

文化產業與部落發展：以卑南族為例

陳文德

中央研究院民族學研究所

臺灣於1994年開始推動「社區總體營造」。這項政策以「文化」為名，將地方的文史工作團體及其本土化論述納入，並且透過各地區的文化特色，形塑認同臺灣的共同意識。另一方面，這項政策強調文化與地方產業的結合，「文化產業化、產業文化化」不但成為2000年之後社區總體營造的政策目標，負責層級也從文化建設委員會提升到行政院。

相較於漢人居住的鄉鎮地區強調「地方文化」與「社區」的發展，「族群文化」則是臺灣南島民族發展文化產業時強調的重點。南島民族的菁英甚至認為「社區」是漢人的觀點，「部落」才是他們文化的根源，2000年中期由行政院原住民族委員會推動的「部落永續發展計畫」，更強調「部落」（部落會議）是原住民族政治、經濟與社會文化生活的基本單位。位居臺灣社會、政經邊緣的結構下，南島民族如何面對這些「發展」？文化與產業、文化與觀光的結合對於當地社會文化帶來哪些影響？在「文化」趨向族群化與本質化的過程中，其呈現的文化形式在我們思索社會文化的持續與轉化時，又具有怎樣的意涵？

本文以位處臺灣東部的普悠瑪（南王）與卡地布（知本）兩個卑南族部落為例，描述與比較兩者從一九九〇年代後期迄今發展文化產業的情形。本文認為，兩者之間的異同必須從部落的發展過程與相關的社會文化因素來理解，同時也涉及東臺灣近一、二十年來之作為一個觀光旅遊區域的結構性條件與限制。

Cultural Industry and Tribal Development: A Case Study of the Pinuyumayan (Puyuma), Eastern Taiwan

Wen-te Chen

Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan

Taiwan has experienced a new form of nation-building since the 1990s, under the *Integrated Community-Making Program* launched in 1994 by the Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan. Having celebrating the value, variety, and strength of local cultures and their products, the Program attempted to construct and re-define the distinctive features of Taiwanese society that were obscured by the framework of the Chinese culture imposed by the KMT regime from the late 1940s.

However, the Program also had its economic purpose. Since the early 1970s, due to the development of industrialization in Taiwan, a lot of young people gradually migrated to the urban areas and left their elders and children behind. As a result, the rural area in Taiwan was at the risk of “social disorganization.” In order to solve the economic and social problems simultaneously, the Program encouraged each community to rebuild a new sense of community and construct its local distinctiveness through its local products, like crops, crafts and scenic views, to attract the tourists.

Nevertheless, the situations were different in the cases of the indigenous peoples on the island. In contrast to their Han-Chinese counterparts, “culture,” or “ethnic culture,” became the main concern for their developments. Having compared the similarities and differences between two cases of the Pinuyumayan people (officially “the Puyuma”) in Eastern Taiwan, I argue that the development of the cultural industry and the formation of the ethnic culture in particular sense should seriously take their respective socio-cultural and local contexts into account. Furthermore, taken together, I suggest that these two case studies exemplify the structural predicaments and unequal development within eastern Taiwan, in which tourist industry is proposed as the main factor to promote the regional development nowadays.

Keywords: Pinuyumayan (Puyuma), eastern Taiwan, cultural form, cultural industry, ethnicity, region