# The Contemporary Development of Aboriginal Culture in Taiwan

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Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages, 2024

### Abstract

Aboriginal culture is an indispensable and unique culture in Taiwan's culture. Taiwan's topography has created the diversity of Taiwan's aboriginal ethnic groups. Even though the living environments are not far apart, they have completely different living habits. But as time goes by, the culture of many ethnic groups is gradually forgotten, and it is difficult to see traditional skills and culture anymore. This study uses semi-structured in-depth interviews with Pingtung Aboriginal people in Kaohsiung as a case study. Two Kaohsiung Aboriginal city councilors, two Aboriginal cultural promoters and a Paiwan spiritual medium were interviewed. The main issues discussed in this article are: How familiar are Taiwanese aborigines with traditional culture? What do Aboriginal people think of the current social system? How seriously does the Taiwanese government attach importance to aborigines? This study found that the policy of revitalizing Aboriginal culture requires mutual cooperation between the government and Aboriginal non-governmental organizations, and self-identity is the main motivation that affects Aboriginal people's learning of their own language and culture. This research can bring people's understanding of Taiwan's aboriginal people and the inheritance and protection of aboriginal culture.

#### Key words: Taiwan aboriginal, Diversity of ethnic, Aboriginal cultural

#### 台灣原住民文化的當代發展

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## 摘要

原住民文化,在台灣的文化中是不可或缺的特有文化,由於台灣的地形造就了台灣原 住民族的多樣性。即便生活的環境相差不遠卻有著截然不同的生活習慣。但隨著時間的推 移,許多族群的文化逐漸被遺忘,很難再看到傳統的技藝、文化。本研究以高雄屏東原住 民的半結構化深度訪談為案例。兩位高雄的原住民市議員、兩位原住民文化推廣者和一位 排灣族靈媒接受了訪談。本篇文章主要探討的問題是,台灣原住民對傳統文化的熟悉度如 何?原住民對於現在社會制度的看法如何?台灣政府對原住民的重視程度如何?本研究發 現,原住民文化振興政策是需要政府與原住民民間組織的互相合作,而自我認同是影響原 住民族在對於自身語言、文化學習的主要動機。這項研究可以帶來人們對台灣原住民的了 解以及原住民文化的傳承及保護。

關鍵詞:台灣原住民,族群多樣性,原住民文化

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#### **INTRODUCTION**

#### Background

Taiwan's aboriginal culture is an important part of Taiwanese culture, but in this era of rapid development, it is also facing more and more difficulties. Aboriginal culture has been impacted at political, economic and social levels, resulting in the submersion or loss of many traditional cultures of the Aboriginal people. This article will examine the difficulties encountered by aboriginal culture from four levels: political, economic, social and cultural.<sup>1</sup>

First of all, the political aspect is the biggest dilemma faced by Aboriginal culture.<sup>2</sup> The political status of indigenous peoples is in a state of deprivation and exclusion, and the autonomy of indigenous peoples has been repeatedly threatened by political instability. In addition, the government's natural resource development policy has also led to the deprivation of the indigenous people's land, making the indigenous culture even more isolated.

Second is the economic level. Indigenous peoples are still poor economically and lack basic living resources, especially in rural areas.<sup>3</sup> There are also relatively few employment opportunities for aborigines, resulting in the inability of many aborigines to obtain sufficient economic income, making them even more impoverished.

Third, the social dimension is also an important dilemma. Aboriginal culture is regarded as "foreign culture", and the social status of aborigines is also downplayed, making it impossible for aboriginal people to gain social respect. In addition, aboriginal culture has also been impacted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ChatGPT, "The difficulties encountered by aboriginal culture " (2023-06-07), https://openai.com/chatgpt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zheng-xian Yang, "National Discourse, Cultural Politics and Welfare Colonization-The Legal Status and

Development Dilemma of the Cultural Rights of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples," Taiwan International Law Quarterly 14, no. 3 (2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Fenling Chen, "The Economic Difficulties of Aboriginal Peoples and the Possibility of Local Cultural Industry Development," (Journal of State and Society, 2008).

by foreign cultures, resulting in the weakening or even disappearance of many aboriginal cultures.

Finally, the cultural aspect is also one of the difficulties faced by aboriginal culture. The history, culture and traditional knowledge inheritance of indigenous peoples are all affected by changes in modern society, causing many indigenous cultures to be destroyed. In addition, the languages used by the aborigines have also been impacted by modern culture, resulting in the disappearance of many aboriginal languages.

To sum up, aboriginal cultures are facing difficulties at four levels: political, economic, social and cultural, which not only threaten aboriginal cultures, but also affect Taiwan. The Aboriginal people are an important part of Taiwan's ethnic group. Their culture is a unique combination, absorbing the culture from Taiwan's different ethnic groups and experiencing the influence of multiple cultures. However, due to the small size of the Aboriginal population, their culture faces many difficulties.

<sup>4</sup>First, due to the small size of the Aboriginal population, their cultural heritage is often threatened. Their traditional knowledge and skills are being replaced by modern technology and their culture is slowly disappearing. In addition, due to economic inequality, many Aboriginal children cannot receive a good education, and their cultural understanding has become less and less.

In addition, the influence of the Aborigines is under threat. Due to the unequal social development, many Aborigines have left their traditional homeland and are powerless to recover. In addition, their culture is also impacted by external cultures, which in turn affects their cultural traditions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> ChatGPT, "The plight of aboriginal cultural in Taiwan " (2023-06-10), https://openai.com/chatgpt.

Finally, the culture of the Aborigines has also been influenced by the government. The policies adopted by the government do not fully protect the culture of the aboriginal people. The government does not support enough of the culture of the Aborigines, so their cultural inheritance is still threatened.

All in all, due to the small population of the Aborigines, their cultural inheritance is facing many difficulties, including the threat of inheritance, external cultural impact, and the inadequacy of government policies. Therefore, the government should strengthen the protection of aboriginal culture to ensure the continuous inheritance of aboriginal culture.

#### Motivation

Taiwan's aboriginal culture is a part of Taiwanese society, but it has been gradually lost in recent years, forming an insoluble dilemma. Taiwan's aboriginal culture has lasted for thousands of years and consists of a series of social, historical, cultural and external influences. However, in recent decades, the culture has been influenced by many foreign cultures, as well as government policies, which have greatly changed the form of the culture, which may cause the complete loss of the culture.<sup>5</sup>

In order to solve the dilemma encountered by Taiwan's aboriginal culture, this study will conduct a more in-depth discussion to understand the history, culture and current situation of Taiwan's aboriginal culture, as well as the degree to which it is influenced by the outside world. And through in-depth research on Taiwan's aboriginal culture, more information and evidence can be obtained, so that the government and society can make better decisions, protect Taiwan's aboriginal culture, and prevent the culture from being completely lost.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Quanhu Hong, "Globalization and the Transmission and Development of Culture among Taiwanese Aborigines," Journal of Civic Education (2003)

#### **Research Purpose**

This research aims to explore the plight of the Amis Aboriginal people in Taiwan, focusing on their cultural identity, economic and social status, and the impact of the Taiwanese government's policies on their well-being. By surveying members of the Amis community, this research will seek to understand their unique experiences, perspectives and views of the current situation they face, and how they perceive and respond to the policies and decisions of the Taiwanese government. Additionally, this research will examine past and present government policies that have impacted the Amis people and assess their efficacy. The findings of this research will contribute to a better understanding of the plight of the Amis people and guide policy makers in crafting policies that are more responsive to the needs and interests of this minority group.

#### **Research Questions**

This research will study the difficulties faced by the traditional culture of the aborigines in Taiwan, in order to find out ways to better inherit and promote the culture.

- 1. How familiar are the aborigines of Taiwan with their traditional culture?
- 2. What is the current society's perception of Aboriginal people?
- 3. How much does the Taiwan government attach importance to the aborigines?

#### Significance

The plight of the Amis indigenous people in Taiwan is a reflection of the broader story of many aboriginal cultures in the country. The Amis have faced displacement from their ancestral lands, a lack of access to resources, and economic hardship due to their marginalized status within Taiwan. This has caused a loss of traditional culture, language, and lifestyles, leading to a sense of cultural alienation and low self-esteem among the Amis people.

The plight of the Amis is an important example of the struggles endured by many aboriginal cultures in Taiwan, and serves as a reminder of the need to protect and promote the rights and well-being of these groups. By recognizing the unique challenges faced by the Amis, governments and organizations can better develop strategies to promote the social, economic, and cultural rights of indigenous people in Taiwan. Furthermore, recognizing the importance of the Amis culture can help to raise awareness of the challenges faced by indigenous people in the country, which can then lead to a greater understanding of their plight and the need to support them.

#### Limit and Delimit

This study uses Taiwan as an example; therefore, cases from other countries are not considered. And Taiwan has many different indigenous peoples, and it is not possible to conduct interviews with all the different peoples. However, relevant information and data on all indigenous peoples cannot be obtained. Although only some ethnic groups are used as examples, the study can still serve as a model for other indigenous peoples.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Historical background

Currently, the registered population in Taiwan is composed of the Han Chinese as the largest ethnic group, accounting for 96.4% of the total population, and 2.5% of the original ethnic group. In addition, the immigrant population with registered residence accounts for 1.1% of the total population. Intermarriage is common among ethnic groups, and differences gradually develop over time<sup>6</sup>.

There are Amis, Paiwan, Atayal, Bunun, Rukai, Puyuma, Tsou, Saisiyat, Yami, Thao, Kavalan, Taroko, Sasha. There are 16 ethnic groups, including the Qilaiya, Sediq, La Aruwa, and Kanakanafu, with a population of more than 580,000, of which more than 280,000 have migrated and lived in urban areas, accounting for the total population of indigenous peoples. Nearly 50% or so.<sup>7</sup>

The aboriginal culture of Taiwan can be traced back to the Bronze Age many thousands of years ago, and since then, the aboriginal culture and culture of Taiwan have begun to develop<sup>8</sup>. Archaeological excavations have proved that during the Bronze Age in Taiwan, there was already a unique social structure and cultural tradition.

As the Han Chinese immigrated to Taiwan, the aboriginal culture suffered a shock. Cultural changes brought about by Han immigration, coupled with colonial rule, had an important impact on Aboriginal culture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Taili Hu. (2003). Cultural performances and Taiwanese aborigines. Lianjing Publishing Company.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Executive Yuan."the ethnic group," Brief Introduction to the National Conditions of the Executive Yuan (行政院 國情簡介), 112

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Mau-kuei, Chang. "On the Origins and Transformation of Taiwanese National Identity." China Perspectives, no. 28 (2000): 51–70.

Taiwan's aboriginal culture continued to develop after the Han immigrants, not only maintaining the original traditions, but also accepting many new elements. Taiwan's aboriginal culture is still unique today, combining elements of Taiwan's aboriginal culture and Han culture.

Taiwan's aboriginal culture still plays an important role in modern society, not only enriching Taiwan's cultural diversity, but also bringing many positive influences to Taiwan's social development<sup>9</sup>. Although Taiwan's aboriginal culture has experienced severe shocks in the past, it still survives firmly, inheriting the history and culture of Taiwan's aboriginal people.

#### **Migration of Taiwan's Aboriginal People**

The increase in the proportion of Taiwan's aborigines emigrating has aroused serious public concern in recent years.<sup>10</sup> The emigration of aborigines will not only greatly reduce the cultural diversity of the original community, but also have a great impact on the social stability of the original community. Therefore, the literature on the rising proportion of Taiwanese aborigines emigrating has always attracted the attention of sociologists.

According to research, there are two main reasons for Taiwan's aborigines to emigrate<sup>11</sup>: one is economic factors, and the other is social and cultural factors. Due to the uneven economic development of Taiwan itself, the aborigines have great economic inequality. They seek better economic conditions and higher living standards in other places. In addition, aborigines are also discriminated against socially and culturally. They suffer from poverty from the government and

<sup>9</sup> Chiu, Kuei-fen. "The Production of Indigeneity: Contemporary Indigenous Literature in Taiwan and Trans-Cultural Inheritance." The China Quarterly, no. 200 (2009): 1071–87. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27756544.
 <sup>10</sup>Yiru Su, "Taiwanese [urban] aborigines in migration," Journal of Social Sciences 15 (2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Junyan Guo et al., "Discussion on the Employment Difficulty of Taiwan's Urban Aboriginals in Post-industrial Society: Perspectives of Aboriginal Opinion Leaders in Taichung Metropolitan Area," Taiwan Journal of Community Work and Community Studies 3, no. 2 (2013).

social discrimination from society. Many aborigines will choose to move out to avoid social discrimination.

In addition, the emigration of Aboriginal people is also influenced by the family. In Taiwan, because the income from agriculture is not enough to maintain the income of the family, many aborigines will choose to move to other places in search of better income and higher living standards. In addition, the emigration of aboriginal people is also affected by the family structure<sup>12</sup>. The structure of aboriginal families is often multi-headed. They will choose to seek better economic conditions in other places to improve their family economic conditions.

All in all, the main reason for the increase in the proportion of Taiwan's aborigines emigrating is due to economic and social and cultural factors. The Taiwan government has the responsibility to improve the economic and social and cultural conditions of the aborigines in order to reduce the proportion of aborigines emigrating.

#### **Cultural Policy**

Aboriginal cultural policy refers to a series of policies and measures aimed at protecting, promoting and developing the culture of indigenous peoples. These policies are designed to respect and preserve the rights, values and traditions of Aboriginal groups to ensure that their cultures are properly recognized and respected. Policies can be mainly divided into cultural protection and preservation, education and inheritance, community development and economic support, participation and cooperation, land rights and governance<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Tsung Hung Lee, Yi Hsien Lin, and Chiu-Kuang Wang, "Can aboriginal images contribute to aboriginal cultural identity? Evidence from the perspective of tourists' images," *Current Issues in Tourism* 26, no. 7 (2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Wu, Y.-F. (1988). Taiwan's Aboriginal Administration Policy. Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science, 16(2), 61–77.

<sup>14</sup>In cultural protection and preservation, governments usually take measures to protect and preserve important cultural elements such as Aboriginal language, art, music, dance, and handicrafts<sup>15</sup>. This may include establishing cultural centres, museums and archives, and providing funding and resources to protect and preserve Aboriginal tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

In education and inheritance, the government is also committed to providing appropriate educational opportunities to ensure that the younger generation of Aboriginal groups can learn and pass on their own culture. This may include incorporating Indigenous history, culture and values in schools, supporting Indigenous peoples' own educational institutions and programs, and training and supporting Indigenous peoples' cultural bearers<sup>16</sup>.

In community development and economic support, the government supports the development of Aboriginal communities with funding and resources to promote their cultural economies. This could include supporting the creation and sale of Aboriginal artists and craftspeople, encouraging tourism, supporting the formation of Aboriginal businesses and cooperatives, etc.

In participation and collaboration, the Government works closely with Indigenous peoples to ensure their participation in the development and implementation of relevant policies<sup>17</sup>. This includes consulting representatives of Indigenous peoples groups, establishing mechanisms for dialogue and cooperation with them to ensure that policies meet their needs and aspirations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> ChatGPT, "Aboriginal policies" (2023-06-20), https://openai.com/chatgpt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Naiqian Lin, "Analysis of the Economic Plight of Taiwan's Aboriginal People and Government Policies - The Lijia Tribe as an Example," (2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> ZEITOUN, E. (1998). Taiwan's Aboriginal Languages: A linguistic assessment. China Perspectives, 20, 45–52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Michael Stainton, "The politics of Taiwan aboriginal origins," Taiwan: A new history (2015).

In land rights and governance, aboriginal cultural policy often also addresses land rights and governance issues. Governments work with Aboriginal groups to ensure that their rights to traditional lands and resources are protected and respected, which may include mechanisms such as land restitution, land co-management and negotiated dispute resolution.

The goal of these policies and measures is to promote the cultural autonomy, cultural diversity and social inclusion of Aboriginal peoples groups to ensure that their cultures are passed on and developed in harmony with mainstream society and national development. Indigenous cultural policies in different countries and regions may be different, adjusted and formulated according to the local historical, cultural and political background.

## The Importance and Challenges of Land Rights and Resource Management for Indigenous Peoples

The land and resources are an essential aspect of Indigenous Peoples' lives. It is a source of their economic, cultural, and spiritual sustenance. However, the colonial expansion and modernization have led to the erosion of Indigenous Peoples' land rights and the degradation of their resources.<sup>18</sup> The colonialism era led to the loss of Indigenous Peoples' lands and resources. The colonial powers disregarded Indigenous Peoples' property rights and declared the land as vacant. The settlers and corporations exploited the land and resources without compensation to the Indigenous Peoples. The dispossession of land and resources led to poverty, hunger, and cultural dislocation among Indigenous Peoples.

The recognition of Indigenous Peoples' land rights is a fundamental human right and crucial to their well-being. Indigenous Peoples' land and resource management practices are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Lin Qiumian, "Discussion on the Evolution and Influence of Aboriginal Land Policy in Taiwan in Different Periods," Journal of Taiwan Land Research 2 (2001).

sustainable and ensure the preservation of ecosystems and biodiversity. The Indigenous Peoples' traditional knowledge of the land and resources can provide vital solutions to the current environmental and climate change crises. The Indigenous Peoples' control of their lands and resources can also lead to economic development and poverty reduction in their communities.

The challenges to Indigenous Peoples' land rights and resource management are diverse and complex. The political and legal frameworks do not adequately recognize Indigenous Peoples' property rights<sup>19</sup>. The government policies often prioritize the economic interests of corporations over the rights of Indigenous Peoples. The extractive industries, such as mining, logging, and oil exploration, pose a significant threat to Indigenous Peoples' land and resources. The climate change and environmental degradation further exacerbate the challenges faced by Indigenous Peoples.

#### **Colonization Affect**

Colonization has had a significant impact on the cultures of indigenous peoples around the world. In the case of Taiwan, the island was colonized by the Dutch in the 17th century, followed by the Spanish, the Qing dynasty, the Japanese, and the Nationalist Chinese government. Each of these colonizers had their own impact on indigenous culture.

Loss of land and resources: One of the most significant impacts of colonization on indigenous peoples has been the loss of land and resources. As colonizers sought to expand their territory and extract resources, indigenous communities were often displaced and their traditional lands taken over.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> PI-CHI CHOU et al., "The perspective of indigenous culture-A case study of the Truku tribe in East Taiwan," *Journal of Advanced Research in Social Sciences and Humanities* 2, no. 1 (2017).

Forced assimilation: Many colonizers sought to impose their own culture and values on indigenous peoples, often through forced assimilation. This could involve banning indigenous languages and cultural practices, as well as attempts to convert indigenous people to the colonizer's religion.

Colonization has also affected the social and political structures of indigenous communities in Taiwan<sup>20</sup>. For example, traditional governance structures and decision-making processes were often disrupted or replaced by colonial systems. This can lead to a loss of autonomy for indigenous communities and a weakening of traditional forms of leadership and decision-making.<sup>21</sup>

Another impact of colonization has been the introduction of new diseases to indigenous communities. When colonizers arrived in Taiwan, they brought with them diseases that were previously unknown to indigenous peoples. This led to a significant loss of life, as many indigenous communities lacked immunity to these diseases.

#### Comparison of Aboriginal cultural policies in Taiwan and other countries (taking Australia

#### as an example)

The comparison of Aboriginal cultural policies in Taiwan and Australia can be discussed from the policy history of the two governments on Aboriginal cultural issues, the rights of Aboriginal people to practice culture, and government support<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Li-jung Wang, "Multiculturalism in Taiwan: Contradictions and challenges in cultural policy," *International journal of cultural policy* 10, no. 3 (2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Xiong Nanjing, Li Fanglan, Li Xueqiang, "Analysis of the Language Policy and its Influence to Language Ecology in Taiwan Dutch colonial rulers' language policy and its influence on the aborigines in Taiwan," Journal of Nanchang Hangkong University (Social Science Edition) (2010)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Rita L Irwin, Tony Rogers, and Yuh-Yao Wan, "Reclamation, reconciliation, and reconstruction: Art practices of contemporary aboriginal artists from Canada, Australia, and Taiwan," *Journal of Cultural Research in Art Education* 16 (1998).

First, Taiwan's aboriginal cultural policy Taiwan's aboriginal cultural policy originated from the "sinicization policy" during the Japanese occupation period, imposing a large number of Han culture on aboriginal culture, which made aboriginal culture decline and be underestimated<sup>23</sup>. With the democratic reform in the period of the Republic of China, the Taiwan government began to pay attention to the culture of the aboriginal people. Disciplines and professional courses of ethnic cultural conservation provide government support for the protection and development of aboriginal culture.

Second, Australia's aboriginal cultural policy<sup>24</sup> Australia's aboriginal cultural policy originated from the exploitation and destruction of aboriginal culture during the colonial period, the informal ban on aboriginal culture and other impacts, which caused serious losses to aboriginal culture. With the government's emphasis on aboriginal culture, the Australian government began to formulate corresponding laws and policies, and established vocational training centers, cultural centers, community education centers, and various other projects to support the protection and development of aboriginal culture in aboriginal communities. Support the protection and development of Aboriginal culture.<sup>25</sup>

To sum up, there are significant differences between Taiwan and Australia's aboriginal cultural policies. The Taiwan government pays more attention to the protection, promotion and development of aboriginal culture, while the Australian government focuses on protecting the rights of aboriginal culture<sup>26</sup>. Assist the aboriginal people to carry out cultural protection work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Andrew Bennie et al., "Cultural connections and cultural ceilings: Exploring the experiences of Aboriginal Australian sport coaches," *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health* 11, no. 3 (2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Chen Lihua, "Ethnic Group Relations Issues and Education in Australia - Comments on my country's [Aboriginal Education Act] draft," Curriculum and Teaching 1, no. 2 (1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Huang Junwei, "Aboriginal Culture and Current Situation in Australia," Taiwan Journal of Human Rights 5, no. 1 (2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Jessica Marinaccio, "'We're Not Indigenous. We're Just, We're Us'

Pacific Perspectives on Taiwan's Austronesian Diplomacy," in *The China Alternative*, ed. Graeme Smith and Terence Wesley-Smith, Changing Regional Order in the Pacific Islands (ANU Press, 2021).

Both forms of policy contribute to the preservation and development of Aboriginal culture, giving back to society and maintaining cultural diversity.

#### METHODOLOGY

This article aims to understand the plight of aboriginal culture today, as well as related policies of aboriginal people, and compare it with foreign aboriginal people. Through qualitative analysis, researchers attempt to discover data that support or refute the claims of other scholars, thereby generating new theories, arguments, and hypotheses. Data is collected from various websites including airiti library(華藝線上圖書館), J-STOR etc. and checklists are used to ensure its validity and reliability.

#### **Research Design**

In this paper, I have several research questions. First, What can be done to promote and promote Aboriginal culture? Second, in terms of aboriginal cultural policies, how effective is the cooperation between the government and aboriginal civil organizations? Third, do urbanization and globalization affect the inheritance of aboriginal culture? How to effect?

I have some concepts from my research: cultural ideology, cultural literacy and extended social status. In cultural ideology, there are two indicators: identity awareness and understanding. In cultural literacy, the focus is on language and education. In the extended social status, there are two big indicators namely employment and economy, political participation and decision-making. Through the in-depth interview, I can understand inheritance and preservation of aboriginal culture, does the government have relevant policies for the preservation of traditional culture, and whether these policies are helpful to them. Before the interview, I will first ask the relevant personal information of the interviewee. Through personal information, I can understand

the age, place of residence, ethnicity and education level of the respondents to understand whether these are one of the factors that affect cultural transmission and preservation.

#### **Source of Data**

This study will focus on the case study of the Aboriginal people in Taiwan. In recent years, nearly 50% of the aborigines have moved to the metropolis. For this research, I will interview the Aboriginal people living in Kaohsiung and Pingtung City. In order to make the data collection more complete.

This research aims to understand Taiwan's aboriginal cultural policy using aborigines in Taiwan as a case study. The research population is mainly aborigines in Kaohsiung. In Kaohsiung, I will interview an Ami aboriginal culture promoter and two aboriginal city councilors in Kaohsiung, one from the plains and one from the mountainous region. In Pingtung, I will visit a plains aborigine and a spiritual medium from the local Paiwan tribe. The sample size allows me to more effectively validate the content of its research. Members of other Aboriginal related departments are still in touch. And why did I choose these people as my interviewees? First of all, all the interviewees are Taiwan's aboriginal people. And I think that the work these interviewees usually do is related to the development and inheritance of Aboriginal culture. In addition, politicians will know more about relevant policies and laws than ordinary citizens. This also makes the content of the interview Aboriginal council members through the introduction of the interviewer.

No.	Date of	Name	Organization or	Title	Groups
	Interview		Institution		
A	2023/08/22	£⊖⊖	Kaohsiung City Council	Councilor	Amis
В	2023/08/25	高○○	Kaohsiung City Council	Councilor	Bunun
С	2023/08/23	机〇〇	National Pingtung University of Science and Technology	Teaching assistant	Siraya
D	2023/08/29	SOO	Pingtung Wenle Tribe	Pulingau	Paiwan
E	2023/09/26	鄭○○	Changqing Cultural Health Station	Program Leader	Amis

Table 1 The list of interviewees

#### **Instrumentation Data Collection**

Before the interview, I will do pre-preparation work. I wrote the interview protocol, and then I would reach out to those interviewees by email and with elders by phone. I consider the issue that some Aboriginal elders may not speak Mandarin Chinese. Therefore, I will find friends in his tribe to assist in translation. I will use semi-structured interviews, that is, I will not use one-on-one questions to limit the opinions and ideas of the interviewees. The interview will be conducted at the designated location according to the schedule of the interviewee.

Interviews will be all one-on-one personal interviews. In order to ensure the reliability of the method, the interview site will be in a similar environment, such as a comfortable, cool, and quiet office or classroom, and ensure that the words and terms of the interview questions are the same for each interview. In addition, in terms of ensuring effectiveness, I ensure that the interviewer can fully understand the interview questions and make clear definitions for certain issues. Doing this allows all interviewees to have a consistent understanding of the interview question.

#### **Data Analysis**

With the progress of the times, the passage of time and the impact of urbanization and globalization. The emergence of more organized groups has allowed many non-aboriginals to understand Taiwan's traditional culture of aborigines through some activities and guided tours. But in fact, what we see is only part of the traditional culture of the aborigines. As time goes by, many young people leave the tribes to develop in big cities. As a result, a lot of traditional culture is not passed down and gradually begins to be lost.

We all learn more or less about Aboriginal culture from school. This also gives most people a fixed impression of the aborigines. In a few cases, the differences in appearance and living habits between the aborigines and the Han people have led to the Han people's discrimination against the aborigines. These discriminations have also affected some Aboriginal people's self-identity to a certain extent, and even made some Aboriginal children unwilling to learn the traditional Aboriginal culture, believing that these cultures make them incompatible with other people.

# They don't want to be discriminated against. they will be very taboo about letting people know about it, so some children will feel that it is useless to learn these cultures.

#### Interviewee C

Recognizing one's own identity is a fundamental step in preserving and passing down cultural heritage. To truly grasp and appreciate the significance of one's cultural identity, it's essential to first establish a strong connection with oneself. Only through this self-awareness can one gain a profound understanding of their own identity and the cultural richness it embodies.

Once an individual has come to terms with and takes pride in their cultural roots, they are more likely to be motivated to share their culture with others. This desire to spread their cultural heritage arises from a deep-seated appreciation and understanding of its value.

#### The importance and transmission of indigenous languages

To identify oneself, in addition to understanding the structure and historical origins of one's own ethnic group. Language is also crucial. With the development of urbanization and the advancement of high-tech industries, more and more young indigenous people in today's society have no skills in ethnic languages, and even parents at home have forgotten how to speak ethnic languages.

# The fault line usually starts with the language, so how do we hold the language because when you understand the language, you have that sense of belonging and identity.

#### Interviewee B

During my interviews, the interviewees also raised the importance of language, that is, the lack of indigenous language education in today's society. Although the Government and the Indigenous Peoples Commission continue to strengthen the promotion and education of this part of the language.

The Executive Yuan's policies on revitalizing ethnic languages can be divided into four general directions. First, ethnic language promotion. They set up ethnic language promotion personnel and organizations in Taiwan's municipal governments, aboriginal areas, and townships in non-aboriginal areas with an aboriginal population of more than 1,500, and provide full-time assistance to schools. tribes and communities promote the inheritance, preservation and promotion of ethnic languages. Announcements in ethnic languages, signs in local languages and

official documents written in bilingual languages were also established. It also produces radio programs and courses in indigenous languages. Second, ethnic language inheritance education. More ethnic language teachers have been hired and a total of 7 aboriginal language learning centers have been opened in Taipei, Hsinchu, Taichung, Nantou, Taitung and Hualien. Third, the preservation of the ethnic language. Rescue endangered aboriginal languages and cultivate the inheritors of these languages as quickly as possible through mentoring. It also constructs a language database and formulates new words for Aboriginal languages. Subsidize colleges and universities to offer ethnic language courses and protect infants and young children's rights to adequate learning. Fourth, ethnic language research. Establish the Aboriginal Language Research and Development Foundation to promote the development, preservation, transmission and research of Aboriginal languages.

And the education they have done has enabled more indigenous people to understand the language spoken by their own ethnic groups. But these are not enough. Learning the ethnic language is just like any other language. Under today's education, most people can only read a language when they learn it. When you really need to apply it, it won't come in handy. What you learn is just to cope with the exam in order to pass and obtain the certificate. Language is difficult to learn and use simply by memorizing or memorizing it. Therefore, the Aboriginal Council is currently also committed to promoting speaking the ethnic language at home, which can not only familiarize children with this skill, but also make children and elders more harmonious in family interactions. Not only can you have more direct communication with your elders, but you can also truly learn how to use this skill in your life.

The same goes for other skills, which have not been practiced and used for a long time. Simply possessing the relevant knowledge background, no matter how much understanding you have, it is difficult to be as familiar as those who actually operate and apply it.

# The local economy of indigenous peoples affects the effectiveness of cultural promotion

With a good local economy, funds and resources can be provided and used to support cultural promotion projects. For example, Indigenous communities can use local economies to fund cultural festivals, art exhibitions, and cultural education programs or related outreach activities.

The growth of the local economy can create more jobs and enable members of indigenous communities to participate in cultural outreach. This not only provides income, but also retains more talent and provides opportunities to participate in and support cultural activities. The health of the local economy can also contribute to the development of cultural enterprises. This includes art sales, cultural tourism, handicraft making, etc. These businesses can be part of cultural promotion while also bringing benefits to the local economy. Having a diversified local economy can mitigate the risk of a single source of funding on which cultural promotion depends. This means that even if one source of funding is unstable, there are still other sources of funding available. Ensure that the inheritance and promotion of culture can proceed smoothly. Of course, without good economic development, it will be a big challenge to promote culture. Therefore, the sponsorship of young ethnic groups or funds is very important for the promotion of local tribes in culture.

Local tribes can also work with the government to promote their local produce or unique food culture, while also bringing economic benefits to the local area.

The small farmers of the local indigenous people were almost all self-produced, but why we set up this farm house on our side, because we just saw the industry of our native country. The quality is not lost to outsiders, so we help community tribes to promote these industries through programs.

#### Interviewee D

#### Challenges in cooperation between government and indigenous groups

In the process of cooperation between the government and indigenous groups to promote indigenous culture, although they have positive intentions, they also face some challenges. Three main issues and challenges will be pointed out here.

First, differences in cultural understanding. There may be a gap in cultural understanding between the government and indigenous groups, making it difficult for promotional activities to meet the actual needs of indigenous communities. Because language differences can also easily lead to misunderstandings in communication. Differences in cultural perspectives make it possible for governments and indigenous communities to have different understandings of the values and meaning of culture. Governments may tend to view culture as a resource or tourist attraction in order to better enhance the economy. Indigenous communities, on the other hand, may place greater emphasis on the spirit of culture and the value of heritage.

Land and resource use purposes vary, indigenous communities are dependent on specific lands and resources according to the habits passed down by their elders, and government development plans may conflict or affect the use of these lands and resources. Experts or governments usually focus on hardware and some parts that they think are easy to see the effect, and the assistance of these hardware may not have significant effects on indigenous local tribes. After all, each tribe faces different situations and requires different support. It is difficult to assist all tribes with the same plan.

In terms of cultural promotion, it is easy to face a problem, that is the so-called experts do not understand the aboriginal people. They don't necessarily understand the culture. He just looked at it theoretically and gave instructions to the aborigines on how to do it. However, it was easy to lose focus and be easily rejected by us aborigines.

#### Interviewee B

Second, uneven distribution of resources. Government resources may be distributed unevenly, preventing certain regions or tribes from fully participating in cultural promotion, deepening social inequality. Because the terrain makes it difficult to transmit transportation, that is, information, tribes located deeper in the mountains will have a gap in resources with tribes closer to the urban area. In fact, these resource gaps caused by the area of residence began as early as the Japanese occupation. At that time, there was a division of raw and ripe tomatoes through regional boundaries. But after interviewing the Pingpu people, I learned about it. At that time, some ethnic groups were due to factors such as the gap in information flow or the migration of agricultural and pastoral habits... As a result, some ethnic groups were obviously related, but not all of them were indigenous peoples certified by the government.

After the national government came, they had a policy that as long as there were ethnic groups that had been registered as ripe and raw before, they could register as indigenous peoples. But that policy was not informed to every county or city. For example, some Tainan and Kaohsiung ripe fans were not notified, so they did not obtain the status of aborigines.

Interviewee C

Third, difficulties in policy implementation. Cultural policies formulated by the government may encounter difficulties in actual implementation, and are difficult to implement effectively due to regional differences and human resources issues. Take indigenous health policies, for example. According to the Aboriginal Council survey, the average life expectancy of Aboriginal people is shorter than the national average. The main cause is disease, so the government has formulated relevant policies. However, due to differences in environment and living habits, it is difficult to implement policies efficiently. After all, some rural transportation is difficult, and it is not easy for the government to carry out long-term control. Therefore, after a period of time, local residents may not continue to implement the policies issued by the government. So the same is true in terms of cultural policy promotion. It is necessary to understand the living environment and habits of different regional ethnic groups, such as urban indigenous people living in metropolitan areas that lack traditional tribal living environment, so they are exposed to some more fragmentary and incomplete cultural affairs. The indigenous peoples living in mountainous areas have a better understanding of traditional culture, but lack urban innovation and international views.

Communication between the government and the local indigenous people is also very important. With clear communication, we can understand each other's current situation and make a more correct choice, after all, the local indigenous people have a better understanding of their own culture and living habits and even taboos, and the government can give appropriate after understanding, whether it is financial or professional knowledge.

#### The demographic problem faced in cultural promotion

Manpower is also an important part of cultural inheritance and promotion. The first is the loss of elders and cultural specialists, who are often the main bearers of cultural knowledge in Indigenous communities, but who may lose over time. This can lead to the loss of important cultural knowledge and skills.

I think the difficulty is that the old people disappear too quickly, because you ask if there are some people they have seen or heard, but the historical and cultural data is difficult to pass down completely. In ancient times, there were no cameras or recordings, so as long as the elders did not learn or contact at that time, they could not be passed on. And then we don't have the data to refer to in our modern era, and there's no direct way to educate future generations who have begun to break the line. We can only chase now, find a way to race against time. Keep as much as you can.

#### Interviewee C

In the absence of cultural educators, it is crucial to train a new generation of cultural educators to ensure the inheritance of culture. However, due to the previous lack of proper training and support, there was a shortage of talent.

As a result of modernization and urbanization, some indigenous young people may lose interest in traditional culture. They may leave the traditional community, leading to the interruption of cultural inheritance, which is necessary for young groups to better inherit culture.

And the inadequacy of the education system may not provide enough cultural education to help students understand and cherish their own culture. This leads to a loss of cultural knowledge. Therefore, in order to better transmit culture, resources are needed to provide funds and support through governmental and non-governmental organizations to promote cultural education, training and activities, and to ensure that sufficient human resources are involved in the transmission work. Elders and cultural experts are also encouraged to participate in education and transmission, and to retain this cultural knowledge as much as possible. Their knowledge and experience are invaluable to the new generation. Improve education systems, including school and community education, to better include indigenous cultures and traditional knowledge. Community members are encouraged to participate in cultural activities, create opportunities for cultural inheritance, and promote the participation of young people. In addition, to raise awareness of the importance of culture, stimulate people's interest in culture, and encourage the younger generation to participate in cultural inheritance.

#### Views on controversial issues related to indigenous groups

There have always been unquenchable voices of doubt about this system. Some people think that they are also human beings, so why can aborigines get admission to schools through extra points? They have doubts and confusion about the fairness of this policy, and do not support urban aborigines to also enjoy this preferential treatment system.

The Aboriginal bonus point system was originally designed to cope with the social and cultural differences in Taiwan in the early days. At that time, the Aboriginal people were relatively backward in terms of social status and economic ability, and had lower educational levels. It was really difficult for them to compete with the Han people living in urban areas. Compared with each other.

#### Interviewee A

What is the Aboriginal bonus points system and what are the conditions for bonus points? For colleges and universities, it can currently be divided into two types, "additional points" and "guaranteed places." "Additional points" refer to the distribution of admissions to those who take the exam based on their calculated test subject scores, plus the original total score. Calculate tenths. However, for those who have obtained certificates of indigenous culture and language proficiency, 35% of the original total score will be added to the calculation. The "guaranteed quota" means that each tertiary institution will have to add an additional 2% of quotas to aborigines, and it will not account for the enrollment quota of each school originally approved by the education authorities at all levels. Therefore, if Aboriginal students enroll in this way, they will be compared and compete with students who are also Aboriginal students, and it will not have any impact on ordinary students such as reduction of quotas.

The controversy over the Aboriginal bonus system is not just a quota, plus quota does not seem to be directly related to ordinary students, but it has a slight impact on resources. If the educational resources originally enjoyed by 50 students are shared by two more special students, the school will not change the allocation of resources, so it cannot be said that there is no impact at all. Then there is the issue of fairness, the policy was originally to improve the problem of the vulnerability of the original people's livelihood, but in fact, more and more indigenous students have lived in the city since childhood, and the conditions are no less than ordinary students, but because of the indigenous blood, the right to get extra points, so that the indigenous people's livelihood who really need help may lose the opportunity because of this, which is contrary to the original intention of the policy. The intentions of this policy are good, but as mentioned earlier, this policy is still subject to many doubts. The government instituted this policy to heal the historical pain inflicted on the Han people, but the imperfect planning reinforced the stereotype. Many students will subconsciously think that they rely on extra points when they see the aborigines in the class. No matter how hard indigenous students try, it is difficult to easily change the mentality of discrimination. Urban aborigines may be more resource-intensive and perfect, and they can be tutored if they need tutoring, and schools also arrange a variety of tests and exams. However, indigenous children who grow up in metropolitan areas lack the learning environment of the ethnic language, lack the experience of actually participating in traditional culture, and learn the traditional culture of their own ethnic group is also quite hard.

In addition, according to the statistics office's indigenous education profile, it can be found that the rate of withdrawal or withdrawal of indigenous students in most schools is generally higher than that of ordinary students. Taking the 107 academic year as an example, the suspension rate and dropout rate of colleges and universities were 8.6% and 12.8% respectively, and the top three reasons for suspension were "work demand" accounting for 24.6%, "incompatible interests" 13.8% and "economic hardship" 9.2%, it can be seen that after the aboriginal students enroll, there are great problems in their adaptability, in addition to possible discrimination, in terms of learning conditions, due to the relationship of extra points to attend schools that are not comparable to their abilities, resulting in long-term inability to keep up with the progress. After that, they had to end up suspended and dropped out of school, which may have deepened the negative image of ordinary students on the original people's livelihood.

Perhaps the government's bonus system should also take into account the family environment, and cannot simply add points to indigenous people. In this way, we can help the really vulnerable groups.

The living environment of indigenous peoples has improved a lot, and whether excessive protection measures will inhibit the free development of indigenous people's socioeconomic status? After all, sound industries do not need these protections from the government, but should be allowed to compete freely. In the same way, the number of employment security quotas, the bonus point system, and the social welfare subsidy measures all need to be discussed again, that is, improved.

Interviewee A

#### Impact of Aboriginal land use restrictions

Aboriginal lands carry many Aboriginal cultural memories. Land is not only a substantive issue for indigenous people, but also a comprehensive challenge involving culture, identity and inheritance. To solve this problem, we need to comprehensively consider the needs of indigenous communities and find a balance point to ensure that land protection and development do not harm the cultural rights and interests of indigenous peoples. After all, differences in land will affect living habits and thus traditional cultural sacrifices and food culture, etc...

Aboriginal groups are often inseparable from their land, and traditional activities such as hunting, gathering, and farming are all associated with specific geographical environments. When land is restricted, altered or lost, Aboriginal people may be forced to abandon their traditional way of life and adapt to modern society, which may result in the loss of cultural values and skills.

Many Aboriginal communities have great respect for nature and have places of historical and cultural value on their lands, such as sacred mountains and rivers, traditional settlements, etc. Land restrictions may put these cultural assets at risk, and the loss of cultural

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connections to these places may have a negative impact on the identity of Aboriginal communities.

Aboriginal traditional rituals and sacrifices are often associated with specific places and lands. Land restrictions may make these rituals difficult to perform, as the lack of free access to or use of specific sacred sites may diminish the meaning and heritage of the ritual.

Land restrictions may also lead to the migration and dispersion of Aboriginal communities, which may disrupt traditional community structures and ethnic relations. Such changes may affect the inheritance of culture, which usually occurs within communities. This is why some indigenous people have recently come out to correct their names and discovered the differences between their ethnic group and other ethnic groups. Because they migrated early, it was not until recently that their culture was discovered to be different from other ethnic groups.

However, starting from the Japanese colonial period, Aboriginal reservations began to be restricted and exploited, and boundaries were initially drawn to prevent Aboriginal land from being encroached upon. Later, the economic benefits of the land were realized, and the boundaries of the reservation were continuously lifted and redrawn based on the development of mountainous industries. This approach was also adopted by the National Government and became the prototype of the future land governance.

In order for the country to protect the land of all indigenous peoples, it sounds like protection, but in fact it is just a restriction, which will only make you poorer. Some compensation mechanisms are really not up to par in various aspects.

#### Interviewee B

There are also some cases where tribesmen dare not register land because they cannot pay land taxes. Later, the farmland was resold one after another, and most of it is now owned by Han

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people. In most cases, the traditional territories of indigenous peoples were plundered in the early stages. However, due to a lack of understanding of the laws and systems, the seriousness of the problem was only realized when the traditional territories were about to be developed by developers. But often nothing can be done.

For example, the vast farmland in Ruisui was originally the traditional farming area of the Amis people. Because it is adjacent to the hot spring area and many hot spring hotels have been built on private land, the tribe has no right to negotiate or participate in the development of the traditional area.

The Hualien County Government even plans to develop a special area of Ruisui Hot Spring covering an area of more than 600 hectares, which will change the face of traditional tribal areas and have a huge impact on local aboriginal culture. Once the hot spring designated area plan is promoted, a large number of hotels will be built, which will cause water shortages and endanger survival. The water capacity used by B&B operators every day alone has exceeded imagination. If large-scale development projects continue, local residents may complain endlessly.

There are still governance and negotiation disputes over public and private land in traditional areas. Even if it is announced as a traditional area, it may still not be taken seriously. Like the Thao people in Sun Moon Lake, their land has been expropriated for a long time and they are facing pressure from development. Therefore, the tribe has been investigating traditional areas for many years, hoping to formally demarcate them.

Aboriginal reservations are land that has been exploited in layers, so you won't be able to develop that land and it will restrict you too much. Then the Land Planning Act was implemented last year and is still being drafted. To implement this on April 30, 114, I strongly advocated that indigenous peoples must have autonomy, so we took the lead in making Taiwan's first land planning law. I was in charge of the use of indigenous land, so they were formulating it at the beginning. At that time, we also hope that even if there is no free wealth and the government wants to protect us, it can at least make the use of our land convenient and not over-exploit it.

#### Interviewee B

As time goes by, cultural preservation becomes increasingly difficult. As more elders who have personally experienced and understood these indigenous traditional cultures leave, it will be more difficult to pass on and preserve these cultures. While there are still elders who understand the culture, they are trying to preserve and record the culture and skills as much as possible, and train more tribesmen to promote and teach the younger generation. And let more ordinary Han people learn to understand and respect aboriginal culture. Less stereotypes and discrimination, and more respect and tolerance are what Taiwanese culture needs at present.

#### Conclusion

Taiwan's aboriginal people face many difficulties in the protection and inheritance of culture. Whether it is traditional lifestyle, language, dance or traditional rituals, they are all affected by modernization and globalization, which brings various challenges to the maintenance and development of indigenous culture.

Modern technology and social changes have caused the younger generation of aborigines to become increasingly disconnected from traditional culture. Many young people pursue modern education and employment opportunities, which results in them devoting less time to learning and practicing traditional skills and knowledge. This phenomenon puts the inheritance of Aboriginal culture at risk of interruption and dilution. Therefore, we need to pay more attention to this part. Through some activities, such as sports games, singing competitions, dance competitions, etc., we can make young people interested and have competitive activities to attract them so that they can return to the tribe more often and return to the tribe for a long time. , we can learn more about and experience these traditional cultures, and we can continue these cultural knowledge.

Language is also a core part of cultural inheritance, but currently many indigenous languages are facing the crisis of disappearing. As Chinese is mainly used in modern society, the number of speakers of Aboriginal language is gradually decreasing. Without active language conservation and promotion, these language may be lost in the future. Therefore, the Aboriginal Committee has added many teachers to teach Aboriginal languages in order to better pass on the Aboriginal language. However, the most effective way to learn language is the environment. The most effective way is through more communication in the Aboriginal language with elders at home and even peers. In addition, the protection of land rights and cultural assets is also an issue that seriously affects cultural protection. Aboriginal traditional lands and resources are often threatened by development and commercial exploitation, which can lead to the destruction of cultural landscapes and the loss of traditional ways of life. Land policy is more difficult than other policies because land is a more substantial thing that can easily involve interests. As a result, policy formulation often faces difficulties and may be hindered by some powerful forces. This is why much of Aboriginal land is currently less valuable. Therefore, more communication between the government and indigenous groups is needed to decide what to do in order to formulate more complete land-related policies. At this stage, we can only try our best to protect the current land resources and assets, and come up with other ways to promote local culture.

In general, the difficulties faced by Taiwan's aboriginal cultural heritage today cover many aspects such as education, language, and land rights. In order to protect and promote indigenous culture, the government, society and the indigenous people themselves need to work together to formulate and implement effective policies and measures to ensure the inheritance and sustainable development of traditional values and knowledge.

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#### 訪談邀請函

敬爱的朋友您好:

我是文藻外語大學國際事務系四技部四年級的學生,目前在進行個人的畢業論文研究。我的研究題目<u>台灣原住民文化所面臨的困境</u>,主要的目的是想了解台灣原住民目前的現況及處境,希望能對於現今的原住民族在了解自身文化及文化傳承和保護上有所幫助,並讓不管是原住民族或漢人甚至是來自不同國家的人民都能因此更加了解及尊重台灣的原住民文化。因您擁有豐富的經驗在促進原住民文化發展,符合本研究之條件,故希望您能提供自身的經驗,協助參與此研究。

本研究採深度訪談法,訪談時間預計半小時至一小時,為了便利資料的整理與分析, 將於訪談過程中進行全程錄音。訪談錄音的內容僅供研究資料分析用,全部保密,若未經 您的許可,決不開放給他人,絕無涉及任何個人隱私與權益問題。本研究希望您是自願性 的參與,故訪談期間您有不告知原因而選擇退出之權利,同時在訪談過程中,如有某些不 願意讓他人知道的地方,或有所顧忌,可以拒絕回答,也可隨時要求中止錄音。基於保護 受訪者的立場,在論文中如有出現您的姓名或您所提到的人名、校名、機關名稱或地名, 一律採匿名處理,以代號表示。若有關研究的任何問題,也歡迎您隨時提供意見,並誠摯 地邀請您參與本研究。 <u>若您了解並同意參與此研究的訪談,請在下方欄</u>

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