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110-2 碩士班論文發表會 會議手冊  
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## 研討會發表規則 Presentation guidelines

為使發表會順利進行，敬請參加者注意下列事項：

1. 請發表人在會議前提供口頭報告檔案(以 PPT 或 PDF 檔為限)，以便會務人員事先存檔電腦設備中。

Please prepare your presentation as a single file (in a form of PPT or PDF) to the conference on a USB media storage device or save a copy on a web-accessible server or email the file to yourself. Conference organisers will load all presentations onto conference computers.

2. 為使研討會發表順利進行，請發表人遵守主持人場控。

A session host will moderate the session by introducing each presenter and ensure presenters are on track. Please follow the session host's direction.

3. 每篇論文發表時間以十五分鐘為限，評論時間五分鐘。發言時間結束前兩分鐘響鈴一聲提醒；時間到響鈴兩聲，請停止發言。

When a bell rings at the first time, that means two minutes left for presenting or commenting. Once the bell rings twice please stop presenting or commenting.

4. 每篇論文發表另開放八分鐘由與會者提問，每次提問時間上限為一分鐘。主持人得視現場討論狀況調整該場次發表發表時間。

The time allocated for each oral presentation is 15 minutes, with a further five minutes for reviewer's comments and presenter's responses. There are further eight minutes allowed for general Q&A. Every question is limited to one minute. The session host will adjust the sessional schedule depending on audience participation.

5. 發表人擁有研討會論文之著作權；若欲引用請務必徵求發表人同意。

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## 論文發表會議程 Agenda

13:00-14:00 專題演講 Keynote		講師 Lecturer：葉韻翠	
14:10-14:20 規則說明 Introduction of Rules and Regulations		主持人 Moderator：吳庭瑋	
發表人 Author	時間 Time	發表題目 Title	評論人 Discussants
謝建毅	14:20-14:50	新興宗教團體運用社群媒體的傳播策略	林淑如
吳庭瑋	14:50-15:20	直轄市成立後的重複街道名整併：新北市的個案研究	應尚樺
吳雅玲	15:20-15:50	博物館入校園的活動設計與教具研發—以宜蘭史前文化為例	溫孟威 館長
Desmond Melerski Tige	15:50-16:20	Red Envelope: Functions of Customary Gifts in Taiwan and the Solomon Islands	林潤華 老師
黃韻臻	16:20-16:50	國中彈性課程—以不義遺址實踐人權教育	劉莒安
16:50-17:00 閉幕 Closing Ceremony			

論文摘要與全文

**Abstracts and full papers**

## 新興宗教團體運用社群媒體的傳播策略

謝建毅

### 摘要

自十六世紀文藝復興運動，西方社會朝向理性發展，宗教出現世俗化、除魅化現象，長久以來宗教被認為將會逐漸式微，而全世界歷經兩次大戰後，走向全球化、現代化及自由化的資本社會。六零年代出現大量的傳統宗教復興及新興宗教崛起，需要符合現代社會背景與思維的宗教論述，宗教傳播才引起學術界重視成為近代宗教研究重要探討對象。二十一世紀是數位科技時代，智慧型手機、網際網路及社群媒體的普及，改變人們的日常生活與社會互動模式，隨著科技發展宗教傳播邁入數位轉型。傳統制度性宗教因其神聖性，往往無法即時回應社會大眾的宗教需求，而入世性格強烈的新興宗教具有高度的自由市場特質，採用先進的數位傳播技術進入大眾視野，快速即時回應群眾需求。社群媒體在線上虛擬空間達成即時人際互動，同時與線下現實世界同步連結虛實整合，是現代新興宗教發展主要的傳播途徑。美國數位宗教研究學者 Heidi Campbell 結合網絡個人主義提出「網絡宗教」(networked religion) 的論點，數位時代的宗教特性主要有：(一) 網絡社群的出現、(二) 匯聚的宗教實踐、(三) 多層次的真實、(四) 自我認同的展演、(五) 轉變中的權威。

本研究以新興宗教團體作為研究對象，採用 Heidi Campbell 論點分析信徒入信因素、社群媒體的使用形式，以及對團體與信徒的影響。研究前期採用文獻分析法，收集相關文獻進行分析統整形成問題意識，以內容分析法對其在社群媒體上使用的形式與內容進行紀錄觀察，同時針對使用者採取深度訪談法蒐集訪談內容，將取得資料作分析並歸納整理，探討新興宗教團體運用社群媒體的傳播策略，試圖勾勒出未來宗教、網路宗教和虛擬宗教的概略性輪廓。

關鍵字：新興宗教、宗教傳播、社群媒體

# 第一章 緒論

## 第一節 研究動機

上個世紀八零年代出現商業用途的網路科技應用技術，不僅強化國際間交流也擴大全球化局勢，帶動資本主義與消費文化在自由市場的擴張。網路科技經過數十年的發展來到現代，成就了二十一世紀的數位科技時代，臺灣憑藉穩健的經濟基礎、強大半導體實力及豐厚科技研究，順勢走到全球數位科技發展的最前端。綜觀臺灣市面上琳瑯滿目的 3C 數位產品，隨處可見智慧型手機人手一機的景象，使用行動上網的高普及率，顯見社會大眾對於數位科技的高度接受。網路虛擬空間建構出擬社會化的網路社群和電子媒體，提供快速高效、即時便利的資訊生活，並且融入社會大眾的日常生活當中，無形中造成社會流動和政經結構極大的變動性，同時產生社會大眾心理上的不確定性。

2019 年底中國出現嚴重特殊傳染性肺炎稱為「新型冠狀病毒」(COVID-19)，全球疫情嚴峻影響國際關係，也衝擊臺灣政經發展與民生需求，形成社會巨大壓力及大眾心理上的無形負擔，因此不少人面向宗教尋求心靈上的慰藉。2020 年初疫情危機在全球蔓延開來，世界各國隨著疫情變化研擬出各種防疫政策，臺灣防疫政策除了注重個人衛生習慣、減少出入公共場所、外出時全程佩戴口罩並配合實聯制，減少民眾因群聚發生感染問題，政策實施後疫情趨於穩定並獲得國際社會的關注與讚揚。2021 年因政策鬆綁導致疫情失控，政府發布第三級疫情警戒且經由新聞媒體報導，舉凡所有中大型活動、實體會議、宗教集會<sup>1</sup>等皆暫緩辦理。張家麟(2021)針對第三級警戒期間宗教管制提出觀察，宗教界確實都遵守政府的管制政策，雖然對宗教相關產業都有劇烈影響，不過部分反應迅速的宗教領袖與執事，透過數位科技的幫助，積極採取數位轉型的行動，以因應嚴峻疫情與政府政策。換言之，宗教活動可以藉由數位科技，在網際網路、社群媒體和影音平台上運作，避免群眾聚集的染疫風險，同時滿足信眾的宗教需求(沈明昌,2021)。

宗教是社會組成重要的一部分，傳統制度性宗教因具有神聖性的組織、制度、教義和儀式，往往無法即時回應社會大眾的世俗性需求。反觀，入世性格強烈的新興宗教，擷取各家宗教的神聖性元素和神祕經驗，甚至將科學理論與超驗性另類知識融會貫通，加上本身具有高度的自由市場特質，使得新興宗教能運用最先進的數位傳播技術進入大眾視野，能夠快速即時的回應社會大眾的宗教需求(瞿海源,2002)。社群媒體不僅能夠在虛擬的線上達成即時性的人際關係互動，同時具有與線下的現實世界同步整合的作用。本研究以探討新興宗教團體與社群媒體相互嵌合的可能性與實務上的策略運用，企圖勾勒出未來宗教、網路宗教和虛擬宗教的概略性輪廓，作為研究旨趣期盼能夠提供學術界和將來相關領域研究者些許的貢獻。

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<sup>1</sup> 全國宗教祭祀場所防疫措施：一、全面停止進香團與遶境相關活動。二、停止辦理寺院、宮廟、教堂(會)及其他類似場所之禮拜、祈福、拜神及其他宗教集會活動。三、宗教場所應停止開放民眾進入。四、祭祀場所之活動應落實實聯制與社交距離並加強清消。  
衛生福利部公告「嚴重特殊傳染性肺炎(COVID-19)第三級疫情警戒標準及防疫措施裁罰規定」(110.05.26 修正)。

## 第二節 研究問題

二十一世紀數位科技時代，由科技所建構的網路世界無遠弗屆，網路的使用已經融入現代人的日常生活當中，科技發展帶動網際網路和社群媒體的繁榮興盛，講求效率的現代人在透過網路獲取更多資訊量的同時，身、心、靈皆接受到許多來自社會的外部環境影響及自我內在的壓力，因而產生面對生命的迷茫與挫折，促使社會大眾面向宗教尋求信仰的慰藉。根據中華民國內政部「全國宗教資訊網-各宗教教務概況」統計資料顯示，2020 年全國寺廟教(會)堂總數 15,216 座，相較 2001 年總數 12,970 座，臺灣各宗教的寺廟教(會)堂總數，在近二十年的發展中有明顯增加的趨勢。

2020 年「臺灣網路報告」指出全國 12 歲以上的民眾上網率為 83%，同時有使用手機上網的比例高達 82.9%，其次為桌上型電腦 31.5%與筆記型電腦 29.5%。在網路服務項目使用率最高的前五項分別為即時通訊軟體 95.6%、網路新聞 80.3%、社群論壇 80.1%、影音/直播 77%、電郵/搜尋 70.7%。參與過網路購物的民眾有 59.6%，消費金額較 2019 年增加 556 元，行動支付的使用率來到歷年來最高為 25.8%，亞洲地區社群媒體的使用率臺灣排名第一，平均每日使用兩小時。針對 COVID-19 疫情對網路生活的影響，報告分析認為許多民眾的觀念改變，新型態工作與生活方式的接受程度提高，例如透過視訊會議取代實體會議，使用遠端操控取代實體操控等，市場隨著需求提升不斷強化網路業務虛擬化的能力，加速產業的數位化轉型。

宗教組織在網際網路的發展過程中陸續完成數位化轉型，同時成為學術研究的探討對象，包括傳統的佛教、基督教、民間信仰與道教，以及 1980 年代初期掀起的新時代運動（陳家倫，2006）。相關研究皆認為傳統媒體和大眾傳播，對於現代的宗教傳播效率有限，需要使用符合現代人閱聽習慣的網際網路與社群媒體做為傳播渠道，數位化的宗教傳播是現在和未來主要的形式與趨勢。

全球化的網際網路發展對於形塑宗教想像有深刻影響，產生了類似宗教或是具有諷刺意味的宗教組織團體，例如在內政部正式登記成立的「臺灣人文煮意麵團」<sup>2</sup>，認同國外以宗教信仰為核心理念的「麵教」，將其信仰象徵「飛天義大利麵條怪物」作為崇拜對象。深信地外文明存在的外星信仰，就有來自美國的「飛碟會」和法國的「雷爾教會」（瞿海源、陳悅萱，2010）。近年數位科技的飛躍性成長，開發出「元宇宙」架構的虛擬空間，令人有臨場感、具身性及立體化的感知體驗，透過 3D 模擬技術能夠創造具有宗教意象及禱告、禮拜、儀式的「虛擬教會」（林日璇，2022）。因此出現堅信 AI 人工智慧將超越人類，以 AI 為神體的宗教，或是提倡利用虛擬貨幣和區塊鏈技術創造更民主、平權的信仰關係，達到去中心化的宗教理念<sup>3</sup>。

<sup>2</sup> 臺灣人文煮意麵團網站 <https://pastafarianism.taiwanesehumanist.com/>

<sup>3</sup> 數位時代網站，2018 年 6 月 14 日，〈區塊鏈宗教「0xΩ」誕生！所有人都可以變更教義、用智慧合約募款〉。<https://www.bnext.com.tw/article/49518/blockchain-religion-matt-liston>

數位科技構建出相對於真實世界的虛擬空間，猶如現代人能夠同時身處在兩種不同維度且虛實互用的平行時空。瞿海源（1988）早期研究臺灣新興宗教現象時提到，現代傳播工具的多樣性及便利性有利於新興宗教的傳播。林瑋嬪（2018）在數位科技與宗教互動研究中說到，美國數位宗教研究學者 Heidi Campbell 結合網絡個人主義提出「網絡宗教」（networked religion）的論點，數位時代的宗教特性主要有：（一）網絡社群的出現、（二）匯聚的宗教實踐、（三）多層次的真實、（四）自我認同的展演、（五）轉變中的權威。筆者認為社群媒體是新興宗教團體發展至關重要的傳播形式，目前學術界較少出現相關討論，本研究將從 Heidi Campbell 所提出的數位時代的宗教特性作為理論架構，探討新興宗教團體與社群媒體的形成因素及傳播策略，試圖提出以下問題：

- 一、信徒選擇加入新興宗教的個人因素探討。
- 二、新興宗教團體運用社群媒體進行傳播的種類、策略及理由。
- 三、使用社群媒體對新興宗教團體及信徒個人的影響。

### 第三節 研究對象與範圍

「中華天界之舟心靈健康協會」<sup>4</sup>（以下簡稱為天界之舟）成立於花蓮，2014 年向內政部正式立案登記成為公益性質的社會團體。天界之舟創辦人及指導老師為「慈道中」又稱「天雲」，1965 年出生於花蓮，研究大乘佛法 30 餘年，過去從事教育工作，擔任過大專院校的講師及學校行政單位主管，自幼即對生命的起源有深厚的興趣，曾參訪各大宗教及心靈團體，博覽許多宗教典籍，也曾拜訪諸名師及隱士，試圖從各菁英及經典中找出生命的答案。天界之舟以佛教為宗，篤信地藏王菩薩為信仰核心，主要宗旨為「恢復人類潛藏無限的超能力，創造幸福圓滿的人生，達成終極解脫，永遠脫離苦海輪迴」，強調「天人平等、眾生平等」。修行方式以開悟、禱告、念佛為主，參拜神佛或經典研讀是為輔助，建立地藏道場開辦佛學講座，主張修行不礙生活、生活不礙修行，透過 Facebook 和 Youtube 傳達「實用生活禪」的修行法門。

天界之舟不僅是宗教性質的社會團體，成員也組織舞團、劇坊及歌唱的演藝團隊，不時參與社會公益、社區關懷和舉辦成果發表，以文化發揚行善濟世的正面能量。筆者觀察認為，多數協會成員皆能夠熟練使用社群媒體，像是 Youtube、Facebook 與 blog，特別是影音製作的技術與能力，其專業程度與業界人士相當，經常瀏覽社群媒體可以發現協會成員的足跡，並且看見製作精良的影音圖文。綜上所述，天界之舟運用數位科技、網際網路和社群媒體的操作，達到數位化宗教傳播目的是理想的研究對象。研究範圍以協會及成員於 Youtube、Facebook 與 blog 的資訊內容做紀錄觀察，並針對五位成員採取深度訪談法，深入瞭解組織結構、成員背景和社群媒體的使用經驗及影響，並將取得資料作分析歸納後作出研究結論。

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<sup>4</sup> 中華天界之舟心靈健康協會網站 <https://heavenfortress.com/>

#### 第四節 文獻回顧與探討

臺灣自古以來就是一個民族大熔爐，是多重族群文化交相競合的移民社會，兼容不同時代的歷史軌跡，形塑出自由開放的社會風氣，培育出豐富獨特的本土人文風俗，其中「宗教」被視為臺灣社會最具代表性、影響力的文化特色之一。歷史中各階段時期陸續出現不同的種族及族群，帶來不同的信仰文化和宗教勢力，從原住民族群的祖靈信仰到具有古老傳統、組織規模的制度性宗教，以及漢人多神系統的民間信仰，乃至綜攝主義的新興宗教皆立足臺灣放眼世界。各宗教經過長時間的族群對立、勢力衝突與協商和解，才促使今日臺灣呈現出百花齊放、蓬勃發展的宗教圖像，猶如宗教的百貨櫥窗令人目不暇給（李世偉，2002）。宗教學者鄭志明（2005）談及華人的信仰心理與宗教行為特有的「游宗」態度，認為中華文化的歷史兼容並蓄各種不同且多層次的宗教意識，使之成為文化共相，造成現代華人能夠依憑個人的趨同理念與對應行為，游走於不同的宗教團體和場域之中，其分殊的宗教際遇、理念實踐和修行法門，同時成為新興宗教領袖重要的宗教內涵和教義來源。

##### 一、宗教的神聖性與世俗化

宗教是一種原始的社會現象，在歷史洪流中孕育出人類文明，董芳苑（1983）以原始的初民社會與現代社會做比較說明，認為古老的族長制度與巫師集團是政治學的先例，醫療性巫術是醫學的起源，悠久不可考的儀式與舞蹈，成為現代音樂、戲劇與舞蹈的原型，神秘的符咒與圖騰演進成繪畫與文字，不容冒犯的風俗禁忌延伸出法律，觀察日月星辰的占星術就是天文學，奇幻魔性的煉金術卻也煉出了化學，由此可見宗教孕育文明的事實，同時帶有維護文化、傳承歷史的重要功能。

十六世紀西方世界的文藝復興運動，開啟理性與人文主義的社會風氣，西方宗教因為無法透過理性驗證及科學解釋其存在的合理性，社會大眾開始趨向理性思考，對宗教產生的質疑，引發社會大眾對於宗教信仰產生世俗化（secularization）及除魅化（disenchantment）現象，近三百年來，有許多的社會學者認為宗教將會逐漸式微，然而上世紀歷經兩次世界大戰，許多國家遵循資本主義的發展路線，逐步走向全球化、工業化、現代化、都市化及商業化的社會型態，不過從六零年代開始，全世界出現大量的傳統宗教復興現象，包括新興宗教也躬逢其盛（趙星光，2004）。

董芳苑（1983）認為宗教幫助人類解釋關於人生與死亡種種的終極問題，唯有透過宗教特有的信仰語言才能夠闡明非科學性、非物質化的神秘經驗，協助人們尋求更高層次的精神價值與人生意義。物質文明的進步與先進科技的掌握，使得人類對於未來充滿自信及美好想像，在面對屬於人文精神的宗教確表現的漠不關心或是消極態度，甚至否定神靈世界的存在，雖然物質文明為人類帶來許多的便利好處，若是過於忽略了人文精神價值，將會激發極端的世俗化反動，人們將再次回到宗教的神秘經驗成為新興宗教的群眾基礎。筆者則認為西方自十六世紀開始出現世俗化現象，經過長

時間的歷史動盪及劇烈的全球局勢變化，進入現代或稱為後世俗化時代，日新月異的科技技術不僅助益宗教傳播的可及性，同時可能推動宗教出現復魅化的現象。

## 二、臺灣的宗教傳播發展

最早在臺灣這塊土地上生活的人，是世代久居於此的原住民族群，直到十六世紀葡萄牙人航經此地發現這塊美麗的島嶼，稱之為「Ilha Formosa」是「美麗島嶼」的意思。1624年荷蘭東印度公司佔領臺灣帶來傳教士，1627年第一任的基督教牧師抵達臺灣，最初布教於新港社即今日臺南市，為了克服傳教上的語言障礙，荷蘭人用羅馬拼音文字為新港人創造一套「新港語」，教導原住民使用拉丁字母書寫自己的語言，荷蘭牧師則使用新港語翻譯聖經與宗教教材（周婉窈，2016）。荷蘭人雖然統治臺灣不到四十年的時間，卻開啟臺灣宗教傳播起始的里程碑。

宗教需要利用各種不同形式的媒介進行信仰的傳播和擴散，沈孟湄（2013）談到臺灣宗教傳播發展在大眾傳播還未興起前，宗教傳播主要依靠人際傳播及經文典籍的印刷品或手抄本，二十世紀中期以後，科技進步提升大眾傳播的應用，宗教界意識到大眾傳播展現的傳播力，比傳統方式更具影響力，逐漸捨棄傳統的傳播方式，運用新科技如報紙、雜誌、廣播、電視和衛星頻道來進行布教。臺灣在1987年解嚴後透過立法與修法，賦予宗教組織團體結社的自由，1988年解除報禁，1993年陸續開放廣電媒體經營執照和頻道，宗教團體紛紛加入大眾傳播的經營，頓時掀起一陣宗教媒體風潮。繼大眾傳播之後，1970年代網際網路崛起，一開始是作為區域學術與軍事網路傳輸用途，1990年代網際網路應用技術的日新月異，以因應全球化市場的商務發展，網際網路不在受限於傳統概念的國際邊境或界線，介入世界各國的公眾領域和產業經濟，逐漸形成統一串聯世界的整體性網絡（楊哲男、許瑞明，2003）。

## 二、雲端上新興的宗教、社群與媒體

網際網路的初期發展是第一代網路 Web 1.0 網站形式，網際網路的基礎是建立在不受現實世界時空因素影響的虛擬空間，網站管理者能夠在虛擬空間中建置、規劃、佈局和設計所需要的圖文影音內容，網站使用者以網頁瀏覽的方式觀看內容，當宗教組織做為網站管理者時，可以主動在網站上發布宗教介紹、最新消息或文章內容，然而 Web 1.0 的架構是屬於資訊單向性的傳播，與第二代網路 Web 2.0 相比，網站使用者是被動且無法與管理者之間達成即時性的雙向互動，雙方必須依靠電子郵件（e-mail）進行溝通。二十一世紀初，網路技術大幅提升來到第二代網路 Web 2.0，同時掀起社群媒體、影音網站和即時通訊軟體的數位科技浪潮。Web 2.0 特色在於所有使用者皆視為平等、平權，使用者同時也是內容生產者，彼此能夠互相連結以單點或多點的即時互動，共同協作生產數位內容。傳播學者蔡珮（羅曉南、余陽洲主編，2009）談到數位傳播科技是一種「複合媒介」（hybrid media），具備雙向互動、多頻道、異步性、分眾化、個人化、社群化、媒介界線模糊等特性，不同的媒體之間還能夠相互混合，使得媒體形式越趨複雜。

二十世紀媒體理論大師 Marshall McLuhan (鄭明萱譯, 2015) 認為沒有任何媒體可以獨存, 只有不斷與其他媒體交互作用, 媒體才具有存在的價值, 而「媒體是人的延伸」, 科技也是人類生理與神經系統的延伸, 人類與媒體互動後改變了感官知覺, 同時也會改變思想與價值判斷。人類文化學者 Jamer Hunt (劉盈成譯, 2020) 則認為數位科技對現實世界人類的思想和認知有絕對性影響, 科技環境根本上改變人類日常經驗的知覺線索, 虛擬的網路世界與現實世界產生尺度、規模不對稱的錯覺, 人類開始脫離對物質的感知, 現實經驗遭受變形破壞, 人類將會開始遠離真實的自我。

丁仁傑 (2014) 觀察新興宗教的發展, 若把宗教當作是實質理性, 而科技是種形式理性, 可以觀察到兩者之間的相容性與不相容性, 當科技塑造出日益空洞的世界, 人類則愈缺乏實質理性, 反而可能促成某種宗教復興的態勢, 現代性與世俗化將會創造出更強烈的意義追求和新的宗教形式。疫情時代下, 張家麟 (2021) 從西方史料中分析, 過去科學不發達的年代, 統治階級面對瘟疫往往束手無策, 反而是宗教家懂得思考如何去面對病毒, 視其為上天的考驗, 給予即時回應滿足社會大眾對宗教的需求, 開導信徒的心態共持修行化解危機, 尤其在具有克里斯瑪魅力及特質的宗教領袖帶領下, 取得倖存人民的認同, 使其宗教發展植根於社會。

新興宗教能夠挪用制度性宗教的神聖性元素, 再透過數位科技重新建構、再現新的宗教文化、意義及內涵。疫情時代下, 社會所面臨到的種種巨大壓力已不堪負荷, 致使社會大眾的積極尋求另類的宗教解方, 而新興宗教具有自我調整的能動性, 面對社會大眾的宗教需求能夠快速反應與即時溝通, 建立符合社會價值的形象, 往往能夠博取社會大眾的良好觀感, 意味著新興宗教可以是屬於個人的、大眾的、共有的, 其強大的包容性將有利於新興宗教的壯大興盛。

#### 四、社群媒體重塑新興宗教的現代性

1987 年臺灣解嚴帶動新興宗教的興起, 董芳苑是臺灣最早開始進行新興宗教研究的學者, 從西方角度歸納出新興宗教形成的六項因素分別為: (一) 社會危機的影響、(二) 民族意識的激發、(三) 現世安逸的嚮往、(四) 原有宗教的反動、(五) 來世極樂的期望、(六) 宗教天才的發明 (丁仁傑, 2014)。瞿海源 (2002) 則從本土宗教環境中探討新興宗教形成原因, 研究認為政府解嚴後社會結構產生巨大變化, 開放宗教團體申請的數量激增, 而經濟市場自由化形成宗教商品化現象, 新興宗教挪用傳統宗教的神聖性元素, 重塑新的教義、儀式和靈性信仰, 同時科學的發展與普及推動神秘經驗的研究, 所形成的另類知識也朝向世俗化發展, 因而強化個人對新興宗教的接受度, 還有社會普遍家庭人口減少的現象, 反而讓新興宗教發展出家庭式的個人關懷。研究發現歸納為七點分別為: (一) 全區域、(二) 悸動性、(三) 靈驗性、(四) 傳播性、(五) 信徒取向、(六) 入世性、(七) 再創性與復振性。

齊偉先 (2015、2018) 在民間信仰場域中的美學實踐與社群媒體研究中發現, 當代

宗教場域極富現代性，形成高度依賴人際關係的品味社群，而網際網路是開放的社會系統，社群媒體的網路機制不只是媒介，也是建構新形態宗教的基礎，反映出現代個體化特質如靈性追尋、社群共在感等，並且強化去信仰脈絡與去地域性的組織化發展，同時提供宗教活動中個人身體技藝的展演舞台。社群媒體具有個人與社會連結及多元形式自我展現的功能，與「劇場理論」中的「自我展演」概念相同（林慧婷，2021）。

林瑋嬪（2018）談及數位媒體是當代宗教研究中重要的現象，1990年代中期就開始出現相關研究，例如線上宗教（online religion）、賽博宗教（cyber religion）、數位宗教（digital religion）或宗教 2.0（religion 2.0），用以描述新興的網路宗教現象。特別是美國數位宗教研究學者 Heidi Campbell 結合網絡個人主義提出「網絡宗教」（networked religion）的論點，Campbell 認為數位時代的宗教特性主要有：（一）網絡社群的出現、（二）匯聚的宗教實踐、（三）多層次的真實、（四）自我認同的展演、（五）轉變中的權威。本研究將從 Heidi Campbell 所提出的數位時代的宗教特性作為理論架構，探討新興宗教團體與社群媒體的形成因素及傳播策略。

## 第五節 研究方法

### 一、文獻分析法

文獻分析法主要是透過蒐集相關的文獻資料，全面且精準的掌握相關研究領域及問題，除了分析文獻內容並統整相關文獻的學術傳播過程。文獻資料來源有專書著作、學術期刊、博碩士論文、政府公開報告、工商產業研究、文件記錄資料庫、企業組織資料、報章新聞等。文獻分析步驟為：閱覽與整理（Reading and Organizing）、描述（Description）、分類（Classifying）及詮釋（Interpretation）（朱柔若譯，2000）。本研究透過蒐集宗教傳播、新興宗教、網際網路和社群媒體的相關文獻及次級資料，深入了解相關研究領域的發展、理論和研究方法加以歸納整理。

### 二、內容分析法

內容分析法是一種對於傳播媒介的訊息作客觀而有系統的量化，描述溝通內容及研究分析傳播內容的主要研究方法，側重在解釋特定時間與現象的狀態，以及期間內該現象的發展情形。例如以報章雜誌、書籍、信札、日記、自傳、小說、歌詞、筆記、備忘錄或電視節目、廣播內容等資料內容，做出客觀的系統性分析，可用來對照文獻與當代資料中的相關事實（陳雅文，1995）<sup>5</sup>。本研究將紀錄觀察「中華天界之舟心靈健康協會」於網站和社群媒體中所呈現的資訊內容，以及協會成員在社群媒體上所發布的數位文本與圖像影音，並將紀錄觀察到的資料加以分析整理。

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<sup>5</sup> 國家教育研究院網站-雙語詞彙、學術名辭暨詞書資訊網 <http://terms.naer.edu.tw/>

### 三、深度訪談法

深度訪談法是社會學質性研究中最常使用的方法之一，也是台灣社會一般蒐集資料的方法。從記者採訪、文史工作者的口述歷史到社會學研究，都常以訪談的方式來了解社會上的各種經驗與意義。研究者針對訪問主題需要深入紮實的了解研究脈絡，以利於處理多重複雜甚至衝突的談話，並且擅於追加深度的提問，同時注意各種情境、意義與歷史的特定細節，才可能達到某種深度訪談的意義價值（吳嘉苓，2012；瞿海源、畢恆達、劉長萱、楊國樞主編）。本研究在開始訪談工作前，就相關文獻內容進行深入研究，且對訪問的研究對象有一定程度的了解之後，歸納整理及擬定訪談大綱的題目。以「中華天界之舟心靈健康協會」成員為主要訪問對象，徵詢有意願接受訪談且熟悉社群媒體操作的五位協會成員進行訪談，訪談結束後就訪談內容作紀錄、謄寫與分析。

### 第六節 研究限制

本研究對象為新興宗教團體及其成員，研究目的在探討新興宗教團體運用社群媒體的傳播策略及其相關內容，於研究過程中可能的限制如下：

- 一、研究對象是單一的新興宗教團體，無其他類似團體作為比較對象，效度略顯不足。
- 二、研究所選取的訪談對象較少，因此訪談內容的分析可能較為侷限。
- 三、研究者本身並非組織成員，僅能就相關文獻、次級資料及訪談內容作為分析研究的基礎，分析整理過程中恐會受到研究者的主觀影響。

### 第七節 預期結果

- 一、新興宗教團體在社群媒體中形成宗教性的社群，同時達到中心化效果。
- 二、網際網路成為新興宗教知識傳播與信仰實踐的數位場域。
- 三、社群媒體中的社會互動，將使新興宗教的價值、概念與經驗，更符合大眾的想像。
- 四、社群媒體提供不同的方式，幫助新興宗教團體成員呈現自我認同的展演。
- 五、新興宗教透過社群媒體形塑出不同於現實社會的權力基礎及階層組織。

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## 直轄市成立後的重複街道名整併： 新北市的個案研究

吳庭瑋

### 摘要

道路在我們日常生活中扮演密不可分的角色，其背後的名稱更是值得討論的要點。為了讓用路人可以清楚熟悉地方的位置，許多國家會在道路賦予名稱以利言語上的溝通與記憶，然而要以什麼來命名也是一門學問，舉凡動植物、歷史人物、意識形態、政治思想等等都是常見的名稱。因此道路名稱不僅可以用來指示方位，更是展現出地表上人們對該空間的想像與期許。

新北市因人口達到法規標準，於 2010 年底由臺北縣升格成立，在一連串的行政區的變更後，其下轄的道路卻面臨重複的窘境，市民表達上容易有誤解的情況，為此新北市政府便著手進行街道的整併作業。至於要以什麼來命名、更名的方式如何執行以及其對市民的影響為何是本文討論的目的。

**關鍵字：**新北市、街道名、命名、地名研究

## 一、研究動機

地名顧名思義就是一地的名稱，功能上主要用來辨識地理位置。而一個地名的產生往往背後蘊含豐富的人地關係，不論是自然、人文等等，都可以藉由地名研究出許多地方的過往記憶，為地方及其居住於此的人們找回屬於他們特有的歷史故事。在長久發展下，地名也並非一成不變，不同統治者可能為了彰顯其政治權力，展現在地名的命名權上，進而產生出嶄新的名稱或將其消失於歷史的塵埃。而近年來臺灣學術界也有越來越多的學者開始著手研究地名由來以及其帶給人類的意義，一一揭開這些地名背後所隱藏的神秘面紗。

在研究各區域的地名之前，對於該地區的背景資料勢必要有所掌握，才能精準地分析出其特殊之處。每個區域在不同背景之下，無論是自然還是人文因素，在相互揉合之下，呈現出多采多姿的文化景觀。而綜觀臺灣的歷史，歷經許多政權的統治，為了統治的需求，在行政區的規劃上經常會出現調整的現象，以因應當時社會的情況。其中，在近年來最大的調整莫過於 2010 年底的直轄市升格案，臺北縣、臺中縣市、臺南縣市、高雄縣市等縣市，採單獨方式或合併升格，使得一夕間臺灣的直轄市從 2 個新增至 5 個，爾後 2014 年底，桃園也升格成直轄市，形成今日耳熟能詳的「六都」。在這波「直轄市熱潮」之下，新竹、彰化等在未來也可能加入直轄市的行列。然而，在升格為直轄市的過程中，除了行政區位階上的轉變，本來鄉、鎮、縣轄市內的道路也因劃為同一直轄市而出現撞名的現象。換句話說，就是在同一直轄市內有著許多名稱一模一樣的路名，導致民眾在表達地址上會有混淆的情況。如今過了十年左右，區內的道路似乎才逐漸開始進行更名或整併，但許多仍維持升格前的型態，導致如前述所說的同一直轄市內出現重複路名的窘境。也就是說，升格只是形式上的改變，內部的道路整頓因眾多因素而進度緩慢。

身為人口最多的新北市同樣也面對這燙手山芋。清代後期開始，臺灣的產業重心逐漸北移，使臺北的地位日顯重要。後來的日本統治時期與戰後國民政府時期，均以臺北作為行政中心，隨著各項經濟蓬勃發展，加上戰後大量外省移民與城鄉移民湧入，周圍位處臺北縣的衛星城市也跟著欣欣向榮，得以讓臺北縣在 2007 年成為準直轄市，2010 年底升格並透過票選以「新北市」之名升格成直轄市。戰後經濟起飛年代帶動了臺灣的都市發展，臺北市因居住成本過高且開發逐漸飽和，使得城鄉移民人口紛紛以鄰近的臺北縣為對象，人口穩居全臺縣市之冠，2019 年 4 月新北市人口更突破 400 萬人。大量的人口所造成的都市發展，也為城市帶來許多街道名，卻因升格後產生「一路多名」或是「一名多路」的混亂現象。在經過一年多市議會質詢後，新北市民政局於 2012 年 6 月擬定了《新北市道路命名及門牌編釘辦法》，至少先避免再度出現重複的街道名稱，其中第四條內容如下：

第四條 大道、路或街之命名，應斟酌下列事項：

- 一、東、西、南、北等方向。
  - 二、各該地區道路之數字序列。
  - 三、易記憶辨認。
  - 四、具有地方特色、地方慣用、民族文化、表揚善良或重要事蹟等具紀念意義之人、事或地名。
  - 五、其他具有創意或共同記憶價值之名稱。
- 前項之命名，不得與本市既有道路重複或同音異字。
- 同一道路以同一直線或弧線為準，其曲折部分得另行命名。
- 道路兩端及分段處，應設置指示牌，並得標示門牌起訖號次。

為了解決這棘手的問題，除了重新制定相關法規，新北市政府開始著手整併市內的街道名，不過，光是在新北市就有 29 個行政區，依據 2011 年《臺灣地區 3+2 碼郵遞區號簿》，市內多達 1950 條道路，其中重複名稱的就有 194 個。諸如常見的中山路、中正路就分別有 18 條、16 條重複，奪下最多重複街道名的冠、亞軍，其它像是忠孝、仁愛、信義、和平等等帶有強烈政治意識形態的街道名也都屬於前段班。這樣的現象令筆者感到好奇的是，究竟新北市政府是如何重新替街道進行命名？這些整併後的街道名稱有何特色？縣市升格已逾十年，究竟現今新北市民對於街道名稱改不改名或要改成什麼名稱抱持什麼想法？那些因素導致重複街道名更名進程緩慢？

## 二、文獻回顧

為了對目前臺灣地名研究領域有所了解，筆者將相關的論文以研究主題分為以下三類進行回顧：1. 區域或特定主題的地名分析、2. 政治權力與地名、3. 地名與空間分布。

### （一）區域或特定主題的地名分析

此類研究學者將一地的地名透過地名緣起的分類方式，說明當地地名的由來、變化與區域特色。

曾瓊慧（2007）以屏東縣內埔鄉為研究範圍，並分成自然（地形、方位、水文、動植物等）和人文（血緣、族群、歷史事件、水利設施、墾殖、經濟、聚落、宗教、建築、殖民、佳字等）兩類，加以統計分析其數量和分布。也以語言的角度去分析命名邏輯，文中提到地名通常由基本字與附加字兩者組成，基本字指地名的基本類型，從中可以看出該地的自然或人文背景，自然方面像是灣、崙、埔、隘、坑、山、角、勢等等；人文方面則有厝、寮、館、村、庄、街、營、店等等。附加字通常是形容基本字，表現其特性，常見的有大、小、上、頂、下、新、舊、

內、外等等。因此地名也能窺看其文化內涵，功能上也是十分多元。

歐又華(2011)以新北市金山區與萬里區為研究範圍，先介紹金山與萬里的聚落形成、自然風貌等等，接著再依照清代、日治、民國時期敘述地名的轉變。金山舊地名「金包里」與萬里的舊地名「萬里加投」皆與平埔族語有關。清代的命名多半以動植物或是自然地形等，看出當時漢人開墾該地區的足跡。日治時期，大正9年(1920)的變革最為明顯，金包里改為日式的「金山」(かなやま)；萬里加投則簡稱為「萬里」，後來日本人帶來的基礎建設，使該地逐漸發展起來，但因為地理的條件，其他發展較少的地區的地名就沒有太大的變化。戰後部分沿用清代與日治時期的地名，後來因為觀光需求，新命名許多美麗的路名吸引遊客，使該地地名呈現多元的風貌。金山與萬里因為自然條件較為封閉，使得自然的地景得以保留下來，但人文的產業發展等相對就比較緩慢。

黃雯娟(2012)透過量化分析北投地區的地名，並將之分成自然環境、拓墾、人文設施、族群相關、產業相關等五大類，解釋北投地區的在歷史發展之下所產生的地名，得出自然相關的地名數量最多，與北投的火山、河流等地形有密切關係。人文則是與硫磺、藍靛、樟腦等產業有關。此外，也有部分地名與當地的平埔族部落、漢人與日本人的開墾有關。文章後段也提到，地名也會因為政權交替、聚落發展等產稱變革，尤其在戰後北投地區的地名除了部分是沿用清代或日治時期，許多皆是新創的地名，筆者認為雖然大多是美言佳詞，但已經失去地名的辨識性，甚至讓全臺灣的地名陷入「普同化」的現象，缺乏其特殊性。

楊心喻(2014)以屏東縣牡丹鄉的地名為主軸，敘說當地的地名分布。先依序從荷蘭時期、清領時期、日治時期到戰後，說明牡丹鄉內地名的變化。然後，再以自然(位置、地形、氣候、水源、動植物等)與人文(聚落、地標)介紹鄉內每個村出現的地名，而透過此分析，同時可以了解排灣族人的傳統生活。

李維仁(2016)以宜蘭市為主題，探討從清領、日治到戰後各個階段的地名演變，同樣可以發現宜蘭市也受到各個時期的政權下展現出的樣貌。清領時期，因為吳沙的開墾讓宜蘭的重要性日漸增加，清廷正式將宜蘭納入版圖後，宜蘭市的道路也因受到中國風水的影響，街道從一字型的發展轉變成十字型。日治時期，日人在命名上可以分成前後兩期，前期則延續清領時期的地名；後期則在町名改正下改為在地或是日式的町名。戰後國民政府來臺，前期以去日化和中國化為核心，許多日式地名相繼改為中國式的地名，雖有零星以在地名稱命名的街道，但主要幹道仍舊以中國式為主。命名權交由地方政府之後，展現地方特色的街道也一一浮現，尤其在新開闢的道路更是如此，但有些道路則因與利益產生關係，使其名稱變成只是單純的道路名稱，並未與該地有很大的連結。

莫巧韻(2020)研究臺中市太平區的地名特色。根據研究者實地探訪該地觀察出，要找尋舊地名並不容易，但可以從廟宇、古蹟、橋梁等來窺見，因為這些設施的名稱較不易變動，而從公車站牌也可以了解當地的小地名。名稱上的字首以「大」、「下」、「三」、「番」、「廊」、「內」等六種居多，性質上以自然實景最為常見。村里名稱上，因人口增加使村里的數量也不斷上升，新增設的里名以吉祥

話語、街道名稱為主，逐漸喪失原先的地名；街道名稱方面，早期會依照舊有地名命名，後來則以中華文化或吉言佳字，脫離地方特色。

戴秀玉（2005）以新竹縣竹東鎮為研究範圍，利用客語的語言結構分析竹東鎮的地名特色，同時將地名分成自然、人文兩類，詳盡介紹竹東鎮的地名與客家文化的關聯性。戴秀玉認為，竹東鎮許多的地名以地形來命名與在地居民的生活環境有關，因為以前竹東鎮的客家人多半在丘陵地開墾。另外，在訪問的過程中，語言的了解對於掌握當地地名也是重要的一環。

黎淑珍（2015）從語言學的方式研究家鄉—新竹縣寶山鄉的自然聚落。與戴秀玉（2005）相似，開頭先以客語的韻母、構詞等語言學的方式分類寶山鄉的地名。接著以語言學中的認知譬喻（隱喻、轉喻）說明寶山鄉的地名許多藉由生活物品、身體部位、方位等等呈現。

除了上述的研究之外，有些研究者進一步透過環境識覺的視角，解釋人地之間的互動人類如何藉由感官接收環境刺激，並藉由腦部的轉換對該地產生心智意象，從而生產出地名。像是楊雅心（2005）透過環境識覺說明馬祖地區地名的特性，研究中以此來介紹馬祖的四個鄉鎮（南竿、北竿、東引、莒光）內的地名、村落名等等，最後將各地名加以分類、統計，解釋自然環境和人類文化如何影響馬祖的地名。文章最後也寫到英國海軍和國軍的環境識覺，也促成馬祖出現軍事相關的地名。

林聖欽（2006）同樣也以環境識覺得概念來說明苗栗縣獅潭鄉內的客語地名，並分類解析得出鄉內地名反映出人類活動與自然環境之間的緊密關係。名稱上也都以簡單明瞭的文字為主。若是抽象精神層面的地名大多與自然環境有關；具體物質的地名則和生產有密切連結。另外，林聖欽也將鄉內開墾聚落分成三圈說明地名特質，第一圈開墾據點以抽象地名呈現；第二圈生產區抽象實體兩者並存；第三圈生產區以外則以實體地名居多。其認為影響苗栗縣獅潭鄉的地名與早期外部社會有關，藉由清領時期的文獻中觀察出當時民眾的心理投射如何形成現在所見的地名。

另外，與楊雅心、林聖欽的環境視角視角不同，黃秋華、陸偉明（2020）則是以 Bourdieu 的象徵宰制去分析臺南與高雄街道名稱中的性別意識，並透過問卷調查國小二、四、六年級的學生，發現年齡的差異會影響對文字的性別有不一樣的見解，中高年級會因受到社會化較深而出現明顯的性別界線。筆者也提到在父權體制下，地名當中也以男性來命名地居多，若是能以同樣對社會有貢獻的女性來命名，將對民眾有更多元的想法而不被性別框架侷限。

簡言之，以區域作為研究主軸的學者多半以某一地區或特定主題作為研究對象，並抽絲剝繭去說明該地區的地名特質或是該主題在區域內的分布情形。也有部分學者利用其他理論來分析，如楊雅心（2005）和林聖欽（2006）使用環境識覺的概念解釋地名、黃秋華和陸偉明（2020）則以象徵宰制作為研究方法。

## （二）政治權力與地名

研究政治與地名之間的學者，多半提出命名權對其空間產生之影響。擁有空間命名的統治者為了展現對空間治理的正當性及塑造出符合其理念，使民眾建立其政治形態，達到增強國家意識與認同。

廖秋娥（2005）藉由臺東市的路名，說明統治者不尊重當地文化，而強加於此地毫無關聯的地名，只為了彰顯統治者的權力與政治宣傳。其認為中國國民黨所帶來的中國式地名即便已經民主化，名稱依舊存在，且不斷麻醉我們的意識，延續威權時期的政治思想。所以，地名權應回歸當地居民的手中，才能真正表現該地與居民之間的關係與歷史情感。

黃雯娟（2014）以舊臺南市為範圍，解析荷蘭、明鄭、清朝、日治到戰後舊臺南市的道路名稱。可以發現各時期的命名有些差異，多半會以主導式的方式，荷蘭人就以荷蘭地名、明鄭也是以鄭成功的原鄉（安平）來命名；清朝則以行業、寺廟等人文地景命名；日治時期走日式的地名；戰後大量的反共復國、三民主義思想進入，也出現中華民國式的名稱，但臺南與其他城市如臺北、高雄相比，就沒有許多的中國地名出現在街道名中，反而其本土性較濃厚，呈現出古都臺南的風範。

吳育臻（2015）將嘉義市的路名從清代末期到嘉義市升格為省轄市（1982年）。清代末期官方並未強制命名，看出清朝政府對臺灣治理的消極；日治初期則延續清末時期並未大規模變動，直到日治中期市街改正，才有以內地風的形式命名，但是是由地方總督府爭取。戰後，國民政府為了削減臺灣民眾日本化的思想，以強制的手法去日本化，改為濃厚中華民國樣式的名稱，到民國 70 年代才逐漸以四維八德、美言佳句或是嘉義當地特色的路名出現。

王虹媛（2016）以線西地區（線西鄉、伸港鄉）為範圍，研究該地區清末到戰後地名與街道名的變遷。筆者指出，無論是清領後期、日治時期，地名大多都有延續下去，但戰後國民政府制定的規定，使得線西地區出現大量政治類地名，這類型的地名在日治時期是沒有出現的，因此可以看出國民政府在地名命名上已經將勢力更往鄉村邁進。筆者也認為地名因以當地自然或人文環境為優先考量，並延續當地傳統。

林聖欽（2017）提到頭份與三灣地區於清代時期，以自然或人文相關地名為主，但已經出現以吉言佳字，用字上沒有固定的用法。日本時代因殖民政府進行土地調查，使地名的數量銳減，且大都沿用清代時期的命名，沒有排斥的現象。戰後，國民政府繼續沿用日治時期的地名，歷經幾次的門牌整編之後，加上都市化的原因，原先以小地名作為門牌的現象也改以街道名作為門牌地址。筆者觀察到，日治時期的政治意識大多只影響到大都市，鄉鎮層級的較少出現所謂日式地名，依舊使用清代的地名；反而是到戰後國民政府才將政治思想帶進鄉鎮的每一個角落，但頭份、三灣地區較特別的是一開始的確有政治思想帶進地名之中，但 1960 年代後期的門牌整編就越來越少出現藉由地名來傳遞政治意識，因為有其

他方式來傳遞以及都市化帶來大量的街道名，也沒有足夠的名稱來宣傳意識形態。

以上五篇皆選定一研究區域，說明歷代地名的流變，同時也都觀察出戰後國民政府藉由地名來傳達政治意涵，忽略當地的文化歷史，尤其在都市中更為明顯，一直到近代才出現以美言佳句命名之街道，因此應將地名權交還給當地居民，尊重各地風土民情。不過，在黃雯娟（2014）的文章中提到臺南與臺北或是高雄相比，仍保有古都氣息。林聖欽（2017）也指出頭份、三灣地區早在 1960 年代就逐漸減少政治類的街道名。

除了以一個地區做為研究範疇，也有學者以不同方式了解街道命名與政治間的關係，如：

游秋菊（2014）以臺灣的公立國民小學校名，分析在歷經不同政權下，校名的變遷與涵義。因為政權的關係，使得同樣的名稱重複出現在各地的學校，如中山、中正、忠孝仁愛信義和平等等；或是因縣市合併後，產生同一直轄市內有兩所以上相同名字的學校，為了區分其差異，其中有些學校勢必得做出更名的動作，而如何更改好的名稱又是另一項值得探討的議題，有時會因為許多因素，而不採用當地名稱，反而採用與當地關聯性不高的地名來命名。游秋菊認為，會造成學校名稱重疊性高的原因，是「大中國意識形態」造成，日治後期雖然也有以日本意識命名的學校（明治、昭和等等），但仍以在地地名為主（但在臺北是以日本意識命名者居多）。戰後，為了發揚三民主義、中華民族精神，出現許多以紀念人物、意識形態為主的名稱，在地地名的比例明顯比日治後期少了許多。解嚴後，就比較不再採用此方式命名，轉而恢復已在地地名或是吉祥祈福的詞語命名。

康培德（2018）以荷蘭東印度公司相關的臺灣紀念地名，說明當時荷蘭人如何影響臺灣地名的命名，並分成四大類：人物、地理名、船隻名、事件等。其中地理名這類是較特殊的，是以辦公室的所在地來命名，而紀念性的地名在臺灣並不常見，反而以當地語言居多。

葉韻翠（2017）分析馬來西亞吉隆坡從英國殖民時期到後殖民國間所發生的轉變。可以發現在英國殖民時期理所當然的是以歐洲人為主要紀念對象；獨立之初，因東姑阿都拉曼（馬來西亞國父，同時也是第一任首相）做法較溫和，因此歐洲人的街道名並未全盤移除，反而到馬哈迪時期（第四任首相）有了明顯改變，本土派的馬哈迪主張去殖民化與馬來化及「向東學習」，除了以歐洲人命名的街道被更改，華人也一併遭抹除。在後殖民的吉隆坡街道中弔詭的現象在於除了馬來人的街道名變多，早已離開的歐洲人街道名還比印度人還多，可見馬來西亞印度人的處境比華人更加邊緣。透過吉隆坡的街道紀念政治，就不難發現完全是馬來西亞族群間的寫照。

此外，與前述的個案研究不同，葉韻翠（2013）則以理論的方式去討論批判地名學對地名的解析。批判地理學者認為地名不單只是簡單的文字，其背後帶有人地關係，且還有社會功能，讓民眾可以去了解過往歷史，彷彿文本一樣被閱讀。筆者分成三種來討論：（一）帶有政治的地名則有鞏固政權、強化國族認同、領土與人民、國家連結等功能，隨著政權的轉換地名的命名也會因統治者的需求而改

變。(二)帶有地方情感的地名，會因民眾地長年的習慣對此名稱產生歷史情懷。  
(三)地名的空間分布也反映其政治性，文中以馬丁路德金恩的紀念地名為例，以金恩命名的大多在美國非裔地區。

從上述文獻可以了解，當一位具有支配一地的領導者，為了對外向民眾表現其權力，會利用許多媒介來達到此目的，其中地名與街道的命名就是常見的手法，除了地名，舉凡車站、學校、醫院、宗教場所、機場等公共場所，會冠上像是歷史人物、重要領袖、有功人士的姓名或是帶有強烈政治宣傳、國家發展願景等名稱來灌輸人民的思想。

### (三) 地名與空間分布

地名的空間分布對於地名研究的學者也是經常討論的部分，藉由地名在地方的空間分布可以觀察出其背後蘊含的地理現象。

薛雅惠等人(2006)探討臺灣的水果地名，以自然地形、人文開發(果園、聚落、歷史等)為分類基礎，結合統計的方式，分別介紹各個水果出現在地名的分布，並以地名分布與產區分布，來分析其重疊性和關聯性，像是桃子是高度相關；柑橘、香蕉、芒果、鳳梨、梅子、柿子、梨子、龍眼等為部分相關；番石榴則不相關。

林聖欽(2015)以苗栗縣三灣鄉與南庄鄉北方的六村為研究範圍，透過新式福德祠的碑文、對聯、香牌上的文字，分析其透露的地名資訊。經過林聖欽的研究發現，在三灣鄉分布平均；南庄鄉北六村卻集中於員林村，這與製作碑文、對聯、香牌的人有關。而兩地的碑文、香牌為在地人士製作；對聯反而是外地人士書寫。對在地人士來說，主要以地點、小村莊命名，範圍較小，但外地人士卻以範圍較大的行政村來傳達。

陳璦璋(2018)探討「寮」字地名在臺灣的發展情形。寮是臨時搭建的小屋，常見於臺灣的地名。就空間分布而言筆者以日治時期的五州三廳為分區說明。綜合分析，大多「寮」字地名分布在沿山或沿海地區，與人類的開發拓殖有關，筆者也認為無論是在沿山還是沿海地區發展聚落，皆可看出以前臺灣人與大自然爭奪土地，適應環境劣勢的地方，而與大自然共處的方式。即便當時簡易的工寮景觀、環境地貌的改變，或是產業沒落光景不再，透過「寮」字的地名，還是能回顧當時先民的生活狀態。

有些學者則結合空間與政治兩者元素，探討帶有政治意涵的地名分布情形與統治者從地名來顯現出所要營造的社會氣氛與政治宣傳，鞏固民眾的思想與對政府的信任。例如：

黃雯娟(2014)提出臺北市的地名在各時期表現出其歷史風貌。清代因國家力量有限，所以地名多半呈現地方的特色與社會網絡間的互動，但到了日治時期政府開始掌握都市的空間規劃，且多半以國家力量將地名、街道名更改成符合統

治者需求的名稱，藉此讓民眾改變集體印象和歷史記憶，並合理化統治。戰後國民政府也同樣為了去日本化，將臺北市的道路改以中華民國秋海棠的版圖分成四大區域來為道路命名。不過日治時期雖有許多日式地名，但仍有部分漢人居住的地方使用漢式地名；反觀國民政府完全去日本化，將街道中國化，使得街道名稱只剩下辨識方位這一功能，喪失其背後蘊含的文化含義。

葉韻翠（2014）以中山、中正為例，敘述臺灣戰後國民政府為了鞏固政權，將街道名、建築、行政區等等以孫中山與蔣中正為名。依據筆者的研究，發現兩者的數目差異不大，中正略多於中山。文章選取街道、行政區、學校三個部分綜合筆者分析，可以歸納出：1. 數目上中正略多於中山；2. 時間上以蔣中正總統時期（1950-1975）最多；3. 空間上都市多於鄉村。臺灣小小的島嶼出現如此大量的中山、中正地名，與當時濃厚的政治色彩有關，民主化後則變成在地文化的一部分。

在研究空間政治領域的文獻中，黃雯娟（2014）和葉韻翠（2014）兩者都說明戰後臺灣在國民政府的治理下，執政者強加於各地政治相關的地名與街道名，並未特別尊重當地的風土民情，使臺灣各地的地名、街道名單調乏味，缺乏文化意涵，直到民主化後才有所改變。因此，透過空間分析可以得出相同性質地名的分布情形，推敲出這片土地上所經歷的各種歷史淵源、百姓的記憶以及掌權者所要傳達的意念等等。

除了以上三個分類之外，也有些學者運用其它概念去研究地名或街道名命名所帶來的影響，如：陳佩玉（2015）透過公共行政學的協力理論方式探討臺中市合併升格之後的道路整合問題，並以臺中市的重要幹道—臺灣大道為例，說明一條道路的命名必須得到民眾的支持與政府跨部門的執行才有機會達成，同時作者提出若干問題，政府如何執行並提升其效率，且是否與預期效果有所落差？作者也給予些許建議，如善加利用決策工具、協調性網絡運用、道路資料庫的建立等等，來提升道路命名或更名的可能性。

戴焯盈（2018）以中永和為範圍，並解釋為何在雙和地區的道路會出現如網路流傳的「中永和之歌」現象，即在中和、永和兩個地方有相同的路名卻未必相連，或是橋梁名稱與銜接道路名稱不一致，與歷史積年累月的發展有關。其認為，會造成雙和地區道路如此複雜，與都市發展有關，原先中永和為同一區域，但永和獨立設鎮後，都市的範圍越來越大，在兩地各自發展的情形下，共同以一樣的命名邏輯，產生出大量相同的街道名，但銜接兩地的街道名稱又未統整，日積月累下造就道路不斷更改最後形成錯綜複雜的路網。

### 三、研究目的與方法

#### （一）研究目的

透過上述的文獻回顧，我們可以得知研究地名的學者們，無論透過何種研究方式，都是在傳達地名內部的含意，並思考這些地名的產生對人類社會有哪些舉足輕重的影響，也提供我們去思考地名命名的重要性。而在這個地名研究領域中，目前依舊缺乏有關六都成立後道路整併的深度討論，僅有戴煒盈（2018）、陳佩玉（2015）兩篇研究觸及相關議題。然陳佩玉（2015）對於臺中縣市合併升格後的街道名整併問題，則僅以臺灣大道這條馬路作為討論對象，戴煒盈（2018）並未針對新北市重複街道名的整併作一全盤的系統性研究。因此縣市合併升格後的街道名整併議題，在地名研究領域中仍有待多一點研究者投入釐清。

綜上所述，本文欲達到之研究目的為：

1. 分析新北市街道重複名的特色與空間分布。
2. 探討新北市成立後，道路合併、更名、保留的邏輯、特色（含其他建議路名但未被採用）與意涵等等。
3. 瞭解新北市政府與市民對於道路名稱整併的想法。

## （二）研究方法

為使本研究有可依據的來源及順利進行，因此使用以下方法進行研究：

### 1. 資料文獻蒐集

（1）市內重複路名統計：因要探討新北市內的道路升格至今的變化，因此以中華郵政股份有限公司於 2011 年（民國 100 年）出版的《臺灣地區 3+2 碼郵遞區號簿》內紀錄之新北市街道整理出重複的名稱，在依照重複路名、行政區、數量等分析其現況。

（2）相關法規、都市計畫等研究報告：了解更名的行政流程與條件。

（3）報章雜誌、電子報：觀察行政機關與居民對於道路更名的想法與困難。

### 2. 地圖繪製分析

根據整理出的表格資料，使用 QGIS 繪製出重複道路的分布圖、各區的重複數量圖等說明新北市街道重複的情況，同時搭配升格前出版的舊地圖觀察升格前後道路的變化。

### 3. 訪談與調查

資料文獻不足的部分，就以實際訪談來補足，並以下列方式執行：

（1）調查問卷：設計相關問卷詢問民眾有關意見，並分析其數據論證其現象。

（2）訪談相關人士：訪問有關人士，了解政策相關的制定與流程。

（3）田野調查：實際走訪新北市的重複街道，觀察目前最新的街道命名情形，力求最即時的資訊。

### (三) 章節架構

本研究分成以下五個章節進行：

第一章緒論，說明本篇文章的研究動機、文獻回顧、研究目的、研究方法等基本要素。研究動機說明本研究的契機及研究區的背景現況，再利用文獻回顧了解過去學者或研究人員的相關研究，了解研究方法及本篇文章可以延伸或彌補的部分，最後透過研究目的歸納。

第二章為「臺北縣的街道命名與分布」，說明臺北縣時期街道的複雜情況。首先從第一節講述臺北縣在街道命名上的法律依據，是否在規則上出現未來升格後未周全顧慮的部分，導致日後重複街道名稱的情形。接著第二節和第三節分別去探究臺北縣街道命名上有何特色以及在空間範圍內的分布，是否與其它方面有可以探討的議題。

第三章「新北市成立後的街道名重複情況」，首先討論在新北直轄市成立後，街道命名辦法上所作出的修改與規範。其次則了解新命名的名稱是採用哪些方式更名或是保留了哪些，其原因為何。第三節分析已更名的街道分布，在此會和第二章第三節升格前的分布做出疊圖分析，觀察過了十多年後的轉變。

第四章「政府與民間對街道命名的看法」，主要從政府與民間兩者的角度去觀看對於新北市的街道重複議題有哪些的看法，藉此了解最實際的現況。政府的部分在第一節說明，從官方的觀點來看對於街道重覆與更名有什麼態度。民間的想法則到第二節來談論，特別是居住在重複街道名上的居民或是在此活動的人士，對於街道名重複有何意見？贊成還是反對更名？如果要更改的話，又要換成什麼名稱，都是重要的研究問題。

第五章為結論，綜合以上的研究做出結果，說明目前在新北市的境內重複街道名的情況，並給予相關建議。

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## 博物館入校園的活動設計與教具研發——以宜蘭史前文化為例

### 壹、教具箱研發背景

#### 一、蘭陽博物館的考古教育

什麼是博物館？1974年國際博物館協會定義：一個不追求營利，為社會和社會發展服務的公開的永久機構。它把收集、保存、研究有關人類及其環境見證物當作自己的基本職責，以便展出，公諸於眾，提供學習、教育、欣賞的機會。博物館是一個展示的舞台，具有社會教育的角色，而2010年蘭陽博物館以全台第一個縣立博物館，以山、平原、海為軸，展示宜蘭的自然與人文，並在籌備及開館階段，即借調現職教師進行教育推廣活動，博物館典藏及研究資源，在這個機會之下，得以藉由教師的教學專業轉化為課程、教材及教學活動，且直接讓國民教育階段的學生直接受惠，在考古展示與教育上，2010年「探溯淇武蘭」特展，展出1300-800年前的史前及600-100年前的噶瑪蘭舊社淇武蘭生活；2012年推動博物館入校園計畫，突破展期的時空限制，更是提供到校的教育服務；2014發展「寫在地底的歷史」宜蘭的史前文化課程，同年度入校服務，與國小教育階段五年級社會領域的「台灣史前文化」課程連結；2017年「重見/建/現 漢本」-發掘階段成果特展；2020年兒童考古探索廳，蘭陽博物館整體的時間軸線從史前到現代，但以整體校園覆蓋率寫在課程也進入服務人次超過一萬人

#### 二、從九年一貫到十二年國教

從九年一貫的十大能力指標，培養孩子帶著走的能力，到十二年國教素養導向，108課綱的「核心素養」是指一個人為適應現在生活及面對未來挑戰，所應具備的知識、能力與態度。如何轉化為「在地」的學習呢？直接與腳下的土地，曾經生活在這片土地上的人產生連結？

國小教育階段五年級社會領域課程中的主題為「台灣史前文化」，在課本中將台灣的史前時代選取長濱文化、圓山，依序說明舊石器時代、依序，對於幾千年的人類樣貌是什麼樣子？透過數頁文字敘述、生活情境想像圖及出品遺物照片，身為第一線的教師要如何將史前文化清楚描繪？著實很難想像孩子該如何學習？當知識是生硬的、無意義的，即使再有興趣也終將消磨，也難以從課堂上收獲更多，可以怎麼做呢？

#### 貳、展覽與轉化

#### 參、博物館入校園

#### 肆、課程設計與教具箱

#### 伍、成果反思與建議

**Department of Taiwan and Regional Studies.**

**National Dong Hwa University.**

**Master Thesis.**

**Advisors: Professor Peter-Cameron  
Chungching Ou and Professor Tsung-Yi Pan**

*Red Envelope: Functions of Customary Gifts in Taiwan and the Solomon  
Islands.*



**Author: Desmond Melerski Tige**

**Date:5/18/2022**

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## ABSTRACT.

I have developed an interest in the study of cultures and traditions especially in Asia and in Melanesian societies. The culture of gift presentations during big days has always an important practice in our society. Giving gifts can be for maintaining of friendship, socialization, compensation, bride price and as well as land purchases. The functions and characteristics of gifts were mentioned by several scholars who took reference from the famous essay on “The Gift” by French Sociologist Marcel Mauss. The intention of these research paper was to compare Red Envelope tradition in Taiwan and the types of customary gifts with similar functions to red envelope in the Solomon Islands. This includes *red money (tafuliae)*, *Ei vanga*, *Sigo*, also the mention of similar practice in American Indian tribes (*potlatch system*). This is an interesting area of study, to observe the evolution and understand the meaning of gift giving practices, and the influence it had on society. In Taiwanese culture, one of the convenient types of gift giving tradition that survived since the mass migration of the Han Chinese from the mainland in the 16<sup>th</sup> century is the red envelope, because it can be practice anywhere and does not need big labor to make it work. The migration of Chinese mainlanders had brought with them their cultures to Taiwan, and red envelope is one of such cultural practice. Traditions and customs evolved overtime, the meanings and requirements are also changing, it happens so to fit the current situation. Cultures such as birthdays and Christmas that usually go with gift gifting are newly introduced, especially in the Solomon Islands. These too, I would like to conduct further research about their functions and the role they play in maintaining social relationship in the society today.

Keywords: *Red Envelope (hongbao)*, *Ei vanga*, *potlatch system*, *sigo*, *red money (tafuliae)*, *Chupu*, *matrilineal system and patrilineal*

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## **Introduction**

### **Motivation**

The culture of gift giving during big days has always been an important part of our societies today. Giving gift can be for the purpose of maintaining of friendship, socialization, to make peace, bride price (marriage gifts) and as well as land purchases. Scholars grouped the function of gifts under different categories. Gift giving can either be free or for the reciprocity. In the direction of Marcel Mauss, anthropologists have mostly been interested in gift-giving as a way in which enduring social relations are established and maintained through reciprocity. It seemed to Mauss, and has seemed to anthropologists since, “that a genuinely free gift is one, as we say, with no strings attached would play no part in the creation of social relations, for it would create no obligations or connections between persons; and therefore, even if such a thing existed, it would be of no serious interest to anthropologists”.<sup>1</sup>

These functions of gifts have been mentioned by several scholars like Miki Nomura and John F. Sherry Jr influenced by the writing of Mauss.

Different societies have different types of gift process and gift presentation during family, friends, and colleague gatherings. The intention of this research paper is to compare red envelope tradition in Taiwan with the types of customary gifts that have similar functions to red envelope in the Solomon Islands. In other words, to compare the functions of different types of cultural gift giving from Solomon Islands to red envelope. In the Solomon Islands, the gift of cash was

<sup>1</sup> James Laidlaw, *A Free Gifts Makes No friends*, 617.

newly introduced, but before that, it was only material goods and local currencies, such as the shell money used in Malaita province.

Gifts were given out of compassion to beggars and the needy, as compensatory gifts to accompany the dead, as a reward or payment for religious services, as presents meant to stabilize or call into question social relations (suitable vs. unsuitable presents), as presents (to men and gods) to inspire good will, friendship or loyalty, as diplomatic presents in confirmation of a covenant, as thank offerings for healing, as supplicatory offerings for the harvest, as religious gifts made for religious merit or to cancel ritual offence, or as obligatory ritual gifts. Mauss reduces all of this more or less to contractual legalisms.<sup>2</sup>

As globalization took place, newly introduced methods of gift giving will always find its way into the society, and with it comes pros and cons. These newly introduced gift giving practices will influence the original tradition of gift giving practices. Some cultural practices will die out, while others will be replaced to fit our modern era. In Taiwanese culture, one of the convenient types of cultural practice that the Chinese mainlanders brought with them in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and is still practiced today is the red envelope tradition, because it can be practiced anywhere and do not need big labor to make it work, thus it is still practiced today.

Traditions evolved overtime, and in the case of red envelope. For instance, nowadays it can be sent online using WeChat as practiced in China. The meanings of cultural practice are also changing, this happen in order to fit the current era we are in. In the past, coins were used in *hongbao* instead of paper money. A Taiwanese government site states that in the red envelope tradition, “the elders of a family traditionally gave the children one hundred coins weaved into the shape of a dragon. However, the hundred coins proved to be inconvenient to give out, and this tradition eventually evolved into the modern tradition of giving paper money in red envelopes”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Axel Michaels, *GIFT AND RETURN GIFI GREETING AND RETURN GREETING IN INDIA. ON A CONSEQUENTIAL FOOTNOTE BY MARCEL MAUSS*, (Sudasiens-Institut Universität Heidelberg Im Neuenheimer Feld 330 D-69120 Heiclelberg, 1994), p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> Branden Black, et al., *Red Envelopes an Old Chinese Tradition*, 2006.

Cultures such as birthdays, Christmas and New Year's celebrations that usually demands gifts were newly introduced to the Solomon Islands. The people that participated in gift giving are influenced by the society or because of demands by their institutions. These individuals participated without even knowing the meaning behind it. In my own experience of gift giving, at Fu Jen Catholic University was the first experience I had in preparing gift for my classmate during a Christmas class party. I found it difficult in selecting gifts to buy because, I do not know what to buy and had no knowledge of gift etiquettes. To make it worse, I do not know who the recipients will be until the exact day. The teachers put all our names in a box and we are going to pick random people as recipients of the gifts. It was stressful because I do not know the gender. I decided to buy chocolates and stationaries. Others bought bags, caps, whiskey and so forth, none used red envelope, because all the students were foreigners studying Mandarin. That was the first gift giving experience I had in selecting gifts on my own. I decided to buy the gifts according to these factors. Since, I do not know the gender of the receiver, I chose a gift that either gender can accept. Second, everybody loves chocolate, but I realized later that some people might not accept such gifts, since they are on diet or because some of the ingredients are considered taboo to their religion. Thirdly, the participants are all students, thus everybody would need stationaries like books, pens, pencils, and erasers. I did not realize that students nowadays do not really need such basic stationaries. These things are now replaced by computers, mobile phones and tablets. I was not taught on the etiquette of gifts in elementary and high schools, except for the type of gifts in the bible presented to baby Jesus, thus, I have no idea on what gift to purchase for a certain group of people until university.

In my six years living in Taiwan, I attended many different parties and special events organized by foreigners in Taiwan, and from what I saw the popular gifts were material goods

like clothes, mobile phones, caps, and shoes, but no cash except for some occasions with Taiwanese. Nobody taught me what gifts to buy during such programs, and so it always had an impact on me, over fears that the receiver might get disappointed. However, the functions of these material gifts mentioned are similar to that of red envelope, to promote good social relationships.

Money is an important part of Taiwan's culture, as it brings luck and positivity, workers worked tirelessly to gain as much profit as possible, taking only a one-day break during the weekends, until the Lunar New Year's when workers can take holidays longer as they celebrate New Year's with families and friends and exchanging of red envelope. Good luck can be referred to as having a lot money, because one can afford anything and a stable life. To be lucky can be referred to as someone who has a lot of money. Such beliefs can be properly interpreted if studies are done with regards to the topic or further research towards the characteristics of money and its function in societies. During my six years in Taiwan, four times I have received a red envelope. The first one was in 2017 and the second one was in 2018. I got red envelope during one of our Christmas parties hosted by the Tamkang University rugby team, in which old players and new players come to play rugby and have dinner together. All the players, friends and family members that attended received one red envelope each, and inside each red envelope contains NT1000. The third time was from an elementary school in Taitung county, where I volunteered to teach English. The red envelope I received from the school contains NT500.



*Figure 1: “Red envelope given to me by the elementary school NT500. The writing on the outside of the envelope is taken from the book of Psalms (Bible)”.*<sup>4</sup>

Before year 2021, I do not know that there is a rule in the amount given. I do not hesitate to ask about it, because I thought it was always like that and there is no meaning behind the amount of money put inside the red envelope. But, after I decided to do my research on the functions of gifts in Taiwan, I realized that there is more to learn about the cultures and basic gift etiquettes of red envelope in Taiwan. This topic is important to do further research to give clear guidelines for people like myself who knew nothing about the functions of gifts like red envelope, thus will provide guidance to avoid any future embarrassment (i.e. to avoid offending the other party).

In the Solomon Islands including other Melanesian societies, land ownership is vital where traditional gift giving is an important part of sealing an agreement with the land.

<sup>4</sup> By looking at the writing outside of a red envelope given to you, one can tell from which background is the giver. In the case of figure 1. We know that this elementary school is a Christian school.

Furthermore, Asian countries today are among the most economically successful countries in the world, not to mention this region is one of the most populated places in the world. Hence, the presence and influence of Asian people can be seen globally, especially for the Chinese community. It is important to conduct study about the Asian cultures to create opportunities, cooperation, and a peaceful coexistence. To conduct research on the function of red envelope tradition in the society is one way to understand Taiwanese or Chinese culture, as this culture is practiced almost everywhere where there is a Chinese community. Solomon Islands for instance, there is a community of Chinese people called Chinatown in the capital city of Honiara. Each year the Chinese community celebrates Chinese New Year's, an alien culture to the locals who do not understand Chinese culture. The Chinese community in Honiara used to celebrate Chinese New Year, meaning red envelope is also a part of the celebration, and most likely the locals who are invited to attend such gatherings know nothing about the etiquettes of red envelope, which I fear will be offensive to some of the Chinese who take red envelope tradition seriously. Therefore, this topic motivates me to do research about Chinese and Taiwanese gift giving customs on red envelope. By doing so, I could help to promote different cultures and understanding in the society. Functions of gifts in our societies should be further elaborated in its simplest explanation and comparison as possible, to equip foreigners who are planning to visit countries that practiced gifts such as the red envelope tradition. By understanding of different cultures, people will also learn to appreciate the coexistence of each other, thus promotes cooperation and a peaceful coexistence.

During Christmas, New Years and Birthdays or Marriages, families and friends expect gift giving. It added stress to the attendees or givers who have no idea on what gifts to present in such occasions. It is stressful to find gifts that will not fuel negative feelings on the receiver

when the giver and the receiver are not really close. The motivation behind this research topic also aims at finding out information on gift giving behaviors and processes apart from red envelope. To understand what gift to purchase or likely to purchase and on what occasion to purchase a certain gift that would not cause disappointment on the receiver. This area of study is also important for businesses. Shop owners can understand the needs of customers and help them out with purchasing the right gift and make it convenient for customers by including the needed goods in shops to make profit and meet the customer demand. When shop owners know the behaviors of their customers, they know what to stock up. For instance, during Christmas eve the business know what products to increase the supply and on New Year's they also know what to do. Traditionally, in the Solomon Islands, there is no Christmas and New Year's or birthday celebrations, but after the Christianization of the islands the western culture was imbedded and become part of Solomon Islands culture, thus such topic will help boost market sales. This area of study can also be in demand for people who find it difficult to decide on what type of gift to purchase. Understanding the relationship between societies, families or personal when comes to gift giving help strengthens social relationships, and one of the ways to do it is by doing research about them.

Different societies practiced a different type of gift giving cultures hundreds of years ago and still doing it today, others adopt the culture of gift giving from Western or European cultures. Thus, I have decided to research about red envelope in Taiwan. This particular gift (red envelope) I am going to discuss had survived until today since the mass migration of Chinese mainlanders in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Solomon Islands on the other hand, gift giving practices are adopted from Western cultures in events such as Christmas. However, there are few traditional gift giving practices that survived to this day in which I have decided to discuss further the three

of such gifts that have significant functions in the society in the next chapters. Such practices are mostly in the form of presenting goods, use of local currencies like shell money and gift giving ceremony that includes land purchase and shell money for bride price practiced in Malaita province.

Finally, my motivation of researching about this topic. Solomon Islands is a small country that gained independence from Britain in 1978. It is also very isolated that very few people know about. In world's maritime history, the mapping of Solomon Islands in 1568 by Alvaro De Mendana of Spain was a mysterious case. After it was mapped, the Solomon Islands was lost again to later explorers until after 200 years later when it was rediscovered. This is how isolated these islands are to the modern world. According to *data.worldbank.org* Retrieved 1 May 2020, the population of Solomon Islands is 652,858. Not many scholars conducted studies on the daily lifestyles and the cultures of people in these Islands. The historical and cultural records about the islands were mainly done by foreign scholars which sometimes contradicts the cultural practices in the islands. This is another reason why I am motivated to write my research about this topic which might help in some ways to connect the dots in areas of Anthropological studies about the islands. This topic also motivates me to contribute by writing something about my culture and explain it to others. In the next chapters the in-depth discussions about the customary gifts from the Solomon Islands will be further elaborated.

I have done some literature review, however most of the writings by foreigners are about the introduction of Christianity, whalers and traders and the British administration. The records of the British administration include language, traditional land laws and traditional governments. A very few scholars such as Dr Bogese 1948 a native of Isabel province who is also my great grandfather and Whitely a female PhD student from the United States did conduct an

ethnographic research on traditional gift giving ceremonies like *Ei vanga* and *Tamaga* practices in Bugotu and Gao districts. *Tamaga* is a traditional gift giving ceremony similar to *Ei vanga* and have similar functions to red envelope, but *Tamaga* gift giving is for primary rights on traditional land ownership, unlike *Ei vanga* which is mainly done for secondary rights on traditional land ownership. In chapters two and three, I will also take reference from these Western and native scholars and add on to the points that they have already mentioned. In Taiwanese culture about red envelope, my supervisor also mentioned that not all Taiwanese know about the red envelope tradition and its function in the society, therefore this is a great opportunity to remind those who do not know about this tradition by conducting research through interviews and daily interaction regarding the topic. In the next section, I will introduce some of my findings from literature review and from my own experience.

### **Literature Review.**

Customary gifts such as Red envelope tradition plays an important role inside Taiwan society socially, politically, and economically. However, there are also pros and cons of red envelope inside Taiwan society. In the Solomon Islands culture, customary gifts also play an important role inside the society, these gifts also have similar functions to red envelope in which I would also like to and compare the similarities and discuss in this paper.

Previous research suggests that gift giving is a form of identity presentation that enable givers to create a desired image of themselves for gift recipients. Sometimes, individuals experience anxiety when selecting gifts that best reflect this desired identity (Sherry et al., 1993). In a series of articles, Bagozzi (1974, 1975) demonstrates the relevance of social exchange theory to consumer behavior. And in his excellent review of gift-giving behavior, Belk (1979) attributes four functions to the gift and this is where this thesis paper will get its direction to

analyse gift giving functions in society, family, and personal level from these two countries. The four functions of gifts mentioned by Belk in his article are communication, social exchange, economic exchange, and socialization. Including the characteristics of gifts described by Jacques Derrida taken from Marcel Mauss's essay.

Gifts deals with economy, social exchange, contract, it speaks of raising the stakes, sacrifice, offering gifts and counter gift-in short, everything that in the thing itself impels the gift and the annulment of the gift.' Each of these functions reflects the importance and further highlights the importance of gift exchange and its role in the society. In other words, gifts promote good relationships and peaceful coexistence within a society. This will be discussed further in the next chapter. Different societies have their own ways of interpreting and valuing gifts either traditionally or in a modern way. In Taiwan, one of the significant types of gift giving is the Red Envelope (hongbao) and this will be the focus of this paper regarding the functions of customary gift in Taiwan. This particular tradition traced its origin back to the Song dynasty in China. "Red envelopes that hold the monetary gifts was dated back to the ancient tradition of celebrating the Lunar New Year. The legends associated with the origins of the red envelopes vary, but most include a magical and evil entity that was defeated." <sup>5</sup>

Chinese legend narrates that a demon known as 'Sui' went around to terrorize children while they slept on Chinese New Year's Eve. Because of this, parents would keep awake all night, light candles, and stay with their children to keep *Sui* away. One New Year's Eve, a child was given eight coins to play with in order to keep him awake. While playing, the child wrapped the coins in red paper, opened it, rewrapped it, and reopened it until he got too tired and fell asleep. The red wrapper of eight coins remained on his pillow. When *Sui* appeared and tried to touch his head, the eight coins (representing the eight immortals in Chinese mythology) emitted a strong bright light that scared *Sui* away. Today the envelope, symbolic of the coins, is sometimes known as the *ya sui qian*, or "suppressing *Sui* money" <sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Black, et al., "Red Envelopes an Old Chinese Tradition," 2006, [http://www.anthropology.uci.edu/~wmmaurer/courses/anthro\\_money\\_2006/envelopes.html](http://www.anthropology.uci.edu/~wmmaurer/courses/anthro_money_2006/envelopes.html).

<sup>6</sup> Cindy, "Top 3 Famous Chinese New Year Stories: the "Nian" Monster," 2021, <https://www.chinahighlights.com/travelguide/festivals/chinese-new-year-legends>.

In Chinese culture as well as for Taiwan. The story behind the eight Taoist immortals plays a prominent part in the importance of number eight. These eight fairies or Taoist immortals (*Pah-sien*) each possesses power that can be transferred to a vessel that can bestow life or destroy evil. “*Pah-kwa*, the eight diagrams, said to be invented by *Fuh-hsi* and deemed all powerful for expelling demons and noxious influences known as *Pih-sieh* (4 seasons).”<sup>7</sup> Thus, number eight is seen as bringing good fortunes, because of its association to the eight immortals or the eight diagrams. Eight fairies in Chinese culture, twelve disciples in Christian religion, the pronunciation of number nine in Thailand culture made these numbers significant, and so can be seen as good luck numbers compared to number four in modern Taiwanese culture and the number 666 in Christian religion.

According to another Chinese legend, “the tradition red envelope began as a way to keep children safe from the Chinese demon *Sui* who would come after sleeping children on New Year’s Eve. The tradition is especially directed at children. There are envelopes decorated with popular cartoon characters like Mickey Mouse, Pokémon, and Hello Kitty.”<sup>8</sup>

Children receive the envelopes from their parents and grandparents until they are married and are then expected to begin giving envelopes themselves to the children’s and so the culture of giving red envelope continues to be promoted. the obligation of reciprocity by the people who participated continued to happen. “In recent years, red envelopes have been sent through the popular Chinese app WeChat as a way to send the memento to loved ones that cannot physically be reached. The digital version has allowed red envelopes to be exchanged than ever before. Last

<sup>7</sup> Henry Dore, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*. (Taipei: Che’eng-wen publishing company, 1914), p. 273.

<sup>8</sup> “Hongbao-The Chinese Red Envelopes,” 2021, <https://chinamarketadvisor.com/hongbao-the-chinese-red-envelopes/>

year, it was reported that 8 billion electronic *hongbao* were sent over WeChat on Lunar New Year's Eve.”<sup>9</sup>

Lunar New Year red envelopes are a traditional gift for children or elderly people during Lunar New Year. The red envelope is also called *ya sui qian*, because those who receive a red envelope are wished another safe and peaceful year. Generally, on Lunar New Year's Eve or New Year's Day, young children and grandchildren give their best wishes to their parents and grandparents. In return, grandparents and parents gift their children and grandchildren red envelopes with money, wishing them good luck in the new year. Parents and grandparents also receive red envelopes given by their grown-up children/grandchildren as a way of sending them good luck, happiness, and health. Traditionally speaking, if you have started earning money, it is time to start your experience of giving Lunar New Year red envelopes. Giving a red packet is a way to share your blessings. However, there is a custom that if you are not married, you need not send red envelopes to others. Red envelopes were normally given and received only among families, while in some rural areas, the custom is that you have to give a red envelope to each child you meet during the New Year period. Your close relatives (like your parents and your grandparents) will keep giving you red envelopes even when you are married, which is a symbol of their love and blessings for you.

According to the legend, the gift of Red Envelope, it is a sign of gratitude from the community to the person who defeated the evil and also it is a protection from evil. The tradition of Red Envelope is centuries old and it survived to this today. Like any other customary gift giving processes, it does evolve in order to fit the current situation. For instance, past practice involves giving one hundred coins in a red envelope is not popular nowadays, hence the coins

<sup>9</sup> Hongbao - The Chinese Red Envelopes, 2021.

were replaced by paper money. This cultural gift carries a deep meaning, it defines the identity of the Taiwanese people and passed on to the current generation the encounters of the past. When I said Taiwanese people, we need to know that in Taiwan there are different ethnic groups. The Han Chinese, speakers of Hakka and Hokkien or Chinese mainlanders who migrated to Taiwan during the Dutch, Chinese and Japanese colonization, and the Indigenous people of Taiwan. In the case of red envelope tradition, it is not part of the Indigenous people's culture, even though they are included in the term Taiwanese mentioned in this paper.

The etiquette of Red Envelope is there as guidelines to pass on luck, positivity, and happiness in a person's life. In the Solomon Islands, gift giving is an important part of the society. It holds together communities, families, and friends. To give someone a gift, factors like age, gender, social status, family member or a friend has to be taken into consideration. The relationship between the giver and the receiver is also an important aspect in selecting material gifts as well as money. Small details like wrappings can have an impact on the receiver, others might ignore small details, however the way individuals interpret the meaning of gifts depends on the receiver's understanding of the gift giving tradition. In the red envelope, the amount of money put inside was carefully chosen as not to disappoint the receiver. The amounts are either odd or even numbers as Taiwanese people are superstitious with number culture.

The most widely used contemporary function of the Red Envelope is to give paper money as a gift. If the giver and receiver have a close relationship, then the receiver will typically get a higher denomination gift than if they had received the envelope from a distant relative. The denominations given can be from hundreds of dollars, for those very close relations and they can also range down to as little as one dollar given as a symbolic gesture.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Cindy, "Red Envelopes/Packets (Hongbao) - Significance, Amount, and How to Give," 2021, <https://www.chinahighlights.com/travelguide/festivals/red-envelop.htm>

This is different from how cultures in the Solomon Islands interpret a certain gift. There is some sort of ranking involved when the receiver is a Chief. The type of gift would be different from an ordinary individual. This is because elders in the community understand the meaning of gift giving tradition and their roles as rule keepers in the community is recognised. Gift giving on wedding, compensation, land purchase or when gifts given to parents were separated and their values are different. These gifts play an important role in the social relationship inside a society, family, and personal level. Example, on the island of Isabel, the gift of dugout canoe during cultural gift giving ceremony like *Ei vanga* is very valuable, since the effort and skills put to build a canoe is not easy. And also, canoe is a valuable gift, because it has many useful purposes in the lives of islanders. Canoe can be used for fishing, use for transports to schools and hospitals, gardens and can be used to build coffin when the owner dies, the gift of canoe is like a blessing or luck to the receiver. Thus, each man in the communities should have a canoe or hope to be presented with a canoe from his wife and children during cultural gift giving ceremonies like *Ei vanga*. Compared to red envelope, it can be used and be accepted in different events like wedding, birthdays, Chinese New Year's, and other Taiwanese cultural events. Solomon Islands gift giving is distinguished according to the event that happen. Weddings, birthdays, or new year's also different. There is no one standardized type of customary gift for all the events like the red envelope. "Gift giving is a universal social norm of human culture for the purpose of establishing a peaceful coexistence. Previous research has found that not only do gifts help maintain social ties inside societies, but also it can create and worsen in personal conflict". (Leary & Kowalski 1995).

In the *Potlatch system* of North American tribes, the gift giving festival sometimes caused conflicts among tribes, instead of promoting good relationship. Not every custom of gift

giving promotes good social relations. The introduction of western cultural practice of giving gifts to the locals in a form of modern goods in the Solomon Islands resulted in some of the unforgettable historical memory when it was interpreted wrongly. In 1568, when the first Spanish explorer discovered and mapped Solomon Islands. The Spanish made contact possible through exchanging of gifts with the natives. For the natives, exchanging of gifts is a sign of friendship and trust. In continuing to do so, the friendship was maintained, exactly what happened between the Spanish and the Solomon Islands natives. As a reciprocity, the natives provided gift of food and water to the Spanish, hence good friendship was established and frequent contact and communication took place.

The exchanging of gifts by the Spanish and the natives was seen as a form of bridging communications, it did win the trust of the natives. On the other hand, it can cause personal conflict like what happened in another event on the island of Isabel.



Figure 3: “Catholic Bishop Jean-Baptiste Epalle was killed on Isabel Island in 1845”, courtesy of *Raucaz 1928.*

In 1845, a Catholic Bishop was murdered because of shortage of gifts. He was handing out individual gifts to the natives like usual, unfortunately the gifts were not enough for the whole community. One of the natives demanded the Bishop’s ring which is very sacred to the Bishop and the catholic church. He refused the request and so he was killed by one of the natives who then took his ring. The Bishop was killed over shortage of gifts. Which concludes that gift giving does not always mean good luck.

Red envelope on the other hand also have cons to it depending on the situation. For instance, there are some people who will ask a Sharman (*Shan Ren*) to do magic spell on a red envelope on behalf of a dead person and put it on the street to be found by a person of preference. The person who found and took the red envelope will then be married to the ghost of the dead person. The red envelope too can be used for different purposes which is not always a positive one. Red envelope in Taiwan is also called bribe money. In one case according to Taiwan News Facebook page in March 25, 2022, published one of their stories titled “North Taiwan man hides bribe in tea jar, officials fail to notice”. The man surnamed Liu in his attempt to bribe officials at the Irrigations Agency’s in Taoyuan Management office over a land belonging to the office to operate a parking lot failed, because the money went unnoticed until a janitor found it while cleaning. Liu visited the office with two gift boxes containing jars of tea and two red envelopes. The janitor found out that each red envelope contains NT\$10,000 and NT\$20,000. Liu was questioned by the Investigation Bureau for corruption which he confessed, and because he had no criminal records, he was fined NT\$50,000 and his prosecution defer.

Gift giving can also cause anxiety especially to the giver over fear of a negative evaluation by the receiver. Such anxiety as mentioned by others (Schlenker & Leary, 1982, as cited in Wooten, 2000) is the same as test taking, public speaking or competition anxiety, this will happen only if the giver do not know about the gift etiquette. From my personal experience, selecting gifts to family members are less stressful, compared to when selecting gifts for non-family members. The anxiety of being negatively evaluated is less, however when purchasing gifts for non-family member the anxiety will be higher. In Taiwanese culture the etiquette of red envelope is carefully followed as not to disappoint the receiver, while in the Solomon Islands there is no specific rules on the type of material gifts for big days like Christmas, birthdays, and

New Year's. However, during cultural gift giving ceremony, there are rules to follow regarding the customary goods that are presented. During important days like birthdays and Christmas, the gift giving can also be optional for the attendees, this is to avoid reciprocity when the individual who does not bring gifts have an important event in the future. This is something to do with culture, when someone give you something, you must do the same in return next time, but unlike the potlatch system of North America where the reciprocity has to be more than the previous gifts presented. It is not the same with red envelope, but the goods in the gift have similar functions to red envelope.

Gift giving can mean different things. It can be interpreted differently and be seen as competition in gift giving ceremony on Isabel province, thus some of the cultural practices of gift giving have been discouraged to avoid disputes. Unlike red envelope, the gift giving practice that caused disputes are done in a public gathering in which the sight of competition can be seen on the same day, but for red envelope, it will be reciprocated in another time between individuals and families or colleagues, not between tribes like in the Solomon Islands. Some individuals give gifts freely as in charity, some give gifts to maintain friendship, while others give gifts and they expect something in return. But how do we differentiate and understand all these types of gift giving practices. Well, there are writings that try to define the meaning of free gifts and gift with reciprocity as mentioned in the essay "The Gift" by Marcel Mauss. Not all gifts given are from one's willingness. Mauss in his essay pointed out that all gifts have reciprocity, other scholars like Laidlaw argued against it, by explaining the Dann gift in India as a free gift. The influence of peer groups and the society also plays a major role in this practice.

Gift giving is also one of the ways to express our feelings to others. That is the reason why some individuals faced anxiety when selecting gifts. Gifts have different functions and

interpretation in the society. Below are some of the common ones and when presenting of gifts can happen. (1). Identity. (2). Wedding. (3). Friendship. (30). Compensation. (4). Wealth (Social status). (5). Social friendship. (6). To express feelings. (7). Spiritual meanings. (8) Economic exchange. (9) Political gain (10) luck, (11) offerings, (12) sacrifice.

In Taiwanese culture, during big days and important moment in someone's life and as a sign of appreciation, the parents and attendees would then give red envelopes. Color red symbolizes happiness in Taiwanese culture, the gifts wrapped in red or in red envelope shows positivity and luck. These beliefs dated back to the legends of Nian, and the two guards, the monster which I will discuss in the next chapters. Money put in a white envelope "funeral money" is used in sad moments like funerals. Gift giving in the Solomon Islands does not have such etiquette, however color black is equivalent to white in Taiwanese culture. Hardly seen a gift wrapped in black color or envelope. Color white is the most preferred color which is the opposite to Taiwanese culture where white envelope is used only during funerals, since white envelope represents sorrow and purity. During funerals attendees would bring white envelope with money inside to help contribute to the funeral fund. The amount of money received varies and the individual sum of the money gifted is always an odd number. In the Solomon Islands, the culture of putting money inside envelopes does not have a clear guideline. Any color can be used; however, the most preferred color would be white, second brown. This is something to do with religious teachings, as white represents pure, clean, or holy, thus majority would choose white wrappings or white envelope. Color brown envelope is second because of its availability. Not many shops sell other colored envelopes. The two most popular color envelopes are white and brown. In addition to Taiwanese gift giving cultures, gifts are given in pairs, gifts given in pairs are the best. Gift giving also have its own meaning for certain items. Gift that are

considered taboo for instance are clocks, because it symbolizes that time of your death is ticking. It is common in Taiwanese culture to give gifts of cash using red envelope, unlike in the Solomon Islands where people often bring goods rather than cash. Cash can only be used when someone does not have enough time to prepare a gift, thus turn to cash as substitution. The amount varies. Gift giving also depends on the behavior of the person. Others give gifts out of friendships, others give gifts for the sake of being admired by others. Such behaviors also influence gift givers.

Furthermore, in Taiwan's culture, the amount of cash or goods presented depends on one's closeness to the receiver. The closest the giver is to the receiver the higher the amount of cash or the older the receiver is bigger the amount in a red envelope. Solomon Islands on the other hand, the closest the giver is to the receiver the less stress over worrying about how much to give, in other words, less amount will be given compared to when presenting gifts to someone who is not so close. This is to avoid negative evaluation between the giver and the receiver whom are not related. Negative evaluation of gifts is unlikely to happen if both are closely related, since the idea of oneness is present. However, the behavior of people is changing because of globalization, such understanding of oneness will evolve overtime. Nowadays, in the Solomon Islands the sense of competition is present. People in the villages and communities would compete against each on certain things in areas such as the number of well-educated individuals, competition in village cleanliness, including competition when giving gifts to visitors that are touring the villages doing fundraisings.

Societies have progressed in so far as they themselves, have succeeded in stabilizing relationships, giving, receiving, and finally giving in return. To trade, the first condition was to be able to lay aside the spear. From then onward, people succeeded in exchanging goods and persons, no longer only between clans, but between tribes and nations, and, above all, between individuals. Only then did people learn how to create mutual interests, giving mutual satisfaction, and, in the end, to defend them without having to resort to

arms. Thus, the clan, the tribe and peoples have learnt how to oppose without slaughtering each other and to give to one another without sacrificing themselves to one another. This is what tomorrow, in our so-called civilized world, classes and nations and individuals also, must learn. This is one of the enduring secrets of their wisdom and solidarity. (Simone Bateman 2016).

Gift is the main player in achieving the success, uniting the tribes and gives wisdom to people in seeing beyond its materiality. This paragraph will introduce the functions of *Ei vanga* inside Isabel province. The material and the meaning behind this practice. I will use to compare it to the function of red envelope inside Taiwan society. Gifts can be a contract. According to Mary Douglas's interpretation of *The Gift*, there is a sort of contract or Archaic contract as existed in *Ei vanga* where gifts were given in exchange for a claim on something. In the case of *Ei vanga* gift was exchanged for rights to land. The book also discussed the type of exchange happening in the Polynesia and Melanesia which they term as 'barter system'. Barter system is also practiced in the Solomon Islands mainly between tribes in the highlands and the tribes from the coast. This is what Mauss referred to in his essay as an economic exchange. Usually what happened, is the highland tribes would bring food crops like taro, yam, and sweet potatoes in exchange for sea foods from the coastal tribes. And during barter systems, tribes' exchanges foods they can produce for foods they cannot produce. *Ei vanga* on the other hand have the similar functions, however the goods were exchange for land rights between tribes. The contracting parties of *Ei vanga* are legal entities: clans, tribes, and families who confront and oppose one another either in groups who meet face to face in one spot, or through their chiefs, or in both these ways at once.

Moreover, what they exchange is not solely property and wealth, movable and immovable goods, and things economically useful. "In particular, such exchanges can be referred to as acts of politeness: banquets, rituals, military services, women, children, dances, festivals,

and fairs, in which economic transaction is only one element, and in which the passing on of wealth is only one feature of a much more general and enduring contract.”<sup>11</sup> Unlike, the potlatch system in North American tribes, Ei vanga does not force the receiving tribe to reciprocate, however if the children of the man do not reciprocate, then the land rights will return to the man’s tribe and in this case like in a matriarch society of Isabel where children belong to their mother’s tribe, thus they will not inherit rights to use or own properties on their father’s tribal land. Hence, it is an obligation for the mother and her children to perform such gift giving ceremony to avoid losing land rights. Ei vanga has become a customary land ownership law in Isabel province.<sup>12</sup> The process to conduct the Ei vanga ceremony must get approval from the chiefs which are then recorded and stored by representatives from the provincial government who will also be present during the gift giving ceremony. Most of the Ei vanga done today take reference from Dr Bogese’s writing 1948.

Not only those three types of gifts and practices mentioned in the previous chapters are practiced in the Solomon Islands. There are also gift giving that accompany the following events: The birth of a child (sigo), circumcision, funeral rites, fishing rituals, headhunting rituals, land inheritance, tattoo into manhood, bride price (shell money), compensation (tafuli’ae), visiting distant relatives (hobi kulaga), church offerings (tithes), Saints day, Christmas carols (sasavera), assassination gifts (tuku) and giving gifts to village visitors (dotho). In potlatch system of the Indian tribes in North America, gifts were exchanged for honour, prestige and mana conferred by wealth. A similar characteristic of the potlatch system can also be found in some of the gift giving practices in the Solomon Islands. For instance, there was a type of Ei vanga in Isabel

<sup>11</sup> Mary Douglas, “The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies” (Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2002), p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Allan, Colin H, Customary Land Tenure in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. (Honiara, Western Pacific High Commission, 1957), p. 13.

similar to potlatch. It can only be done when the husband demands his wife to present him with gifts. This is taboo in Isabel culture for the father to demand Ei vanga from his wife and kids. The time and place should be decided by the wife and kids. It was ceased over fear that such practice does not promote harmony in the community.

Gift giving is a part of the function of society. "One gives because one is compelled to do so, because the recipient possesses some kind of right of property over anything that belongs to the donor. This ownership is expressed and conceived of as a spiritual bond."<sup>13</sup> as can be found in Ei vanga where mother and her children give traditional gifts to the father for his hard work in raising the children, the property he owns and land he owned. Thus, in Isabel culture when a man got married the right thing to do is to go and live on his wife's tribal land, however in today's society where migration arises the increase in inter marriages also increases in which such practices are no longer maintained and so the practiced of Ei vanga by the children and their mother are sometimes interpreted wrongly.

Coming back to Taiwan. In sacrifice, giving gifts as thanks to the gods for protection. Humans reciprocated gifts of sacrifice as thanks for success. Same too in Taiwan culture where red envelopes were given to the temples for fortunes and protection. When going to the temple in Taiwan, each family prepare a Red Envelope to be given as offering. The amount put inside is around NT200 for each family. In terms of offerings to give thanks to God, it is also practiced in the Christian teachings to always give one tenth of what you have to God. For example, one tenth of your every salary should be given to the church as your tithes. A gift to the gods as thanks and for protection. Gifts between human and Gods also serve the purpose of buying peace between them both. In this way evil spirits and, more generally, bad influences, even not

<sup>13</sup> Mary Douglas, "The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies", p. 17.

personalized, are got rid of. The basic elements of Red Envelope can be found in the gift giving practice in the Solomon Islands. For instance, Red Envelope can be given to the temple to bring good fortunes. Each temple has a special box for the red envelope. In the Solomon Islands the churches practice such, however it is referred to as tithes offering to give thanks to God for all that he had provided. In Christian religion tithes offering can be in a form of cash or goods as in a form of the first harvest of a new garden. In every church, there is a box where people go to give their tithes offering. It is put inside an envelope but not red in color.

The envelope can either be white or brown. Box for tithes offering are different from the normal offering where people can give every day. Unlike in Taiwan where each family can use one red envelope, the tithes offering is an individual practice in terms of money. Each member of the family can save their tithes separately. The Red Envelopes given to the temple box are for good fortunes, the tithes on the other hand, the money belongs to God and it is the right thing to do, to give back to God what belongs to him. The amount of money put in the red envelope for the temple varies from 100NT to 200NT. For tithes offering, one tenth of your salary or the money you received from anyone, whether it is from red envelope, tenth of that money is your tithes offering to God. Same goes for the first harvest from your garden. One tenth of the harvest is the tithes. The food will be blessed by the priest or catechist and later sold to the people. The money received from the sold goods then belongs to the church as your tithes offering. By doing so, your garden and the harvest will be fruitful (blessings).

The information collected will include past records of the function of gifts researched by different scholars, especially on the sociological perspective of famous scholars like Marcel Mauss, and writings of anthropologist like Claude Levi Strauss and other famous anthropologists like Malinowski, will be used to compare the evolutions of gift giving and the future outlook of

this tradition. By doing so readers will grasp an understanding of the functions of gifts from different angles. Therefore, this paper will focus mainly in these three functions of customary gifts in Taiwan and the Solomon Islands. 1. Society. 2. Family, and 3. personal level

### **Research Methodology.**

The research method design that I used to analyse the functions of customary gifts in Taiwan and the Solomon Islands includes, the behaviors of participants in gift giving within these two countries. The characteristics that was attached to the gifts involved, the role of gifts and tradition behind it. The methods I used to collect information on the functions of customary gifts within these two countries were mostly from secondary data.

This research paper is separated into five different chapters. Discussed in chapter one (1) is the introduction, the motivation, literature review and the research methodology. Chapter two (2) are the functions of the chosen customary gifts in Taiwan and the Solomon Island's society. Chapter three (3) the functions of gifts towards family. Chapter four is the function of customary gifts in from personal dimension and chapter five is my findings and discussions from the questionnaires, interviews, and class lessons.

In Taiwan, I researched about the contemporary functions of Red Envelope (*hongbao*), according to its significance in the society, family, and personal level in the postmodern era. This includes the historical background of red envelope tradition, according to literature reviews that I had access on. Solomon Islands on the other hand, I picked three different types of gift giving practices that fit into the definition of the functions of gift in the society, family, and personal level that are similar to the red envelope. The customary gifts in the Solomons are similar in many ways to the function of red envelope in the society, which I will discuss their similarities in the next chapters. In addition, I discussed these types of gifts, because Solomon Islands have a

diverse culture with more than seventy different local dialects, meaning there are around seventy different culture and tradition. Thus, it will be proper to include gift practices in more than two provinces, since I referred to Solomon Islands culture in general. I discussed the types of customary gift from Malaita, Isabel and Guadalcanal provinces that have similar characteristics to red envelope meaning, these customary gift giving practices have survived to this day and is still practiced.

In order to understand the Solomon Islands, a brief introduction is necessary to figure out which method of data collection will be convenient. Originally, my idea was to go back home during school holidays and conduct case studies and face to face interviews with elders from my home island in Isabel. However, the Covid-19 regulations have proven difficult, thus I only conduct online interactions taking the directions from the questionnaires that I have prepared and from my own cultural knowledge.

Isabel province have seven different languages and is one of the main islands that made up the Solomon Islands. Isabel province is a matriarch society where women are important than men in terms of land ownership. Woman have primary rights over customary land ownership, hence they are more important than men. There is one gift giving ceremony that I have discussed the requirements and the types of traditional goods used in such cultural ceremony and the significance it has between tribes and families later in this paper. Guadalcanal province like Isabel is also a matriarch society where women have primary rights to land ownership. Malaita province on the other hand, is a Patriarch society where men are more important than women in terms of land ownership, the opposite to Isabel and Guadalcanal province. In the Solomon Islands culture, land ownership is everything, thus I referred to the importance of man and woman in the society to customary land ownership. I have also discussed the functions of red

money (shell money) towards the society and family in Malaita province in the next chapters using documents that I had access on and responds from friends from Malaita. The shell money tradition plays an important role inside societies and families in Malaita, as well as the Solomon Islands as a whole.

All the types of customary gifts from the provinces in in Solomon was used to compare with the function of red envelope in Taiwan society

Qualitative research method supported by secondary and historical approach was used to gather data using literatures, social media, YouTube videos, interviews, and questionnaire surveys, to analyse the functions of customary gift giving and the types of gifts in these two countries. In collecting information, the questions that I have asked includes, the behavior of the individuals involved, attitudes and opinions on why the societies practiced gift giving or how much they give, and what are its significances and functions within the societies.

According to the sociologist Marcel Mauss, gifts are given in order to maintain good social relationship. Gift giving is one of the process that integrates a society. Everyone today has involved in this practice more than once in their lifetime, either to maintain social relationship, for luck, economic gain or for charity. Therefore, one of the methods to conduct research on this kind of topic is to use qualitative research method, to analyse the behavior of individuals. I conducted informal interviews and discussions with my Taiwanese friends and using social media platform to reach out to the people in and around my country to assist with the questions. The directions of the questions are about what influence them to participate in customary gift exchanges, why they decided to put that much amount of money in the red envelope for a particular individual or ask them why they decide to practice the culture of gift giving. The influence could be from internal or external pressure. That is from peer pressures and institution,

like the experience I had during my first year in Taiwan. When I first arrived in Taiwan and had to go through the stress of selecting gifts as told by the institution I studied in. Things that needs to be taken into consideration were the options, social status, financial status, security and so forth.

Questionnaires were prepared and my focused group were people from Solomon Islands and Taiwan. The questionnaires were used as my directions to have in depth discussions with my supervising Professors, National Dong Hwa University and Tamkang University former classmates, including my Indigenous Taiwanese friends from Amis, Atayal, Paiwan and Bunun tribes, and the friends I know throughout my six years course of study in Taiwan.

During the discussions, I observe my participants and compared them to my own experience. I did my best to make the discussions with the people I interact with normal as much as possible. A kind of discussion where the participants feel free to share their views and stories as normal as in everyday conversation among friends. Since this is a research that focus more on the functions of customary gifts in the postmodern society. The focused group were youths ages ranged from 20- 35 years old. Also, I posted and asked these questions in social media platforms using survey method. By doing so, I got a fare understanding of an individual towards the practice of gift giving. For the case of Taiwan, the gift giving culture, focused mainly on the ‘Red envelope tradition’ experienced by students at Tamkang University and National Dong Hwa University, and few Taiwanese and expatriates.<sup>14</sup> This is to get the needed understanding about these customary gifts as much as possible. The name of preference of all the participants will be mentioned in the final chapters of my findings.

<sup>14</sup> My former classmates from Tamkang University that I conducted my survey on them, most of them employed

### Survey Questionnaires.

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Occupation. Employed or still a student (which university)?
4. What is your religion? For example, Christian.
5. Which country are you from or what is your ethnic background? For example.  
Taiwan, Amis tribe.
6. If you are an expatriate (foreigner). How long have you been in Taiwan?
7. Have you ever received a red envelope in your life? If you choose “No” you can skip the next question.
8. If you choose “Yes”. What was the occasion/event you received the red envelope from? Example, New Year’s Celebration.
9. How much \$ do you usually receive in such occasion/event you participated in? or how much was the highest amount you received from a red envelope in your life?
10. What are some of the occasions/event people in Taiwan, that you know people usually give red envelopes? Apart from Lunar New Year’s celebrations.
11. If somebody asked you to choose between two red envelopes. One contains NT\$400 and the other contains NT\$200. Which one will you take?
12. Related to question 11 above. Why do you choose that amount (NT\$200 or NT\$400)?
13. If you found a red envelope on the street. Will you pick it up and keep it for you or just ignore it? If you choose “Yes” or “No” at least explain why?
14. In your own understanding. What is the good thing about red envelope? For example, it unites family, make you happy. etc.

15. In your own understanding. What is the bad thing about red envelope? For example, some people might use it for other purposes.
16. How many minutes or hours it does it take you to complete these questionnaires?

### **Chapter 1 Society. The functions of Red Envelope in Taiwan.**

Taiwan is a nation of multiple cultural lifestyles practiced by both the Han Chinese and the indigenous peoples. The cultural practice of red envelope tradition originally came from mainland China and the mainlanders migrated to Taiwan with their culture in the 1600s, the people also bring their culture with them. Today the red envelope tradition is an important part of Taiwanese culture. A red envelope or *hongbao* as the name given is an envelope or a red box used to put money and give it to friends, families, or colleagues.

The Red Envelope tradition pays attention to the amount and the state of money put in the envelope. Old bank notes are exchanged for new notes before it is put inside red envelope. New notes mean new beginning with blessing and positivity for the near year as giving red envelopes is a tradition during Lunar New Year celebrations. Hence, weeks before the Lunar new years the bank que will be long with people going there to exchange old bank notes for new bank notes to put inside the red envelope. Money is an important part of Taiwanese cultures, it can be defined as good fortune. While in the Solomon Islands culture, giving gift of money to children is discouraged, it does happen but rarely. Money as gifts to children during birthdays or Christmas can only be used when the giver does not have enough time to prepare a proper gift in a form of material goods. The idea is to discourage the child to developed love for money, as there are teachings that believed that money is the root of evil, thus to promote love for money would

entertain greed in the society. However, the society we are living in today relied on money to provide goods and services because our system promotes markets for profits, and businesses over family. This is true in the case of Solomon Islands. In the past families or communities work do not require money as payments or gifts for the labor, but nowadays even close family members request money for the services performed. Money plays an important role in the Solomon Islands society today. Money is not the root of evil, poverty is.

Red envelope, as the name suggests, is a red-colored envelope that always contains money when given. Also called *Hongbao* in its original Mandarin language, or *Ang Pao* in Taiwanese dialect. The red envelope is most commonly given to children or single/unmarried adults during the Lunar New Year celebration by elders and married couples when Taiwanese families usually gathered together for dinner. The Red Envelope typically are decorated with gold patterns or drawings. In terms of marketing strategy, the creation of different patterns that suites the interest of today's generation influences also the patterns on the outside cover of the red envelope. There are other common names for the red envelope according to the dialects, like *Ang Pow* or *Ang Pau* (Hokkien dialect), *Lai See* (Cantonese dialect), or simply Red Packet. The color red plays a very special role in the Chinese and Taiwanese culture, and we all find it everywhere in Taiwan during big events like Chinese New Year, weddings, birth of a child, promotion in job and many more which I will discuss in the next sections. For instance, on wedding day the preferred wear would be color red. While there are several different versions of the history and myth behind this, the Chinese and Taiwanese thought of the color red as a symbol of good luck, prosperity, and vitality. This applies also to the red envelope tradition in Taiwan that the color red protects them from evil spirits and sicknesses. For people who understands red envelope tradition, the red-colored paper of the envelopes is more important than the money

inside it. However, such belief will change overtime depending on the economic situation of a country. As compared to Taiwan, Solomon Islands is less developed. Thus, the envelope or the wrapping does not carry much meaning, but the money inside is more important. Money, wrapped inside the red envelopes is believed to produce more prosperity for the following year both for the giver and the receiver. Thus, the practice in Taiwan is to put even numbers and new paper money notes and not old bank notes, this is to bring abundant blessings for the New Year. In the case where the receiver would not accept the money, the receiver can just tear out a piece of the Red Envelope or take only the envelope and give back the money inside. Because, the symbols and the color of the envelope already carried an important over the money itself. I have been in Taiwan for over six years now and never once I saw a worn-out bank notes circling around compared to the Solomon Islands where the sight of worn out notes are still used.

In addition, before Chinese New Year's people will que the bank to exchange the old notes for new notes to be used in the red envelope. Such etiquette also plays an important role in the Red Envelope tradition and also help to collect old and worn out bank notes from circling in the economy. Also, in Taiwan culture, the use of white envelope is also present. However, white envelopes are used for funerals. When attending a funeral, money that is put in a white envelope will be given to the family to assist with the funeral expenses.

### **The Chinese Legends of Red Envelope.**

In these sections I will discuss the three different legends about the Red Envelope. In ancient Chinese history, there are different legends that are related to the red envelope. Firstly, the legend of *Nian*.

Chinese New Year's Day is called Guo Nian in Mandarin, which can mean 'celebrate year' or 'overcome Nian'. In ancient times, there was a monster named Nian or Nianshou with a long head and sharp horns. It dwelled deep in the sea all year round and only showed up every New Year's Eve to eat people and livestock in nearby villages. Therefore, on the day of New Year's Eve, people would flee to remote mountains to avoid being harmed by the monster. People had lived in fear of this monster until an old man with white hair and a ruddy complexion visited the village. He refused to hide in the mountains along with the villagers, but successfully scared away the monster by pasting red papers on doors, burning bamboo to make a loud cracking sound (precursor to firecrackers), lighting candles in the houses, and wearing red clothes. When the villagers came back, they were surprised to discover that the village had not been destroyed. After that, every New Year's Eve, people did as the old man instructed and the monster Nian never showed up again.<sup>15</sup>

One of such culture related to monster Nian is the red envelope tradition, which has been practiced until the present time and has become an important part of celebration for the arrival of the new year. During Lunar New Year period, the married people, those with jobs or the elderly give red envelopes to children or unmarried juniors. A red envelope is also called *ya suì qian* (suppressing Sui money). The second legend that is related to red envelope is the legend of *Sui*.

Legend says that *Sui* is totally black, except for its colorless, transparent hands. *Sui* according to the said legend appears every Chinese New Year's Eve and would touch a sleeping child's head, causing mental illness. So, the elderly people started to thread coins with a red string, "money to suppress *Sui*". The coins were given to children to entertain them, and to keep them awake to avoid *Sui*'s touch. According to the same legend, eight noble fairies turned themselves into eight coins, protecting the children from *Sui*."<sup>16</sup>

Moreover, "it is customary to hang a few copper coins on a red string, and place this on the neck of the god *Ch'eng-hwang* in his temple. When the necklace has been worn some time by the god, it is placed on the neck of the child, and used as a charm to ward off all untoward evils."<sup>17</sup> The color red in Taiwan still maintains its original

<sup>15</sup> Travel China Guide, "Legend of Monster Nian," 22.

<sup>16</sup> Doris Lam, "5 Stories and Legends to Know", *Tatler Asia Limited*, 2022, <https://www.tatlerasia.com/culture/arts/hk-chinese-new-year-stories-myths>

<sup>17</sup> Dore, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, 10.

function as a symbol of good luck and prosperity. “Red is the color betokening joy, and is employed on marriage days and other festal occurrences. It is a lucky omen”<sup>18</sup>. Hence, the preferable color of envelope to wrap gifts or put money inside during festal events is red. Families and friends exchange Red Envelope during Chinese New Year to wish each other good fortune in the New Years. According to another legend similar to the first story, Chinese New Year's Day or the Spring Festival is also called "*Guo Nian*", which means surviving the monster *Nian's* attack or live through the previous years to another new year. The meaning behind Red Envelope also comes with luck which tells us the story of an orphan boy who defeated a demon. “Several stories about the origin of Red Envelopes and some said that the history dates back as far as the Song Dynasty (960–1279) in China.”<sup>19</sup>

Michael Hanna, a writer of an advice centre regarding the etiquettes of the red envelope tradition, states that the red envelopes originated in the Sung Dynasty in China, when a young orphan defeated a huge demon terrorizing the village of Chain-Chieu. Although the greatest warriors of the time could not defeat this demon, the young orphan was able to kill the demon by using a magical saber. To show their gratitude, the elders of the village presented the orphan with a red envelope filled with money.<sup>20</sup>

The Red Envelope was not given for free, there is a reciprocity taking place between the elders and the young orphan for the service he had given. As this is one of the functions of gift giving pointed out by scholars who mentioned that gifts can be referred to as something that possesses a characteristics of reciprocity. In the case of Red Envelope in this legend, it was given as a reward for the service done which is also one aspect of Red Envelope in the society. From

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>19</sup> Hanna, “The History of the Red Envelopes and How you can use them during the year of the Yang water Tiger Ren Yin 2022,” 1.

<sup>20</sup> Black, et al., “Red Envelopes an Old Chinese Tradition,” 2006.

the three legends of red envelope, we read that evil was defeated by good, with the significance of color red as the lucky omen.

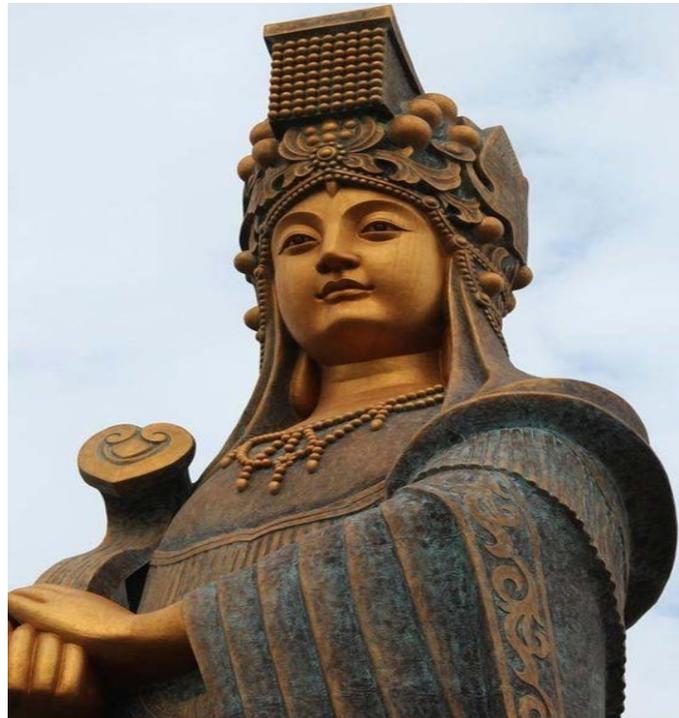
### **Red Envelope and Prosperity.**

Prosperity is one of the good lucks that accommodates the gift giving of red envelope. How does red envelope promote prosperity? The more you give the more you will receive, same applies to the red envelope. The more “red envelope” you give, the more blessing you will receive. Even in the case of gamblers, they give red envelopes to people in order to get luck in their gambling, thus some Taiwanese I talked with said, do not accept red envelope from gamblers, but others think it is a good thing to accept red envelope from gamblers, to give luck to the giver. The significance of giving red envelope also includes blessings of security and wealth. The image and the significance of red envelope use began to change. Not only used in new year celebrations, but also used for other purposes, like gambling.

During the Lunar New Year 2022, a Taiwanese couple paid a visit to an Earth god temple to pray for luck before they bought tickets to participate in the scrap ticket lottery, in which they won NT\$1 million (US\$36,000). In the aftermath, the couple thanked the local deity for sponsoring their impending marriage, according to Tseng Chi-yi and Lee Hsin-Yin. There are two kinds of places where people can go and ask for luck by giving red envelope. One is from the temples, where you can put your red envelope in the offering box. Or to pay a visit to the *Shan Ren* (mountain person) to help in foretelling your future luck. I will discuss in detail some of the functions of the *shan ren* in relation to the red envelope in the next section.

In Taiwanese culture, there is also a perfect time in which a person will probably get luck from visiting the temple to pray for luck. A certain time and date by which prayers in the temple

are most likely to be answered, thus believers decided to go to the temple to pray in such time. A discussion with my professor mentioned that 10am to 12pm is a lucky time to go and pray at the temple belonging to the local deity Mazu. The prayer for luck should only be for one season or event, but never over a year.



*The tallest statue of Mazu in the world, 2013. Photo by Dli184 (Wikimedia Commons)*

Mazu or Ma-Tsu is a female goddess of the sea that was brought to Taiwan by the Chinese mainlanders in the 16th century. According to a Taiwan website “Taiwan, the heart of Asia”, Mazu become one of the most revered deities on the island, where today about 870 temples are dedicated to her worship.”<sup>21</sup> Mazu's birthday falls in the third month of the Chinese

<sup>21</sup> Taiwan, the heart of Asia, “Religious Activities”, 2019.

Lunar calendar, <sup>22</sup> and during that time, temples of Mazu all over the island hold birthday activities including the burning of incense and tours of the deities around their domains. A birthday parade for the follower of Mazu will take on the streets. During the birthday parade, money was given out to the public for luck and prosperity. Color red stands out during this float parade. Every temple like the temple of Mazu or Buddhism have an offering box for red envelope.

### **The etiquettes of red envelope.**

A typical Taiwanese New Year greeting that awaits any adult visiting a household will be “*Xi nian kuaile,*” (happy new year) or “*gongxi fa cai, hongbao na lai*” (best wishes for the New Year, may I have my red envelope please). The size of a red envelope can vary, although the most common is about the size of a regular bill, which is perfect for folded banknotes; a larger envelope can take an unfolded note and will usually be used when giving large amounts of money for a wedding gift or consultation.

This year I received two red envelopes, the first one was from the elementary school I volunteered to teach English at, and the second red envelope was given to me by my boss whom I worked for at his hotel. Inside the red envelope I received NT500 from the elementary school and NT1000 from my boss. Outside the red envelope there was no traditional wishes and symbols, however there were written bible verses and religious greetings. On the red envelope given to me by the elementary school is a verse from the book of Psalms 16:11 in Traditional Mandarin character that reads, “You will show me the way of life, there is full joy in your

<sup>22</sup> A female Taiwanese classmate told me the date of Mazu’s birthday. That is on March 23

presence and everlasting happiness in your right hand”. On the other red envelope from my boss, the writing outside reads like this, “May God bless you, safe health and happy” and decorations of children was on the red envelope which according to Chinese culture symbolize Joy. We could learn here that each religious group take this red envelope tradition and merge it into their context which then also gives out good luck wishes and protection, prosperity for the future. From the writings outside of the two red envelopes I received this year 2022, they are both derived from the Catholic and the Christian writings.

While opening a red envelope in front of the giver, it is considered to bestow bad luck, and downright impolite. In a nutshell, those who receive a red envelope are wished another peaceful, prosperous, and happy new year. In Taiwanese culture, red envelopes are also given during other celebratory occasions such as weddings, birth of a newborn, graduation, birthdays (especially elderly person’s birthday) and on occasions when someone’s virginity<sup>23</sup> was taken, and including the services and advice given by the *Shan Ren* (mountain person/monk) using the five skills “Wu Shu”. Since red envelopes are meant to share good wishes and symbolize happiness, it is worth noting that the red envelope is not given during funerals or sickness. However, According to Miss Fish, when relatives are seriously ill, you may give red envelope to the person to wish them luck and recover from their illness.

During funerals, if a person wants to give money in cash, typically they would switch into the traditional white envelopes. White envelopes are the color of choice during funerals, when attendees want to help with the funeral fund they put money inside a white envelope as contributions to the funeral expenses. But, it is different in other Asian cultures like Japan where

<sup>23</sup> This was according to one of my interviewees whom I will identify as, participant no.1

they prefer to use white envelope for celebratory occasions. In addition, Solomon Islands prefer white envelope or the brown envelope to put paper money inside. In Taiwan tradition and also in the Solomon Islands, marriage is a sign of adulthood. Therefore, traditionally speaking, a Taiwanese is obligated to hand out red envelopes after they are married, same to for the adults that have started earning money should start giving out red envelope in either one of the Taiwan festal events such as the Lunar New Year festival.

Furthermore, teenagers will stop receiving red envelopes from their parents and grandparents after they are married or become employed. However, in some case grandparents might keep giving you red envelopes even after you are married as a sign of their good wishes and love. Therefore, when you are a married adult and have a formal job, who should you give red envelopes to? According to my survey questionnaires and daily interactions with my Taiwanese classmates and friends, here are some of the basic customs on giving red envelope during Lunar New Year's:

- If you have a job and married. You give red envelopes to your family members, especially elders (parents and grandparents) and the younger generation without an income or unmarried. This includes your own children, children of your siblings, and your siblings.
- During Lunar New Year's. Give red envelope to your close friends if they are without income or unmarried, or your close friends' children who attended the Lunar New Year's dinner with the family.
- Give red envelope to the employees if you own a business. It is a common practice in Taiwan today. In my case, I have experienced this from my boss from the coffeeshop I

worked part time at. He gave all his employees a red envelope during our Lunar New Year eve's dinner.

- It is uncommon to give red envelopes to those with a significantly higher income than yours (might be considered offensive). For example, it is uncommon to give a red envelope to your boss. In some case, the person will tear out a piece of the red envelope, but will not accept the money inside the red envelope. The significance of the red envelope is the red paper.
- Since the Lunar New Year's festivity is traditional between close friends and families. they are the first priority. It is an event for family reunion
- There is no set of rules. The appropriate amount will depend on your own financial situation, basic knowledge about the number culture and your relation to the receiver. For example, if you give a red envelope to a distant relative, the amount will be lower. Compared to when you give a red envelope to a close immediate family

### **How to give and receive a red envelope.**

Taiwanese are superstitious with numbers, so avoid giving amounts starting and ending with four (example, NT400 or \$40 or \$14). The number four have the similar pronunciation with “*si*” with the same meaning to death in Mandarin, so it is always considered as bad luck. On the other hand, amounts starting and ending with eight is considered good luck, for example, NT88, 888. Also, giving money in odd numbers (example, NT\$37) is also considered unlucky. The superstition also applies in room numbers. For example, in some buildings in Taiwan there is no room number 4 or 204 as the belief is similar to that of four which have similar sound to death in mandarin language and may considered bad luck. I witnessed this from the hotel where I worked

at in Hualien. The hotel does not have room 204. From room 203, skip to room 205. The same to for a motel at Pingtung where we reside when we go there to participate in a football competition. It does not have room number 304, only 303 to 305 and up. This is because room number 304 have number four in the end which is regarded as bad luck number.

The Lunar New Year celebrations last for 15 days starting from the New Year's Eve and ending with the Lantern Festival on the 16<sup>th</sup> day. During these days, it is wise to prepare some red envelopes in advance and always carry them with you, just in case you stumble into someone you might need to give an envelope to. The same principle also applies for birthday celebrations and other occasions where red envelopes are given. It is considered tradition to put brand new bills inside the red envelope. Therefore, for several weeks leading up to the Lunar New Year's Eve, the banks in Taiwan typically have long queues due to people wanting to exchange old money notes with new ones. Again, prepare ahead so you can avoid the queues. People in Taiwan exchange old money notes for new ones, because of the superstitious belief that old notes may have carried with them the bad lucks of the past years, thus it is not wise to pass on the bad luck to the New Year by putting them in a red envelope. New Year supposed to be new money notes put inside red envelope considered to be a new blessing for the New Year. If you need to give red packets to many different people and plan to give different amounts, you can use different envelope designs. Today, people use other popular animation figures like hello kitty and also included religious greetings and even bible verses depending on who the receiver is. Chinese culture emphasizes subtlety instead of bluntness. Therefore, when handing out the red envelope, avoid saying something like "here is the hongbao!", but instead you can use subtle phrases like "wish you success this year" (*gongxi facai*), or simply "happy new year" (*xinnian kuaile*).

### **Tips on receiving.**

Never open or even peek inside the red envelope in front of the giver. Usually, the red envelope is opened when the receiver is at their homes (to avoid bad luck), but even if you are not superstitious, only open the red envelope in private, because it is polite to do so.

Receive the red envelope with both hands. It is considered impolite (and for the superstitious, believed to produce bad luck) if you only use one hand. Typically, the receiver must say their Lunar New Year greetings, commonly *gongxi facai*, “happiness and prosperity”, before the giver will give their red envelope. Not commonly practiced nowadays, but traditionally children must kneel when receiving the red envelope and bow after receiving the red envelope. During our Lunar New Year’s Eve dinner this year 2022 with our boss from the coffee shop, the family members said these greeting words before and after receiving the red envelope from the boss, so I did the same and said *gongxi facai* to my boss after I received my red envelope, because it is polite to do so. After you receive the red envelope, say thank you and express your gratitude. You can simply express good wishes in English if you can’t speak Mandarin (example. “best wishes for the new year”), but you can also say common Lunar New Year greetings like, “may your wishes come true or happy new year”.

Some red envelope will be decorated with an image (usually representing the Chinese zodiac animal for that year), Chinese characters, or both. These decorations are usually in gold, embossed design to symbolize wealth. Here are the common decorations on red envelopes and what they mean:

1. Fish represents wealth and luck <sup>24</sup>.
2. Children represent joy.

<sup>24</sup> During new year eve’s dinner. Taiwanese family might not want to finish the fish dish and make left for the next day. For more money in the new year (wealth)

3. Chinese zodiac animals, usually the animal for the year is portrayed.
4. Phoenix and dragon, especially on wedding red envelopes.
5. Mandarin citrus, symbolizes wealth.

However, nowadays the decorations vary as this also is a marketing strategy to attract customers and make profit. The red envelopes have been a major tradition in Taiwanese culture for centuries, based on Chinese ancient folklore and legends. However, tradition has crossed both cultural and religious boundaries. Chinese diaspora all over the world still practice the tradition of giving red envelopes, even in the Solomon Islands Chinese communities still practiced the red envelope tradition, Chinese New Year fire cracker festivals.

The red envelope my boss gave me during the New Year's Eve dinner 2022 have decorations of children on the cover. Which also represents joy, and the greetings word on it was a Christian good word to wish someone a happy life. This means that my boss denomination is Christian.

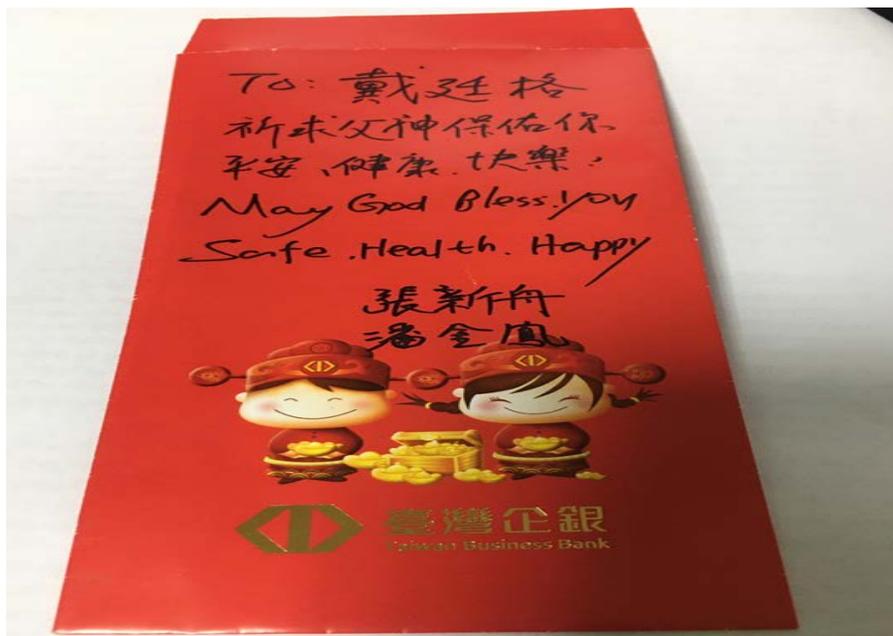


Figure 2: “Red envelope given by my boss, addressed to me in mandarin. It contains NT\$1,000”

The red envelope tradition is not a Christian practice but still my boss observed such cultural practice with few inclusions of Christian words. Such as the writing on the envelope. In postmodern society the cultural practices evolved and merged to fit into current our current era. Red envelope tradition also does it, ei vanga/Chupu, bride price and sigo also go through such changes.

### **Lantern festival and red envelope.**

During the Lunar New Year celebrations, there will be a week-long holiday in Taiwan. Loud celebrations as people do all kinds of activities to stay awake until midnight. The popular practice would be lighting of firecrackers on the streets and the display of fireworks. Families will go out to have dinner together on New Year's Eve, wish each other New Years greetings, and most importantly the cultural practice that all will be looking forward to is the exchanging of red envelope gifts. Who would not want to receive a red envelope? to receive free money from family and friends is a blessing. There will be a week-long holiday in Taiwan, they sometimes called it the spring festival, spring break or spring holiday. And before the end of the spring break, there is one cultural activity that is practiced in Taiwan worth mentioning. They called it "Lantern Festival". This festival of lighting lamps also shared similar characteristics with the red envelope culture. The streets and important buildings will be decorated in color red. The characters on the lamps will depict the year of the animal according to the twelve-zodiac animal in the Chinese calendar. Such practice is also done with red envelopes, as some of the red envelope covers will be written the animal characters from the twelve zodiacs.

In Keelung at Taipei city, people used to go there to light lanterns and send it to the skies. It has become a popular culture in Taiwan and has attracted tourists which in return contributes also to the tourism industries in Taiwan. However nowadays the lantern festival practice had changed. There are only few places like *Shifen* and *Pingxi* that still practices the sending off of lanterns to the skies. Places like Keelung, sending off lamps to the skies were discouraged by the police. Because it is not good for the environment. This year in 2022 the lantern festival in Hualien were mere show of arts where rows of lambs were decorated in the allocated area of the lantern festival activities. Another popular art in this year's lantern festival was Tiger, because 2022 is the year of the tiger, so there was also an art of Tiger lamp in the festival area at Hualien. Lantern festivals took place after the Lunar New Year on the 15 of February to mark the first full moon of the new year. The practice is similar to red envelope, because it carries the similar meaning of good fortune. Thus, it can also be done after natural disasters, such as typhoon or earthquake by lighting this lamp and sending them to the heavens to thank the gods and wish for luck in the months and years to come. According to my Advisor, people in ancient China used such lantern to signal to their families in the heavens to know they were safe, but nowadays it is used to carry people's wishes, hopes for good fortunes for the New Year, as in the case of red envelope. The lighting of lamp and releasing them to the sky was seen as causing harm to the environment by the government, therefore it was discouraged.

The lanterns were seen as a vessel carrying their messages for the gods in the sky. The cultural practice of the sky lamp during lantern festival is also evolving to fit the modern time, as what happened to the red envelope tradition. These two cultural practices play an important role inside Taiwan society both socially and economically. In the case of the lantern festival, it promotes tourist attractions and cultural practices that fit into the interest of the current

generation which in return boost economic activities. I asked two of my Taiwanese University friends, Tim Chong, and Chief about the lantern festival culture, and they did recall when they were kids (Chief born on year 2000) they used to release lamps into the skies, but not these days. They also mentioned that during lantern festivals. Tim Chong said, nowadays him and his parents used to go to the lantern festival area near Guting train station where they decorations of lamps on the street. Lantern festival is another event where families and friends go hang out together.

### **The Five Skills (Wu Shu).**

In this section, I will explain the five skills or the *wu shu* in accordance to red envelope tradition. In other words, in these activities, a red envelope is expected to be given. In Taiwanese culture they called these five different skills Shan (Mountain), Yi (Chinese medicine), Ming (destiny), Pu (magician), and Xiang (appearance). In Taiwan culture, the person who master these five skills is referred to as Wang Yang Ming Shan or Shan Ren (mountain person). Today the shan ren can be referred to as master, sifu or sensei (Japanese). The shan ren is specialize in describing a person's personality and can foretell the future using these five skills.

The first skill Shan (mountain), sky, soul, tempo, water is categorized as the *Feng Sui*. Buildings, and the placements of furniture's inside a home are placed according to the *Feng Sui* philosophy and also there is a special kind of tape measure *men kong ji* which is used to measure the distance of good luck and bad luck on tables, chairs, doors, and gates inside homes. Using the black and red writings on the tape measure. Black writings for bad luck and red writing for good luck. As long the measurement is on the red writing then that is good. In addition, my professor told me during our discussion that, the important buildings in Taiwan during the time of the

former leader Chiang Kai-shek was built along the dragon's vein according to the *Feng Sui* philosophy. Buildings like the Chiang Kai-shek memorial hall and the Grand Hotel in Taipei were built on the *Feng Sui*, their locations were carefully chosen. Hence it was believed to withstand natural disasters or bad luck occurrences. The skill to locate such spot only few people master it especially the *Shan Ren* and upon receiving such information from the *Shan Ren* then the person who seek advice is expected to give red envelope to the *Shan Ren* for the information obtained.

Secondly, the "Yi" or the Chinese medicine (hand feeling). In ancient Chinese culture when a person is sick and seek help from the Shan Ren. The shan ren would use his skills to tell and heal the person by feeling the different veins in the body of the sick person from the hands, and can tell if a person is sick and give advice on which medicine he should take or whom to consult for assistance. Such service too, provided by the shan ren, a red envelope is expected from the person who seek his help.

Ming is the third skill. The shan ren used this skill to tell destiny of a person using the four pillars. The four pillars used in destiny counting are namely year, month, day, and hour. After the shan ren foretell your future. After you get the answer from the shan ren, again red envelope is expected to be given for his service. In the past, one hundred percent of the "Shan Ren" are men, like "Mei Ren Puo" where one hundred percent were females.

The fourth skill is called "Pu". With this skill the shan ren uses coins and bones to foretell the future or for luck. For instance, when someone wants to bet on a game that cannot decide then the person can seek answers from the shan ren to perform the magic to tell which team would win. This magic skill was used in the ancient time mainly to predict battles. Maybe it can predict election results too, in current generation. We never know some people might get

answers from the shan ren to predict election results, hence cast their votes on the winning candidate, especially the old generations who still have such strong beliefs in such traditions, and after getting the answer, the person who seek help is expected to give red envelope.

The amount in the red envelope for the answers in such case ranges from 10,000 to 20,000NT and even up to 60,000NT for the rich. The amount in the red envelope also depends on the question asked, whether it is a difficult or an easy question.

And the final skill is called is called “Xiang”. This skill the shan ren used to foretell someone’s future by reading the face, hand, body, voice. For instance, from a person’s voice the shan ren can tell if the person will become somebody important in the future in the public sphere. The shan ren can tell if the person would become a politician or a good singer, a teacher, just by listening to the voice or the looks on the face. A person’s voice in a political arena is an important factor, thus when someone wants to become a politician which would include a lot of public speaking, the shan ren can tell if that particular person would make a good politician or which type of politician he/she will become, whether be successful or unsuccessful, whether for a long term in power or short term. As expected, after the shan ren give his answer, red envelope must be given to the shan ren.

An estimation percent according to my advisor, 30% of Taiwanese people still believed in this five skills *Wu Shu*. *Feng Shui* on the other hand is still practiced toady. For instance, in my advisors’ home, he kept a special Taiwanese tape measure called “*men kong ji*” the rope to measure distance of good luck and bad luck. The tape measure is different from the normal ones, because it has black and red writings on it. In every corner of his house, the doors, desk, table, the measurement is always in the red writing of the tape measure, which means in the good luck

circle. My advisor also mentioned that most likely where the bank safe is located is also according to *Feng Shui* philosophy.

To place the bank safe according to the *Feng Shui* philosophy is believed to attract the inflow of money (positivity), however if the safe is placed on whichever spot and not according to the *Feng Shui*, then it will not attract the positive inflow of money (negativity) which is considered not good for business. I decided to ask my advisor, what if after the shan ren gave the answer to my question, I then decided not to give the shan ren any red envelope? My advisor replied, “then you should at least give an empty red envelope with NT\$1 inside, and next time give the money you owed to the shan ren”. Because, the red envelope if not given after the shan ren gave answers to your question, the process is seen as uncomplete and will go the other way. Hence, red envelope was seen as part of the process in which must be given in order to complete the process.

Furthermore, a discussion with my supervising professor, he mentioned that in some case in Taiwan, people will give red envelope when they get something that is considered sacred and important to you. For instance, your virginity. By realizing that your virginity was taken the person usually give you a red envelope for at least NT\$200. However, we should also know that cultural practices are changing in our society, thus not all culturally practices are still maintained. Today the red envelope gift was given as gesture of friendship. I have not had the chance to interview further or experience this case as I have seen it would cause some feeling of awkwardness towards the other party. Nevertheless, such too is worth mentioning as to know that the different event and occasion that red envelope can fit to establish some sort of reciprocity between the two parties.

## **Chapter 2 Family. Functions of Red Envelope compared to Sigo and Shell Money in the Solomon Islands.**

During Lunar New Year's, there will be a weeklong public holiday in Taiwan, thus make it possible for family members who reside in different cities and abroad to travel back to their hometown to celebrate the holidays with family members. "Gifts are exchanged between all friends and relatives. Lucky money is enclosed in special red envelopes with a design in gold. The first day of the New Year, or at any rate the morning is spent within doors, and is sacred as a family reunion. All family members who are within reach make every endeavor to attend, unless positively bedridden."<sup>25</sup>

Red envelope tradition strengthens family relationships and offer recognition to the social status of the different members within the family. Such recognition will be exercised when giving out red envelopes to the children, parents, and grandparents. The same to for relatives, friends, and work colleagues. The amount contain in the red envelope will not be the same for grandparents, parents, relatives, work colleagues, or the children. Elders will receive higher amount, as a sign respect to their status in the family.

The Lunar New Year of 2022 was the first time in Taiwan I was invited to have New Year's Eve dinner with a Taiwanese family. The family of my boss that I worked part time at his coffeeshop. The people who was present at the dinner were his wife, his son, daughter in-law, sister in-law, grandchildren, the manager of his coffee shop, and two of my work colleagues from Indonesia and India. The boss gave each of us a red envelope. I and the other two work colleagues received NT\$1,000 each. After we received the red envelope from the boss, we wish

<sup>25</sup> Valentine Rodolphe Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, 1978, p. 5-6.

each other with the New Year greetings and said in Mandarin “gongxi fa cai, hongbao na lai” meaning “congratulations and may you be blessed this new year, please give me my red envelope”. It sounds impolite to other cultures, but that is how Taiwanese greet each other during the exchange of Red Envelope. I am grateful to such tradition, where not only it strengthens family relationships, but it also brings together people from different cultural backgrounds and different religious groups as one.

Chinese New Year celebrations prompt one of the planets largest migration of Chinese and Taiwanese people, as people living abroad travel back to their home country and people living in different cities traveled back to their hometowns. “For people who work close to home, the race begins at noon on New Year’s Eve, when offices and plants close and a mass of humanity pours out onto the streets, forming a monumental traffic jam as everyone struggles to get home. In the year 2000, some 1.7 billion trips were made, more than one for every man, woman, and child in China.”<sup>26</sup>

Lunar New Year in Taiwan, is a time for family reunion, plenty of food, fireworks, and the exchanging of red envelope. When giving and receiving red envelopes, there are important customs to follow. If you are giving a red envelope use new crisp bills and avoid coins. Do not put in amounts that start with number four, because it deems an unlucky number in Taiwanese culture. Even numbers are the more preferable to use, and if possible start or end the amount with the lucky number six and eight. The same applies to things like phone numbers, room numbers, bank account numbers, identity cards, and apartment numbers. You will hardly see a phone number beginning with number four, have four in the end, or number four in it. Same to for bank account numbers. Accounts that have four in them are said to be empty all the time,

<sup>26</sup> Richard Gunde, Culture and Customs of China (London: GREENWOOD PRESS, Westport, Connecticut, 2002), p. 197.

cannot save money long, because money can easily go compared to bank account numbers that have no number four in them. This is because the number four is considered unlucky, thus Taiwanese would want to avoid this number. In one of our class lessons, the professor asked all the students to check their mobile phone numbers if there is any four. All the foreign students (three of us) have number four, but for our Taiwanese classmates and our professor, they do not have number four in their mobile number. Professor went on to say that, the more number four you have in your phone number or your bank account number, the higher your chance for bad luck. My professor also mentioned that his telephone number for his home was chosen by him, and he had to go to the phone company to pick the number. Furthermore, he mentioned that his bank account numbers do not contain number four in them. Also, I asked one of the Indigenous Taiwanese women whom I would identified as “Ai” to further clarify if the number culture is still observed. I show her my number and told her that my mobile number is not a good number, because I have double fours inside. She replied that my number is alright, because the fours are inside, and not in the end or the beginning. She is an Indigenous Taiwanese woman belonging to the Amis tribe of Taiwan located in Hualien county.

The red envelope culture and also the number culture was the cultural practice of the descendants of the Taiwanese who migrated to Taiwan from mainland China. But, in the case of “Ai” who belongs to the Indigenous group of Taiwan called Amis, she understands this culture and also practiced it, similar to the Taiwanese whom are Christians and integrates the red envelope tradition with the Christian teachings. Similar case also happened to the customary gift practice in the Solomon Islands where Majority of the people are Christians, 97% (according to SB-religion), but they still practiced the traditions of the past with few changes in the goods used.

Red envelope tradition and the number culture go simultaneously, therefore in giving out red envelope during special occasions, pay close attention to the number culture in Taiwan, to avoid offending the receiver.

### **The practice of Sigo in the Solomon Islands.**

Different types of customary gifts have different functions. For instance, the gift giving ceremony for new born babies in the Solomon Islands called *Sigo* is a tradition similar to that in the bible where the three wise men from the East went to present gifts <sup>27</sup> to the new born baby Jesus in Bethlehem. *Sigo* “to visit/to see” is the term used by people from Isabel province when referring to this cultural practice. This practice is similar to that in the bible. However, the gifts given were not strictly the same as in the bible. It comes in a form of material goods that are mainly for babies as a sign of acceptance and welcoming the new born baby into the community. In such cultural practice, families will then come together, share stories, foods and laughter which then strengthens the social relationship in the community. Red envelope in Taiwan culture can be presented to the family of the new born during birth when the relative visited the baby. I asked my friend whom I will identify her as Miss Fish. She said, “red envelope can be given when you visited the newborn baby for the first time.’ Unlike, *sigo* where the visiting is arranged for the whole village to participate. When visiting a newborn baby in Taiwan, it is not required to give red envelope, it could be material goods that are important to the baby as practiced in the customary gift giving of *Sigo*. At one time, I had a conversation with the wife of my boss at the coffeeshop to confirm this. Not only Taiwanese give red envelope when visiting a newborn baby, but also material goods for the baby.

<sup>27</sup> Gifts presented by the three wisemen from the East to baby Jesus. Gold, Frankincense and Myrrh.

Isabel province is one of the provinces in the Solomons with a population of 36,688 in 2022 (SIG statistics data). And every time a new born baby is born, the whole village or family members will visit the baby. In the villages, it is norm for all members to visit a newborn baby. The people will pay a visit to the house where the baby resides, there is no specific rules on when should the visit happen. It could be anytime the villagers feel it is convenient for them and the family. Normally, few days after the baby was born and arrived at their house. The visitors will bring all sorts of goods for the baby. Almost each grown up individuals have experienced this customary gift giving practice, even myself when I was a baby, the villagers did come and visit me (*Sigo*). The origins of such practice are unknown, however the most likely time it started was during the introduction of Christianity in the mid-1800s. This is the time where people began to settled in villages and live as a community. In the past people are scattered all over the islands, in small groups or individually, thus such practice will not be able to happen, until the introduction of Christianity where the missionaries encouraged the people to settle down in villages. *Sigo* sometimes can be referred to as birthdays. People in the rural areas in the Solomon Islands do not celebrate birthdays, up to this day I know some of my elder relatives who do not know their date of birth and so they do not celebrate birthdays, this is because such information were not written and recorded. However, nowadays things are changing, the practice of celebrating birthday started to become popular. Thus, to have the basic knowledge about the function of customary gifts is significant. The functions of *Sigo* among the families, such as the obligation of reciprocity, it promotes togetherness, cooperation, and social relationships, not only between tribes, but also between families in the community.

Taiwanese on the other hand, practiced similar custom when there is a newborn baby in the family. I have asked three of my university friends at National Dong Hwa University to

confirm this practice. One female and two male and they confirmed this custom by which relatives and friends of the baby give red envelopes to the parents for the baby's safe upbringing. The female student Miss Fish said, "the amount ranges from NT1000- NT10,000." The amounts depend on how close you are to the parents of the baby. When I ask the wife of my boss at the coffeeshop. She mentioned, "it is not mandatory." To give red envelope to the parents is optional. Same to for the amount in which you can put inside the red envelope. The amount depends on how much you are willing to give." Similar to Sigo, material goods are also accepted in Taiwanese culture for gifts given to the newborn baby. Especially goods that are useful to the baby. The customary gift giving practice of Sigo and the red envelope gift to newborns in Taiwan have similarities. I have asked my Taiwanese friends; every time a couple have baby the relatives give a red envelope? The answer is "Yes" which is same for the customary gift giving of Sigo. Therefore, the circle of gift giving between the families continue to reciprocate once there is a newborn baby, it strengthens family ties and acts as a check and balance for families and the maintaining of good community relationships.

### **Bride price in the Solomon Islands.**

In the province of Malaita, the custom of bride price using shell money is still practiced today. The relatives of the groom usually helped to pay for the bride. This is a cultural practice that requires the cooperation of family members. Malaita province is a patriarch society where men have the primary rights with regards to land ownership, unlike in Isabel province where women have the primary rights to land. Malaita is also one of the most populace island in the Solomons with a population of 163,085 in 2022 (SIG statistics data). The customs with regards to how much to pay for the bride were sometimes influenced by several factors, such as religion

and the groom's relationship with the bride's families or if the bride is from a high-class family then the bride price will be higher. The opposite to red envelope, where the closer relationship one has with couple the higher amount is expected from the attendees of the wedding ceremony. Only one religious group that I know, out of the five main religious group in the Solomon Islands discourage the traditional practice of paying bride price.<sup>28</sup> The five main religious groups in the Solomon Islands are, Anglian Church of Melanesia (ACOM), Roman Catholics, Seven Day Adventists (SDA), South Sea Evangelical Church (SSEC) and United Church. Apart from these main religious groups, there are other smaller religious groups that are branched out from these five. The South Sea Evangelical Church is one of the churches that discouraged the paying of bride price, however it depends on the family of the bride, whether they accept bride price or not. When giving bride price, the number of shell money for bride price begin from six and above, that is the requirement and the common practice as conveyed to me by one of the Solomon Islanders by the name of Nior who is from Malaita province. And for murder, the amount is one hundred shell money and above, because murder is a serious crime that could result in long term disputes between the families and the tribes involved, hence the number of shell money (red money) should be higher than bride price, so that it reaches all the family members and the tribal members, whereas bride price is mainly for the close family members. However, it depends on the person's relationship with the family of the receiver to decide on the specific amounts. Shell money varies in size and costs differently. A six feet shell money costs at current SB\$800, and nine feet shell money costs SB\$1,000. The amounts are equivalent to US\$120 each, including other custom goods and also modern paper money. In bride price ceremony, shell money is the most significant good during bride price in Malaita custom, because this is what made the

<sup>28</sup> Some of the customary goods involved in the custom ceremony are depicted as immiscible to religion

wedding significant and is recognized culturally. The bride paying ceremony are held in public where relatives will witness it. Friends, families, and colleagues will be invited to attend such custom ceremony to taste, give, and received present from the wedding ceremony. Also, to note, the custom of bride price is practiced only in some of the islands, but not the whole of Solomon Islands. The practice of bride price is most popular in Malaita province.<sup>29</sup>

Red envelope has the similar function, but slightly different. In Taiwan culture, the groom's father gives red envelope to the agent or the lucky madam called the "mei ren puo" (lucky woman) who arranged the marriage between the bride and the groom as signing the contract of exchange. Usually in Taiwan culture, the lucky woman is a female, same to for the "shan ren" whom are always males, in which I will discuss in the later section. However, in both countries, such ceremony functioned as an opportunity by which family members, friends and colleagues will gather and exchange gifts with each other. Chinese on the other hand, money is involved and the *Mei ren* play a prominent part in sealing marriage agreements as mentioned by Dore, When they have toured from the family of the bridegroom's father to that of the bride, and enjoyed many a hearty meal, meanwhile making overtures about the future marriage, and when both sides have agreed on the amount of purchase-money, which the bridegroom will pay to secure the bride, then the talking ends and a step is made to sign the written contract.<sup>30</sup>

In some culture's also mentioned by Levi-Strauss (1949), "women are the good in what considered to be the transaction between the families involved. The exchange of women as a vehicle of alliance formation is conducted in some societies in the idiom of gift giving."<sup>31</sup> The groom's family also gave red envelopes each to the car drivers and the girls family as a sign of

<sup>29</sup> They are the manufacturers of shell money. Still hold on to this tradition, while other islands no longer make shell money.

<sup>30</sup> Henry Dore, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions* (Shanghai: TUSUWEI PRINTING PRESS, 1917), p. 29.

<sup>31</sup> John F and Sherry Jnr, *Gift Giving in Anthropological Perspective* (Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 158.

appreciation for the bride's hand in marriage. Red envelope is also given during engagement, unlike the bride price practice of shell money in the Solomon Islands. Bride price are not given during engagement, but only during the wedding ceremony. In addition to Taiwan's wedding culture, the custom of giving out wedding invitation card "xitie" to someone is what two of my Taiwanese classmates Mr. Tim and Mr. Chief mentioned as the "Red Bomb". Why? Because, you will get a red invitation card that will bomb your account. The amount varies depending on the attendee's close relationship to the couples and place where the wedding is hosted. The least one could give should be NT\$600. NT\$3,600 is also a good amount to give during weddings. Other factors concerning the amount of money given to the couples depends also on where the wedding is held.

According to my two Taiwanese friends, if the wedding is hosted in a five-star hotel, the amount a guest give should be higher or lower if it is just an ordinary restaurant, this is to the cover the expenses of the venue. If you decide not to attend, you might put NT\$600- NT\$1,200 in a red envelope, but if you attend, you might put NT\$1,600- NT\$2,200, and if you go there with your partner, you should put double for both of you NT\$2,600- NT\$3,600. Try and avoid number four in the amounts, because of the mandarin pronunciation of "si" (four) that rhymes with the mandarin word "si" for death, thus considered unlucky number. The typical amounts in Taiwan for such events are NT\$1,200, NT\$1,600, NT\$2,200, NT\$2,600, NT\$3,200, NT\$3,600. Again, it depends on how close your relationship is with the couple. If you are closely related then the amount would be higher. In addition, there is a term called liu liu dasuan in Taiwanese which means six and six "liu liu" as a lucky number for newlywed couples and "dasuan" means smoothly, to wish the couples have a smooth and happy married life. Thus, the amounts which has six in it or in the beginning are considered a lucky number during giving red envelopes on a

wedding. I have conducted a survey questionnaire among Taiwanese and expatriates to see the usual amounts they received during weddings. I will discuss further the result of the red envelope tradition survey in the next chapters. Well, from the survey that I conducted, seventeen Taiwanese and seventeen expatriates mostly students responded, and out of these thirty-four participants, whom their ages ranged between 20-40 years old and single. None of the respondents received any red envelope, it tells us that these participants are not married, thus they never experienced receiving red envelopes on a wedding. But, when I asked them what are some of the events they participated or received a red envelope? Twelve Taiwanese and four expatriates mentioned wedding, and the others mentioned other events which I will discuss in my next chapters. By analyzing the responds, I concluded that these participants who mentioned wedding, are those that witnessed or have some basic knowledge about Taiwan culture regarding the red envelope tradition. Moreover, seven out of the sixteen participants who mentioned wedding in the survey have participated in giving of red envelope during weddings, because they are employed, but nine of the respondents do not give red envelope, because they are students and also, they are single. According to the red envelope tradition, only those who have job (employed) or those that are already married should give red envelope to share their blessings with others.

### **Chapter 3 personally: Ei Vanga in the Solomon Islands compared to Red Envelope in Taiwan.**

The gift giving ceremony in Isabel province is called Ei-vanga which translates ‘to make food’. Ei-vanga plays an important role in uniting families and clans within the society in Isabel as does with red envelope. Every families in Isabel should give such traditional gifts to their

parents once in a lifetime, in order to live peacefully and secured in the tribal land. “Land in Isabel province is categorized as either customary or alienated land. Customary land makes up 84 percent of the total land mass and is owned by different tribes in Isabel. The remaining 26 percent is alienated land owned by various churches, expatriates, and the provincial government.”<sup>32</sup>

Without giving this customary gift ceremony, there will be land disputes, hence no harmony and an increase in family and tribal disputes in the community, that is the reason why this gift giving is an important part of culture on Isabel island. There are at least ten types of customary gift giving ceremony called *Ei-vanga*.<sup>33</sup> But, the most popular one used today to replace the others is called “*Ei Vanga Taego*” meaning to give food to the father for his role in the upbringing of his children. Traditionally in Isabel province, when a man got married, he is supposed to go and live with the tribe of his wife at his wife’s village. This is because women own land and therefore it will be for the best interest of their children when they grew up and have a land to build house and make garden. Men in Isabel are referred to as *Gaju Lehe* (dead branch) in Cheke Holo dialect. Meaning that when a man dies, his tribe or clan lineage dies with him, like when a dead branch drops on the ground, that’s the end of it, unlike the branches that bears fruit which is referred to as the woman’s tribe. The Offspring, will become a member of their mother’s tribe. Because, Isabel province is Matriarch society and the connection to land inheritance is through the woman’s tribe. This is the reason why children give *Ei-vanga* to their father for his hard work, the foods he planted on his wife’s land, the houses he built, the properties he owned. They do not need to give *Ei-vanga* to their mother, because they already

<sup>32</sup> John Foimua, *Hem Nao Solomon Islands tis taem* (Honiara: Report of the Community Sector Program, 2006), p. 65.

<sup>33</sup> This is in Bugotu district. Hograno, Maringe, Gao, Kokota, Havulei and Kia districts are slightly different

inherited primary rights to land ownership through their mother's tribe. But, if the mother and her children are living on the land belonging to the father, then they need to make the custom food for secondary rights on land ownership. The most significant thing about this custom, it strengthens tribal, family, and personal relationships, in which I will further elaborate in the next section.

**Ei vanga (to feed/give custom gifts).**

Native Solomon Islanders belongs to a tribe which they established their connection to land ownership, their tribal affiliations decide upon a claim on land. The process towards transfer of land ownership for individuals who do not have primary rights involves a traditional gift giving ceremony called Ei-vanga in Bugotu dialect from Isabel province. The similarity of such cultural practice to red envelope is that, it brings tribe members, families, and friends together which in return strengthens social relationship. Ei-vanga is a gift giving ceremony practiced in Isabel province for land use rights. Usually, the children give feast to their father for secondary land rights.

I have decided to also discuss this type of gifts and compared it to red envelope, because this type of gift giving according to (Belk 1979) come under economic exchange where gift giving and reciprocity is involved. When the customary gift of Ei-vanga is given, the reciprocity to it is the land rights. *Ei-vanga* which means "to feed" is a public ceremony mainly between two tribes from the matrilineage side and the patrilineage side where traditional goods were exchanged for land rights. It is considered taboo for the father's tribe to reciprocate with custom goods worth more than what the mother's tribe and the children gave. Ei-vanga is similar to the practice done by Haida and Tlingit tribes in North America called the Potlatch system also mean "to feed" or "consume". Referring to the potlatch according to Mauss, each gift is part of a

system of reciprocity in which the honor of the giver and recipients are engaged. “It is a total system in that every item of status or of spiritual or material possession is implicated for everyone in the whole community. The system is quite simple; just the rule that every gift has to be returned in some specified way sets up a perpetual cycle of exchanges within and between generations.”<sup>34</sup>

However, in the case of Ei-vanga, reciprocity of customary gifts should not happen between the tribe. Unlike, potlatch system where there is a rule that every gift has to be returned with the same value or more. When the reciprocated gifts exceed the value of the earlier gift, it produces an escalating context for honor. Ei-vanga have different types, but none of them have such rules as the potlatch system, the rules are only for the traditional items presented. I will discuss further the characteristics of potlatch system in the next section.

From my current observation with the oral histories from the elders, only a handful of people understand Ei-vanga, because such knowledges are not written down, but passed on by the word of mouth. Unlike, the red envelope etiquette where almost all Taiwanese that I interact with have the basic knowledges about the etiquettes of red envelope. The prominent figures in such ceremonies were the chiefs and elders who are the keepers of the knowledge. Hence, when there is an Ei-vanga gift giving ceremony, it is advised to consult the Chiefs for guidance. Anybody can ask for the information of Ei-vanga from the chiefs and elders, however only a few people showed interest in the meaning and the significance of such practices. Another problem is such records are scarce and not kept properly which are prone to damage. But most of these Ei-vanga are no longer practiced today, because of internal migration to urban areas and people are becoming more Westernized. Only the Ei-vanga taego is popular and still practiced today. There

<sup>34</sup> Mary Douglas, *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* (Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2002), p. 11.

are several factors that I could think of that contributes to the disappearance of the other Ei-vanga. First, would be urban migration, resulted in the young generation to lose interest in such customs. Second, government policies to register customary lands, thus Ei-vanga is not necessary as the records is registered in the government data. Third, the skills to make and plant the customary goods in this custom practice are slowly eroding.

In Ei-vanga Taego, the requirements are two live pigs, fifty bags of uncooked potatoes, paddles, canoe, betel nuts, and most importantly two custom puddings that can only be made during such occasion called Malahu or Poholo. Moneys too were given nowadays, but most importantly customary goods have more value because of the way it was cultivated, and the effort put into preparing the customary goods and their connections to the land. The money is put in an envelope, especially white. It is polite and more respectful to do so. The money will be given to the father in the eyes of all the people who are present. As such customary gift giving ceremony is supposed to be done in public where the two tribes of the mother and the father are present. The father will be seated in the front with his brothers and sisters, hence the giver of these customary gift must prepare envelopes also for the father's siblings. Usually, the father received bigger amount compared to his siblings. The common amount would be SB\$500-1000, equivalent to US\$62-125, it could be more, but also depend on the economic situation. There is no number culture in the Solomon Islands, like the red envelope where people try to avoid odd numbers. Thus, any amount given to the father and his siblings is acceptable. I and my siblings have conducted the gift giving ceremony of Ei-vanga to our father in 2018 at Lepi village, Isabel province.<sup>35</sup> And those goods, that I have mentioned previously, we presented them to our father's tribe for secondary land ownership.

<sup>35</sup> This is a tribal and family customary ceremony, thus my mother's tribe assisted

Regarding the dates in the Solomon Islands to host such cultural events, there are no specific dates. While in Chinese tradition, dates of festal events are carefully picked according to the imperial calendar. For instance, during marriage, “The girl’s family fixes the month in which the marriage is to take place, while the bridegroom decides the day. The choice of the months and day depends on the cyclical animal of the zodiac calendar.”<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, try and avoid hosting the Ei-vanga ceremony during the holy week (Lent season) in March and April, Christmas, and New Year’s, as there will be other community programs in these dates which people will be busy with. The perfect time to host such customary ceremony is on the month of June to August when people are less busy, because such ceremony needs communal support, although it is a personal occasion, still the support of community members are needed. The similarities Ei-vanga has with red envelope is the presence of families from different villages all gathered to witness the gift giving ceremony. Like in Taiwan where people live outside of their hometown or go abroad, but during Lunar New Year, they all try and return to their hometown or country to celebrate with their families and friends. Same to for Ei-vanga, the ceremony has to be taken place in the village where the land that will be transferred is located. Thus, relatives who work in the city or married outside of their villages will return to witness, participate, and celebrate the ceremony. This occasion is like *Sigo*, and paying of bride price, where families usually gather together, similar to the celebrations of Lunar New Years in Taiwan.

Chupu (custom food) on the other hand, is a customary gift giving ceremony from Guadalcanal province, similar to Ei-vanga, but slightly different in terms of the types of occasion, and the number of custom foods involved, however their functions are the same. Chupu in Guadalcanal according to Mr. Juniah who is a native of Guadalcanal province whom I

<sup>36</sup> Henry Dore, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, p. 32.

asked said, “Chupu is made when there is a land dispute, murder, or when there is marriage dispute between the individuals and the family, otherwise there is no need to give Chupu. The custom of giving Chupu can also be done during land ownership transfer, or the purchase of land. The land purchase here is not permanent, because right of land ownership after giving Chupu is only for a certain period of time and then it will expire, more like the Western practice of land lease. Chupu is given to settle disputes and sealed agreements between the individuals, families and the tribes that were involved. The functions of Chupu Personally are similar to that of Ei-vanga, Sigo, Tafuli’ae (shell money) and the red envelope tradition. It established a good social relationships and mutual understanding between families and community members.

### **Red money and Red Envelope.**

Red money (Tafuli’ae) is a traditional shell money currency that is used to present to the receiver as compensation for murder, to avoid any further conflict within the families and individuals involved, in order to keep the peace. It is called red money because the shell money is used to pay for the blood that was spilled. As Mauss emphasizes in his excerpt on avoiding war, “giving, receiving, and returning is about learning how to create mutual interests and give mutual satisfaction. There are, correspondingly, manifold motives for the gifts, which Mauss has reduced primarily to the one motive of expecting a return gift.”<sup>37</sup>

The use of Red money is more like a customary agreement to settle disputes between people in the communities, popular practice in Malaita province. It is called red money, because it is used to pay for the blood that was spilled by the giver, in which the relatives of the giver will help to compensate. Red money can be used as compensation for murder, to avoid any further

<sup>37</sup> Mary Douglas, *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*, 2002.

disputes within the community, thus it become a significant aspect of Malaita culture even before the missionaries arrived in the Solomon Islands around 18th century. It has become important in a country like Solomon Islands where there is a diverse culture. The rise in inter-marriages also promotes such cultural practices which is seen as a ticket to security, because we never know when accident might happen. To help out other families when they are in trouble also promotes one's status in the society. An individual who is able to help the other party by giving out shell money to pay for compensation or bride price can become a Bigman inside the society. Bigman or Mathagai in Bugotu dialect is a term similar to the Taiwanese concept of Gui Ren (a noble or expensive person). To become a Bigman (noble person), one has to prove his capabilities, this includes the possession of wealth, magic, power, or authority. This practice existed long before western colonization arrived in the Islands. In the heathen days, Bigman were referred to as a fierce warrior. The term Bigman is derived from the English word that describes someone important in the community "a big person" which translates to pidgin as "bigman". In Malaita province, the language word for such person is called Ramo, meaning a powerful warrior, or someone of importance in the community.

Different dialects in the Solomon's have their own word for such person. I only mentioned that of Malaita and Isabel province. However, in today's context, bigman could be someone who has a lot of money (wealthy), someone who is always ready to help those in need, to help them overcome their hardship by lending 'his' hand.<sup>38</sup> Things possesses personalities, such as shell money. Bigman obtain ranks through helping others. Gui Ren on the other hand, could mean an expensive or noble person with many lucks to give, a lucky symbol. A person whom if you associate yourself with will bring you luck. This could involve someone who

<sup>38</sup> The mention of 'His' here referred to men, and not women. This is a society where men are seen as the head of family. However, things are changing nowadays.

helped you, treat you or give you red envelope. Gui Ren also means, destiny helping person who is like a bridge that helped you crossed to reach your destiny. Unlike the term Bigman who also means a magician (sorcerer), Gui Ren do not have magical powers. I could say my Gui Ren is the Advisors, because they helped me pass my research paper. They made it possible for me to obtained my diploma and achieved my dream (destiny). I could also say my Gui Ren is the monk who help prayed for all my good fortunes and helped me see the right paths that I should follow, in order to achieve goodness in life. I cannot say my Gui Ren is God, because he is not a person, but a God. This concept only applies to a mortal person.

There is also another Taiwanese concept worth mentioning called Yuan Fen (predestined relationship) almost similar to Gui Ren, but slightly different. Yuan Fen could be referring to a good friend, such as lovers. According to my advisor, a 90% estimation of Yuan Fen belong to good. The concept of Yuan Fen could also refer to stranger you met on the street or at your school campus, and suddenly it happened that the person you just met seems to know you for decades. You felt so comfortable with that person and it happened that the stranger would like to meet you again and from there, the two of you started to contact each other daily and become good friends, and may ended up getting married. The relationship you had with that stranger is predestined, as the term itself portrays. In another words, Yuan fen is the person in which you are destined to meet. He or she is your destiny, your soulmate. It could also mean, someone who do you good and also give you red envelopes at times. In terms of the relationship red money and red envelope had with these terms and concepts, personally it settles disputes between individuals, families, and tribes in which brings peace in the community. Also, it brings good fortunes and blessings in a person's life.

### **Potlatch system compared to Red Envelope and Ei-vanga.**

Mauss discussed the ethnography of North America where he witnessed “the practice of gift exchanges called Potlatch system among the Haida and Tlingit of the Northwest coast as extreme rivalry expressed by the rule always to return more than what was received; failure to return means losing the competition for honour.”<sup>39</sup> The continuous competition over gift reciprocity between the tribes is for honour and the maintenance of social status. Mauss also turns to Polynesia and Melanesia in Trobriand island of Papua New Guinea were in a less extreme form compared to the Potlatch. There is a totalized competitive giving that incorporates in its circle all things and services and all persons involved. “In Polynesian gift giving practices the totalized giving does not presume rivalry between donors and recipients.”<sup>40</sup> When the paths of Polynesian gift are traced, a stable hierarchical structure is revealed. It is not the competitive Potlatch system, but it is still a total system of cultural gift giving in the society.

After presenting the system of gift functioning among American Indians and in Melanesia and Polynesia, Mauss then turns to records of ancient Roman, Germanic, and other Indo-European laws all show signs of the basic principles. In the case of Ei-vanga as mentioned in the previous section. There is also the basic principle of reciprocity, which are similar to Potlatch, others are similar to the Polynesian custom of gift giving. In other words, there are also people from Polynesian descends who lived in the Solomon Islands for decades and still practiced their culture from of thousand years ago until today,<sup>41</sup> which is also similar to the practices mentioned by Mauss. Ei-vanga and Chupu on the other hand, is a practiced done by the Melanesian group of people in the Solomon Islands, where some have the characteristics of a

<sup>39</sup> Mary Douglas, *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* (Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2002), p. 11.

<sup>40</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Polynesian island of Tikopia

*Potlatch system.* The name *Ei-vanga* is the general term, there are different types meant for different exchange. Each *Ei-vanga* have different guidelines, competition arise only when the father asks his wife to give *Ei-vanga Mahoho*.<sup>42</sup> If this happens, the wife's tribe will then reciprocate, it will result in a competition like the Potlatch where one tribe compete with the other for their honour. In some case, couples will end up in divorce, as the rivalry between the tribe continues. According to Isabel tradition, it is a taboo for the father to ask his wife to give *Ei-vanga*. The wife will give whenever she things it is appropriate for her and the children. Therefore, the guidelines established by the local chiefs in Isabel are there to avoid competition between tribes and to avoid disputes and disharmony between tribes and families. Such *Ei-vanga* practice that possesses the characteristics of escalating rivalry was discouraged, hence they are no longer practiced.

The similarities these customary practices have in common with the red envelope is that, it brings families and tribes together, strengthens cultural identity and promotes good social relationship. On the other hand, there are cons to such customs. Like in the case of the Potlatch where there is a never-ending competition of gift exchanges between tribes. And the *Ei-vanga Mahoho* that can lead to non-stop rivalry between tribes. Red envelope also bares the characteristics of reciprocity. According to blogger, Pomelo Caviar, there are also some unspoken rules such as “red envelope competition” which means families often compete with each other through the amount of money. The more they put in red envelope, the more etiquette they are. For instance, your close friend got married and you received an invitation from the newlywed couple to attend their wedding. If you are married before them, and they came to your wedding, the amount of money in a red envelope you give should be at least even or higher than

<sup>42</sup> *Ei-vanga Mahoho*, “To ask another tribe for the custom food.”

they gave you. If the bride and groom gave you a red envelope each on your wedding day, then you should give their total back on their wedding day.<sup>43</sup> This is an example of the unspoken rules and etiquettes of red envelope.

#### **Chapter 4: Findings and discussions of the survey questionnaires.**

Lunar New Year is a science, one has to tread cautiously not to be considered rude in giving too little or too brash in giving too much, fortunately the website the Daily View has compiled responses of users of the Taiwanese online forum PTT to create a "Lunar New Year Red Envelope Chart" listing the current "market prices" of red envelopes for each family member for the Year of the Dog, 2018. Beyond the Lunar New Year, red envelopes can be given at weddings, graduations, the birth of a babies, or as year-end bonuses for employees.

This is table figure taken from one of the surveys conducted by one of the Taiwan social media news group called Daily News in 2018. The questions surrounding this survey was to find out the typical red envelope money Taiwanese give to their family members during Lunar New Year celebration.

<sup>43</sup> Jarrow, Taiwan wedding: how to pack red envelope. YouTube video, 8:17, February 20, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U-HsxjwuFwx>

## 2018 Lunar New Year Market Price

	Parents	Grandparents	Siblings	Children
<b>No.1</b>	\$3,600	\$2,000	\$1,200	\$800
<b>No.2</b>	\$6,000	\$1,200	\$600	\$600
<b>No.3</b>	\$6,600+	\$10,000	\$2,000	X

Figure 4: “According to Daily views finding”

In keeping with the Confucian tradition of respecting one's elders, the amount of money included in the red envelope increases based on the generation the family member represents. When giving a red envelope to one's parents, NT\$3,600 (US\$123) to NT\$6,600 (US\$226) is the current market rate; if grandparents are the recipient, NT\$1,000 to NT\$10,000 is appropriate; for siblings, the range is NT\$600 to NT\$2,000; and if it is a red packet for children (nieces, nephews, and children of friends and relatives), the maximum would be NT\$800 and while there is no minimum, the little tikes might be disappointed if you don't at least give them a coin. <sup>44</sup>

However, from the questionnaire survey I conducted, I directed my questions to understand more about the person, their brief background, religious affiliation, gender, age, ethnicity, social status, types of events/occasion to give and receive red envelope. By doing so, I understand how the basic knowledge about red envelope was interpreted by the Taiwanese and foreigners who are involved in this research. Expatriates from different backgrounds were also included and participated in this survey. Most of whom have been studying in Taiwan more than

<sup>44</sup> Keoni Everington, 2018.

three to six years who in their time spend in Taiwan, have already received a red envelope once or twice from different occasions. The focus group for my survey, including interviews were students from the age group between twenty to thirty-five years old. This was to find out the contemporary function of red envelope in Taiwan.

By taking such approach, I come to understand the factors influencing the behaviors givers and receivers of red envelope I got from my survey regarding the functions of red envelope in contemporary Taiwan, I have come to understand the contemporary function of red envelope in modern Taiwan. I have also noticed that even though the Indigenous people have different cultural practice from Taiwanese that identify themselves as the descendants of the Han Chinese. Mainland Chinese when they migrated to Taiwan in the 16th century, they bring with them the red envelope tradition. It is a cultural practice of the Han Chinese descendants in Taiwan, but through inter marriages between the Han Chinese and the Indigenous people it has become a cultural practice observed by both groups. This is also a big question in Taiwan regarding the national identity abroad. The responds from the participants showed that, the different cultural group of Taiwanese had learned to embrace each other's culture and is one of the reasons why Taiwan have become one of the friendliest Society to live in.

By conducting research using qualitative methods supported by primary data and secondary data and historical approach, I had come to understand that the red envelope tradition changed its meaning over the due course. It does not always mean to be positive as there are also negative image of these practice, as same to for the customary gifts in the Solomon Islands. Traditionally, the red envelope tradition associate itself with positivity as a good luck charm to ward off evil and bring good fortunes.

I have asked two of my friends from Bunun Tribe and Paiwan tribe, they told me that red envelope is not their culture, but they had participated and received red envelope more than once in their lifetime. Red envelope is not the cultural practice of the Indigenous tribes in Taiwan, this tradition was introduced and observed yearly by the Han Chinese who migrated from the Mainland. The image of red envelope in contemporary Taiwan have changed, as seen from the patterns and designs on the red envelope cover does not have to be traditional characters. The patterns on the cover of the red envelope nowadays were mainly for marketing profits. Popular animation characters and dolls like Pokémon, Hello Kitty were some of the patterns that replaced the traditional characters.

### **Conclusion.**

The essay by Marcel Mauss have continued to inspire modern scholars regarding the different functions of gifts in our modern society. Scholars take reference in his writings to interpret different types and functions of gifts in our society. Others went on to argue the questions such as free gifts and gifts with reciprocity. As can be found from the arguments of some of the scholars I mentioned in this paper. Accordingly, little attention has been paid to the free gift. The most sustained discussion has been Jonathan Parry writings on the gifts in India known as dan. “Parry has shown that these are unreciprocated, and has related the pure-gift ideology which governs them to the existence of a developed, commercial economy and an ethicized, salvation religion.” But, for this paper, I focused mainly on the direction of the function of gifts with reciprocity that have similar functions in the Solomon Islands compared to red envelope culture in Taiwan. A contractual gifts and gifts that are practiced mainly to promote peace, harmony, and social relationships within the society.

It has been understood that red envelope and the types of customary gifts from Solomon did make people happy, unites and strengthens family relationships, and give hope to each member in the society on how humans could live peacefully and avoid disputes through mutual agreements of gift exchange. It has influence societies, family, or personal relationships. It continues to encourage individuals about the meaning of life and to have a sense of identity which then continues to strengthen family relationship.

The custom of giving customary gifts to resolved problems and disputes is very much alive in the Solomon Islands. A kind of custom practice where even a murder case can be resolved and restored peace through gift exchanges. Such cultural practices are the identity of a group of people.

In Taiwan, I have seen government ministries organized foreign students to learn and share knowledges with the indigenous people. The Council of Indigenous People (CIP) organized yearly forums inside indigenous communities for international students to participate, inviting students from Austronesian countries. Such program was aimed to keep cultural practices alive, and to educate others. In this way, people could learn to understand and appreciate other cultures.

The cultural practices also become an important aspect in boosting the tourism sector, by organizing and allowing cultural events for tourists, and events where locals can also participate. Some of these events require the giving of red envelopes and carries the characteristics of red envelope in uniting the people and give each other hope. Solomon Islands, under the ministry of culture and tourism, held cultural festival such as Kodili festival every two years to promote and maintain cultural identities of the people of Isabel.

The gift giving process and behavior in the Solomon Islands was influenced by religion and globalization, as the current generation are becoming more and more Western oriented. It is also visible that the practice of giving gifts to diplomats has become a norm within our society, especially in the Solomon Islands. Government officials and visitors to the Solomon Islands will be given shell money as a sign of gratitude or as a souvenir to take back home. Such practice does not only promote the culture of Solomon Islanders to the world, but it also helps with income generating for families who manufactured the product of shell money like in Malaita province.

Written records of the gift giving began around the 18th centuries, except for the record of gift exchange by the Spanish explorer Alvaro De Mendana and his crew in 1568. There are also oral history of other gift giving practices, but the dates are unknown. Different articles, books and Chinese and Taiwanese websites traced the red envelope tradition back to the Song dynasty (960–1279) in China. It was introduced to Taiwan when people from Mainland China migrated to Taiwan from Fujian province to work as traders and farmers under the Dutch, Ming dynasty, Qing dynasty, Japan, and the Republic of China around the years 16<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

The red envelope tradition continues to evolve, established, and become part of postmodern Taiwanese culture as other cultural practices may have encountered. The meanings may have changed, but its significance is still present. It has become a popular tradition in Taiwan during the Lunar New Year's celebrations, including the Taiwanese indigenous tribes whom red envelope is not part of their culture. To have a record and fair understanding about the function of Red Envelope and customary gifts in the Solomons will help readers to understand

more about the differences and the similarities of the cultural practices in Asian countries, the Pacific island countries and as well as the Western and European countries.

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主題：國中彈性課程—以不義遺址實踐人權教育

姓名：黃韻臻

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### 摘要

本研究分析人權教育在臺灣的發展歷程，從九年一貫七大議題，到十二年國教的十九項議題，以及我國與國際相關人權條約連結，討論體制內人權教育的現況與實施，從第一線中學教師觀點，反思為何人權教育在臺灣發展多年，依舊面臨的困境，以及尚未解決的各項難題。

透過文獻分析，簡要介紹德國與韓國轉型正義的經驗，回顧我國在轉型正義上遭遇的困難，與現階段執行的情況，並以轉型正義中「不義遺址」為核心，扣緊人權教育四大學習主題，搭配國家人權館人權素養教具箱「巧克力2號店」，設計國中彈性課程。課程時數為三堂共150分鐘，以八年級為教授對象，透過「巧克力模型、開店任務包、顧客卡」等教具，打開學生的視覺、聽覺、觸覺與味覺，進一步認識遺址的空間與人物故事，再將所有的感受轉化成「開店概念與包裝」進行發表。

而人權案例事件具有社會爭議，於課堂討論存在敏感性問題，在課程教學前，需與校方、任課班級導師、家長、學生密切溝通，妥善評估實施課程的影響性，並依研究倫理，簽署同意書後進行。

本研究藉由前、後測問卷，搭配課程學習單、小組互評表、教師參與觀察，進行成效評估，並透過學生回饋調整課程，預期學生在課後人權思維提升，了解自己國家曾經發生的故事，由衷珍惜並愛護這塊土地，最終期許學生能將人權概念實踐在生活中，也期望更多花蓮教育工作者投入此領域，帶領學生多關注當前的人權議題，趁著轉型正義的思潮，在教育現場實踐人權與人權教育。

**關鍵字：** 不義遺址 國中彈性課程 人權教育 教案設計 轉型正義

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## 第一章、緒論

### 第一節、研究動機與研究問題

#### 壹、 研究動機

2019年7月，利用暑假時間參加「人權影像融入教學課程設計工作坊」，由國家人權博物館、富邦文教基金會及國教署人權教育資源中心共同舉辦的研習，經歷四天三夜人權電影馬拉松，與教師夥伴們腦力激盪該出適合學生的人權課程。最令研究者印象深刻的是，討論過程中不斷出現「不義遺址」一詞，在場老師們似乎都對這個名詞不陌生，只有研究者「不知道」，同時也是首次造訪國家人權館。懷著惴惴不安的心情開始查詢，好奇臺灣的不義遺址從何而來？又是誰定義出不義遺址？反思自己又為什麼會對這個名詞這麼陌生？

原來並非花蓮地區沒有不義遺址，而是至今沒有任何一處被列為不義遺址，這似乎是逃避「不知道」最有利的藉口，但研究者想起了《解憂雜貨店》裡最經典的一段話：「我腦中的空白的確讓我不知所措，不妨換個角度思考，正因為空白，我可以畫任何地圖，充滿無限可能。」甚至可以和我的學生教學相長，一同藉由不義遺址更了解人權。

2017年12月5日，立法院三讀通過《促進轉型正義條例》，2018年5月31日「促進轉型正義委員會」正式成立，其工作主要針對過去的威權主義統治時期，規劃和推動還原歷史真相、開放政治檔案、清除威權象徵、保存「不義遺址」。

《促進轉型正義條例》(2017)所稱不義遺址，係指1945年8月15日起至1992年11月6日止之威權統治時期，統治者鎮壓、法外處決、強制思想改造等侵害人權之場所。不義遺址並非臺灣獨創，國外通常稱為負面遺址(Negative Heritage)。隨社會變遷，遺址及其歷史意義逐漸消失乃至被遺忘，國家人權博物館(以下簡稱人權館)希望藉由整理考掘這些空間的歷史，標示出重要的人權地景，以記憶克服遺忘(不義遺址資料庫，2019)。

人權館在2017年初步完成白色恐怖不義遺址調查研究工作，全臺灣共有41處，北部32處，中部2處，南部4處，東部3處，於2018年7月5日公告「國家人權博物館推動不義遺址建置及保存維護與人權事務發展補助作業要點」，協助各縣市政府進行不義遺址之保存、修繕、活化、營運及再利用工作。研究者至今造訪過的地點如：臺灣警備總司令部軍法處看守所(景美看守所)改為國家人權博物館、臺灣省警務處刑警總隊拘留所(刑警總隊)改為臺灣新文化運動紀念館、馬場町刑場改為馬場町河濱紀念公園，這些地點大多修繕為展覽空間與體驗場所，藉由親自走訪當初發生白色恐怖事件的場景，比起讀再多的書籍，看再多的影片都更有感，內心更是無比震撼。

因此在初步認識後，進一步思考，那研究者的學生知道不義遺址嗎？身為教學現場第一線教師，想將這個議題帶到教學現場，但毫無頭緒，更何況在學校講人權更具爭議性。觀察國中生對於白色恐怖時期有幾個現象，第一，認知大多停留在課

本的抽象名詞，第二，電影《返校》<sup>1</sup>則是學生對白色恐怖具象化媒介的代表，很多學生被這部電影的驚悚畫面與白恐話題吸引注意，開始涉獵相關議題；尹懷君、劉怡芳、蕭唯善（2020）指出，說來諷刺，學生對於白恐、轉型正義議題的興趣不是來自於我們課本，而是一部電影，不是第一部涉及白恐的電影，卻是第一部年輕人願意花錢去電影院看的電影。再者，學生只認識「著名事件」，年輕他們屬於「解嚴後世代」，並沒有感受到全臺肅殺的氛圍。那麼對於花蓮在地的白色恐怖又認識多少呢？當國家揮舞著人權教育的大旗，喊著轉型正義的口號，學生是否真有所感？

108 課綱已上路將近兩年，在教育部的推行下，高中端已發展出多樣化的校定課程、多元選修，尤其臺南女中作為人權教育資源中心，積極培育種子教師，建立教師專業社群，發展出高中端的教案。反觀國中端的關注度較低，相關的教學素材、教案比賽屈指可數，找到的資源也不一定能夠類推適用。書籍方面，人權館出版了適合高中以上閱讀的小說選（讓過去成為此刻：臺灣白色恐怖小說選）與散文選（靈魂與灰燼：臺灣白色恐怖散文選），<sup>2</sup>坊間適合國小生的繪本更是多元。而各縣市早有人權輔導團的組織，但以花蓮縣為例，組成的教師群發展方向以國小為主，如此看來國中反而成為了被遺漏的年段。

透過研究所師長協助，找到研究核心概念，也不斷尋求外在資源，2020 年「請你跟我走一趟—不義遺址空間歷史推廣企劃示範展」在花蓮展出，暑假到臺南參加研習「人權議題融入教學」、同年 12 月有「人權教育課程研發成果發表」教案分享、美麗島 40 周年世界人權日，2021 年參與陳文成博士紀念基金會舉辦的綠島教師營、同年 3 月林傳凱老師的花蓮白色足跡講座。這些研習活動打開了研究者的眼界，有老師透過影視媒材教德國的轉型正義，有學校在進行校園白恐地圖計畫（國家人權館，2021），或是將校園白恐故事改編成舞臺劇，而臺南在地高中結合人權地景，發展出走讀課程。越接觸越知道自己的不足，反而不知道從何開始，所幸遇到了人權素養教具箱。

2021 年 7 月，正當研究者苦惱該怎麼跨出下一步時，看到人權館粉絲專頁介紹研習「想將人權融入教學現場，卻不知道如何開始？」，完全打中內心，馬上報名昨日招待所研習，此計畫由人權館領導，與藝術家現場教師合作，針對各級學校不同領域及學科需求，開發適合教學現場運用的 6 款人權素養教具箱，其中，以不義遺址為設計核心的「巧克力 2 號店」教具箱最符合研究者需求。同年 8 月成功申請到教具箱，與人權館合作是發展的一項重要契機。協助教師帶領學生從靠近白色恐怖時期空間歷史，在教具情境中透過探究與實作，有了閱讀以外的歷史體驗，進而反思自身與人權議題之間的關係。如周婉窈教授所說「一個對於歷史無所感的人群，大約創造不出能讓後人感動的歷史吧。」學生為什麼要接觸人權教育與轉型正義？並不是要把學生教成正義魔人或激進分子，而是讓學生了解所生活的土地曾經發生過什麼事情，從理解走向和解，讓學生感同身受後，從「學校沒教的事」變成「學生主動學的事」。

<sup>1</sup> 是一部於 2019 年上映的臺灣校園懸疑歷史驚悚片。改編自赤燭遊戲的電腦遊戲《返校》。

<sup>2</sup> 為國家人權館與春山合作出版選集，在閱讀傑出文學作品的同時，將深入了解白色恐怖與戒嚴體制如何深深影響臺灣的各個層面。

綜合上述，研究者身為教學現場第一線教師，期許與學校一同加強人權教育的推動，使人權教育種子能扎根在學生心中，並落實於日常生活中。藉由八年級的行動研究實施，發現實際運作上可能發生的問題，透過與人權素養教具箱教師、校內協同教師合作，找出更好的教學策略，在精益求精的過程中，實踐人權教育核心素養，對過去發生的不義，有所反省，才能判斷、生活在更有理性和平的世界，故以此做為論文研究方向。

## 貳、 研究問題

為了達到上述研究目的，研究者將先探討如何將人權教育議題融入課程設計，並研究適合實施課程的年段，以及教學過程中會遇到的困難與問題，進而找出解決辦法，最後根據本行動研究的過程與結果，作為未來規劃課程的參考依據。

### 一、 教師應如何進行人權議題融入教學，並引導學生進行討論？

構思教學內容與時數，聚焦在學習單提問設計，採取多樣化的評量，並以分組合作學習方式進行課程，增加課堂互動性。

### 二、 人權教育中的轉型正義概念，適合國中學習階段？

了解學生的先備知識後，本研究針對第四學習階段設計課程，探討國中生對於轉型正義的理解程度，達到社會學習領域核心素養。

### 三、 不義遺址能否有效提升國中學生對人權的感受與評價？

透過不義遺址認識白色恐怖事件，是人權文化積極作為的展現，比較學生課程前後的差異，期許能提升學生的人權素養。

### 四、 本研究可以提出哪些建議，作為未來人權教育的課程參考？

以本研究為基底，未來設計不同年段的課程，以及突破實體教學限制，採取線上課程形式的可能性。最重要是邀請學生共同思索與反省過去發生了什麼、為什麼發生、如何發生以及未來如何讓惡行「不再發生」(never again)。

## 第二節 研究範圍與限制

### 壹、 研究範圍

本研究欲藉由國家人權館研發之教具箱，透過行動研究的方式，探討人權教育融入彈性課程的可行性。目前研究者任教於花蓮縣某一中學，基於研究倫理化名為自由國中，本校社會學習領域是採分科教學，分別由地理、歷史和公民的專科教師授課，當學期任教八年級，公民科每週授課時數只有一節課，經常面臨趕課壓力，所幸教室硬體設備充足，有利於教學媒體使用，經常自製簡報搭配影音授課，本次研究便是以教具箱、教學媒體為主，板書為輔的方式進行。

經研究者任教五年以來的觀察，本校為花蓮有名的中學，特別注重品格教育，學校許多家長的社經地位高，學生家庭背景優渥，各班學生來自臺灣各縣市，均包含花蓮在地通勤生與外縣市住宿生，以其一授課班級乙班為例，班上共 30 位同學，通勤生 11 人，住宿生 19 人，組成多元。

本研究以國中八年級學生為教案實施對象，不選擇七年級到九年級三個年段，因年齡跨度過大，分析比較易失焦，不以七年級為教學對象，原因為國中歷史科將白色恐怖放在七年級下學期，會造成先備知識的不足，九年級因課業壓力較重，準備重心放在會考，再者此屆八年級為新課綱第二年，彈性課程實施較為穩定，因此集中在此年級操作。研究者當學期負責教導八年級共七個班，採用非隨機的方式，抽取兩個班實施課程，以利行動研究。

蒐集的資料包括課堂觀察紀錄、學生前後測問卷，以及相關課堂資料與學生成果等。進入教學現場的時程為 2021 年 9 月到 11 月，每班 3 堂課共計 6 堂課。於 9 月底，實施前測問卷，11 月初實施後測問卷，皆採用 Google 表單，因當年 5 月全臺灣進行線上教學，學生資訊能力顯著提升，熟悉操作 Google 表單。並於課堂前發放指本研究同意書，徵得學生和其法定代理人的同意。

### 貳、 研究限制

#### 一、 資源的限制

本次研究採用異質分組，小組合作學習的模式，因經過七年級一整年的教學，老師熟悉學生的學習狀態，學生也熟悉教師的教學模式，可以節省彼此磨合時間，快速進入課程狀態。

另外，還會遇到其他實際的問題，例如經費、設備、人力等（黃政傑，1999），這次教學內容的花費包含講義、巧克力等費用，所幸學校有相關計畫可以協助；而本校的資訊設備充足，教室皆有電腦與投影機，但研究者額外借用適合小組學習的專科教室，當作這次課程實施的場地，可以節省搬桌椅的時間，更能營造課程的氛圍。因研究者同時為教學者，對於教學以外的任務分身乏術，拍照攝影則請同領域教師支援課堂。

課程設計與實施若能有協同教師一起備課，能減少自身盲點，增加課程嚴謹度，

雖然本校為完全中學，但公民領域教師只有四位，且需跨部別（國中部與高中部）、跨科目（公民與歷史）授課，實在是難以在領域時間額外抽空共備與交流，因此在課程實施前則請領域召集人給予指教。

## 二、 時間的限制

國中公民教學時數有限，以本校八年級為例，每週僅有一節課共 50 分鐘，若適逢國定假日則會影響教學進度，不方便進行行動研究，因此抽樣的兩個班級已排除教學時數不足的班級，並另外使用彈性課程、班級課輔進行教學。

再者，國家人權館人權素養教具箱是依申請意願，為了讓教具箱流動到各個申請學校使用，申請核可後採「借用」的形式，借用時間為期一個月，在並不充裕的時間內完成課程後即須歸還，必須妥善安排實際教學日期。

為了緩和教學時的緊湊，教師事前備課須妥善了解教學步驟，熟悉課程教具與教學簡報，利用教學活動前的課堂，向學生簡要說明人權課程實施的內容，前後測問卷也皆請學生利用非課堂時間完成，並將學習單、活動單裝訂成手冊，節省課堂中發放資料的時間，爭取課堂時間讓學生充分討論，課後讓學生將手冊帶回家，各組也可利用課間完成「巧克力2號店」開店包裝設計，使學生長時間沉浸在人權議題，從認知層面延伸到情意層面。另一方面，受限於研究者的時間與心力，本研究在課後觀察學生對課程理解的分析上，有延續探究的空間（蔡幸樺，2010）。

## 三、 行動研究的限制

「行動研究」是將「行動」與「研究」結合為一，縮短理論與實務的差距，強調實務工作的實際行動與研究的結合，是實務工作者在工作情境中所進行的自我反省探究。本研究主要針對學校課程、教師教學、態度與價值等方面進行研究，落實並提升教師的專業知能（蔡清田，2013）。

教育行動研究，經常被教學現場教師所使用，增進實施課程的能力與因應教育改革的需要，因教師為研究主要參與者，一向受人質疑的即為研究會有主觀性，然而，行動研究所重視的本為解決研究者所發現情境中急待解決之問題，並非所有客觀情況的解決，藉由科學方法的應用，從研究問題的探求、研析解決策略、操作實施、反省與調整、再操作，透過不斷循環的研究方式，來避免研究上的缺失。

在教育方面的行動研究，是針對特定的問題，教師所規劃設計的教學方法，最後歸納整理出來的結論，不見得適用在其他相同科目教師身上。這種特定性可以解決特定的問題，同樣的，也因為這種特定性，限制了教育行動研究不能將研究成果廣泛應用在解決其他問題上，有類推適用的限制（秦麗花，2000）。

縱使行動研究包含研究主觀性與類推情境的兩大限制，但每一次的行動研究都是獨一無二、無可取代的，所重視的是研究者對於所處情境中，有急待解決的問題，沒有最佳解，只有最適解。

## 第二章、文獻回顧與探討

### 第一節 人權教育的意涵

#### 壹、 人權教育的發展歷程

如《世界人權宣言》所言，人權是與生俱來的權利，不因種族、性別、階級等而有所不同。

人權教育是一種價值教育，是以保障人性尊嚴與人民權利為核心。人權教育同時是人類尊嚴的教育，透過人權教育的實施，加強學生對人權的意識、了解、尊重、包容，其中「尊重」與「包容」是人權的核心價值，幫助學生了解「人之所以為人」的意涵，致力於人權文化的建立，共同推展人類世界的和平與合作。由此可知，人權教育是教育體系不可或缺之一環（教育部國民及學前教育署人權教育資源中心，2019）。

#### 一、 法律中的人權

臺灣的人權教育發展甚早，並非從 108 課綱才開始。可從我國的法律人權保障找到與人權教育相應的內容，《憲法》雖未明文提及「人性尊嚴」，然而透過大法官的解釋，亦承認其為我國人權保障之基礎，如釋字第 603 號在其解釋文之初即寫到：「維護人性尊嚴與尊重人格自由發展，乃自由民主憲政秩序之核心價值。」此精神亦明文於我國的《教育基本法》第 3 條：「教育之實施，應本有教無類、因材施教之原則，以人文精神及科學方法，尊重人性價值，致力開發個人潛能，培養群性，協助個人追求自我實現。」（許育典，2002；林佳範，2019）《教育基本法》於 1999 年公佈，其中明文規定：教育目標之一在於「促進（人民）對基本人權之尊重」，「學生之學習權、受教育權、身體自主權及人格發展權，國家應予保障，並使學生不受任何體罰及霸凌行為，造成身心之侵害」；「受教育的機會不因性別、年齡、能力、地域等因素的差異而有所不同」，在法律中納入人權觀念的舉動，代表著進步的力量（但昭偉，2016）。

臺灣也將重要的「國際人權法典」國內法化，我國人權教育學習目標便是與目前聯合國《世界人權宣言》、兩公約—《公民與政治權利國際公約》、《經濟社會文化權利公約》以及《兒童權利公約》等的規範概念一致，實際作為如 2009 年，立法院三讀通過《公民與政治權利國際公約及經濟社會文化權利國際公約施行法》。《教育部人權及公民教育中程計畫》（2012）朝向符合兩公約精神意涵，提升全人關懷及終身學習之人權及公民教育發展之方向邁進。將人權及公民教育融入校園生活中常態實施，對於人民與社會之需求作出積極回應。

#### 二、 人權議題的發展歷程

臺灣在 1987 年解嚴之後，政治及社會氛圍有了很大的變化，不僅政府在人權作為上有所改進，NGO（非政府組織）對人權的倡議更是用力。1998 年 9 月通過的「九年一貫課程綱要」將人權列為國小及國中課程中的重要議題，與環保、資訊、兩性

教育並列為四大議題，雖然不是正式課程，但必須要融入到各科的教學當中。而就其獨立知識內涵與價值性而言，亦為學者肯定，認為具存在的正當性(洪如玉,2006)。

這種對人權的重視在2000年之際達到高峰。教育部也於2001年成立「人權教育委員會」，致力於推動九年一貫課程改革所宣導的「課程統整」及「創新教學」，鼓勵教師採用各種創意教學設計，自行彈性運用時間，將人權教育議題融入學習領域之中。同年六月頒布《教育部人權教育實施方案》，呼應聯合國將1995年至2004年訂為「人權教育十年」的決議(教育部人權教育實施方案,2011)。

在學習領域之外，並進一步配合社會趨勢，反應當前社會關注的主要議題，發布資訊、環境、兩性(後改為「性別平等」、人權、生涯發展、家政教育的六項重大等議題，以融入的方式，將各議題納入課綱中。至2008年，教育部更進一步針對九年一貫課綱進行微調，並新增「海洋教育」為重大議題，共為七大議題(〈97年國民小學課程綱要〉,2008)。2010年教育部舉辦「第八次全國教育會議」，將「現代公民素養培育」列為十大議題之首，可見教育部對培養世界觀素養的重視(第8次全國教育會議實錄-1,2010)。

有法律的保障，以及將人權議題納入中小學課綱，是人權教育的一項里程碑，尤其因各科教科書的編輯者會依課程綱要，在教科書中涵蓋人權觀念，這種作為勢必能讓中小學的老師與學生接觸到人權教育(但昭偉,2016)。在課程設計的教學目標上，人權教育希望透過「經驗式」、「互動式」、「參與式」的教學方法與教育環境營造，來協助學生澄清價值與觀念，尊重人性尊嚴的價值體系，並於生活中實踐維護與保障人權(劉恆奴,2013)，在具體教學上，與國際接軌，將國際間的共同規範相互參照(蘇鈺楠,2015)。

十二年國民基本教育課程綱要亦將人權教育列為十九項議題之一，希望將人權議題融入到各教學領域，形塑學生基本人權意識，進一步將知識轉化成行動，「人權與生活實踐」、「人權違反與救濟」等面向，落實行動策略。教育部國教署為保障學生基本權益特於107年6月成立高級中等學校人權教育資源中心，並於108年2月起由國立臺南女中承辦，以整合教育部國教署人權教育資源中心及相關人權議題業務(教育部國民及學前教育署人權教育資源中心,2019)。

## 貳、 白恐時期的四大惡法

自1949年5月19日頒布《臺灣省戒嚴令》起，到1987解除戒嚴令，長達38年又56天，期間為了有效統治臺灣社會，除了頒布各種管制辦法外，情治單位時常以「匪諜」或「臺獨」名義逮捕異議分子，故這段期間又稱為白色恐怖時期(檔案支援教學網,2013)。其實臺灣人民真正有思想自由保障，要一直到終止動員戡亂時期及廢止〈懲治叛亂條例〉，並修正刑法100條為止。白色恐怖(White Terror)一詞，據說源自法國大革命時，以白色為代表色的右派波旁王室對左派雅克賓黨人所採取的報復行動(臺灣大百科全書,2012)。

二二八事件與白色恐怖有兩個顯著差異。其一是時間的持續性，二二八持續的時間甚短，即使加上屠殺後的「清鄉」(清除藏匿分子)行動，時間持續僅約4個月，卻對臺灣的影響相當巨大，部分原因是許多受難者是臺灣社會菁英，與許多社會各

界的重要人物。而白色恐怖則持續長達 30 多年。其二是法律程序，二二八事件的逮捕往往沒有書面文書，槍決也沒有經過審判。相對來說，白色恐怖期間的國家暴力遵循形式上的法律程序：逮捕、偵訊、起訴、判決、監禁或槍決（臺灣民間真相與和解促進會，2018）。

「自由就像空氣，你只會在窒息時，才會察覺到它的存在。」人權教育的發展也並非一帆風順，前述雖提及《憲法》保障人民基本權利，包括：平等權、自由權、生存權、工作權、財產權、參政權和概括基本權等（許育典，2016）。但國民黨政權所建立的威權獨裁體制，卻是民主自由、人權教育歷程中的一大阻礙。

國民黨政權因內戰失利於 1949 年移居臺灣，威權體制所存在的四十年間，一方面為了防止對岸共產黨政權滲透，另一方面為了消除政權的挑戰者以及自由與民主的呼聲，國家暴力的行使非常普遍，在社會中形成「白色恐怖」的氣氛，不幸的是，持續中的國共內戰掩護了大量的國家暴力（臺灣民間真相與和解促進會，2015）。

在白色恐怖時期，當時有四項破壞人民權利的白恐法律。分別是《動員戡亂時期臨時條款》、《臺灣省戒嚴令》、《懲治叛亂條例》、《戡亂時期檢肅匪諜條例》。這些惡法無一不是令人髮指的極限誇張，如「動員戡亂」一頒布就是 43 年，更別說這法頒布於國民黨在中國北伐前的古老（羅元祺，2020）。

表 2-1 研究者自行整理

法令（條款）	沿革（公布-廢止）
《動員戡亂時期臨時條款》	（1948/05/10-1991/05/01）
《臺灣省戒嚴令》	（1949/05/20-1987/07/14）
《懲治叛亂條例》	（1949/06/21-1991/05/22）
《戡亂時期檢肅匪諜條例》	（1950/06/13-1991/06/03）

### 一、《動員戡亂時期臨時條款》

理論上中華民國在制度上已進入憲政時期，但僅「行憲」五個半月（1947 年 12 月 25 日實施），便以阻擋中國共產黨的勢力為由，加上了高於憲法位階的條款，擴大專制獨裁的空間。而動員戡亂的意思則是「國家總動員，以勘共匪之亂」，界定為處於戰爭動員狀態，是非常時期，而原本是有設有兩年半的年限，結果國民大會則決定一直延長下去，意思是必須一直「剿匪」（周婉窈，2019）。

其中，最為人詬病的則是總統任期的限制，依當時的《中華民國憲法》規定，總統一任六年，得連任一次，但新條款於 1960 年 3 月 11 日公布「動員戡亂時期，總統副總統得連選連任，不受憲法第四十七條連任一次之限制。」所以蔣中正連任到第五任總統。而臺灣，原本和國共內戰毫不相干的島嶼，被這個條款框架在非常時期，無法實施憲政，人民無法過正常的生活。

## 二、《臺灣省戒嚴令》

戒嚴令對於現在的國中生來說，較《動員戡亂時期臨時條款》稍微熟悉些，七年級歷史中華民國在臺灣的篇章，與七年級公民社會團體的數量在解嚴後百花齊放，但終究是不了解細節與內容。對於研究者來說，與戒嚴令稍微有所連結的，則是1949年4月6日發生的「四六事件」，就讀臺師大的期間，每年4月6日皆會有人文社舉辦相關活動講座，同學們也多少都知道學校曾經發生的事，當時陳誠以警備總司令的身分對外發表將對臺大、師範學院（今臺灣師範大學）進行「整頓學風」的聲明，軍警進入校園對學生中的「匪諜」進行大逮捕，行動則主要針對師院，重要措施是辦理學籍重登記，逾期者一律取消學籍，影響學生眾多，事件不久後即發布戒嚴令，這也是為何日後臺師大給人的印象多為保守嚴謹（薛化元、陳翠蓮、吳鯤魯、李福鐘、楊秀菁，2003）。

全稱為《臺灣省政府、臺灣省警備總司令部佈告戒字第一號》，由臺灣省政府主席兼臺灣警備總司令陳誠，於1949年5月19日頒佈的戒嚴令。實施全臺戒嚴，將臺灣分成臺北市戒嚴區、北部戒嚴區、中南部戒嚴區、東部戒嚴區、澎湖戒嚴區等五個戒嚴區，並以戒嚴令為基準延伸許多管制辦法（檔案支援教學網，2013）。而「臺灣省戒嚴令」屬於緊急戒嚴，需要經過立法院追認，但沒有證據顯示其有呈報給當時代理總統李宗仁與立法院追認，因此就法律程序來說，不具合法性（周婉窈，2019）。

薛化元等（2003）指出在白色恐怖時期，集會結社自由得不到尊重，集會結社自由乃集體表現的精神活動自由，「集會」是個人與他人意見交流，形成自我思想共同意志做直接有效的手段；「結社」則是指許多人為共同主張或目的而組成持續性的團體。依照《戒嚴法》第十一條第一款，最高司令官得「停止集會結社及遊行請願，並取締言論講學新聞雜誌圖畫告白標語暨其他出版物之認為與軍事有妨害者。上述集會結社及遊行請願，必要時並得解散之。」

《憲法》第九條明訂：「人民除現役軍人外，不受軍事審判。」在戒嚴期間形同虛設，因在當時《戒嚴法》第八條「戒嚴時期接戰地域內，關於刑法上左列各罪，軍事機關得自行審判或交法院審判之。」意思是平民犯了第八條的罪刑，必須受到軍事審判，明顯違反人權。

## 三、《懲治叛亂條例》

《懲治叛亂條例》屬於動員戡亂時期法律，卻未冠上戡亂時期名稱，但顯然是刑法的特別法。其中「二條一」是白色恐怖最惡名昭彰的條文，研究者第一次看到該法具象化的表現，是電影《超級大國民》（1994）中政治犯被送往刑場，離開牢房，雙手高舉二條一的手勢。該法第二條第一項：「犯刑法第一百條第一項、第一百零一條第一項、第一百零三條第一項、第一百零四條第一項之罪者，處死刑。」薛化元等（2003）指出上述的絕對死刑，正是經由審判而奪去最多人命的白色恐怖條文。

《在中華民國刑法》裡，一百，一百零一屬「內亂罪」，一百零三、一百零四屬「外患罪」。犯一百條第一項，處七年以上徒刑，首謀者無期徒刑。犯一百零一條第一項，七年以上，首謀者死刑或無期徒刑。犯一百零三和一百零四條都是處死刑或無期徒刑。但是，這四條的罪罰，在《懲治叛亂條例》中卻通通變成了死刑，成了剝奪人民性命的惡法。

在1950年4月14日，立法院更以所謂「治亂世用重典」的觀念，通過《懲治叛亂條例》修正案，其中第八條修正為「犯本條例第二條第一項、第三條第一項及第四條第一項第一款至第十一款之罪者，除有第九條第一項情形外，沒收其全部財產。但應酌留其家屬必需之生活費。前項罪犯未獲案或死亡而罪證明確者，單獨宣告沒收其財產。」財產被沒收，酌留給家屬的生活費也沒有明訂，如此一旦遭判定為叛亂犯，生命、自由、財產等基本權利接受到剝奪，也才会有後續轉型正義處理起來相當棘手的不當黨產議題。該法在戒嚴解除近四年後的1991年5月17日才由提案立法院廢止。

#### 四、 《戡亂時期檢肅匪諜條例》

該法中有所謂「知匪不報」罪名，更容易用來打擊異議分子、予以羅織入罪。《戡亂時期檢肅匪諜條例》第十四條亦規定：「沒收匪諜之財產，一律解繳國庫。破獲之匪諜案件，其告密檢舉人及直接承辦出力人員應給獎金，由國庫支付，其給獎辦法，由行政院定之」。國家沒收的財產，得提30%作告密檢舉人的獎金，35%作承辦出力人員的獎金及破案費用，其餘解繳國庫。無財產沒收的匪諜案件，得由治安機關報請行政院給獎金，或其他方法獎勵（陳鈺馥，2021）。

依據我國目前《刑法》沒收規定，是以沒收犯罪工具、犯罪所得為主，白色恐怖時期沒收政治犯全部的財產，甚至設有嚴苛團體「聯保連坐制度」，要求各機關、學校、團體，需要有一人以上連保切結，如果有匪諜潛伏，則可以對於連保人與主管進行處分，同時治安機關享有直接搜索扣押的權限，實務上造成人民互相檢舉告密（台灣民間真相與和解促進會，2021），社會人人自危，國家的不法行為明顯違反自由民主憲政精神，嚴重侵犯人身自由及財產權，直到1991年才廢止。

#### 五、 小節

其實白色恐怖時期並非只有此四大惡法違反人權，包含《違警罰法》、《刑法》第一百條，甚至是司法體系也面臨崩解，原屬獨立自主的司法權，因當時地方法院及高等法院竟隸屬於行政院下之司法行政部，訓政殘餘法令及戡亂時期法令相互重疊 給予有權機關及個人運用的空隙，成為權力腐化的最佳溫床。

「我們不能只把戒嚴當成『過去式』，而應該意識到，戒嚴所遺留給臺灣社會的種種影響，其實是『現在進行式』」（曲潔茹、陳之昱、陳佩甄、馬翊航、孫世鐸、路那與蔡雨辰，2020）。

## 第二節 課綱中的人權教育

十二年國民基本教育共規劃十九項議題，性別、環境、海洋等……，其中人權教育學習目標為「了解人權存在的事實、基本概念與價值；發展對人權的價值信念；增強對人權的感受與評價；養成尊重人權的行為及參與實踐人權的行動。」(教育部，2014) 新課綱的實踐，讓我國人權教育發展與時俱進並與國際接軌。

### 壹、 社會領域中的人權教育

表 2-2 研究者自行整理

十二年國民基本教育課程綱要社會領域		
人權教育 2	學習目標	
	了解人權存在的事實、基本概念與價值；發展對人權的價值信念；增強對人權的感受與評價；養成尊重人權的行為及參與實踐人權的行動。	
議題	學習主題	議題實質內涵
人權教育	人權與責任	人 J2 關懷國內人權議題，提出一個符合正義的社會藍圖，並進行社會改進與行動。
	人權與民主法治	人 J3 探索各種利益可能發生的衝突，並了解如何運用民主審議方式及正當的程序，以形成公共規則，落實平等自由之保障。
	人權違反與救濟	人 J7 探討違反人權的事件對個人、社區/部落、社會的影響，並提出改善策略或行動方案。
	人權重要主題	人 10 了解人權的起源與歷史發展對人權維護的意義。

### 貳、 公民課本中的人權教育議題

以國中公民科翰林版為例，擷取各年段與各主題，探討其與人權教育議題關聯。

表 2-3 研究者自行整理

七年級上學期	課本中相關人權議題 以翰林版為例	
單元 主題名稱/課程活動內容	實質內涵	
第一章 公民與公民德性 1. 什麼是國民？ 2. 什麼是公民？ 3. 簡要說明我國公民參政權的資格及年齡，並延伸說明各國行使選舉權的年齡。	人 J1	認識基本人權的意涵，並了解憲法對人權保障的意義。
第二章 人性尊嚴與人權保障 1. 說明何謂人性尊嚴，並請學生寫下一項尊重自己的行為。 2. 說明刻板印象如何限制個人發展。	人 J1	認識基本人權的意涵，並了解憲法對人權保障的意義。

<p>3. 說明歧視及偏見會如何傷害人性尊嚴，應持正向態度尊重別人。</p>		
<p>第五章 學生權利與校園生活</p> <p>1. 教師說明國家如何以法保障學生在學校的權益：                  (1) 同學間或師生間的性騷擾事件，可根據性平法處理。                  (2) 學生權利遭受不當侵害時，可透過學生申訴評議委員會保障自身權益。</p> <p>2. 透過實作與練習，讓學生知道兒童的四大權利，以及如何落實在校園生活。</p>	<p>人 J9</p>	<p>認識教育權、工作權與個人生涯發展的關係。</p>

表 2-4 研究者自行整理

七年級下學期		課本中相關人權議題 以翰林版為例	
單元 主題名稱/課程活動內容	實質內涵		
<p>第一章社會中的多元文化</p> <p>1. 說明文化的定義。                  2. 說明文化的普遍性、差異性與多樣性。                  3. 說明主流文化與次文化的定義。</p>	<p>人 J5</p>	<p>了解社會上有不同的群體和文化，尊重並欣賞其差異。</p>	
<p>第三章團體與志願結社</p> <p>1. 說明志願結社的定義。                  2. 說明志願結社的特徵：民間性、自主性、非營利性及組織性。</p>	<p>人 J5</p>	<p>了解社會上有不同的群體和文化，尊重並欣賞其差異。</p>	
	<p>人 J10</p>	<p>了解人權的起源與歷史發展對人權維護的意義。</p>	
<p>第四章民主社會中的公共意見</p> <p>1. 說明在民主社會中，公共意見如何形成。                  2. 說明在民主社會表達公共意見的方式，例如：媒體投書、抗議遊行、公民投票、透過團體組織或民意代表，表達意見。</p>	<p>人 J3</p>	<p>探索各種利益可能發生的衝突，並了解如何運用民主審議方式及正當的程序，以形成公共規則，落實平等自由之保障。</p>	
<p>第五章社會中的公平正義</p> <p>1. 從四個角度說明社會中不公平的現象。                  (1) 利益分配：說明個人利益是否獲得合理分配及社會流動的意義。                  (2) 責任負擔：說明個人承擔的責任是否適當、合理。                  (3) 需求滿足：是否能依照個人的需求給予適當的資源。                  (4) 貢獻程度：努力是否受到他人的尊重與肯定。</p>	<p>人 J3</p>	<p>探索各種利益可能發生的衝突，並了解如何運用民主審議方式及正當的程序，以形成公共規則，落實平等自由之保障。</p>	
	<p>人 J4</p>	<p>了解平等、正義的原則，並在生活中實踐。</p>	
<p>第六章社會安全與國家責任</p> <p>1. 藉由 2018 年花蓮強震新聞說明要實踐社會公平正義的方式就是確保社會安全，目的即為使個人的基本生活受到保障，維護人性尊嚴。                  2. 說明我國實施社會安全的政策：全民健保、就業服務等。</p>	<p>人 J2</p>	<p>關懷國內人權議題，提出一個符合正義的社會藍圖，並進行社會改進與行動。</p>	
	<p>人 J10</p>	<p>了解人權的起源與歷史發展對人權維護的意義。</p>	

表 2-5 研究者自行整理

八年級上學期		課本中相關人權議題 以翰林版為例	
單元 主題名稱/課程活動內容		實質內涵	
第一章國家與民主治理 1. 國家與政府不同點在哪裡？請舉例說明。 2. 民主國家的政府如何組成？ 3. 政黨輪替是什麼意思？臺灣政黨輪替的歷史為何？		人 J3	探索各種利益可能發生的衝突，並了解如何運用民主審議方式及正當的程序，以形成公共規則，落實平等自由之保障。
第二章憲法與人權保障 1. 說明人治與法治的定義及其差異，並輔以實例對照說明。 2. 說明英國的法治發展歷程。 3. 說明為什麼現代民主國家大多將人民基本權利寫入憲法中。 4. 說明憲法的基本權利規定及其內涵，並輔以實例對照說明。 5. 說明其他憲法未明文列舉的權利。		人 J1	認識基本人權的意涵，並了解憲法對人權保障的意義。
		人 J3	探索各種利益可能發生的衝突，並了解如何運用民主審議方式及正當的程序，以形成公共規則，落實平等自由之保障。
第六章政治參與 1. 說明政治的定義。 2. 說明政治參與的定義，舉例說明政治參與的方式與意義。 3. 說明選舉的四大原則，並輔以實例對照說明。 4. 說明享有選舉權與投票權的資格。 5. 說明常見的選舉負面手段，並輔以實例對照說明。		人 J3	探索各種利益可能發生的衝突，並了解如何運用民主審議方式及正當的程序，以形成公共規則，落實平等自由之保障。
		人 J4	了解平等、正義的原則，並在生活中實踐。

經統整後發現，實際有人權議題融入之主題，多集中在國一與國二上，無法達到全面性地融入。

### 第三章 研究方法及步驟

#### 第一節 研究方法與流程

研究者在任教期間發現，以公民科為例，人權教育議題實際融入課綱中的部分偏重於某些章節課程，內容艱澀標準過高讓學生難以消化，並未能知行合一，研究者希望透過與國家人權館合作，設計以學生為中心的教學課程（林博寰，2019）。

本研究採用的研究方法為「行動研究法」，以研究者本身所任教的班級作為彈性課程實施對象，在進行課程前先進行前測問卷，了解學生的先備知識，搭配人權素養教具箱，研擬適切的教學活動，課程進行時也同步蒐集學生學習單、分組合作學習活動單、與各組成品，加以分析、省思，課程後進行後測問卷，請學生給予課程回饋，最後再針對並加以改善之，如此不斷循環進行此研究，解決教學現場所面臨的問題，並提升研究者的專業知能。本研究流程圖如下圖所示：

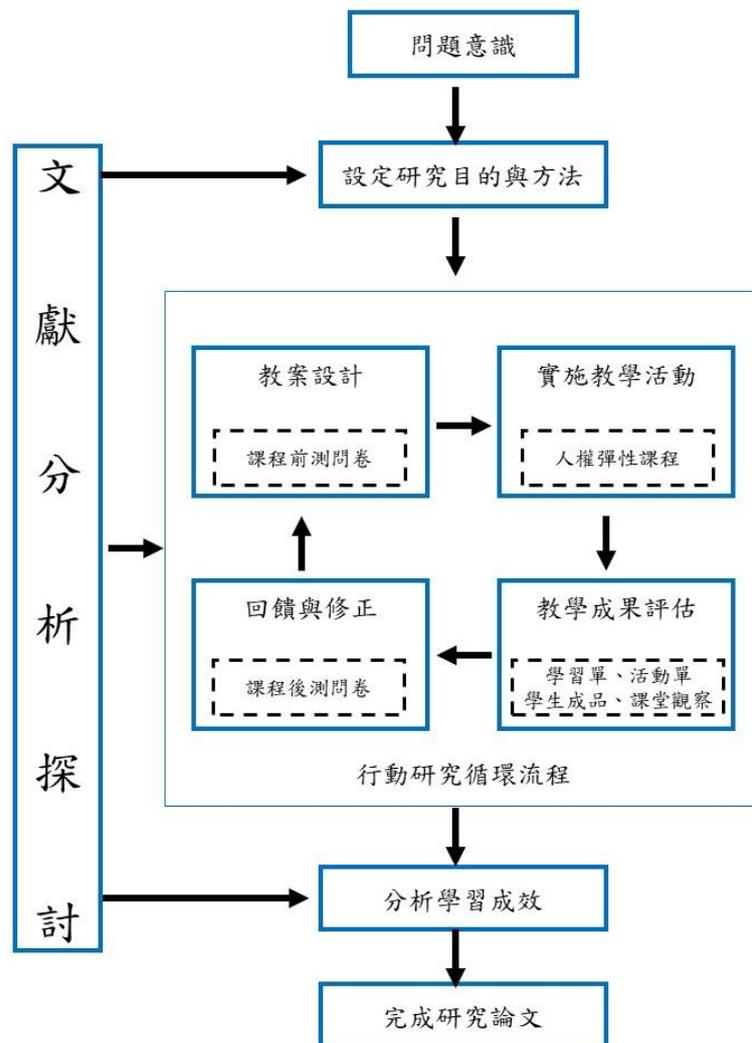


圖 3-1 研究流程 資料來源：研究者自行設計

## 壹、 研究設計

### 一、 研究方法

本文以文獻分析與問卷調查為主，參與式觀察為輔。透過問卷分析前測與後測問卷，比較受試者進行課程前後，對於相關知識的了解以及人權素養的提升。本研究的問卷研究方面，問卷期間自 2021 年 09 月 20 日至 2021 年 10 月 30 日，為了容易取得問卷樣本（調查對象），採用非隨機的方式，以方便取樣，因受試者熟悉網路資源使用，故採用線上 Google 表單，節省紙張資源與增加回收效率。兩個班級共 61 人，抽樣回收 50 份有效問卷。

除了問卷部分，也包含課程學習單、小組活動單、互評單以及最終的成品，來分析統整學生的學習成效，藉以修正課程，精進教學。

### 二、 問卷設計：

前測將問卷分成兩大部分：「白色恐怖歷史」與「不義遺址」進行問卷題項設計。後測問卷分為三大部分：「白色恐怖歷史」、「不義遺址」與「課程建議與回饋」進行問卷題項設計。測驗題目採李克特五點尺度量表，計分方式從「非常了解」到「非常不了解」進行測量，並搭配開放式問答。

### 三、 資料分析方法：

本研究所回收之問卷，採用的分析方法如下：

- (一) 描述性統計分析，本研究針對個人基本資料與問卷答案計算百分比。
- (二) 變異項分析，目的用來了解不同的班級的表現差異情形。
- (三) 相關性分析，利用相關分析進行假說驗證。

## 第二節 研究場域與參與者

就本研究來說，因是國中教室內的真實情境，具有複雜性與獨特性，因此，可聚焦在教室中的重要事件，並對於學生的學習表現有厚實的描述和脈絡性分析。而根據質性研究的目的，探究人權教育在此場域實施的狀況，不能直接廣泛推論到所有國中教室，但能提供相同意願、相似背景的教育工作者做參考。

### 壹、 研究場域

研究場域而言，位於花蓮縣的自由中學，創校約 20 多年，設有國中部與高中部的完全中學，全校目前有 36 班（國中 21 班），學生總數約 1200 人（國中部約 660 人）。此外學校屬於住宿型學校，組成樣態多元，家庭社經狀況普遍不錯。

因行動研究是採取分組合作學習，一般教室皆為獨立座位，若要進行分組學習，還須課前搬動桌椅，費時費力，因此借用校內專科教室，適合分組學習與情境式教學，課前也請學生協助將上課教具擺放好，讓學習與教學更有成效。

教室配置如下：

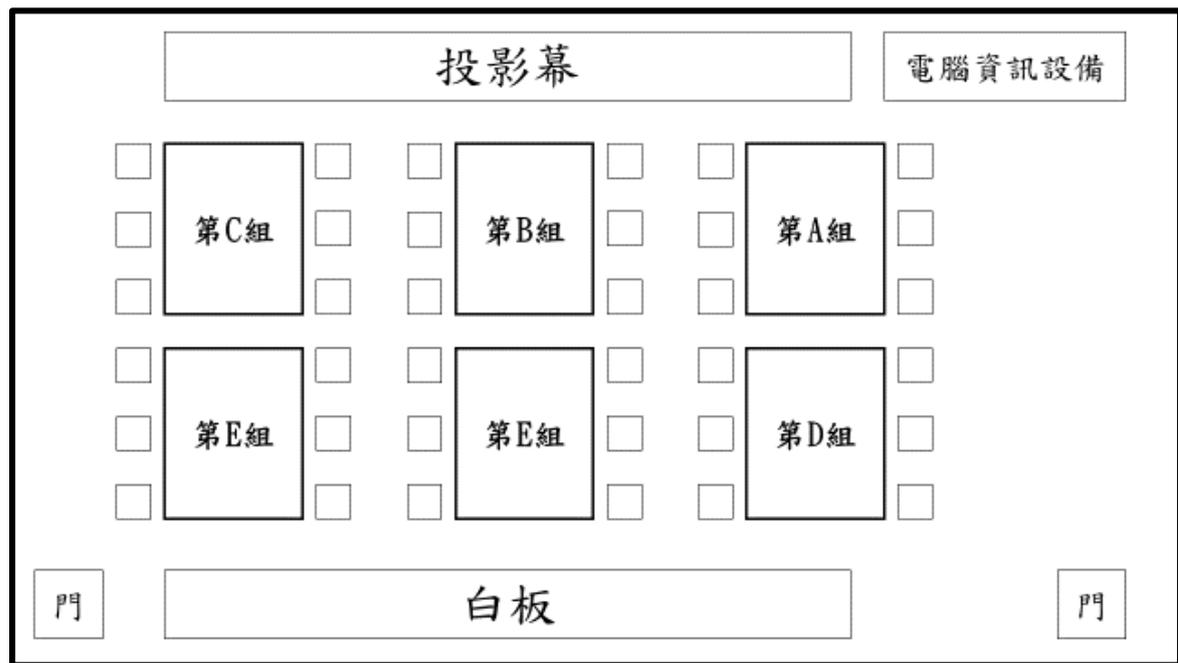


圖 3-2 教室配置圖

資料來源：研究者自行繪製

## 貳、 研究對象

本研究之母體為本校八年級學生，是兩個屬性不同的班級，國二甲班是藝術才能班，學生分為音樂、美術、舞蹈三種術科類型，國二乙班是育才班，屬於一般班級，沒有特別區分學生類型。

其中甲班學生為32人，因1人家長不同意參與課程，故將該學生排除計算，以31人採計。乙班學生為31人，因課程結束後轉學，故排除，以30人採計。

## 參、 研究倫理

研究倫理是指進行學術研究時必須遵守的行為規範。而教育研究經常涉及到觀察人的行為或特質，藉以了解教育現象，因此教育研究學者需特別注重以人作為研究對象時應遵守的規範（畢恆達，2020）。

本研究為人權教育之行動研究，將從所任教八年級的七個班中抽取兩個班進行。在行動研究過程，研究者尊重研究對象意願與其隱私權等基本原則，於實施前告知選取班級學生，該學期會使用國家人權館研發之教具箱進行教育研究，並簡述實施方式和其他須學生配合的地方。

因研究對象屬未成年人，研究者本身的道德判斷及決策能力便扮演著關鍵的角色，為保護其隱私權，將任教中學化名為自由國中，學生個人身分也將化為代號呈現。實施前發給每位同學有關研究流程的同意書，以徵得學生和其法定代理人的同意，簽閱研究同意書以資證明。

### 一、 知情同意與隱私

告知的內容包含研究目的、方法、參與時間，資料處理予保密、研究成果公開（畢恆達，2020）。

行動研究的重要價值在於透過教學者於真實教學情境中實施，不斷進行調整修正的歷程，過程中所蒐集的質性與量化資料，研究者也謹記客觀真實的分析原則。在結果分析部分，研究者也應以客觀角度，將所獲得的有關資料，依據研究設計分析，不刻意排除負面的研究資料，使讀者能完整的掌握研究的結果(周新富，2007，91)。

### 第三節 教學案例之研發

自 1990 年代以來，「戒嚴史」的研究、出版、展示、創作推陳出新，人權博物館更於近年揭幕，38 年間湮滅的歷史圖更加立體清晰。照理說，要在課堂上講述「白色恐怖」的難度應該越來越低（林傳凱，2019）。

可是包括研究者本身與正在就讀中、小學的孩子，皆屬於「解嚴後世代」，研究者本身在國小階段有被體罰「打手心」的經驗，到了國中以後的就學階段體罰就從研究者的生命中消失了，而現在的國中小學生更鮮少遭受體罰，若從政治犯遭到不當刑求的角度切入課程，學生難以產生共鳴，當然值得開心的是反映了社會進步，卻也構成了教學現場的新難題，因此須慎選教學題材。

#### 壹、 教案設計

##### 一、 教學設計理念說明

大部分的人都不知道該如何談論白色恐怖，不是不關心，而是缺少時機點好好認識這段歷史。

政治受難者前輩陳孟和說：「有了空間，故事才能填進去，歷史才能離真相近一點點。」以人權素養為教學目標，不義遺址為核心，藉由國家人權館教具箱「巧克力 2 號店」，以味覺體驗為契機，連結這段歷史的黑暗與苦澀，和學生一起回到過去，探索消失的人權地景，靠近政治受難前輩的生命記憶，感受人性尊嚴及人權價值的可貴，進而開啟關於議題的反思及討論。

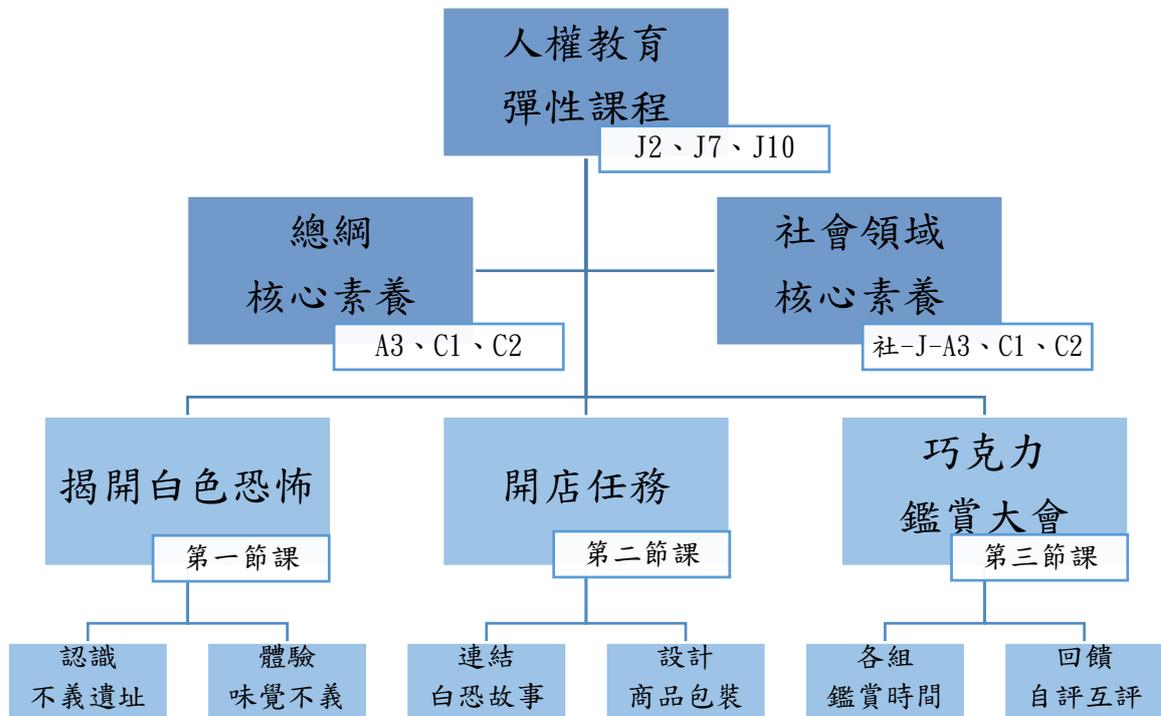


圖 3-3 課程架構表 資料來源：研究者自行設計

## 二、教學單元案例

領域/科目	彈性課程	設計者	黃韻臻
實施年級	國二	總節數	三
單元名稱	巧克力 2 號店		
<b>設計依據</b>			
總綱核心素養	A3 規劃執行與創新應變 C1 道德實踐與公民意識 C2 人際關係與團隊合作		
社會領域核心素養	社-J-A3 主動學習與探究人類生活相關議題，善用資源並規劃相對應的行動方案及創新突破的可能性。 社-J-C1 培養道德思辨與實踐能力、尊重人權的態度，具備民主素養、法治觀念、環境倫理以及在地與全球意識，參與社會公益活動。 社-J-C2 具備同理與理性溝通的知能與態度，發展與人合作的互動關係。		
議題融入	議題：人權教育 學習目標：了解人權存在的事實、基本概念與價值；發展對人權的價值信念；增強對人權的感受與評價；養成尊重人權的行為及參與實踐人權的行動。		
人權議題實質內涵	人權與責任 人 J2 關懷國內人權議題，提出一個符合正義的社會藍圖，並進行社會改進與行動。 人權違反與救濟 人 J7 探討違反人權的事件對個人、社區/部落、社會的影響，並提出改善策略或行動方案。 人權重要主題 人 J10 了解人權的起源與歷史發展對人權維護的意義。		
學生能力分析	1. 課程實施對象鎖定國中八年級，學生於國中七年級下學期歷史科課程便能習得近代臺灣政治發展與白色恐怖議題。 2. 學生具分組合作學習相關經驗，課程採取異質分組進行。 3. 熟悉使用Google表單與網頁進階搜尋。		
與其他領域/科目的連結	公民、歷史、資訊		
教學設備/資源	<p>平板、投影機、美工用具、教具箱</p> <p>教具箱內容： 開店任務袋： 不義巧克力盒模型 任務一線索 任務二線索 任務三道具 巧克力刀模 店長卡與顧客卡</p>		
		圖 3-4 巧克力 2 號店教具箱	
		資料來源：國家人權館	



<p>帶領學生複習白色恐怖歷史，區別 228 事件與白色恐怖兩者的不同，並引導至不義遺址，當初受難者所待的地方被稱作不義遺址。</p> <p>2. 學習單簽署儀式</p> <p>(1) 讓學生體驗「簽名」有兩大意涵</p> <p>A. 簽名代表負責</p> <p>B. 體驗過去被壓迫，即使不想也得簽名</p> <p>老師學生屬於權力不對等的關係，讓學生感受威權時期被迫妥協的壓力。</p> <p>(2) 味覺不義</p> <p>讓學生品嚐 92%以上的苦黑巧克力，感受酸、澀、苦的滋味。</p>	<p>5'</p>	<p>各組領取簽署單子與苦黑巧克力。</p> <p>選擇購買立陶宛巧克力。</p>
<p>3. 定義重組</p> <p>將促轉會的不義遺址定義拆解，讓學生重組。</p> <p>《促進轉型正義條例》第 5 條第 2 項明定：「威權統治時期，統治者大規模侵害人權事件之發生地，應予保存或重建，並規劃為歷史遺址。」</p> <p>辨識不義遺址，須具備三項必要條件：</p> <p>一、時序為威權統治時期（民國 34 年 8 月 15 日起至 81 年 11 月 6 日止）；</p> <p>二、覈實統治者大規模侵害人權事件之真實性；</p> <p>三、確認發生地之空間資訊。</p>	<p>6'</p>	
<p>4. 不義遺址今昔對比</p> <p>介紹不義遺址資料庫上的例子，軍法處看守所舊址，今為臺北市喜來登大飯店，讓學生感受不義遺址真實存在我們生活中，甚至是近距離的存在。</p> <p>5. 找到店址</p> <p>(1) 各組領開店任務包</p> <p>(2) 找到不義遺址現存地點</p> <p>共有六個不義遺址，每組負責一個地點。</p>	<p>5'</p> <p>10'</p>	<p>各組領取任務包。</p>

<p>(3) 挖掘故事</p> <p>透過閱讀文本連結地點，認識過去的空間，讓學生穿越時空到 1970 年代。</p>		
<p><b>三、綜合活動</b></p> <p>1. 九宮格任務</p> <p>透過任務一找到店址與任務二挖掘故事聚焦成這一張九宮格學習單，小組共同完成學習單，讓學生在探索任務前半段有一個暫停時間，能沈澱與消化老師分享的資訊。</p>	5'	完成九宮格小組任務單。
<p><b>第二節課：開店任務</b></p> <p><b>一、引起動機</b></p> <p>1. 兩節課連排</p> <p>接續上節課的九宮格活動，將班上分為六組，採異質分組。</p> <p>組內分享九宮格成果、教師檢核。</p> <p><b>二、發展活動</b></p> <p>1. 商品包裝設計卡—個人</p> <p>採用個人學習單，先從個人發想，結合任務一與任務二，將感受轉化為店家商品包裝—腰封。</p> <p>(1) 店名</p> <p>(2) 店的圖像化表情</p> <p>(3) 放上包裝上的一句話</p>	10'	延續前一節課，完成九宮格小組任務單。
<p>2. 商品包裝設計卡—小組</p> <p>在個人設計的基礎上，小組再進行討論，凝聚共識。</p> <p>3. 包裝實體化</p> <p>使用教具引導學生設計，內有壓克力模板與透明刀模稿協助學生設計，讓組間同時存在的固定形式與設計差異。</p> <p><b>三、綜合活動</b></p> <p>請學生完成作品，若無法在課堂上完成，當作回家作業。</p>	10' 20'	<p>小組整合想法，書寫小組設計卡。</p> <p>協助學生使用教具包內的壓克力模板與透明刀模稿，設計出腰封。</p>
<p><b>第三節課：巧克力鑑賞大會</b></p> <p><b>一、引起動機</b></p>	15'	顧客卡與店長卡課前發給學生，課堂進行時僅是最後上台前準備。

<p>1. 營業前準備</p> <p>每組學生都會拿到一個顧客卡跟店長卡，一組就是一種顏色，讓學生能依據上述的故事引導出發表內容。</p>		
<p><b>二、發展活動</b></p> <p>1. 各組鑑賞時間</p> <p>透過顧客卡的安排，引導學生上台發表的內容。</p> <p>每組三分鐘發表，並開放一分鐘小組提問。</p> <p>2. 填寫自評表與互評表</p> <p>目的不是要真的幫同學評分，而是讓每位發表者都能被尊重。</p> <p>自評表與互評表題目：</p> <p>小組合作 20%：小組發表默契</p> <p>時間掌握 20%：時間安排精準</p> <p>報告內容 20%：故事精彩且吸引人，列點說明有條理</p> <p>腰封設計 20%：排版整齊不雜亂、整體設計漂亮美觀</p> <p>口語表達 20%：音量適中、講話清晰不含糊、生動有趣</p> <p>最欣賞哪個組別的設計？</p> <p>上完三節課對於不義遺址的認識與心得。</p>	<p>25'</p>	<p>自評表與互評表可多留時間，讓學生省思，隔天收取。</p>
<p><b>三、綜合活動</b></p> <p>教師總結</p> <p>整合三節課的學習，比較學生課程前後的改變。</p> <p>雖然課程結束，但希望能開啟學生持續對不義遺址與身邊的不義事件關心，以及對於不義遺址未來的想法與實踐。</p>	<p>10'</p>	

## 第四章 結論與建議

米蘭·昆德拉：「人類對抗權力的鬥爭，就是記憶與遺忘的鬥爭。」人權教育、轉型正義皆是社會上的敏感議題，也是不得不教的議題。雖然只有三節的授課時數，但希望帶給學生的影響是延續性的。

臺灣疫情肆虐，停課復課交替發生，此彈性課程雖是針對實體課程設計，教學的過程中也不斷思考要如何轉化成線上課，改變形式卻不改變設計理念。

第一節課活動原本就是使用網路資源，故事閱讀的部分可以濃縮、擷取重點。第二節課需要進行包裝設計，能採用 jamboard 白板共編。第三節課產品發表，能使用 Google 表單或是 Peardeck 投票，達到自評互評的操作。課後也有國家人權館線上展覽與白色恐怖小說選、散文選能進行延伸學習。

本研究是期許學生能將人權概念實踐在生活，教師本身也能夠過行動研究，加強、調整教學，進而精進教學品質。

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