012: 305). Joe finally realizes that he has to dig into the root cause of the flawed justice system and starts building up legal precedents for generations to come, just like what Bazil has done in the past.

Joe's career choice is significant in that Bazil has shown his son how important it is to focus on the mundane and unglamorous details of laws so as to fight for their tribal sovereignty and insist on their own jurisdiction step by step. Before his mother's incident, Joe felt proud of Bazil's job, frequently earning his pocket money by sweeping the judge's office and dusting his plaques and diplomas on the wall. When Joe is invited by his father to go through the old cases together, he is utterly disappointed that all of the cases that Bazil has ruled so far are "small," "ridiculous," and "petty" (2012: 48). As Joe says, "Where was the greatness? the drama? the respect? ... My father was punishing hot dog thieves and examining washers—not even washing machines—just washers worth 15 cents apiece" (2012: 48). After Geraldine reveals the identity of her attacker, Joe is furious about his father's inability to press charges against Linden due to the indeterminacy of the exact location of the crime. "You've got zero authority, Dad, one big zero, nothing you can do," shouts Joe angrily, "Why do it anyway?" (2012: 226). To answer this sharp question, Bazil erects different kitchen utensils on a frozen casserole on their dinner table to demonstrate the precarious situation of "Indian Law":

Everything we do, no matter how trivial or small, must be crafted keenly. We are trying to build a solid base here for our sovereignty. We try to press against the boundaries of what we are allowed, walk a step past the edge. Our records will be scrutinized by Congress one day and decisions on whether to enlarge our jurisdiction will be made. Some

day. *We want the right to prosecute criminals of all races on all lands within our original boundaries.* Which is why I try to run a tight courtroom, Joe. (2012: 229-230)

Joe may find it hard to understand his father's explanation improvised from the thawing dish that night, but his decision to study and practice law means that eventually, he is aware of the importance of mastering the enemy's language in the field of law. At the very beginning of the novel, Joe knows that Felix S. Cohen's *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* is "The Bible" of his father (2012: 2). It was given to Bazil by Joe's grandfather, and every page of the tattered, dusty book is filled with handwritten comments from the tribal judge. In the later part of the story, Joe mentions that all later versions of Cohen's *Handbook* can be found in Bazil's bookshelf in his study, reflecting the complex relationship between the Federal government and Indigenous people in the twentieth century.^[5] When Bazil knows that Joe often leaves through his *Handbook*, he tells his son, "You will be a lawyer if you don't go to jail first" (2012: 228), suggesting the significance of understanding this special language of laws. Erdrich's careful juxtaposition of Cohen's *Handbook*, an important foundation on which the federal law regarding Indians has been built, and the wiindigoo justice, the traditional law of the Ojibwe people that still carries its weight, is meaningful: although Joe's action may be justified based on the ancient Indian law, in the long run, Native people need to master the language of the settler state, defending their sovereignty, protecting their people, and narrating their own stories.

Joe's special position as a survivance storyteller can also be observed in Erdrich's use of the dual narrative voice throughout the novel. Joe's narrative alternates between his younger self, a thirteen-year-old boy directly experiencing the aftermath of his mother's brutal assault, and his older self, reflecting on these events from the perspective of adulthood. The adolescent voice provides a raw and urgent view of the events unfolding in the summer of 1988. As a young teenager, Joe is forced to confront harsh realities much earlier than he is emotionally prepared for. His attempts to understand what happened to his mother and his efforts to seek justice reveal his growing awareness of the limitations of both the legal system and his own power. This youthful perspective highlights the absurdities and injustices of a legal framework that fails to protect Native women, making these systemic flaws painfully personal. The adult Joe narrates with the benefit of hindsight, offering a more nuanced understanding of the events he recounts. The adult Joe also reflects on the psychological toll of his actions as a teenager, particularly his decision to take justice into his own hands. This narrative technique creates a powerful interplay between immediacy and retrospection, deepening the novel's exploration of trauma, justice, and personal transformation.

In short, Joe's teenage experiences highlight the failures of the legal system on an intimate level, while his adult reflections connect these personal stories to larger historical and political contexts. As Roemer rightly notes, readers finally realize that they bear witness to an important act of survivance performed by Joe as an adult: his telling of the round house story of 1988 (2021: 30).^[6] Julie Tharp also suggests that by choosing Joe as the narrator, Erdrich aims to remind her readers to "think generationally," meaning not only will the laws influence generations of people but also "it may take generations to change them" (31). Joe has understood the importance of his father's continuous efforts, overcome the guilt and loss of taking away the perpetrator's life, and devoted himself to effecting a potential change for future Indians on the reservation.

©The author expresses her sincere gratitude to the two anonymous reviewers for their meticulous reading and thoughtful suggestions.

Notes

1. While *The Plague of Doves* examines the intergenerational trauma caused by a lynching of innocent Ojibwe men, *The Round House* shifts to contemporary issues, exposing jurisdictional loopholes that allow crimes against Native women to go unpunished. Through the perspective of a teenage boy seeking justice for his mother, the novel bridges the historical and personal themes of the trilogy. *LaRose*, in turn, offers a hopeful vision of restorative justice, using Ojibwe traditions to rebuild community bonds. Together, the trilogy highlights the enduring impacts of settler colonialism and explores justice through Indigenous values (Jacobs and Peterson ix-xxi).
2. The Anishnaabe people are also called Chippewa and Ojibwe. According to Vizenor, both Chippewa and Ojibwe were named by colonists (1984: 13). Erdrich used these three names interchangeably in *The Round House*.
3. Nanapush is an important trickster figure in the Ojibwe oral traditions, and this character appears in different ages in Erdrich's previous novels, including *Tracks* and *Four Souls*. In *The Round House*, Nanapush is about the same age as Joe. Both their mothers have suffered a great deal of injustice, and both boys are forced to deal with the devastating consequences.
4. According to Castor, Linda's adoption can be understood within a historical context where the opposite scenario was more typical. The belief that Native people could be "civilized" has roots in the ideas of Thomas Jefferson, and

federal policies demonstrate how deeply these racist attitudes are still deeply ingrained. As late as 1958 to 1967, the Indian Adoption Project was run and funded by organizations such as the Child Welfare League of America, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the U.S. Children's Bureau. Through the Project, 395 Native American children from 16 Western states were adopted into non-Native homes in the Midwest and Eastern United States (40-41).

5. Cohen's *Handbook* was first published in 1941, but in the 1958 edition, his focus on Native community self-determination was changed into an idea that treated Indians more as problems to be taken care of by the Federal government than as people who deserved to share equal footing under the law. In 1971, a facsimile version of the *Handbook* was discovered, and it became the basis for a new edition mandated under the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act, which was completed in 1982 and truthfully reflected Cohen's original intentions (Castor 43).
6. According to Roemer, another advantage of the dual narrative is that Erdrich is able to end the story with realistic and tragic incidents, such as the car accident that kills Cappy, Joe's speculation that he may not have needed to murder Linden because Mayla's death could have incriminated him, and the sad realization shared by Joe and his parents that they all become "old" after these experiences. However, readers can still close the book with a sense of hope, knowing that Joe not only survives 1988 but also continues the good fight his father once fought (2021: 25-26).

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用敵人的語言，說自己的故事

《圓屋》的抗存說故事者

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摘 要

露薏絲·鄂翠曲於二〇一二年出版的小說《圓屋》，風格迥異於她一向擅長使用的多重跳躍敘事觀點，由十三歲的奧吉布瓦男孩視角出發，講述他在母親遭受性暴力攻擊後，面對家庭劇變，挺身而出追求真相與正義的過程。這本小說是鄂翠曲首度利用偵探敘事類型，吸引讀者關注美國原住民保留區上複雜的社會、政治與法律議題，而小說結尾對讀者而言是個挑戰，因為男孩為了保護母親不再受傷害，動手槍殺了強暴犯。本文分為三部分，第一部分建立維茲諾探討抗存的概念，以及原住民作家創造性地利用敵人語言的歷史脈絡；第二部分討論鄂翠曲如何挪用偵探文類，揭露保留區上因為司法制度不彰，導致原住民女性長期受到白人性暴力壓迫的艱困處境；第三部分探討奧吉布瓦傳統颯地古的歷史，理解主角別無選擇，只能除去危及部落的噬人猛獸。主角後來繼承父業，成為檢察官，使用另一種形式的敵人語言，為部落主權奮鬥，成為獨特的抗存說故事者。

關鍵詞：露薏絲·鄂翠曲、《圓屋》、抗存說故事者、部落主權、颯地古正義

投稿須知 | NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

《中山人文學報》專門刊載中西人文科學之原創性學術研究論文，為國立中山大學文學院發行的同行匿名評審學術期刊，創刊於一九九三年四月，自一九九八年二月起每年刊行兩期（一月與七月）。本刊收錄於科技部人文社會科學研究中心之臺灣人文學引文索引期刊(THCI)資料庫，列入 MLA International Bibliography 與 Scopus 資料庫、臺灣學術期刊開放取用平臺(TOAJ)，歡迎來稿，茲列以下要點提供投稿人參考：

- 一、本刊徵求中文、外文、藝術、哲學學門之學術論文，凡未經發表（已通過考試之碩、博士論文視同已發表）或未在他處出版者，均歡迎大專院校教師、博士生或學術單位研究人員來稿；亦歡迎惠賜三年內出版人文書籍之書評、重要作家與人文領域學者之訪問稿。
- 二、投稿本刊之中文稿件字數以一萬字至一萬八千字（含徵引書目、摘要）為限，英文稿件則限五千至一萬字。書評稿中文以三千字、英文以二千字為原則。
- 三、凡刊載本刊之論文、圖象、書評等圖文，責任由作者自負。請尊重學術倫理，勿一稿兩投或多投、抄襲或剽竊。如有違反學術倫理者，本刊將加以停權。凡經發現抄襲或剽竊者尚須償付審查費用。來稿已送審後要求撤稿者審查費由作者自付。
- 四、請作者參考本刊〈撰稿凡例〉，並依論文格式撰稿。本刊以《中山人文學報論文格式小冊》之格式規範為依據。中外文論文注釋皆採尾注(endnote)，且僅作補充說明之用。徵引文獻附於正文末，以作者姓氏拼音順序排列，不區分語種。一般書評若有註釋採尾注即可，毋需另列徵引書目。
- 五、來稿將不具名送請二至三名相關領域學者專家審查，故文中請勿出現足以辨識作者身份之資訊。經接受採用之稿件，作者請依審議意見修訂與填寫回應表。本刊編者有權修潤文字、書目格式與統一譯名。
- 六、來稿若含涉及智慧產權之文本（如攝影、繪畫、劇照等），請作者自行事先取得原出版者或原作者授權，並附書面同意函件。
- 七、刊載之文章不另支稿酬，作者可獲贈當期《中山人文學報》二冊。
- 八、接受刊登之中文稿，中文引用書目請英譯，以俾列於「徵引文獻」表後。
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表」、「全文上網非專屬授權同意書」及「切結書」（表格請至本刊網址下載）後以電郵附檔寄至本刊編輯部：sysjoh@mail.nsysu.edu.tw。

十、其他聯絡資訊：臺灣高雄市鼓山區804201蓮海路70號國立中山大學文學院
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Founded in April 1993 by the College of Liberal Arts, National Sun Yat-sen University, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, the *Sun Yat-sen Journal of Humanities* (hereafter *SYSJH*) is now published twice a year, in January and July. The English-Chinese bilingual refereed journal solicits scholarly papers concerning various topics in the study of human sciences. Below are some guidelines for contributors:

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撰稿凡例 | STYLE GUIDE

人文社會科學各學門中文論文的註釋、參考與徵引標示方式繁多，可謂眾式紛紜，各行其是。《中山人文學報》是綜合性學術刊物，刊載文章來自不同的人文領域，作者所採用的體例也不盡相同。一本學術刊物如果「一刊多體」，讀者難免眼花繚亂，因此我們採用了《中山人文學報論文格式小冊》(SYSJH Style Guide, 2018)中所演示的書目格式作為本刊體式(house style)。

撰寫學術論文難免涉及文獻評述、引用或參考同行研究成果，呈現方式須依行規。美國現代語文學會(Modern Language Association)出版的《現語會論文撰寫手冊》(MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers)向為國內外學者與研究生撰寫英文報告或論文的規範依據，歷史悠久，頗為通行。該會在二〇一六年因應新媒體與數位傳媒的發展而推出第八版，改變幅度相當大。本刊也藉機修訂我們的撰稿體例，以符合潮流趨勢。《中山人文學報論文格式小冊》參考了第七、第八版的現語會手冊，以及 APA、芝加哥大學出版社的 CMS 等學術論文撰寫格式，取長補短，編成這本格式小書（簡稱 SSG 格式），作為人文社會科學諸學門的中英文稿件作者參考。這裏歸納出下列七條基本原則供撰稿人參考：

第一條：書籍、學術期刊、雜誌、報紙、影片、繪畫之標題——中文以雙尖角號《 》標識，西文則用斜體字(*italics*)。例如：王德威著《華夷風起》、《中山人文學報》、《武俠世界》、《華盛頓郵報》、臺灣電影《大佛普拉斯》、常玉畫作《仰躺的豹》、*Citizen Kane*、*Walter Benjamin's Other History*、*Diacritics*。報紙副刊宜以嵌入報紙名稱方式標示，如《星洲日報·文藝春秋》。

第二條：單篇文章或短篇文本之標題——中文篇名採用單尖角號〈 〉，西文篇名則用引號“ ”。例如：楊牧的詩〈瓶中稿〉、葛瑞安·葛林(Graham Greene)的〈破壞者〉(“The Destructors”)、Walter Benjamin’s “The Task of the Translator”。

第三條：中文文章正文內之專有名詞——凡首次出現之外文人名、書名或篇名宜在譯名之後以括號附加原文。例如：卞雅民(Walter Benjamin)、阿蘭·霍布-葛力葉(Alain Robbe-Grillet)的《快照集》(*Instantanés*)、布寇斯基(Charles Bukowski)的詩作〈魯蛇〉(“The Loser”)；家喻戶曉的外國人名如

「馬克思」、「哲學家黑格爾」或名詞如「浪漫主義」)則不需附加原文。此外,外文人名如有以首字母(initial)標示者,兩個首字母之間的縮略點(.)後不留空格,例如 H.D 梭羅(H.D. Thoreau)。

第四條：中文文章正文內之數字——敘述性質的行文之數字或年份一律採用國字,惟標示引文出處與徵引書目等資料(年代及頁數)以及必要的統計表格,則使用阿拉伯數字,以利辨識。例如李永平長篇《大河盡頭》下卷裏頭下列句子：

記住：主曆一九六二年八月三日,陰曆壬寅年七月初四,早晨,旭日下,發生在婆羅洲卡布亞斯河桑高鎮碼頭上的這一齣離奇、荒謬、慘無人道的悲劇(李永平 2010: 209)。

第五條：文內引述(in-text citation)標示方式——在引文後的括號內標示作者外文姓氏或中文姓名與引文頁碼,例如:(Peirce 53)、(七等生 101);如引述同一作者多筆資料,則加列年份,以示區別,例如:(七等生 1973:10);如引述同一作者同一年多筆資料,則在年份後加列 a, b, c, 例如:(七等生 1973a:101)。

第六條：注釋方式——本刊自第五十期起論文註釋採尾註(endnote),註釋數字請以外文方括號標示(如^[1])。即註釋文字附於文末,且註釋功能僅在於增補說明,而非標示徵引或參考書目資料。徵引文獻出處皆於內文以括號書明作者姓氏與所引頁碼,完整書目則臚列於文章正文後的「徵引文獻」表。另,由於論文採「文內標引」方式,引述同一資料在內文標示引文作者姓氏與頁碼即可,不需在註釋標示「前揭書」(ibid., op. cit.)或「同註 X」之類的說明。如參考整本書則在作者姓氏後附年份即可,不用 passim。如註釋需呈現書目資料,可以下列方式簡單處理:Cohen (1978)、唐·中西(編) (2002:6)、錢鍾書(1986:305-307)、Dirlik (2001a:71-75)。由於註釋文字為句子,必要時得在敘述句頁碼前加頁、p.或 pp.等詞。

第七條：書目格式——「徵引文獻」(Works Cited)表單之條目以「作者-年份」(author-date)方式呈現,並以「作者-年份-作品」為一組,出版資料為另一組。引用某篇某章要附頁碼。中外文文獻條目皆依作者姓氏拼音順序臚列,無需分列。數位資料需加列網址(URL)或識別碼(DOI),但無需注明下載日期。英文書目中之大學出版社不採 UP 縮寫。以下附錄若干基本範例,詳細說明請參考《中山人文學報論文格式小冊》(可網購:www.books.com.tw/products/00108_12100?sloc=main)

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