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Music Culture and the Self-Presentation of Indigenous Musicians on Social Media in Contemporary Taiwan

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Abstract

The purpose of this research was to provide an indigenous perspective of popular culture in Taiwan as a means to re-examine Taiwanese contemporary identity. In-depth qualitative interviews and digital ethnography were adopted to collect data about indigenous musicians' self-presentation on social media. Being an indigenous musician in postmodern Taiwan is a highly contested phenomenon, as social media offers a double-edged sword requiring a conjunctional analysis that delves into both the past and the contemporary. This research unpacks the performance of contemporary indigenous musicians in the post-digital media age and offers five findings. Firstly, the indigenous musicians interviewed for the purpose of this research use social media to perform their indigenous identities to wider audiences, both indigenous and non-indigenous. Secondly, identity performances of indigenous musicians on social media are inspired by and reflect the richness and diversity of Taiwanese society. Thirdly, indigenous musicians act as spatio-temporal bridges commuting between urban and rural spaces, on- and offline and between tradition and contemporaneity. Fourthly, indigenous musicians in Taiwan do not only create and perform music, but also give a huge importance to defining and re-articulating what they think indigenous music is and what role it should play in contemporary Taiwanese society. Finally, online self-presentation provides indigenous musicians with an opportunity to present their performed identities beyond the local to a global audience, allowing non-indigenous audiences to participate in their culture. Using empirical evidence from the interviews and the digital ethnography, this thesis demonstrates how identity performances by Taiwanese indigenous musicians oscillate between three different and inter-related identity processes: 'doing' indigenous, 'being indigenous', and 'becoming' indigenous.

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Acknowledgements

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Author's Declaration

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work. I declare that no material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award.

Chapter 1   Introduction

'你知道你自己是誰嗎？Do you know who you are?

你勇敢的面對自己了嗎？ Have you faced yourself bravely?'[1]

1.1.   Do you know who you are?

The first memory relating to fieldwork for this research that came to my mind is Panai Kusui (巴奈・庫穗)'s performance at the Taiwan Film Festival Closing Gala at the Curzon, Bloomsbury, in London on 4th April, 2019. The closing gala presented a selection of short documentary films dealing with the Taiwanese Indigenous movement and the live performance of Panai Kusui started after the screening. Panai Kusui singing the song 'Do you know who you are? [你知道你自己是誰嗎？]' is a scene that is deeply imprinted in my memory. When she started singing, the audience members concentrated their attention on Panai's performance, instead of reading the translation of the lyrics, on paper, that the Taiwan Film Festival team had provided.

Panai was invited from a protest spot on Ketagalan Boulevard (凱達格蘭大道) in Taiwan to a London film venue in order to present her appeal for the protection of traditional territory, after the screening of some of the short documentary films on the Taiwanese indigenous movements' histories. Although this research is trying to re-examine contemporary identity in Taiwan through an indigenous perspective on popular culture, rather than through indigenous movements in Taiwan, Panai is one of the crucial active representations of indigenous culture in contemporary Taiwan. Her every performance thus means a conjunction between the past and the present and, more importantly, represents a chip on the dominating government's shoulder.

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[1] The lyrics from the song '*Do you know who you are?*' are in Mandarin, and it is taken from Panai Kusui's album '*Ni Wa Wa* (泥娃娃, the doll of clay), which was released by Taiwan Colors Music (角頭音樂) in 2000. Panai wrote this song to express her sophisticated identity as being a member of the first indigenous generation that felt lost.

This research addresses the indigenous peoples' backgrounds and the music and culture of indigenous history under the unfinished decolonization project in Taiwan. To explore the interaction between the music that indigenous musicians have produced and their self-presentation on social media in contemporary Taiwan, this research will review the major changes that have occurred during the past quarter-century, and the resulting impacts on consequent developments, from the perspectives of diverse research perspectives. There are few studies of Taiwanese indigenous popular culture in Taiwan and, instead, there are more studies that tend to focus on the preservation and contextual analysis of music resulting from Taiwan's indigenous culture, and how it has been affected by colonial history. This research provides an indigenous perspective of popular culture in Taiwan as a means through which to rethink contemporary identity in Taiwan.

1.2. Traditional territory controversy

The Taiwanese President, Tsai Ing-wen (蔡英文), formally apologized to Taiwan's indigenous peoples on 1st August,[2] 2016, for the suffering and injustices that they had experienced under previous Taiwanese governments, and promised that she would lead the Presidential Office for Indigenous Historical Justice and Transitional Justice Committee (總統府原住民族歷史正義與轉型正義委員會) in investigating past injustices (Wu, 2017: 75). However, less than a year later, in February, 2017, the indigenous peoples, including the singer Panai Kusui, began organizing a protest on Ketagalan Boulevard, near the Presidential Office Building, calling for the protection

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[2] In order to commemorate the success of the aboriginal people's name rectification, the new clause was revised on August 1st, 1994. The unified announcement and implementation, in response to the aspirations of the indigenous peoples over the past 10 years, officially renamed the '*Shanbao (山胞)* ', a name which had been in use for more than 40 years as the '*Yuanzhumin (原住民, indigenous peoples')*. When the Executive Yuan held its 2,944th meeting on June 15th, 2005, it passed the 'Memorial Days and Holidays Implementation Regulations (紀念日及節日實施條例)' draft, which specified that August 1st of each year should be "Indigenous Peoples Day" in Taiwan (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2016).

of their traditional territories. This movement is ongoing, and there has been no response from President Tsai thus far.

This movement demands the return of traditional territories. It emerged as a result of dissatisfaction with the promulgation of *The Regulations for Demarcating Indigenous Traditional Territories (原住民族土地或部落範圍土地劃設辦法)* by the Council of Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan *(臺灣原住民族委員會)*. Activists were angered by some of its articles, which exclude private land, and state that even certain parts of the public land may require consultation with the competent authorities as to whether it can be designated as a traditional territory (Shih, 2017: 185). Many large-scale development cases will immediately become legal, and indigenous peoples' traditional territories will be destroyed under the pretext of protecting private property (Ibid: 167). It was clear that the rights and interests of indigenous Taiwanese peoples were being compromised and, thus, influential indigenous activists began protesting against the occupation of traditional territories.

It must be noted that, originally, some of the activists had been supportive of President Tsai and were hopeful that she would promote transitional justice. In fact, Panai Kusui even performed at Tsai's presidential inauguration ceremony. However, she soon became disillusioned with Tsai's initiatives. During the period of this occupation movement, Panai Kusui composed songs and recorded them at the protest site. The first EP (Extended play disc) *The Ear of Rice on Ketagalan Boulevard (凱道上的稻穗)* was released in April, 2017, and the second EP, *Panai Wandering in Ketagalan (凱道巴奈流浪記),* was released a year later, in April, 2018. The first EP was so named because Panai' s last name 'Kusui' means 'an ear of rice' and she is one of the pioneers of the occupation movement, as well as being a talented indigenous singer.

On August 1st, 2020, Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples Day, Panai and her partner, Istanda Husungan Nabu, had stayed overnight for more than 1,200 days on Ketagalan Boulevard in order to protest. During an interview in *Events in Focus* (焦點事件) on 1st August, 2020, the reporter asked Panai why she persisted with the occupation movement. She believes that the beauty and power of indigenous culture can be felt from traditional ballads, but culture cannot be separated from the land. She also indicated that, nowadays, most of the indigenous culture has disappeared, and the culture can only be continued if people are planted back on the land.

1.3. Research scope and question

In the Taiwan of the past, non-indigenous musicians incorporated indigenous music elements into songs through musical appropriation (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000: 2). However, in recent years, many indigenous singer-songwriters have borrowed pop music forms in the process of their music-making. For instance, the Mandarin name of the album '*Amis Life* (美式生活)', which is by the Taiwanese indigenous singer-songwriter Suming Rupi (舒米恩)[3], means 'American life'. However, the title has a double meaning: it represents the merger of pop and indigenous cultures, and the songs from this album are also a form of cultural blending. Such a 'fusion' reveals a change in the status of indigenous culture in Taiwan. Indigenous musicians have moved from being 'the others in the popular music industry' to shaping a sense of identity with their own subjectivity through the reversed meaning of musical appropriation.

The content of music and dance carries more indigenous ideas and expressions than written texts do and provides a more comprehensive means for textual analysis (Sun, 2001: 16). Music in indigenous society is a critical instrument with which to

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[3] See page 106.

convey culture and life affairs. However, few indigenous cultural studies in Taiwan have adopted music as texts for analysis; rather, their focuses have been on cultural preservation and education. Additionally, sound, in time and space, becomes a dynamic flow subject that changes through the interaction and sharing that arises between music and performances (Labelle, 2010). The organization of sound in society is actually a field full of ductility that connects human behavior, ecology, community, urban environments, and social systems. Moreover, social media changes the dynamic flow of the sound. Various indigenous singer-songwriters have been creating a variety of soundscapes through online media, and they have even made audiences a part of these soundscapes.

Music performances can be used as a practice of social space making. In music performance, people do not only realize cultural presentation and innovation, but also achieve the reform and negotiation of identities (Lu, 2011: 5). Indigenous musicians can communicate indigenous culture and issues to their audiences through music, and the audiences also understand the musicians' thoughts through music. However, critical questions pertaining to the soundscape of the Taiwanese indigenous virtual community are: what produces the interaction between the individual and collective identity of indigenous peoples? What is their self-presentation in the online world? And how do the indigenous musicians communicate online through musical appropriation?

To locate the soundscape of the music culture of Taiwanese indigenous in the virtual community, this research explores the music culture of indigenous musicians on social media in order to depict the cartography of the communication process in contemporary Taiwan. The following research question provides a means through which to obtain a holistic view of contemporary Taiwanese indigenous music: How do indigenous musicians in Taiwan communicate their identity and culture through musical appropriation, collaboration, and self-presentation online?

The central argument of this research is that the indigenous identities that are involved in the interaction between individuals and the collective may be embedded in the process of communication, through a social platform, by the fact of their being an indigenous musician in contemporary Taiwan. Exploring the use of sound in a variety of media through the use of a culturally based approach requires not only a historical perspective in regard to the interaction between indigenous music and the media, but also a historical perspective on the complex relationships in the diverse media production situations that are associated with contemporary media (Theberge, 2005: 391), in order to understand the communication methods that indigenous musicians use online in their daily lives.

This research explores the active indigenous musician users' motivations and the value of their interpersonal interactions on social media, and also the motivation of those indigenous musicians who prefer FTF interaction in contemporary Taiwan. Nevertheless, being an indigenous musician in postmodern Taiwan is a highly contested phenomenon, as it requires a conjunctional analysis that delves into both the past and the contemporary. As a result, the methodologies adopted for this research are in-depth interviews and digital ethnography, so that they can be complementary to each other, in order to depict the cartography of the communication process of indigenous musicians on social media, and also to grasp the in-depth accounts of the complex phenomena of cybercultural and social values (Kozinets, 1997: 471).

1.4. Framing this research

This research focuses on the encounters between online and offline self-presentation, between generations, and between collective and interpersonal identities. These encounters have been framed in the establishing of the debate in relation to the rethinking and foregrounding of the identity of being indigenous in contemporary

Taiwan. Concerning the dynamics of the music that is produced by these indigenous musicians from the historical and colonial perspectives, this research observes the active Taiwanese indigenous musicians, who present their identities and form a contemporary soundscape on social media, beyond their framing within the category of indigenous ethnic groups.

Although this thesis researches the self-presentation of contemporary indigenous musicians, rather than being audience research, musicians in contemporary media culture are immersed in the culture of participation as users, and also as audiences. People are audiences all the time in a profoundly mediatized culture (Schrøder, 2019: 160). The thesis focuses on contemporary active indigenous musicians in Taiwan so as to re-examine the digital age of immersion in contemporary media, since audiences are also consumers, citizens, and publics (Livingstone, 2013: 22). In other words, the indigenous musicians are not only communicators, but also audiences. When the musicians are trying to communicate the indigenous culture that they have inherited from their elders, and the issues that they have learned about via media representation, their identity as an audience that receives information cannot be neglected. Even though the active contemporary musicians' audience positions that active contemporary musicians have in this research cannot be distinguished precisely as being dominant-hegemonic, negotiated, and oppositional, the perspective of this research comes from an alternative open view that explores the communication process of each indigenous musician in order to present their diverse positions in contemporary Taiwan.

1.4.1 The role of social media

The social media offers a double-edged sword when exploring the indigenous activism to which activists are exposed through traumatic content online, and the threats of violence that they suffer there (Carlson et al., 2017). While presenting cultural

revitalization, popular music, and other topics, the social media provide a new space within which to understand indigenous knowledge (Carlson & Dreher, 2018: 19). Furthermore, social media have an alternative scope through which to imagine, criticize and show creativity beyond the colonial state (Ibid).

Social media facilitates innovative approaches through which to connect social networks and to express identities in different ways. However, this research views the process of presenting identities involving complex colonial history and political hierarchies in society (Carlson & Frazer, 2018: 3). As a result, this research argues that these identities often adapt to changing circumstances in diverse contexts.

This research regards social media as a space in which indigenous musicians can communicate, present, and perform their indigenous culture, issues, and identities. This does not mean that if offers an over-optimistic view of social media but, in the post-modern age, social media are indeed a vital resource for indigenous people in connecting their indigenous communities and cultures and presenting their identity as indigenous people publicly in everyday life, especially those musicians who often engage their identity in music works. Online self-presentation allows indigenous musicians to present the diverse backgrounds of individuals who perform their identities in relation to their personal history of being indigenous. This thesis argues that indigenous identity has multiple aspects that are embodied in the music-making and online self-presentation of contemporary Taiwan in order to break the framing of Taiwanese indigenous peoples as a whole, and to re-examine their indigenous identity, in which there is interaction between the collective and the individual.

1.4.2 Music and affect

'*Affect is seen as a potential, a bodily capacity to affect and be affected and music has often been taken as an example of the power of affect* (Hofman, 2015: 35-36).'

As this research has attempted to explore the communication process of indigenous musicians in contemporary Taiwan, music is the core channel through which these musicians present their identities as indigenous people. This research does not apply a content analysis of music but, under these circumstances, this thesis has applied affect as the transition within the articulations of spatiality and temporality, and within the communication process. Music offers the negotiation between the contents of sound and the mechanisms of the mind, so the affect of music could obviously explicate the space within the negotiating process (Leech-Wilkinson, 2013: 19). The interaction between music and affect has therefore been regarded as a transition through which to re-examine indigenous identity in contemporary Taiwan within this thesis.

1.5. Contribution and significance

This thesis contributes to popular culture in Taiwan in order to study Taiwanese indigenous musical culture in relation to social media. It is the first comprehensive research that has interviewed active indigenous musicians in order to discuss the definition of the music that they have produced and, through this discussion, re-examines the contemporary identity of being indigenous in the Taiwanese context of colonial history.

Furthermore, observing the active indigenous musicians' online actions on social media through the use of the digital ethnography method and by undertaking fieldwork and interviews when participating at their live performances, so as to acquire a deeper understanding of musicians' performances and their performative identity in contemporary Taiwan.

1.6. Outline of the chapters

My thesis is composed of eight themed chapters, including this introductory chapter. In Chapter Two, this research addresses the historical background from the Japanese colonial period to the post- martial law regime, and the relationship between music and its channels during different periods in Taiwan, including vinyl, cassettes, and CDs. This review has established a knowledge of the historical perspective in order to conceptualize the music that is related to indigenous culture in the Taiwanese context. From this review it can be seen that the dynamic of such music is influenced by the context at that time, and it follows a historical perspective. This thesis has therefore attempted to research the period when social media has become involved in everyday life in contemporary Taiwan.

Chapter Three starts with a review of the relevant literature that engages with indigenous culture and identity through examining ethnic groups in Taiwan. After understanding identity formation in Taiwan, it discusses the relationship between music and identity in order to argue that indigenous musicians have their own perspective on being indigenous through their music-making in contemporary Taiwan. To explore the music-making process, emotion and affect, in this thesis, are utilized to corroborate the relationship between music and contemporary society through observing and interviewing indigenous musicians. Crucially, it explores the influence of media representation and online self-presentation by examining social media use and the indigenous musical network on those social media. This is undertaken in order to understand the daily performances as a non-movement that lays beneath the performative identity and the articulations between the traditional and the contemporary.

The methodology in chapter four demonstrates the process of conducting this research, including the research design for the digital ethnography and the interviews.

In Chapter Four, a detailed overview of the process is provided so as to explain the benefits and drawbacks when regulating this research design. As Facebook is the most popular platform in Taiwan, this research mainly observed indigenous musicians' online self-presentation on Facebook and Instagram, and other digital music platforms, as supporting the data. Although music is a channel through which musicians communicate with audiences, this thesis does not conduct content analysis. The musical works therefore also provided supporting data through which to understand the self-presentation of musicians when they posted links on music platforms, such as the YouTube channel. During research for this thesis, the author interviewed sixteen artists, including individuals and groups, resulting in interviews with a total of twenty-three musicians, and also observed their self-presentation on social media.

This research has analyzed the content of online self-presentation through the use of a digital ethnographic approach and the results are outlined in Chapter Five, in order to observe the visual arrangement through the uploading of photos, videos, and in order to explore the contents that the musicians posted. Indigenous musicians have used diverse symbols to set up a first impression of Home page on Facebook. As the amount of online data collected is huge, this research has analyzed it within the framework of the main functions of social media, including the cover image, profile, photo, video and feeds. The analysis indicated that the indigenous musician's self-presentation is itself a performance through which to communicate with their fans/users.

Multiple aspects of the music that is produced by indigenous musicians, and their relationship with their indigenous identities, are discussed in Chapter Six. This chapter examines indigenous identities through music-making and self-presentation in Taiwan, and it does this by analyzing the interview material that was gathered from indigenous musicians. Crucial issues that are relevant to contemporary indigenous music in Taiwan will therefore be examined, including the definition of indigenous music, the language

used in music, the relations between music and identity, and the musicians' self-presentation online.

The concluding chapter recognizes five findings: 1) playing themselves as performance, 2) the suturing of their performance into the local and global scene, 3) Indigenous musicians as a bridge between spatiality and temporality, 4) music-making as a process through which to rethink identity, and 5) Performing identity through online self-presentation, in order to conclude this thesis, and it also offers the limitations of the thesis, and the opportunities for further research.

Chapter 2   Contextualizing Taiwanese Indigenous Music

'Inaaw hay ya amaaw, sololen kako ina
(Dear Dad and Mom, please agree to our marriage.)
Matini similicayay ko wawa no tao to tireng ako ina
(We are in agreement; our love has never moved.)
Ano caay kamo pisolol to tireng ako ina (If you don't allow us)
Omaan say ko pinang ko nika patay makinotolo toloan no kasoling
(I'm going to sleep on the rails and cut the train into three sections) [4]

2.1   The historical perspective

Music, as a field for constructing social space, is capable of aggregating emotions, defining social relations and constructing collective identities, and has thus been a platform for identity recognition and negotiation because of its multi-dimensional nature (Chen, 2013: 223). Indigenous music, therefore, has become a field of indigenous cultural conversations, both between and for performers and audiences.

Tracing back the history of Taiwan shows that the indigenous peoples were 'constructed others', who have been domesticated, and who have passively accepted several dominant cultures (Ibid: 94). During the periods of vinyl, the cassette and CDs, in order to have a conversation with the external mainstream community, the characteristics of indigenous music were fractured and hybridized after experiencing passive integration and identity negotiation.

Taiwanese indigenous peoples were the main inhabitants in Taiwan before the Dutch colonial period. However, understanding early indigenous music and life is a challenge, due to the lack of written records (Lu, 2016). Until the Dutch and Spanish colonial periods, the indigenous peoples were able to preserve their inherent culture and music within a closed environment. However, from the Ming Zheng (明鄭) and

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[4] '*The Maiden of Malan*' is possibly the best-known modern Amis popular song and it is about the romance of an Amis maiden. (Sun, 2013). A famous cover is from the Amis singer, Lu Jingzi (盧靜子), who wrote the lyrics in the Amis language (Huang & Cheng, 2019: 208).

Qing (清領) periods, their original culture and music were destroyed due to large scale Han Chinese migration into Taiwan and the resulting competition and conflict over land.

Research on Taiwan's indigenous society, using Western research methods, was begun during the Japanese colonial period by Japanese scholars. They were able to outline some of the features of indigenous music activities, from the perspective of the spectators. However, the indigenous cultures have increasingly become integrated with other ethnic cultures as the indigenous peoples have been forced to acknowledge mainstream cultural values and various policies during the course of history. As a result, indigenous cultures had been disappearing rapidly in the absence of a protection decree for indigenous cultures. In order to depict the soundscape of contemporary indigenous music, reviewing the preserved literature on indigenous music is thus of primary importance.

The Music History of Taiwan: First Draft (臺灣音樂史初稿), by Tsang-Houei Hsu (許常惠) in 1991, could be viewed as the first comprehensive overview of Taiwan's musical history. This book established that the music in Taiwan is made up of three types: indigenous music, traditional Chinese music and Western music and this has also become a musical classification that has been followed by Taiwanese music researchers (Lu, 2016: 6). However, we cannot fully understand the musical culture of a local community merely through folk song collections. In addition to exploring the indigenous musical culture through a historical framework, this research will also explore the music of the indigenous communities from the perspective of music recording and industry.

According to the time period framework that was proposed by Lu (2016: 10) for studying Taiwanese indigenous music, including the Dutch and Spanish colonial period (1642–1662), the Ming Zheng and Qing period (1662–1895), the Japanese colonial period (1895–1945), the post-World War II period (1945-1987), and after the end of

martial law (解嚴時期) (1987 – date), this chapter focuses on the post-World War II period, during which Taiwan was transferred from Japan to the regime of Chiang Kai-shek. This period deserves greater attention since indigenous music has experienced dramatic changes since World War II.

The main purpose of this chapter is to depict the soundscape of indigenous music in contemporary Taiwan. Hence, the medium of production serves as the primary framework of this study. On the basis of various media of published recordings, Huang (2000) divided the indigenous music of the Amis (阿美族) tribe into three stages: before vinyl, the vinyl period, and the cassette period. To this, Chen (2013: 209) added the stage of the CD period. Taking these four stages as its basis, this chapter adds the digital medium period to the research framework, due to the decline in the sales of CD recordings. Exploring the connection between Taiwanese indigenous music and the social conditions of Taiwanese indigenous peoples from the perspective of history is key to establishing the background of Taiwan's indigenous music.

2.2   Prior to 1987

During the Japanese colonial period, Kurosawa Takatomo (黑澤隆朝) conducted extensive investigations on music and undertook in-depth field surveys in Taiwan, and he published his research and recordings as *The Music of the Takasago Tribe in Formosa (臺灣高砂族的音樂),* in 1973, and this has become the classic academic work of literature for the study of traditional indigenous music in Taiwan (Lu & Sun, 2007: 22). The book followed rigorous investigation procedures and made detailed observations before music was recorded, as well as the recordings of indigenous sounds on the scene in 1943. However, the Say-Siyat (賽夏族) people had completely denied

the parallel perfect fourth[5] when a later scholar, Ying-fen Wang (王櫻芬), played the recording for them (Ibid). This argument allows us to understand that contemporary research requires rethinking when citing earlier research literature.

Wang and Liou (2008: 45) deduced that the singing of a parallel perfect fourth should have existed in the Say-Siyat's traditional festival of '*paSta'ay (矮靈祭)*', but it is not the same as the polyphony from the organum of the medieval Christian church. In addition, Lu and Sun (2007: 26) made an in-depth study on this controversy, which suggested that the *Say-Siyat* people did not think that they sing with the parallel perfect fourth, and they found that some of the national music scholars had mentioned this in their research, including Wei-Liang Shi (史惟亮), Bing-Chuan Lu (呂炳川), and Tsang-Houei Hsu, but only Shi had heard the singing in his research without providing sound recording information. The Say-Siyat people regarded this singing style as a personal sense of pitches. For this ethnic group, the recording of the parallel perfect fourth by Kurosawa Takatomo was therefore an fact that existed at that moment, but that was not a traditional system (Ibid).

Fu-Hsin Chang (張福興) (1888－1954) is an important Taiwan music researcher (Lu, 2016: 92), who was assigned to *Sun Moon Lake (日月潭)* in NanTou (南投), Taiwan, in order to collect the songs of the Thao (邵族), by the Taiwan Education Association so as to preserve them before they were lost, due to environmental and social changes stemming from the building of the Sun Moon Lake Hydroelectric Power Plant. When the Japanese built the Sun Moon Lake Hydroelectric Power Plant, they also built a dam to raise the water level of the Sun Moon Lake. The Thao people were therefore forced to move to Dehua (德化社), as the land and the farms were thus

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[5] It's a western musical term that occurs when an interval of the perfect fourth moves to another perfect fourth. For example, the perfect fourth C – F moves up to another perfect fourth: E – A. (Notice that when we talk about intervals, we usually begin from the lower note).
(https://www.schoolofcomposition.com/whats-wrong-with-parallel-fifths/)

flooded (Lin, 2001: 25). The collection provided musical scores with Japanese alphabetic notes for the lyrics and the meanings of the songs (Ibid: 153). In 1986, Tsang-Houei Hsu traced the sources of the collection and found that some of the songs actually belonged to the Bunun (布農族). Hsu, thus, raised questions regarding the differences between the music of these two Taiwanese indigenous groups. (Ibid). This incident of the Power Plant building indicates that Chang's field survey had provided a valuable archive for Taiwan music.

In 1949, the Nationalist government of the Republic of China moved to Taiwan. Its cultural policies were designed to promote Chinese national consciousness; and, thus, the government-supported Chinese music and drama, such as the Peking Opera. Local culture was excluded from government funding and was denigrated as being low class. Indigenous traditional festivals were also prohibited. During the 38 years of martial law, artistic freedom was severely curtailed. In order to undermine local consciousness, the local music of Taiwan, including indigenous music, was intentionally ignored (Lu, 2016).

During this period, indigenous music was considered to be beyond the scope of music research because, unlike Western music, it did not have a music sheet system. Western music was viewed as being progressive and civilized, and indigenous music was categorized as being a backward genre (Shi, 1968). Even though the gap between urban and rural areas was gradually reduced, if slightly, the indigenous way of life is discrete from that of the non-indigenous ethnic groups.

Society was experiencing rapid transformation. In the absence of policy protection together with a hostile creative environment, occasions for performing indigenous music were also disappearing. As local culture was suppressed, Western music became increasingly popular. In addition to the demise of festival music, the indigenous peoples almost stopped singing (Lu, 1982). As scholars have discovered, music research should

include folk and indigenous songs, Lu Bing-Chuan (呂炳川) applied the research methods of contemporary comparative musicology and ethnomusicology so as to provide important information about indigenous music during this period (Lu, 2016: 145).

After Lu Bing-Chuan, Shi Wei-Liang (史惟亮) launched the Folk Song Collection Movement in 1966, and this established Taiwan's music ethnology and preserved more indigenous highland tribe and Han music. However, the songs of the Taiwanese plains indigenous tribes were harder to preserve because of the early and extensive assimilation of the indigenous plains tribes with mainstream society, together with the severe impact of modernization (Hsu, 1994). This Folk Song Collection Movement was launched mainly to prevent the loss of Taiwanese music due to rapid social changes. As high-quality recording technology was not used for some of the sound content, Hsu launched an extensive second wave of the Folk Song Collection Movement in 1978.

These two Folk Song Collection Movements are equivalent to the enlightenment of folk song consciousness in Taiwan; in other words, they mark the beginning of local consciousness in Taiwanese musical culture (Liao, 2005; Huang, 2011: 2). They were not only unprecedented large-scale studies that were conducted on national music by Han people, but they were also milestones in the history of Taiwanese music, and they played a pioneering role in the study of folk music. At the same time, Lu Bing-Chuan was influenced by contemporary Western European music theory and, thus, his music research had the characteristics of world music trends (Lu, 2016: 145).

After the mid-1970s, a campaign known as '*Sing Our Own Song (唱自己的歌)*', which came from the *Campus Folk Song Movement (校園民歌運動),* emerged in Taiwan. This was a performance campaign in which college students sought new cultural values. It was also a cultural practice that was utilized by Taiwanese youth against the hegemony of American culture (Huang, 2012: 25). The Campus Folk Song

Movement is divided up among three approaches: Chinese Modern Folk Songs (中國現代民歌)[6], the tide of folk songs from China that were published by Tamkang University (淡江-夏潮路線)[7], and a new recording industry and Campus Songs (校園民歌)[8] (Chang, 2003; Yang & Huang, 2019: 55). A common feature of these three approaches is that the campus folk song was a legitimate channel during the martial law period from which university intellectuals could begin to construct their own popular music production and communication from the perspective of an unofficial ideology.

At the same time, another type of campus songs, the mountain folk song (山地國語歌曲), developed in the indigenous societies. It was a new social order, and a new form of cultural and political history, in the form of songs to control peoples' ideology, that the youth community created and effectively spread across the campus, but which were also sung among the indigenous communities. This was a cultural means of transformation and coordination allowing indigenous peoples to feel satisfied with the country (Huang, 2012: 34). In order to examine the mountain folk songs that are sung by indigenous societies in Taitung (台東), exploring the music history of the China Youth Corps therefore became core research (Ibid: 29), because numerous mountain service teams, under the guise of the interface of agriculture, group life, culture, and education, had sprung up to communicate with entire communities. The simple songs of indigenous music, which were brought to the campus with cultural

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[6] A Taiwanese singer, Yang Xian (楊弦), was the representative for 'Chinese Modern Folk Songs'. There was a concert, the *Modern Folk Song Creation Concert,* on 6th June, 1975, at which the original English songs and the poems of Taiwan's literary master, Yu, Kwang-chung (余光中), were presented. And then Yang accepted the suggestion of the famous contemporary poet, YinDi (隱地), in Taiwanese society at that time, and changed the name of the concert to *Modern Chinese Folk Songs* (Yang & Huang, 2019: 57).

[7] Tamkang University represents the traditional route from Taiwan's resistance to Japanese colonisation and the third world's left-wing tradition after the mid-twentieth century - the practice of national, local, and people's folk songs (Ibid.).

[8] If 'Chinese Modern Folk Songs' and 'Tamkang University' have a sense that they relate to Intellectuals' responsibilities, 'Campus Songs' is a space that was released for creators when 'purification songs' and 'patriotic songs' were designated by the government (Ibid.: 58).

inspiration that was constructed and that strengthened the students' emotional identity with the indigenous communities (Ibid.: 39).

A well-known example of this is *We're One Family* (我們都是一家人), which was created by Kao Tzu-yang (高子洋). The song has its own function, whether it is regarded as being an indigenous movement or is used at an electoral rally (Yang, 2009). This song is also a social resource of the pan-indigenous movement and the promoter of an imagined community. The abstract vocable in the lyrics, 'Naluwan (那魯灣)', which is made up of non-lexical syllables in the indigenous languages (Chen, 2013: 164), and which symbolizes and builds a common sense of belonging in the indigenous context (Ibid.: 167). In the wake of the song, the indigenous peoples established a wide-ranging ethnic identity, which was therefore communicated through invisible power and the pan-indigenous consciousness (Yang, 2009). Chen (2013: 191) indicated that 'Naluwan', in this song, is not just a vocable, but it is also a noun representing a nation of indigenous peoples.

Huang (2012: 41) pointed out that the mountain folk songs were not a product that was invented unilaterally by the dominant culture, but a were creative process of continuous interactive consultation among various groups, in which the assertions of the indigenous peoples were also present. This implied that the indigenous peoples, to some degree, recognized the superiority complex caused by being part of the China Youth Corps. Such a hybrid music product reversed and proved the superiority of indigenous music, through their 'acceptance' of Mandarin as a communication medium. However, Huang (Ibid.) also indicated that the China Youth Corps also became a shortcut through which young people could become government officials, since indigenous peoples rarely participated in this group in the 1970s. This means that, for indigenous people, becoming government officials acquired power in the society. This could thus be viewed as being a political cooption behind the music. On the one hand,

the Taiwanese government used cultural and educational issues to intervene in indigenous society; on the other, the indigenous peoples used the opportunity to improve their visibility in Han Chinese society.

The campus Folk Song Movement of the late 1970s led to the formation of a group of young singer-songwriters, and it was a unique phenomenon in the development process of Taiwan's popular music industry (Yang & Huang, 2019: 59). This new genre opened up a market for popular music for young consumers. The indigenous singer, Ara Kimbo (胡德夫)[9], represents one such singer-songwriter in this movement, and wrote songs for the indigenous peoples. He is also the pioneer of the Taiwan Aboriginal Rights Association (原住民權利促進會), which took action in relation to indigenous social movements in the 1980s. As a result, Ara Kimbo was a crucial person in raising the collective identity of indigenous peoples and ushered in the communication of various issues to Taiwanese audiences.

However, the content of folk songs gradually shifted from being 'aspirations for autonomy' to moving towards the business market. The originality slowly disappeared, and the folk songs became part of the Taiwanese music industry. With the commercialization of folk songs in the 1980s, popular music in Taiwan officially entered the beginning of the industrial stage (Weng, 1996: 51). As contemporary indigenous music is a hybrid of indigenous and other popular music, the following section discusses the development of popular music in Taiwan and focuses on the interaction between indigenous music and the changes in music recording and production.

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[9] Ara Kimbo is from the Puyuma ethnic groups. In the 1970s, he was one of the activists in the Folk Song Movement (民歌運動). In 2005, for the first time, a personal music album, *Hurry (匆匆),* was released, and it won the second place in Taiwan's pop music Top 100 albums (1993-2005). The song, *The Wind of the Pacific (太平洋的風),* was awarded   the Best Songwriter Award at the 2006 *Golden Melody Awards*, and also the award for the Song of the Year. He has supported indigenous movements through his composing and singing

2.3　The post-martial law regime

After the end of martial law[10] in Taiwan, localization was valued, and the indigenous peoples advertised the diverse traditional festivals as a tool for tourism following the new policy. Han people dominate mainstream society in Taiwan, and its cultural homogeneity is high. Compared with the homogeneity of the Han people, the indigenous peoples have low levels of homogeneity and high heterogeneity. Hence, the characteristics of the indigenous peoples are usually proposed as a basis for the construction of the concept of multiculturalism (Chang, 2009: 4). Certain special events illustrate this rising status of the indigenous singers and traditional music. For example, the indigenous singer, Chang Hui-mei (張惠妹)[11], sang the national anthem at the presidential inauguration ceremony in 2000, and Tsou (鄒族) was also invited to perform traditional songs (Lu, 2016). It is worth mentioning that this is actually a means to express diverse ethnic groups under a regime of political interference with the reflection of stereotypes in contemporary Taiwan, although it was an improvement in the status of indigenous people at that time.

In addition, *Return to Innocence* (1993), from Enigma's album *The Cross of Changes,* was the advertising theme song for the 1996 Atlanta Olympics. The song, which interwove the voice of the Amis (阿美族) singer, Difang (郭英男), with electronic sounds, was exotic (Tan, 2008: 222). However, Difang learnt about the song only after a friend, who had heard it on the radio, informed him of its existence. Subsequently, Difang asked EMI to credit him on the album, entrusted Taiwan's Magic Stone records (魔岩唱片) to arrange a press conference, and hired a legal team to

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[10]　Martial law (戒嚴) in Taiwan is a period that followed World War II, and this term is specifically used to refer the more than 38-year-long consecutive martial law period between 20th May, 1949, and the 14th July, 1987 (Kagan, 1982).

[11]　Chang Hui-mei, known as Amei, is a Taiwanese Puyuma singer and the most famous Taiwanese pop star with an indigenous origin (Gao, 2020).

protect their rights and interests. The litigation lasted for three years and, finally, an out-of-court settlement was reached in 1999 (Lu, 2016: 207).

This incident sparked a discussion about cultural ownership, and it generated greater awareness of copyright protection among indigenous singers. It is undoubtedly a turning point in the Taiwan indigenous record industry. Following this, a wave of indigenous music production was ushered into Taiwan's music industry. In addition to the continuation of the traditional field recording methods, some labels, such as Magic Rock (魔岩唱片), Wind Music (風潮唱片), Trees, Music & Art (大大樹音樂), and Taiwan Colors Music (台灣角頭音樂), began releasing works that were a combination in the style of world music through musical appropriation (Ming, 2000).

Indigenous music has gradually received wider attention, and the performance style has also changed. Firstly, 'cooperation' among festivals meant that the number of 'joint' festivals increased, such as the coordinated harvest festival of the Puyuma (卑南族) and the Tayal (泰雅族). However, this led to differences between the tribes gradually being erased (Lu, 2016: 208-209). In other words, the interpretation of indigenous music has become more homogenous.

Moreover, in order to comply with the needs of the tourism sector, a clearer distinction has emerged between external and internal performances. The former is designed for tourists, and the latter are performed according to traditional rituals. The combination of tourism and performance has enabled the transmission and preservation of traditional culture, but the cultural awareness of tourists and sponsors may transgress the original performances (Ibid.). For example, the Thao at Sun Moon Lake was required by the Nantou Scenic Area Administration Office (南投縣風景區管理所), so as to cooperate with the Chinese Mid-Autumn Festival, since 1994, in order to attract business opportunities (Hsieh & Su, 2004: 202).

This stage of indigenous music development, in which it has been integrated with mainstream social values, has occurred because the new generation of indigenous peoples was more influenced by popular music. For example, innovation was necessary when young indigenous people were participating in dance competitions. The competition judges generally preferred creative performances and, thus, music editing and choreography with popular culture became a new approach for meeting the expectations of judges. Another effect of mainstream social values instead resulted in preserving the traditional culture. For instance, a performance group from the tourism industry, *Formosa Aboriginal Singing and Dance Troupe (原舞者)*, which was established in 1991, was selected as the 'Fostering International Performance Team' by the Ministry of Culture in Taiwan (Lu, 2016: 210). The performance preserved some elements of traditional ritual dances so as to satisfy the subsidy policy for the 'Fostering International Performance Team'.

Satisfying the conditions for government subsidies is a practical consideration, but in observing the hybrid of music and dance content, we may find that this is actually a process of 'translation'. Through modern choreographies and frameworks, the concepts involved within the ethnic groups are presented and interpreted in cultural practice (Ou, 2012).

Despite the popular music market offering young indigenous singers the opportunities to compose a hybrid music made up of traditional and modern aspects, and even preserving traditional cultures in a creative way, it is noteworthy that the nature of freedom and the space for expression in indigenous music are still subjected to, and limited by, the reproduction of popular music. As a result, this chapter suggests that the integration of culture must stand on a reciprocal relationship in order to highlight the value of consultation. Music produced by indigenous musicians should have its own subjectivity in order to be able to negotiate with popular music.

2.4 Recording technology and the industry of the 'alternative sound' of indigenous musicians in Taiwan

The emergence of recording technology has made the preservation of sound possible, and it has helped scholars to define traditional music through the preservation of sound. It has enlarged the scope of the spread of music and has enabled audiences to watch performances without having to be physically present. This has changed the musical behavior of members of traditional societies and has accelerated the changes in musical culture.

Numerous Taiwanese scholars have focused on the traditions and changes relating to indigenous music, but, in recent years, they have begun to focus on the interactive relationship between recording technology and indigenous music. The Public Television Service (PTS) produced a series of programs entitled *Listen to Our Voice: to Find the Amis Music World,* which explored the indigenous music recording field (Lee, 1999), and featured the indigenous singer Lu Jing-Zi (盧靜子) and the Amis Cultural Village (Wang, 2012). Chen published a series of related research that focused on recording technology and indigenous music (Chen 2009a, 2009b and 2011). At the same time, Huang (2011) also completed the first doctoral thesis on the post-war indigenous recording industry in 2009. In addition, some Masters' dissertations have explored the changes in indigenous music by comparing sound information (Lin, 2006 and Lien, 2008), and many have examined the interaction between the recording industry and indigenous music (Liao, 2007; Hsu, 2009; Chen, 2012; Chen, 2012; Jeng, 2012).

It is worth mentioning that Hsieh (2008) investigated how digitalizing indigenous music affects an indigenous culture during the process. Hsieh examined the Amis Kakeng Musical Group (Amis 呇瓦樂團) as a research subject in order to discuss the absence of Taiwanese music in TASCAM's 'Sample Library of Its Kind' database in

the music software GigaStudio. He pointed out that while digitization has contributed to breaking the original restrictions that arose from the use of Amis musical instruments, and has preserved traditional music, this may lead to a decline in the playing skills relating to the traditional indigenous instruments and performance styles. His work expanded research on Taiwanese indigenous music in the field of recording technology research and extended to the discussion of digitalization and indigenous music. Besides, he also sampled traditional instruments' sounds from the band's music. and also sampled from western instruments so as to build their sample database of sound through audio mixing technology.

2.4.1 The Vinyl period

Huang (2000) regarded the period between 1960 and 1970 as the vinyl period of Amis modern songs. The Ling-Ling Records label (鈴鈴唱片) initially published a series of Taiwanese mountain folk songs featuring Amis songs, and this was followed by the Tshaw-Yang (朝陽唱片), Chun-Hsing (群星唱片) and Hsin-Hsin (心心唱片) record labels, which also published indigenous albums. According to Huang (2000), the statistics show that these companies have produced more than eighty indigenous music records.

Reviewing the history of the sound information relating to indigenous music shows that different music media have not only provided the tools for the recording of the indigenous music culture of that time—the recordings made during field research conducted by the pre-war Japanese scholars, those made by the Taiwanese scholars of the post-war period, those of the 1960s, and the popular music cassettes and CDs of the1990s—but have also reflected the changes, both in- and outside indigenous society. Recordings thus have their own unique historical value.

However, the Taiwanese local music survey during the colonial period, especially in relation to indigenous music, was not based on the perspectives of Taiwanese people, but on those of the colonists (Fan, 2015: 46). This method of research by 'outsiders' was the basis for studying a local traditional anthropology of sound that then pertained (Ibid.). Collecting music was accompanied by listening to others' opinions on it (Dauby, 2015). Locating the soundscape in Taiwan should therefore be performed from the communicative experience and the interaction between communicator and receiver (Cheng, 2012: 75). The problem here is therefore: what is the Taiwanese indigenous music captured through music collection, and how is it interpreted during exploratory research. To answer the problem, as the digital media influences the indigenous society, it is necessary to examine the communicative processes of indigenous musicians who have composed, shared and expressed indigenous culture and music with and for their listeners through online platforms in contemporary Taiwan.

Due to the emphasis on indigenous music's 'primitive' characteristics in the music investigations of earlier outsiders, most miscellaneous sounds were excluded in their investigations. Unorthodox recordings that target sales in the popular music market have therefore become materials that offer an alternative to traditional records (Fan, 2015: 46). As Huang (2011) has indicated, the owner of Ling-Ling Records (鈴鈴唱片), which was the first company to produce indigenous popular song recordings, began his project of collecting Taiwanese songs at the scene of the recording work across Taiwan by using a Japanese-brand tape recorder and travelling around on a motorbike. Although this project was not academic research-oriented, its outcome was a legacy comprising a huge volume of the popular tribal songs of that time; in other words, the whole mountain record series of Ling-Ling Records, in fact, gives an extensive observation of the 1960s tribal life history of ordinary people. The series of records, *Taiwan Mountain Folk Songs*, were collected mainly in Taitung (台東) and Hualien

(花蓮). Indigenous music in this series is rather diverse but can basically be divided into three categories: folk, pop, and others, including gospel music, and military music.

The difference between the Hsin-Hsin and Ling-Ling record labels is that the latter's vinyl records of indigenous music are almost solely from the Amis tribe and Amis singers. In addition, there are no exclusively indigenous singers in the Ling-Ling recordings, but Hsin-Hsin Records employed Lu Jing-zi from the Malan Tribe (馬蘭部落) as the exclusive singer (Chen, 2009a: 10). This is as if a brokerage agreement were made between Lu Jing-zi and Hsin-Shin Records to release her own music albums.

Chen (2009a) showed that indigenous music vinyl records were not then produced spontaneously from the indigenous tribes, but they were produced by record companies and published via the production line. The production and marketing of these indigenous music records also followed the Chinese and Taiwanese models. The arrangement team and band members, such as Cheng Mu-Rong (張木榮), Kao Jin-Fu (高金福) and Jiang Ming-Wang (江明旺), were active in the popular music industry at that time.

Taiwanese record companies also expanded their market to the overseas Chinese community in Southeast Asia in the mid-1960s (Yeh, 2001). Some of the indigenous music records were export products, which were clearly marked on the cover, and some featured both Chinese and English texts to describe the albums. Most of these export-oriented indigenous music records were sold to Japan (Huang, 2000).

It is not clear why the record companies released these indigenous music albums despite the risk of their not being commercially successful. However, we can ponder over the target audiences for these music albums and the radio channels to which Taiwanese indigenous audiences listened. In the 1960s and 1970s, record companies and radio stations had an interdependent relationship; Ling-Ling and Hsin-Hsin Records were no exception, with their collaboration with Cheng Sheng radio station

(正聲電台) in Taitung (台東) (Chen, 2009a). The record companies provided musical talent for the broadcasting company, which effectively rendered the broadcasting company to be the shortcut to fame and fortune for contract singers that were signed by the record companies. In addition, the record companies provided the radio station with music, and the broadcaster supported them with a promotional platform.

For impoverished indigenous audiences, this cooperation between radio stations and record companies made it possible for them to hear indigenous songs without having to buy a record. Broadcasting, thus, played a similar or even greater role in the dissemination of indigenous popular songs at that time. Indigenous peoples were not the only target audience in the record companies' strategies when releasing indigenous music records, as we have pointed out earlier that the companies also regarded these records as export merchandise. As previously stated, most of the records were exported to Japan, and many of Lu Jing-zi's songs were in Japanese (Chiang, 1999). The album *Mountain Melody: Lu Jing-zi, Volume 1 (懐しの山地メロデー：盧靜子・真美主唱 第一集) (SS-3007)*, published by Hsin-Hsin Records, was entirely in Japanese (Chen, 2009a: 24). This shows the influence of Japanese culture on indigenous music following the Japanese colonial period. To some extent, it symbolized the integration of indigenous and Japanese music cultures, in that the Japanese songs, created by Taiwanese indigenous peoples, were viewed as being Taiwanese Folk Songs.

The Japanese-style indigenous music records were also used to meet the needs of the Japanese music market in Taiwan, due to the strong influence of Japanese culture on indigenous music culture. Even after the Japanese colonial period, and twenty years post World War II, Japanese songs still represented an important part of Taiwan's music market (Ibid.: 25) and, as a result, the Nationalist government repeatedly issued control regulations after the War.

The external force that most evidently influenced original indigenous music was the government of the time. Control and the intervention of indigenous activities by the government in tribes began from the Japanese colonial period and they were further strengthened in the martial law era. Huang (1998: 27) indicated that, in the album he produced, many songs were originally popular Japanese dance music, because the Japanese government wanted to increasingly convert dance music into performance music. Indigenous music was thus gradually transformed into performance music, rather than that for ancestral spirit festivals. Similarly, performance music was even monitored strictly by the Nationalist government during the martial law period.

2.4.2 Cassette period

From the 1960s, indigenous music formed a popular culture within the villages through the media, such as the radio and vinyl discs. This culture was influenced by different media technologies, so it was also called a media culture. Media culture can be divided into the vinyl culture, the cassette culture (Huang, 2000), and the CD culture (Chen, 2009a: 5).

Chen (2010) applied the concept of cassette culture to examine a form of the popular culture of using audio cassettes in Taiwanese indigenous villages, and it researched the relationships between hybrid features of indigenous cassette culture and the formation of indigenous contemporary music. He discussed how these hybrid elements existed in indigenous cassette music culture through three dimensions, namely, accompaniment, language, and melody.

During the cassette period, consumers in developing countries spent less money on cultural merchandise, because cassette production technology was relatively simple and low cost. Rural, low-income residents were thus the main consumer group (Manuel, 1993), and the economically disadvantaged indigenous peoples belonged to this socio-

economic group. However, Chen (2010) revised Manuel's notion of the cassette culture and explored the long-neglected influence of media on the development of indigenous music through the specific grassroots characteristics of the cassette culture.

Indigenous music cassettes represented not only the music that was closest to the voice of the lowest in indigenous peoples' society, but also the publication of the sounds of contemporary indigenous society. In the twenty years since the establishment of the Hsin-Hsin record label, more than 200 cassette tape albums were published (He, 1995). This publication rate made indigenous music cassettes prevalent and, thus, cassettes enabled the recording of the favorite works of indigenous peoples at that time.

In the cassette period, the Nagashi (那卡西), a style of electronic keyboard accompaniment, became mainstream, due to budget considerations during music production. Although using Western musical instruments, such as the electronic keyboard, they emphasized the interaction between the music and dance, rather than the Western function of harmony. Audio mixing of Japanese, Mandarin and indigenous languages in songs was also common, and even indigenous songs featured Japanese or Mandarin phrases in their lyrics.

The Taiwanese indigenous cassette culture was a 'micro-medium' for about three decades. While this music had the characteristics of hybridity, it also had clear regional and ethnic differences. It appeared with mobile trailers at indigenous festivals and other large events. Hence, Chen (2009a) remarked that while some songs were really popular in the tribes, they were unknown in Taiwanese mainstream society, and diverse tunes co-existed, such as indigenous traditional, innovative, and mixed and consumer-bought (audience) cassettes, according to the singers or the language with which they were familiar. This segmented the market into small groups according to tribes.

Technology is at the core of popular music production, distribution, and consumption and is, indeed, and at the most extensive and fundamental level, becoming

a precondition for the dissemination of popular music culture (Théberge, 2001: 24). The market for mountain folk songs (山地歌曲) may be a cultural industry product only because of the availability of recording technology (Huang, 2015: 76). Additionally, the transformation process of the Taiwan mountain song involved an imaginative identity of cultural changes across different generations. The emotional factors conferred by the society of the times, and by the variables in the development of different ethnic music characteristics. The connotations are the conceptual construction of the Han Chinese, the operation of the cultural industries based on their business logic, and the pursuit of indigenous identity in politics and commerce. The multifarious forms of mountain folk songs, with their different languages, pursued different identities in response to each tribe's unique life experiences in Taiwan, from emotions, such as love, nostalgia, depression, and pleasure, to the inconsistent sense of identity that is caught between national emotions and political preference (Ibid.).

2.4.3 CD period

After the 1990s, indigenous music entered the CD period, due to the influence of the established world music style in popular songs (Chen, 2013: 211), such as Enigma's (a band) appropriation of the Amis melody of a drinking song from the Amis singer, Difang (郭英男), in their song *Return to Innocence* (Tan, 2008: 222). As the price of a CD was higher, and the target audiences were the young people in the tribes, cassettes were not completely replaced by CDs.

Chen (2013: 217) pointed out that the music market, music production, and the route of dissemination were the key differences between the CD period of indigenous music and the vinyl record and cassette periods. First, the consumer groups were different; the target audiences for vinyl and the cassette were mostly middle-aged workers, whereas the CD sales were focused on the youth. In addition, after 1996,

record labels that published indigenous music in the form of CDs mostly had a closer relationship with the Taiwanese popular music industry, such as the subsidiary of Rock Records (滾石唱片), and Magic Stone Records, which released the albums of Difang from the Amis tribe, and of Samingad Puruburubuane (紀曉君)[12] from the Puyuma (卑南族). However, the indigenous albums in this period were often classified as alternative music. Additionally, the indigenous music culture in this period focused more on the singer-songwriters, such as Suming (舒米恩) and Pau-dull (Chen Jian-nian, 陳建年)[13], and it borrowed numerous styles of popular music from Western cultures, such as rock and hip-hop. They expressed their ethnic identity through the native language, but the emotions would belong to the concerns of the indigenous peoples, as a whole, rather than to a specific tribe or ethnic group. This was termed the 'pan-indigenous consciousness' (Ibid.).

In the 1960s, the economy in Taiwan gradually took off, which led to the consumption of recreational culture, like the dance halls and records, and the production and consumption base of mass culture emerged. This phenomenon contradicted the governmental policy of reviving Chinese culture, but the frustration of music was still widespread (Ho & Chang, 2000). The 1970s was an era that was characterized by folk songs and campus folk songs; Western folk songs were revamped and transformed into a tool with which the young generation could construct their identity and national consciousness. The commercialization of popular music after the 1980s transformed the civil movements into a popular culture that was void of politics and provided

[12] Samingad Puruburubuane was born in Puyuma tribe (南王部落) in Taitung, her father is Bunun and his mother is Puyuma (卑南族). She is a well-known indigenous Puyuma singer in Taiwan. In 2000, she has been awarded the Best Newcomer Award at the 11th Golden Melody Awards.
[13] Pau-dull is a male singer of the Puyuma in Taiwan. He has become famous since he has been awarded the Best Male Singer of the Golden Melody Award in 2000. Since his debut, he has awarded many times at the Golden Melody Awards. He was born in the Puyuma tribe. He is the grandson of the Puyuma folk song master Lu SenBao (陸森寶) and Samingad Puruburubuane is his niece. In the past 30 years, he was known as the 'Singer of the Police' and retired in September 2017 and currently focused on music creation.

varying styles to meet the needs of consumers (Ibid.). This development of the popular music industry in Taiwan towards commercial trends, indirectly influenced the progress of indigenous music.

A review of the literature on popular music shows that indigenous singers in the 1980s were largely unaware of the meaning of their own identity for the audiences. Furthermore, some record labels undermined the identity of indigenous peoples by emphasizing the nature of the album, rather than political identities. For example, Sammi Kao's (高勝美) album *Classic Selection I (經典精選一),* which was published in 1991, mentions the timeless nature of the songs, rather than the identity of the Bunun Tribe (布農族). However, there were also some singers who did not shun the disclosure of their identities when they released the albums, such as the album *Departure (起程),* by Shen Wen-cheng (沈文程), and the *Tomorrow Never Dies (明天的明天的明天)* album, by the band Power Station (動力火車), in 1998 (Li, 2000).

The Forward Music Company (豐華唱片) signed a contract with Amei and released her first solo album *Sister (姐妹)* in 1996. The producer of the title song, *Sister,* used an indigenous voice and tune in the song. Following this perspective, Li (2000) argued that the singers in the discourse of the cultural industry, including indigenous singers, cannot sever themselves from commercial operations. Specifically, for indigenous singers, their identity is merely a marketing strategy through which record companies can promote album sales. Producers may even adopt indigenous characters in the music arrangement and marketing campaigns. Hence, this 'breakthrough' in indigenous identity recognition occurred merely because it was a useful commercial strategy.

Hsu (2009) expressed pessimism towards indigenous popular music in Taiwan through Bourdieu's perspective of cultural fields. She found that the indigenous popular music landscape has changed since A-mei became a diva in Taiwan, and her study

mainly discussed factors that influenced the development of indigenous music. One of the factors was the other indigenous peoples who were involved in the industry and those who consciously challenged the structure of popular music culture, such as the independent record label Trees, Music & Art.

Hsu (Ibid.) also indicated that an examination of indigenous peoples in relation to their musical works reveals a common thread that runs through songs from the past to the present, namely, the goal of 'returning home'. For the new generation of indigenous peoples, this issue may no longer be a heavy burden, but the life experience was both comparably valued and unforgettable. The center point of the indigenous singers' works is thus particularly related to the experiences of audiences and the process of self-subjectivity involvement.

The research of Li (2000) and Hsu (2009) focuses on indigenous popular music and how indigenous singers in the mainstream music industry can easily be regarded as a business tool for promoting album sales. Hung (2013) focused on music content, identity and the relationship between traditions and modernity. He examined the Taiwanese indigenous singer, Suming Rupi, as the study's subject in order o explore the relationship between indigenous music and identity, by analyzing the lyrics music, and instruments that were used in his first two albums (Ibid.). He examined issues such as how Suming revealed the characteristics of the Amis in his albums, the types of characteristic that were represented, and whether Suming evoked a sense of identity for indigenous peoples. He found that indigenous music has been experiencing cultural acculturation in the writing of song titles and lyrics since the Japanese colonial period.

From Suming's lyrics, Hung (2013) found that he regarded indigenous language as his symbol and characterized Amis vocables as a diverse Amis culture in such a manner that his audiences could experience the mood in his songs without knowing the meaning of the vocables or lyrics. In addition, an analysis of the song arrangements

disclosed that Suming borrowed electronic elements and introduced them into indigenous traditional music so as to create a novel contrast. It is therefore evident that he attempts to promote indigenous language in the popular music market and regards appropriation as a feasible strategy.

Suming established his identity as a member of the indigenous peoples through his work on indigenous activities. Due to this conscious identity, he has begun using this identity and language as materials for his creations, which became one of his modes for expressing his self-identity. It may not be necessarily possible to clearly distinguish between the two seemingly opposing identities of Suming through the superimposed images of him as a 'singing indigenous person' and an 'indigenous popular singer.' However, this indicates that perhaps the expression of the identity is not singular but multiple.

From this perspective, we found that the status of an indigenous identity has been evolving and each singer in the society has been found to have his or her own routes in the soundscape. Chen (2011: 32) asserted that, in the hybrid cassette culture, the past and the present coexist, and that technology and foreign elements have not completely replaced traditional music or traditions. This hybrid coexistence between traditionality and modernity makes music capable of expressing multiple meanings for indigenous singers. That is, in contemporary Taiwan, indigenous music has a new face and significance with which to converse with mainstream society and culture.

2.4.4 The online period

After the CD period, research on indigenous music should further explore the next stage—online music. In addition to attributing indigenous young musicians' awakening to the influence of pan-indigenous consciousness and the hybridity with Western music and other genres, the present research would like to explore contemporary indigenous

musicians' awareness of the engagement between tribalism and multiculturalism, and to understand their self-representation on online music platforms and in the social media.

The boundaries of tradition and modernity, from multiple aspects, such as hybrid music and the overlaps between technology and cultural practices, have gradually faded as digital media has become prevalent in everyday life. Modernity has permeated society, but indigeneity has not. Although most research carried out from an anthropological approach to social networking sites has focused on exploring social media's potential to shape new sociality, the direction of influence is not unilaterally from digital media to society but, rather, to be bidirectional and even. Furthermore, multiple interactions exist in these complex networks. Through the functions of viewing and traversing in social media (Ellison & Boyd, 2013: 152), users can participate and connect with other users' lives online.

Indigenous music in Taiwan is dynamic, as it has undergone oppression during the country's colonial history and has been affected by advances in technology. The rise of the political empowerment of the indigenous peoples influences national discourses on indigenous issues in Taiwan, and thus part of the context is reassembled via the Internet musical network (Tan, 2017: 49). At the same time, it can be seen that the development of music and indigeneity in Taiwan has become almost a post-digital issue, in that social media have become a required space in an ecosystem in which to understand the meaning of being human (Ibid.) and, even, for being indigenous.

As far as Dauby (2015: 80) is concerned, the equipment operator at a recording studio constructs an authenticity; and provides observations and interpretations through framework selection. In other words, when presenting ideas, people always give them meaning through a framework. Musicians convey their interpretation through the

framework selection of the melody and lyrics, and then construct an authenticity by performing online with words, information links, music, photos, and videos.

If the concept of representation implies framing, then the notion of self-presentation is a metaphor for the personal life that a person presents; it is an idealized rather than an authentic version of themselves. According to Goffman (1959: 22), this is the activity of an individual who continuously presents their self before particular observers and tries to influence them. This approach is appropriate in explaining the activities of indigenous musicians on social media.

The protest on Ketagalan Boulevard in Taiwan, which has been ongoing since February, 2017, is an attempt to protect the traditional territories of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. During the time in which this movement took place, Panai Kusui composed songs that were recorded at the protest site and released two EPs. The evolving process of the protest is evidence that the political empowerment and the dynamic discourse of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan have begun to influence indigenous issues. Members of the movement had launched a musical campaign, The *Panai Is Singing Tour* (巴奈海嘯巡迴 100 場), on a crowdfunding platform, to fundraise in order to complete the tour in Taiwan. In addition, marketing and promotion were conducted and were applied solely on social media, because of the hostile environment in, and the unspoken rules of, mainstream media. The movement posted information on a previous music movement's fan page, *The Panai Taiwan (Nu)clear Tour,* on Facebook, so as to invite the proprietors of all kinds of stores who were interested and willing to support them, to be listed on the event page. In addition, they created a new Instagram account on which to showcase photos and videos of the tour. Besides this, they also live-streamed videos on Facebook to draw attention to the protection of traditional territories.

This music campaign represents Tan's standpoint: that political empowerment affects the discourse, and that the social media are part of the ecosystem of identifying indigeneity in Taiwan. It can thus be seen that exploring the communication process of Taiwanese indigenous musicians is paramount for an understanding of indigenous peoples' self-representation, especially when they still need to present and assert their own identities and to fight for the right to express their self-identity in Taiwan. 'Doing' indigenous identity is a work-in-progress for many, as the ritual of identity self-presentation is never finished (Fraser and Dutta, 2008: 40).

The boundaries of indigenous culture and life have been wiped out when indigenous society is moving towards modernization and information construction, and the hidden issue is the dialectic between indigeneity and the mainstream social order, with its powers of Sinicization, globalization, and commercialization (Chang, 2012: 115). Social media provide many indigenous with a virtual space in which to recompose their identities, such as Facebook. However, Lumby (2010: 73) has pointed out that virtual space is a space of being in a struggle that relates to the creation of indigenous identities; for example, Facebook provides possibilities for being an ideal indigenous self and for destroying indigeneity. It seems that performing a public identity to become one of the indigenous people through social media (Carlson, 2013: 150) is undertaken to attract other users, no matter who the indigenous people or non-indigenous people are. Besides, Carlson (2013: 161) has emphasized that the indigenous people are diverse, so social media use might lead to some changes in the understanding of the interactions among the indigenous cultures, society, and the virtual community.

2.5   Conclusion

This chapter uses the historical background to, and the perspective of, the media and music industry to contextualize the dynamic development of so-called 'indigenous

music' in Taiwan. The chapter has demonstrated how developments in politics, the economy and society not only affect the music channels, but also influence music content. After experiencing different periods of media in contemporary Taiwan with digitalization and globalization, the Indigenous music culture has thus become diverse.

The knowledge resulting from official indigenous music collection by the dominated government has contributed to indigenous culture in Taiwan. However, the music collection by the government still presents the views of 'others'. The history of the alternative music industry in indigenous society has shown another native perspective through which to understand the local music culture. This is not to say that the governmental music collections offer no contribution, but the multiple perspectives, especially those of local people, allow the development of the subjective consciousness of the indigenous in Taiwan.

With respect to the subjective consciousness in contemporary Taiwan, the capabilities of social media allow indigenous people to present their identity and to communicate with audiences through music online. As a result, the virtual community has changed in its exploration of the indigenous identity and issues. Indigenous people in Taiwan reconstruct their identity in the online world and experience new ways of interacting through participation. In this process, new cultures and societies continue to emerge and they give people a distinct approach to imagining the world. This chapter, therefore, hopes to discover a new orientation for positioning the new indigenous identity, which is integrated with the contemporary indigenous culture, through exploring the interaction between indigenous music and media.

Chapter 3　Literature Review: Evoking the Identity of Being Indigenous

'轟然的巨響堵住了所有的路
(The loud noise blocked all the roads)
洶湧的瓦斯充滿了整個阿美族的胸膛
(The raging gas filled the chest of the entire Amis)
為什麼啊為什麼
(Why and Why)
走不回自己踏出的路
(Can't go back to the path I took)
找不到留在家鄉的門'
(Can't find the door to stay at home)[14]

3.1　Introduction

To explore the interaction between music and indigenous society in Taiwan, this chapter will evaluate the relevant literature that engages in indigenous identity by exploring the different spheres of ethnic groups and the formation of identity in Taiwan. Furthermore, studies and research investigating the relationships between music and identity will be discussed in order to make the argument that indigenous people have their own perspective on being an indigenous person in Taiwan, and this is shown through music. The connotations of emotion and affect will be addressed, and it will show the difference and the significance of this research. In addition, it is important to explore the relationship between music and media, so as to examine the influence of the manner of applying representation and online self-presentation to this research. Having addressed the Taiwanese indigenous musical network on social media, this research will move on to discuss the daily performances of indigenous musicians as a

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[14] This song title is '*Why (為什麼)*' from the album, *Hurry (匆匆)*, which is written by Ara Kimbo (胡德夫). Ara Kimbo represents the indigenous icon at the campaign '*Sing Our Own Song (唱自己的歌)*', which came from the *Campus Folk Song Movement (校園民歌運動) in 1970s (Huang & Cheng, 2019: 100-103.) This song had debuted at the concert, Sing For the Land(為山地而歌) on 24th June, 1984 and described the indigenous people's working life (Ibid: 113-114).*

non-movement, and to explore the performative identity and the articulation from the past to present.

For the Internet surfer, social media are a random way through which to link content with indigenous music. However, for indigenous musicians and their fans, they are a necessary tool for communicating their culture and identity with each other. This chapter discusses the social media use of indigenous musicians in Taiwan. To address the issue of the process through which Taiwanese indigenous musicians communicate culture, music and identity, both with and to their audiences, the review of social media use in this chapter will be divided into several sections: defining social media, the context of using social media in Taiwan, and the interaction among those in the Taiwanese indigenous musical network, indigenous culture, and networking on social media.

In order to emphasize the content producer's position, so as to understand the communication process between these indigenous musicians and their listeners, this research uses the term 'social media' with the characteristic of broadcasting, rather than as a social networking site, or for networking. In defining social network sites, Boyd & Ellison (2007: 211) have described them as web-based services that enable individuals to construct a public, or semi-public, profile, with a limited scope, to organize the connection list and to view the networks of those users who have connections to them. However, social media will, here, be more like a broadcast medium, which is not entirely open to the public, but which is open to a group. Compared to traditional media, the social media are more private, rather than being broadcast to everyone, and people have the choice to refuse membership of the group online (Miller, 2016: 2).

The ideology that has played an essential role in the past, through the traditional media, is no longer the main force that drives social movements. Instead, it is the personal lifestyle value (Bennett, 1998, 2012: 22), and the emergence of social media

links, and these two trends create new possibilities. It is important, too, that we explore how such media enable the communicative activities through which the online content is posted, because this is the dynamic that establishes the personal lifestyle value and users' multiple identities.

3.2 Taiwan and indigenous issues

A lot of researchers tend to group all the ethnic groups of indigenous peoples in Taiwan into the framework of the 'pan-indigenous identity' (Sun, 2010: 126; Juan, Ciwas, Luvaniyaw, and Valincinan, 2014: 144; Yao, 2018:195). However, this research explores the ways in which contemporary Taiwanese musicians communicate their identities through music. This chapter, thus, will address the ethnicity of indigenous people in Taiwan and unpack the discourse around indigenous identity.

Taiwan is a multi-ethnic country. It is suggested that there are four major ethnic groups which have relationships of mutual-antagonism in politics, culture, and society in Taiwan: Taiwanese (or Minnanren 閩南人), Hakka people (客家人), Mainlanders (外省人) and Yuanzhumin (原住民, indigenous people). The first three have Han ethnicity (Wang, 2003: 56; Shih, 2007: 2; Hsieh, 2017a: 22). For instance, when the album *Harmonious Night OAA (和諧的夜晚 OAA)* was released by Jutoupi (豬頭皮/朱約信) in 1996, he attempted to use the cultural element of the 'four ethnic groups' in juxtaposition, so as to imply the process of linking localities (Chen, 2013: 115). According to Hobsbawm (1990), the Mainlanders are not a 'community' at all, nor even a 'proto-ethnic group.' However, the reason that 'Mainlanders' are designated as one of the four major ethnic groups in Taiwan is due to the interaction of inter-ethnic political relations in Taiwan's historical process (Chuang & Chao, 2017: 83).

The term *Yuanzhumin* is also related to the political history of Taiwan. The *Yuanzhumin* are the representatives of the indigenous peoples, and they campaign for

the rights of all of Taiwan's indigenous groups. In the mid-1980s, the indigenous movement was on a critical journey towards 'self-recognition', and the term *Yuanzhumin* was created by the indigenous movement's groups so as to define the identity of Taiwanese indigenous peoples (Hsieh, 2017b: 114). The Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA, 臺灣原住民權利促進會) has promoted the indigenous name rectification movement (臺灣原住民正名運動) since 1984 (Hsieh, 2017a: 100), and they have requested that they be called *Yuanzhumin* in both official documents and general usage (Taiwan Documents Project, 1993), instead of being called by discriminatory slang names, like *Shanbao* (山胞, 'mountain siblings') or *GaoShanzu* (高山族, 'high mountain people') (Chang, 2003: 227; Hsieh, 2004: 69; Hsieh, 2017a: 169). For centuries, Taiwan's indigenous people have suffered from different forms of colonisation and, thus, each name has had its own histories, such as *Shengfan* (生番, 'uncultivated barbarians'), or *Shoufan* (熟番, 'cultivated barbarians') from The Qing Dynasty of China (中國清朝), Fan (蕃, 'savages') at first, and then later *GaoShazu* (高砂族, 'Takasagun') from the Japanese period, and *Shanbao* (山胞) from the Republic of China, when it was ruled by the KMT (國民黨) (Hsieh, 2017a: 168; Chiu & Chiang, 2012: 530). Among the various terms for indigenous people in Taiwan, only *GaoShazu* had a positive connotation, and this was used during the Japanese colonial period (Chiu & Chiang, 2012: 531). When Huang (1984) tried analyzing the social systems of Taiwanese indigenous people by observing their political, religious, economic, and kinship institutions, he used the term *Tuzhu* (土著), which is slightly negative, to represent indigenous people, because there was no specific word with which they could describe themselves.

The academic community was criticized at that time because scholars believed that academic groups had not proven that the ancestors of the Austronesians were the earliest residents of the island of Taiwan. The term *Yuanzhumin*, which has the meaning

'original people', was deemed not to be objective. However, to overthrow discriminatory slang names, the term *Yuanzhumin* has therefore prevailed through an official ethnic name-change in 1994 (Hsieh, 2017b: 115; Chiu & Chiang, 2012: 531).

It should be noted that *Minority Peoples* (少數民族), in China, is a proper noun for the non-Han Chinese, who have their autonomous regions, such as Dai (傣族), Zhuang (壯族), Miao (苗族), and others (Hsieh, 2017b: 101-02). The meaning of the term Minority Peoples is similar to that of the *Yuanzhumin* in Taiwan, but its connotations are different. The core concept is that Taiwan's minority ethnic groups have a rich experience in initiating, and continuing to promote, social movements, but this is almost unheard of in China. These two concepts could not thus be used interchangeably, although 'they are both used to refer to minority groups (Ibid.).

However, according to Wang (2003: 12), the notion of the 'four major ethnic groups' was created with the intention of exploring the characteristics of those ethnic groups, which, in fact, have a strongly relative relationship, for example, the group of Taiwanese local residents is established to refer the comparison to the group of Mainlanders; the group of indigenous peoples is formed to be relative to the group of Han people. It was attached to the ideology of establishing Taiwan's independence in late 1980. The ideological function of ethnic groups is to classify peoples (Ibid.: 61). The ideological meaning came from the assumption that the different ethnicities and cultures within Taiwan have their own national identity, which distinguishes them from the Chinese nation（中華民族）(Wang, 2003: 54; Chang, 2006a: 48-49). The boundaries imagined between the ethnic groups are therefore often influenced by the meaning and political purpose of 'the other'. That means that such groups were set against an outside "other" and this is the main reason for the active distinctions between the main ethnic groups in Taiwan (Chuang & Chao, 2017: 79).

Moving on to more group identification, Jenkins (2004: 21) has pointed out that group identifications and categorizations may interact with each other, and the problem of distinguishing a category emphasises the power and politics around identity effects. Power and politics play a vital role on the formation of ethnic groups. As previously mentioned, the term *Yuanzhumin* was used to define the identity of indigenous people by ATA, which promoted the pan-Taiwan indigenous movement, and the term has now become the proper noun that is used in Taiwan.

The notion of the pan-Taiwan indigenous movement is that of a 'pan-tribal movement' (Thomas, 1972: 745), which includes the ten Taiwanese indigenous tribes who participated in a small national movement for Han Chinese. This is also a pan-ethnic identity movement because it has built up a perspective on common ethnicity among Taiwanese indigenous tribes (Wang, 2003: 114; Hsieh, 2017a: 81). After this movement began, 'pan-Taiwan aboriginism' (Mintz, 1974: 30) is a term that has been used in a significant number of indigenous research projects in Taiwan. For instance, the *Yuanzhumin* are a social group in Taiwan who offer a contrast to the Han Chinese. To apply a framework for each Taiwanese indigenous tribe, the cultural particularities of the diverse tribes could not be emphasized in Mintz's research on Taiwanese indigenous music in the post-modern era (Chen, 2013: 11-13).

Nevertheless, according to Chao (2003: 190), the tribe was at the centre of indigenous culture, and formed boundaries before the Japanese colonial period. There was no transnational or cross-tribe consciousness, on the whole, because of the barriers of traffic, culture, language and the complex relationships between the Han Chinese and the indigenous peoples. The boundaries of the tribes are the borderline that members recognize, and this perspective formalised tribalism, but this could not be regarded as making up a nation. The indigenous tribes were just a proto-nation, without an identity. During the Japanese colonial period, the government educated indigenous

people in Japanese culture. This resulted in the aggravating of tribalization, rather than resulting in increased homogeneity (2003: 215). After the Kuomintang (KMT) government took over Taiwan, assimilation made indigenous peoples suffer stigmatized identities for thirty years (2003: 205-206). As a result of these, a historical pan-indigenous nationalism emerged, as the times required (2003: 208). Although pan-indigenous nationalism mobilized the identity of the ethnic groups towards the 'nation' position, it was actually a reaction to colonial forces. It was a symbol of resistance, and so was a constructed discourse (2003: 209).

Indigenous culture and identity have been fragmented due to the policies of assimilation at different stages. In 1993, Sasala Taiban, from the Taiwanese Rukai tribe (魯凱族), promoted the notion of tribalism as the core idea of the indigenous movement to rebuild traditional culture and the tribal system (Sasala, 1993; Chao, 2003: 210). Mafeje (1971: 257-258) has questioned the notion of 'tribalism' in Africa and pointed out that we need to conceptualise the ideology of tribalism in the context of modernity. He argued that anthropologists should discard the notion of tribalism because of the limits of the classificatory system (1971: 259), he also mentioned the importance of culture, which is how indigenous people describe themselves (1971: 258). Revisiting the pan-Taiwanese indigenous movement and tribalism in Taiwan, we can understand that the former is created with political intentions, and the latter is a means through which indigenous peoples can rethink their self-identity, rather than their collective identity, from a cultural perspective. Although Mafeje (1971: 261) concluded that the notion of tribalism was an oversimplification and was an anachronistic misnomer hindering cross-cultural analysis in Africa, tribalism in Taiwanese indigenous society is still a progressive movement that helps to support traditional culture.

Furthermore, another justification for the tribalism that arises in Taiwan is the migration of Taiwan's urban indigenous people. During the period from the late 1960s

to the early 1970s, in Taiwan, indigenous people began to migrate to cities in search of employment. In 1995, official statistics estimated that the number of urban indigenous people accounted for about one-third of their total population (Chi, 2005: 24). This situation obviously showed the fragmentation of culture. Even the urban indigenous immigrants have internal cohesion, but there is still much uncertainty about protecting indigenous culture that needs to be challenged. In particular, the indigenous elites of the pan-Taiwanese indigenous movement gradually felt isolated from their hometown tribes (Liu, 1994: 69; Hsieh, 2004: 68 Chi, 2005: 17). According to Hsieh (2004a: 71), there are three reasons for the failure of the ATA's project, which was being communicated to the tribes around Taiwan. Firstly, the KMT Party controlled the indigenous administrative units; secondly, the indigenous tribes are distributed in wide areas of Taiwan, and the members of ATA are limited; finally, each tribe has its own language.

Participating in a culture is a critical factor in the building of a nation, and national identity has been established through this participation (Chao, 2003: 215). Sharing a common culture makes immigrants maintain their identity within a majority culture (Mafeje, 1971: 259). To give a perspective, the differences among the traditional cultures of the diverse tribes in Taiwan should be underlined. There are complex cultural differences within the ethnic groupings among Taiwan's indigenous people, and these groups have strong self-identification through facets such as language, custom and tradition, social systems and institution (Wang, 2003: 57-59). For example, Hsieh (2004b: 219) explored the ethnic composition of the Thao tribe (邵族) in The Sun Moon Lake area (日月潭) in Nantou (南投, central Taiwan), before the tribe was recognized by the government in 2001. He pointed out that Thao people identified themselves as plain indigenous people (平地原住民), who are different from the official indigenous peoples in Taiwan (2004b: 228).

Under these circumstances, Huang (1984) has classified the nine indigenous tribes[15] in Taiwan into two types, on the basis of their politics, religions, and their economic and kinship institutions. One finding is that privilege may be consistently maintained by means of the kinship system and hierarchy in a tribe's class system, and this is reflected in a tribe's belief in gods, rather than in a capitalist economic system. The other finding emphasized an individual's ability to acquire the dominant position, and this did not rely on the class system. Although this classification may not be appropriate to describe all of the types of current indigenous tribes in Taiwan, Huang's article helps us to understand the differences in the political, social and cultural systems among these tribes. In other words, we cannot ignore the cultural differences between the diverse ethnic indigenous groups in Taiwan when exploring their individual and collective identities.

Since 1997, Taiwan has gradually become a multi-cultural country, and the number of public policies that were specific to the four main ethnic groups increased, for instance, the Hakka and the indigenous content have been incorporated into the courses in the main educational system (Chang, 2006b: 120). This research is trying to loosen the rigidity of a one-dimensional frame in order to discuss indigenous identity. but given the history of the concept of multi-culturalism in Taiwan, we need to avoid overemphasizing the distinctiveness of the so-called 'multi-cultural groups,' a concept which has its historical baggage as a result of different forms of colonialism and other struggles, rather than emerging solely from ethnic, language and cultural conflicts' (Ibid: 127). As in the case of researching Asian cuisine in Australia, the multicultural perspective is still affected by management policies from the national governmental right (Anderson, 2000: 382).

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[15] According to Council of Indigenous Peoples (2016), before 2001, there were nine tribes, recognized by the government in 1954.

Some politicians use the social welfare of indigenous peoples to solicit votes and this caused the Taiwan's indigenous policies to have become focused on some particularities resulting from Taiwan's aboriginal policy, and there has been constant emphasis on particularity, resulting in labelling in the society, and in a reduced space in which to establish reciprocity, a situation which may lead to 'reverse discrimination' (Chang, 2006b: 121-22). Chiu (2009: 1085) discussed the production of indigeneity through exploring contemporary indigenous literature in Taiwan, and through trans-cultural inheritance. She argued that to re-conceptualise the probably multiple positioning of indigenous discourses in Taiwan's cultural context, there should be a more sophisticated theoretical framework that goes beyond binary oppositions. The aim of this project is not, however, to deny the contribution made by the collective identity of the 'pan-Taiwan indigenous', and it is not to proclaim the arrival of Taiwanese indigenous tribalism. Rather, I would like to suggest a creative and multi-layered approach that can be used to breach the stale polarisation of the discourses around indigenous identity in contemporary Taiwan. This chapter would therefore seek to draw on Jenkins' (2014: 15-16) perspective of identification in rethinking the complex issues surrounding indigenous identity in Taiwan.

Jenkins (Ibid.) has pointed out that the individually unique, and the collectively shared, can be understood as being similar in important respects, in terms of the significant identification and interaction between them. Furthermore, the theorisation of identification must equally accommodate the individual and the collective. Following these perspectives, the argument in this chapter is that the interaction between the indigenous identities of individuals and collectives is a consequence of the co-existence of multiculturalism and tribalism in relation to debates on the identity of indigenous people in contemporary Taiwan.

3.3 The music and identity of the Yuanzhumin

The content of music and dance carry more indigenous ideas and expressions than written texts do, and they provide a more comprehensive means of textual analysis (Sun, 2001: 16). Music and dance are inseparable from the common life of the tribe in Taiwan, and the traditional rituals of tribal society provide the foundation and the practice of a tribe's culture in the context of the classical music and dance of famous festivals, such as the *Ilisin* (harvest festival, 豐年祭) of the Amis (阿美族), and the *Pasta'ai* ('The Ritual for the Short People,' 矮靈祭) of the Saisiyat (賽夏族) (Chao, 2004: 37). As a result, the exploration of indigenous identity in Taiwan via the musical culture that is the focus of this chapter is a means to understand the process of identification through indigenous culture.

To avoid unnecessary misunderstanding in exploring the relationship between the music and identity of the *Yuanzhumin* in Taiwan, the project on Taiwanese indigenous music engages with the concept of national music, this project, at first, will explain the differences between the concepts of 'national music' and of 'ethnomusicology'. The reason for this is that the terms 'nation' and 'ethnography' are, in Mandarin, the same words, '*民族 (Mínzú)*', in Taiwan, and Taiwanese traditional music is often said to be national music. However, from the perspective of ethnomusicology, all types of Taiwanese traditional music correspond to national music, just as indigenous music also corresponds to national music (Fan, 2015: 44). This method, in a Taiwanese context, means to observe, participate, collect, record, analyse, interpret, and describe the musical culture of an ethnic group, and the researcher, as an outsider, conducts the research with the value of objective perspective (Ibid: 45). The research on Taiwan's indigenous music, for the most part, may consciously accentuate the process of ethnic identification but, more commonly, the perspective of ethnic awareness that is used to

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discuss notions of Taiwan's traditional music and national music tends to be identified with ideas of nationalism, rather than with ethnomusicology (Ibid., 44-45).

As mentioned previously, in the discussion on the ethnicity of the indigenous people in Taiwan, the identity of indigenous people needs to be discussed through the lens of the discourse around colonial history. The indigenous people have had to negotiate with outside forces in Taiwan, such as the Japanese colonists and the KMT Government, through being faced with their cultures being turned into cultural capital through the mass media. The outside forces used different forms of representation to transform indigenous music into objectified cultural capital for their own political or economic purposes (Chen, 2013: 14).

According to Frith (1996: 110), identity is an experiential process, and music is the key to providing a sense of both self and others, of the subjective in the collective. In Frith's writing, Hindi film music has served both as a symbol of Indianness in the Caribbean, and as a channel for the dissemination of Western pop music (Manuel, 1997: 24). The diverse music preferences that exist in the various identities of the Indo-Caribbean mirror the sense of Indianness that may be located in India, in the diaspora, and in the virtual reality of cross-cultural Hindi films (Ibid.: 29). The process of being an Indo-Caribbean is thus embodied in the experience of choosing the styles of music in a contradictory situation.

In Taiwan, Hung (2014: 141) has pointed out that the Shijhou Village (溪洲部落) is a village of neo-traditional Amis tribe people in the city, and the indigenous people here have listened to diverse musical styles from outside their own tribe under the influence of technological changes. Although members understood non-indigenous culture through various genres of music, the oral songs from the original tribe were still the foundation of their identity. As in Frith's perspective, music, as a carrier of the

process of constructing a sense of identity among the indigenous diaspora, has established a sense of place in which the traditional and the modern coexist.

To explore indigenous music and collective identity, there is another method with which to study the cultural experience and music of a single tribe in Taiwan. Lin (2013: 49-53) indicated that, in the Tao tribe (達悟族 or Yami 雅美族) in Taiwan, the *anood* traditional songs in the Tao language, pass on the story of their life and of taboos as a medium through which to communicate emotions, and the *makaniaw* (traditional taboos) are regarded as common themes in research on Tao music. As we know, indigenous music communicates experiences of life, emotions, culture, and even of taboos, to form the identity of indigenous people.

In respect of individual identity, Hung (2013) also took the Taiwanese indigenous singer, Suming Rupi (舒米恩・魯碧), as an object of study in order to explore the relationship between indigenous music and identity by analyzing the lyrics, music and instruments of his two albums. The research showed that Suming established his identity, in terms of indigenous people, through working on indigenous activities, and also, because of this conscious identity, he has begun to use identity and language as his creative materials, and these have become methods in his expression of self-identity. The image of Suming does not necessarily enable us to clearly distinguish between the two seemingly opposed identities through the superimposed images of 'singing indigenous people' and the 'indigenous popular singer' and, perhaps, the expression of identity is not singular but multiple.

Suming's music emerges out of the experiences of a group of indigenous singer-songwriters who are exploring their own identity. However, the history of indigenous people being classified as 'others' is related to the experience of indigenous people who have been colonized by foreign nationals (Chen, 2013: 94). Indigenous peoples were long regarded as 'Others' until the 1980s, when they began to write in Mandarin to

describe their identity from their own perspective, for example, through the magazine '*Kao-Shan-Ching (高山青)*', which was founded by indigenous students (Ibid.: 95). This was during the rise of the pan-Taiwan indigenous movement. The historical background of indigenous music in Taiwan, related to the notion of being 'the Other' and to colonial history. In addition, the relationships between indigenous music and the pop music industry in Taiwan will also be examined.

As far as Waterman (1990: 368-369) is concerned, when examining the identity of the Pan-Yoruba, music is an instrument for making history as a social action, realising the future, and as a vehicle for respecting the definition of tradition. Put into the context of the discussion of indigenous music and identity in Taiwan, the colonial history of Taiwan and the indigenous music are interrelated and interact with each other. Music was not only manipulated as an implement for shaping the image of 'the Other', the minority group, by the majority groups, but could also be used to reinforce the ethnic identity of a minority group (Chen, 2013: 119). To give an example, the song *Kao-Shan-Ching* ('High Mountain', 高山青), is a 'mountain song', composed by the Han people during the period of the KMT Government. The song was broadcast continuously through the mainstream media, causing the general public to misunderstand it as an indigenous folk song, even leading to it turning into a symbol of Taiwan in the eyes of foreigners (Chen, 2013: 101). Yet, the song was covered by an Amis singer, Jing-Zi Lu (盧靜子), with the vocable (onomatopoeia, 聲詞) rather than Mandarin lyrics, which has established the aesthetics of indigenous people as being different from those of the Han people (Ibid.: 117).

Furthermore, based on Frith's perspective on music's aesthetic expression, music and identity aesthetics work to articulate in themselves an understanding that group relations and individuality rely on the understanding of ethical codes and social

ideologies (Frith, 1996: 111). As Frith (Ibid.) addressed in his study on music and identity:

> What I want to suggest, in other words, is not that social groups agree on values, which are then expressed in their cultural activities (the assumption of the homology models) but that they only get to know themselves as groups (as a particular organisation of individual and social interests, of sameness and difference) through cultural activity, through aesthetic judgment. Making music isn't a way of expressing ideas; it is a way of living them.

This line of argument seems to refute the sociological approach to aesthetic practice, in which the social groups express their ideas in music. However, it needs to be clarified that, on one hand, music is, indeed, a cultural activity for indigenous people experiencing it and living together in Taiwan. On the other hand, music is a means for majority groups to consciously shape the image of indigenous people and to penetrate their lives through musical appropriation.

Born and Hesmondhalgh (2000: 2) have provided two notions with which to discuss the characteristics, forms, and other factors of musical appropriation: the manner in which the music of other cultures is reproduced through appropriation or fictional expression, and the manner in which identity and differences in social culture are constructed in musical expression. These two perspectives show that a complex relationship between musical text and sociocultural context exists in musical appropriation. In addition, musical appropriation involves a larger number of political and economic issues in comparison to other forms of appropriation (Chen, 2013: 97). In this regard, the music created by indigenous musicians in contemporary Taiwan is evolving.

Although musical appropriation is described by Chen (2013) as a means through which majority groups shape a negative image of minority groups, it actually has another role for those who have positive intentions when reflecting on the colonial

history of Taiwan. Jutoupi (豬頭皮/朱約信) composed the electronic song *Wonderful Tonight (和諧的夜晚 OAA)* in 1996, and this piece sampled the song *Misa Kuling* ('Money Song' 賺錢歌), which came from the indigenous Taiwanese Bunun tribe (布農族), forming a hybrid of different cultural materials to create an atmosphere of postmodern pastiche. (Ibid.: 110-111). This song shows a positive intention for ethnic integration from the Han Chinese to communicate with indigenous people through music making (Ibid.: 123).

Jutoupi mentioned, in an interview, that this album serves the indigenous culture, it is mainly based on the music of indigenous people (Chen, 1996: 104). He tried to culturally attract the audiences' attentions with the entertaining dance music, but the hybrid approach serves to reinterpret the music's content through sampling from the perspective of deconstruction. The stereotype of the Han Chinese society's effect on the indigenous people may be distorted again (Liglav A-wu, 1997). When thinking about the chemical effects between tradition and modernity, the cultural exchanges within different ethnic cultures should still therefore consider the political, economic, and social influence, as well as the interpretative perspectives.

Most of Taiwan's established way of studying indigenous music and identity is focused on the discussion of colonial history from a traditional perspective, so as to unpack the collision between the traditional and the modern in music works, together with postmodern hybridization (Chen, 2007; Chen 2009a; Chen 2009b; Chen 2010; Chen 2011; Chen, 2013). Furthermore, from the organizational point of view, considering the development of Taiwan's indigenous music industry and its relationship with politics and the economy (Huang, 2009; Huang 2011; Huang 2012), although in recent years there has been more research on the self-identity of indigenous musicians (Hsu, 2009; Li, 2000; Lee, 2005; Hung, 2013), there is still no completed research on the process of self-identification among indigenous musicians and the communication

channels that are utilized to convey indigenous culture and identity to their audiences. Colonial history is inevitably the basis of research, yet, under the impact of indigenous music, which is converging more and more with pop music, as well as under the impact of diversified streaming music platforms and social media, the identity and the practice of indigenous musicians need to be rethought.

As mentioned previously, the interaction between the indigenous identities of individuals and collectives in Taiwan, given the co-existence of multiculturalism and tribalism, is a central issue in the rethinking of the identities of indigenous peoples in contemporary Taiwan. Likewise, to achieve the goal through music, this chapter will explore the definition of indigenousness, as an ontology, focusing on being, rather than on othering or otherness.

3.4   Music, emotion and affect theory

After discussing indigenous ethnicity and the relationship between music and identity, this chapter discusses connections among music, musicians, and affect by exploring the communicative processes of the indigenous identity and culture. This research would thus like to examine the affective regime that occurs when indigenous musicians communicate with their listeners by using social media.

Turino (1999: 221) has pointed out that affective and direct experiential knowledge is important for identity in multiple ways of knowing, which arise from the specific semiotic character of music activities. In Taiwan, the research on the interaction between music and emotions is often positioned in the effect of politics. However, Chang (2011: 457) has proposed the notion of the 'Political Imagination of '*Can Rock & Roll Change the World?*', in order to debate the representation, participation and intervention of music in politics. The debates he mentioned can be

found in most of the research on the relationships between music and movement, and between music and politics in Taiwan, due to the country's colonial history.

The politics are also crucial in exploring the relationship between indigenous music and emotions, as the discussion of music and identity in the previous section showed, but affect emphasizes the relations, connections, and encounters that arise between individual lives and other living organisms, and it emphasizes the individual's singularity and cuts off the hunt for, or connection to, the original society, or of any knowledge construction (Deleuze, 1988: 124). As Deleuze (Ibid.: 123) observed:

> A musical form will depend on a complex relation between speeds and slowness of sound particles. It is not just a matter of music but of how to live: it is by speed and slowness that one slips in among things, that one connects with something else. One never commences; one never has a tabula rasa; one slips in, enters in the middle; one takes up or lays down rhythms.

Here, the Deleuze observation means that the process of the relations and connections between the organisms and their environment takes place in the nature of emotions. As in Chang's perspective on music politics, the analysis of 'music politics' is no longer focused on the imaginative 'political music concession', but on how we 'politically' cross the boundaries, articulate and explore the radical potential of various music practices (Chang, 2011: 459). It is necessary to take into account the political nature of music production, circulation and consumption, and the process through which music is understood, experienced, and even misunderstood, by individuals or communities 'politically' (Ibid.).

This research uses affect theory to understand the affective nature of the emotions in the communication process when communicating musical works, and with the contextual engagement from indigenous musicians. Affect is most often regarded, loosely, as a synonym for emotion, but Massumi (1995: 88) demonstrated that the

emotion and the affect, which in this case means intensity, follow distinct logics and are related to independent orders through the story test. Turino (1999: 221) suggested that to establish a theory of music in respect of emotion is a big challenge, because the research on experience, which is external language-based thinking and communication, is insufficient. Besides, the theory is important in describing much more about the transition between arts, such as music and dance, and an individual, organization, or others in the communicative process of collective events, rather than just solely discussing the role of art.

The capacity of a body is a characteristic of affect, and it could be involved in movement and rest, as Massumi (2002: 15) has pointed out in his research:

> Spinoza defined the body in terms of 'relations of movement and rest.' He wasn't referring to actual, extensive movements or states. He was referring to a body's capacity to enter into relations of movement and rest. This capacity he spoke of as a power (or potential) to affect or be affected. The issue, after sensation, perception, and memory, is affect.

Compared to just focusing on the emotions, the affect being put to use in this research would be appropriate in exploring the interactions both among and within Taiwanese indigenous musicians and indigenous music, identity, and social media, and to examine the communicative process. A factor of the interaction is 'affect', rather than emotion. The emotion seems much more subjective, and it is defined as personal experience in the sociolinguistic (Massumi, 1995: 88). As mentioned previously, this is also the reason that Turino indicated that developing a theory of music that is related to emotion is difficult. Alternatively, music is the negotiation between the contents of sound and the mechanisms of the mind, so the effects of music could obviously explicate the space within the negotiating process (Leech-Wilkinson, 2013: 19).

Following the perspective that Turino (1999: 224) put forward in his thesis, the power of music to create emotional responses and to realize personal and collective identities is grounded in the fact that the sign of music is direct, less mediated. In other words, music involves emotion and experience that cannot be identified objectively. This research would thus like to use these terms to imply the abstract concepts that suggest that the emotion explains the personal experience and subjective feelings, and that the affect signifies the transition within the movement and within the communicative process. Moreover, emotion and affect interact with each other.

3.5   The networking on social media

This research aims to explore the communication on social media in relation to indigenous musicians and the complicated process of rethinking their identity. In view of the fact that some research on new media uses the term 'social media', and some uses the term 'social networking sites', this section will explain why this research chose 'social media' instead of 'social networking sites', and it will describe the key feature of social media that is germane to this research: networking.

The emergence of new media technologies often brings new imaginations and promotes the formation of new communities. Not only do most scholars begin to study the views transmitted by the new media, but also the emphasis from follow-up research (Hine, 2000). For Miller (2016: 187), social media is defined as scalable sociality, which describes the combination of traditional dyadic communication and public broadcasting. The characteristic of this scalable sociality is that it is neither as narrow as a private dyad, nor is it as broad as a public one, but it is more like group media platforms (Miller, 2016: 3). This concept has indicated the double attributes of the networking of new media and the broadcasting of traditional media on social media. Taking, for example, news, the gatekeeping has been involved in a more complex and

collaborative process on social media than in a binary process, where the information transits the journalistic gate, or is visible to the public, in traditional media (Singer, 2014: 66).

Recently, the social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, on which users are often involved, are classified in the category of new media in order to distinguish them from the more traditional media, such as television and radio broadcasting (Yang & Chen, 2018: 4). In addition to eliminating top-down control, thus letting users decide the message themselves, the user is also the producer and the gatekeeper him/herself, if s/he wishes to share content. To answer the main research question: how do indigenous musicians in Taiwan communicate their identity and culture through musical appropriation, collaboration and self-presentation online? It is crucial to understand the communicative process between Taiwanese indigenous musicians, the position of the content producer, the gatekeeper, who may be the same person, but who is chiefly the key communicator, who should be explored. The users' gatekeeping roles actively broaden their acquaintances' scope in order that they become a conceptualized public, including unknown others, mass audiences, more individuals, or a micro group (Singer, 2014: 66).

The social networking sites are today more like news aggregators than being a profile with a self-presentational function, as in the past (Ellison & Boyd, 2013: 156). As a result, this attribute provides a perspective from which to use the term 'social media', in order to emphasize the comprehensive network, which combines the notion of self-presentation and the communicative process.

In the past, the network was regarded as the private sphere, and the media were the public sphere, but social media removed the boundaries between the two (Papacharissi, 2009: 206). It is significant that the information on social media has been artificially reposted or shared. This shows that people who know each other can follow

each other's news feed frequently, quickly, and at low cost. Strangers who have mutual friends can also exchange information, and even recognize and establish relationships.

Tao (2017a: 53) has proposed a concept, the network opportunity model, to explore who is mobilized and how mobilization works, and he has suggested that social media have three features: a connected egocentric network, aggregated information media, and sharing. He applied Arnaboldi, Guazzini, & Passarella's (2013) research on the interaction between the ego network and the alters, to explain that social media are a set of connected egocentric networks (Tao, 2017a: 54-55). The news feed may demonstrate the aspect of aggregated information, and the friend list is made up of the subscribers to an individual's page, which is shared with the public or with a particular group. These characteristics of social media highlight the elimination of the boundaries between the public and the private spheres online.

Since the rise of Facebook, social media have received great attention from communication scholars, and most of the research focuses on Facebook, while using diverse methods, and perspectives (Wilson, Gosling, & Graham, 2012: 203). It may be found that research has gradually shifted from Facebook's uses and motivations to the strategies used by audiences to build interpersonal connections with others through it (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2011: 2). The social media network allows users to observe the attributes of friends' connections, providing an opportunity for users to create latent ties and to recast weak ties (Haythornthwaite, 2005: 136). This active behavior is regarded as networking to develop a social network on social media.

To explore the networking of the Taiwanese indigenous musicians on social media, musical networks should also be involved in the discussion, in order to understand the interaction between the networking and the musical network. Attali (1985: 31) firstly provided four essential types of musical networks to correspond to the fundamental structures that are related to technology and a social structure. The network of sacrificial

ritual symbolized the social order of ideology; the spectacle network that was found at specific places, and with entrance fees, represented the primitive mode of capitalism; the repetition network provided opportunities for audiences to communicate with the recording technology, which forms the mass production of social relations; finally, the self-communication network indicates that the music's value only appears when being consumed for its beauty, sociality and performance (Attali, 1985: 32).

Based on Attali's perspective, these four networks could be applied to Taiwanese indigenous music in Taiwan. The ritual is the key cultural factor in an indigenous musical network, as music provides deep emotions with which to strengthen the social structure of the community. For example, when Falangaw Amis (馬蘭阿美) people accepted the Han people's faith, they also accepted the drum music required for their rituals, but the concept was still separated from the Falangaws' original music (Sun, 2014: 17). Falangaw Amis people clearly realized that the music of the two different systems was not mixed. Comprehensively, the network of spectacle places, recording technology, and self-communication, also changes the indigenous musical network in Taiwan. Of the 187 indigenous music records from the total number published by Ling-Ling Records, Falangaw Amis people participated in about 67. Ling-Ling Records, Cheng-Tung Broadcasting Corp., musicians, and singers thus formed the popularity of the Taitung indigenous people's network within the record industry in the early 1960s (Ibid.: 22).

As mentioned above, it may be found that the musical network is indeed related to society, culture, technology, and life, and it may then be applied to the Taiwanese indigenous musical culture. The purpose of discussing musical networks is to describe the interaction between networking in both society and musical networks. As a result, after expounding the connotations of different musical networks in society, the next

session of this chapter will discuss the social media use in Taiwan and the interaction on social media within the context of Taiwanese indigenous culture.

3.6   The context of social media use in Taiwan

In this section, the discussion will focus on social media use in Taiwan. In addition to the statistical report, the issues raised in academic research in Taiwan recently will be examined to explore the context of social media use in Taiwan.

According to the statistical report, 'Digital in 2018', in the *Eastern Asia Essential Insights*, from the Social media marketing company 'We Are Social' (2018), the top five most used social media in Taiwan are Facebook (77%), YouTube (75%), LINE (71%), Messenger (48%) and Instagram (35%). Alongside these, WeChat and Twitter also have a usage rate of 20%. It is worth mentioning that the EYNY (伊莉討論區) has a large number of users in Taiwan, ranking 10th, and with a usage rate of 19%. This report tells us that Facebook is still popular in Taiwan. It is thus important that exploring the circumstances of the use of Facebook is necessary in order to understand social media use in Taiwan.

In the majority of people's perceptions, Facebook is something young people will use, so the proportion of young people who use it should represent the highest rate amongst the groups of users. On the basis of the report, however, the age group with the highest Facebook use is actually likely to be an office worker, between 25 to 34 years old, from a population of about 5.1 million, and the group that follows is made up of those in their middle age, 35 to 44 years of age, from a population of 4.3 million. The third place is the youth community, who are between the ages of 18 and 24, with a population of approximately 3.6 million. This point thus tells us that, even if Facebook is popular, we still need to take other factors into consideration in order to discuss the context of social media use in Taiwan.

In the past decade, with the deeper influence of social media on people's lives, related research has also increased. Zhang et al. (2016: 528) analyzed SSCI journals from 1995 to 2014 in relation to Asian communication technology research, and they found that social media have been listed as one of the main objects of communication technology research (following the Internet, the smartphone and ICT). Moreover, by observing Taiwan Communication Research Journals from 2002 to 2016, it can be found that the research topic had earlier been focused on semiotics but, in the past five years, it is more related to communication and technology, for instance, the first issue was on the Internet, the second on the video game, and the third issue was the social network (Lin, 2017, as cited in Yang & Chen, 2018: 5). These indicate that academics in Taiwan have tried to expand to new horizons and in new directions through the new media.

Another noteworthy aspect is that the research on new media in Taiwan also pays great attention to issues that relate to the ways in which news organizations adapt to new technology and social media (Ibid.: 12). Nearly 20% (19.2%) of the articles from the Taiwan Social Sciences Citation Index (TSSCI) are centered on news organizations and aspects of innovation, and the second most popular issue is political communication and civic participation.

Social media have become an important channel for conveying political and public affairs in Taiwanese society (Lin, 2018: 41). According to Lin (2018: 42), people who regularly receive political and public affairs messages through Facebook are more often used to disseminating political public issues through the social media, or to mobilizing relatives and friends to participate in Internet activism. However, there has not been a significant increase in the participation of offline political citizens. This is called slacktivism, which is defined as a willingness to carry through relatively cost-free, symbolic support for social undertakings, with a lack of willingness to invest a

significant effort in order to achieve meaningful change (Kristofferson, White, & Peloza, 2014: 1149).

Although there are some successful individualized collective actions, such as the Ting-Hsin (頂新) product boycotting the event, after the Ting-Hsin oil scandal in 2015, slacktivism still exists, because of the information given in repeated exposures on social media (Tao, 2017a: 52). Taking Taiwan media news as an example, the algorithm of the news feed on Facebook is detrimental to fair competition amongst the diverse perspectives, but it assigns the visibility of news and determines what is important and relevant to the various members of the audiences (Xiao & Wang, 2017: 95). The organization of news media in Taiwan obeys the result that is contributed by the algorithm, although some of the Journalists disagree with its power. The mainstream media thus use the advantages of social media to bring together readers, and they expect to expose readers to a wide range of news. The circumstance of social media use is regarded, in Taiwan, as that the normality is that the media and the readers become used to it.

In addition to being a medium for interaction with personal networks, the social media can also be used as media for disseminating news. Reposting and sharing the capabilities of social media allow people to choose specific news to post on their personal networks (Hyun & Kim, 2015: 330) and to mobilize people to achieve the success of online activism on social media. However, according to Tao (2017b: 65), the mobilization effect through social media is not as good as expected. Other than that, it does not provide direct contact and synchronous interaction, and another factor may be that people are less willing to present their positions on public and political issues. People on social media have exposed their opinions on public or political issues, and they have found that they are different from each other, and this leads to unfriending or

hiding (Rainie & Smith, 2012: 2), which are examples of personal relationships that are hurt by public opinion on social media.

In Taiwan, there is an uncommon phenomenon on the Internet, which is the interconnection and influence of various actual and social networks (Lee, 2016, 78). For example, PTT (批踢踢實業坊) is Taiwan's largest anonymous source of information, but the messages can only be fermented and communicated between a relatively small number of users, due to PTT's innate Telnet structure as, for instance, in the period of the Miaoli DaPu land expropriation incident (苗栗大埔事件). The central part of Taiwan is a disputed area, due to the injustice it has suffered as a result of the Land Expropriation Act, the land being used to build an expanded industrial complex. However, later, the emergence of web-based PTT has allowed anonymous information to be quickly and widely disseminated through social media (Ibid.). This phenomenon provides another perspective, that interconnection is one of the indispensable factors for exploring various social media platforms in Taiwan.

There is another phenomenon that may support this perspective in Taiwan. A network of YouTubers has emerged on the Internet (Liu & Hsu, 2018: 94), and most of them connect their YouTube channel to the fan pages on Facebook (Ibid: 104). These people affect the opinion on YouTube, which is focused on a few well-known YouTubers (Burgess & Green, 2013: 18), and also on famous bloggers on Facebook in Taiwan. For example, the YouTuber, *HanHanpovideo* (阿翰 PO 影片), achieved 147,048 subscribers on YouTube and acquired 634,585 'likes' on Facebook; another YouTuber, A-Ga (蔡阿嘎), has two YouTube channels, the first achieved 1,862,999 subscribers, the second 706,790, and they also acquired 1,690,502 'likes' on Facebook. It may be found that the social media give audiences opportunities to create and produce their own channels in order to become famous, and they may even gain more subscribers and 'likes' than celebrities. The boundaries between the YouTubers'

community on YouTube and Facebook, or on other social media platforms, are not clear in Taiwan, because the YouTubers manage multiple platforms in order to promote the video content (Liu & Hsu, 2018: 105). To achieve better communication with the users through using diverse social media platforms is a common practice, because YouTube, after all, only provides the functions of content release, sharing and message leaving.

Recently, the number of YouTubers who pay attention to indigenous culture has increased. For example, Black Talking Shit (布萊克薛薛) and Arase (阿拉斯), Taiwanese indigenous Paiwan People, have their own YouTuber channels, Facebook and Instagram, and they have hosted the program *Adjuism* (阿嘟主義)[16] together on the Black Talking Shit channel, in order to talk about various contemporary issues. The Paiwan musician, Aljenljeng Tjaluvie (Abao, 阿爆), often participates in the program and even invites *Adjuism* as her concert guest. There is also a YouTube Channel, *Ponay Fan Cover* (Ponay 的原式 Cover), in which an East Coast Amis youth, Ponay, uses an electronic keyboard and a wired microphone in his room to cover Mandopop songs with indigenous vocals and Amis lyrics, thus creating a unique indigenous vibe. He often invites indigenous musicians to participate in his show. It can be observed that the modernity of indigenous culture is frequently performed in cyberspace.

In addition, the audience has also begun to be culturally sensitive to the issue of discrimination against indigenous people. For example, in April, 2020, the YouTuber, Alisasa (愛莉莎莎), posted on Instagram a 'Call for indigenous people[17]' that triggered discussions about discrimination, discussion, for instance, around terms like

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[16] In the Paiwan language, the word Adju means sisters and girlfriends. It is used to refer to physical females, and gradually evolved into 'feminine gay men' in the family. In the tribe, the word can be quoted in the dialogue to reveal its gender or sexual orientation. Instead of using the Mandarin words '*nán tóng zhì* (男同志)' to identify themselves, they feel that 'this is the word used by the Han people.' (Vanessa Lai, 2017)

[17] As the Paiwan musician, Abao, also posted on social media in relation to the incident caused by the 'Call for indigenous people' post, this research will discuss the dissemination of posts on different platforms in subsequent chapters.

'Sinicization（漢化）' and 'very aboriginal（很有原住民味道）', which are discriminatory and stereotyping words. Words and deeds are often subject to magnification and, as an influencer, Alisasa posted an apologetic video 'Responding to everyone's comments' on YouTube after the incident, explaining her thoughts and apologizing for the inappropriate words. These discussions not only showed the audience's sensitivity to the topic, but also demonstrated the influence of social media and the importance of interaction in the communication process.

The virtual community networks on social media. The community from society gathers together to share common beliefs and cultures that have a symbolic meaning, which continues to develop on the Internet, and this has become the virtual community (Fernback, 1999: 212). In the case of the Taiwanese YouTuber, the YouTuber is the opinion leader in their community, which has been established because of the process of subscription (Liu & Hsu, 2018: 96). The users have subscribed to different channels so as to become subscribers who communicate, discuss, and comment on the YouTube channel, and thus the virtual community has started to be imagined. For the YouTuber, the virtual community is not just for sharing, but also for earning profit. The famous Taiwanese YouTuber, Kyon (囧星人), has pointed out that to earn the same income as the average office worker's salary, she needs to create at least one million views of a video per month. As a result, in addition to the value that the video content is providing to users, a relationship of trust needs to be established within the community, and the interconnection with other platforms, such as Facebook, may reinforce insufficient networking.

Miller (2012: 148) has explained the important anthropological implications of social networking: that social networking sites have corrected the impacts of isolation and individualization that are caused by the traditional media and have returned people to intense and intertwined social relationships. Social media today is not only more than

a participatory culture, but it is also a culture of connectivity. To understand the communicative processes of Taiwanese indigenous musicians on social media, it is crucial to investigate their musical networks, their culture, and their networking, on social media. Moreover, the interconnection among diverse social media platforms is a key concept to apply to the context of social media use in Taiwan.

3.7   Media representation and self-presentation on social media

Culture, as a process, is a set of practices, and it is not just related to the production and the exchange of meanings between the members of a society (Hall, 1997:2). Culture is also about feelings, emotions and attachments, which can be read and understood by others (Ibid.). Hall (1997: 5) showed that representation is a crucial concept in which the meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture, and this concept relates to three different theories: the reflective, the intentional, and the constructionist approaches. The constructionist approach has had more impact on cultural studies.

When researching media representation, the issues are related to the image shaping, the speaking position, and the identity definition of individuals, and a frequently discussed topic is representations of Others (Ni, 2005: 9). That is, the individuals who are described in the media context are partly classified as Others through the practice of representation. To access the construction process of indigenous identity, revealing the cultural discourse power of the music industry is essential. From the perspective of the constructionist approach, the external world is a dynamic 'factizing', in which people making their worlds is a procedure and a designing called making facts (Dervin, 2003a). Factizing emphasizes the process of information uses rather than the result and concerns the inner meaning formation of the actors (Dervin, 2003b: 152). This research will thus apply the notion of the constructionist approach in order to explore representation between indigenous musicians and their listeners, especially in the

complex communication process. In the vinyl and cassette periods, the media represented the indigenous music style. For instance, the traditional and the modern coexisted during the hybrid cassette period, and that resulted in the expression of music having multiple meanings (Chen, 2013: 227). This means that the indigenous music on cassettes showed its meaning as grassroots music in Taiwan at that time.

With regard to the discussion of affect and meanings in music, Shepherd & Wicke (1997, 15) argued that music, as a 'thing', is something that musicology, sociology, communication, and cultural studies have in common. This means that music has its autonomous meaning, and its internal characteristics in the transmission of social and cultural meanings are not understood. There is no approach that can adequately understand the processes of affect and meaning through music. However, Hall proposed that music might be regarded as language, and it could express affect and meanings, even if these are abstract, through musical materials (Hall, 1997: 5). Music, in this research, will be regarded as the content used to convey and express the emotions and experiences of indigenous musicians, and this may be one of the connections that result in the formation of affect.

Carlson (2013: 164) demonstrated that indigenous people actively employ social media to interact, debate with each other, and to form relationships through a platform as a 'new frontier'. On which indigenous people can identify themselves in Australia. He also suggests that Australian indigenous people embody their identity and cultural engagements when interacting online on social media (Ibid.: 148). The discussion on the idealized and authentic identity of indigenous people thus understands the online performances on social media in contemporary Taiwan. Taking the indigenous musicians, for example, Carlson (Ibid.: 151) found that music is another scheme with which to demonstrate indigenous identity. The profile pages of indigenous musicians

acclaimed their identity as indigenous, and this testifies to an interest in indigenous music (Ibid.).

It can thus be seen that to explore the communicative process of the Taiwanese indigenous musicians is significant in understanding the self-representation of indigenous identity, especially when the indigenous people still need to present such an identity and to fight expressly for the right to self-identity in Taiwan. 'Doing' indigenous identity is a work-in-progress for many, as the ritual of identity self-presentation is never accomplished or finalized (Fraser & Dutta, 2008: 40).

3.8   The Taiwanese indigenous musical network on social media

This section will examine the complicated associations between the musical network of indigenous culture, and the social media networking that those indigenous people have embedded in cyberspace. Corte (2013) has pointed out that music allows different individuals to be emotionally connected, bringing people together and generating a collective identity. As a kind of cultural production, music points to the fact that the indigenous peoples around the world have gained recognition moderately in contemporary culture in which the indigenous culture has been valued gradually, inwards to the culture of different generations of their own society, or outwards to the social groups of different cultures. To mediate culture, musicians use music with Western recording technology to carve out an ethnic culture, the contemporary life situation and a focus on the cultural identification constructing, in order to face the changing culture and the transformation of identity in Taiwan.

Here, the discussion emphasizes the indigeneity within the interconnection of the musical network; indigenous culture, and the virtual community and, therefore, the concept of indigeneity needs to be clarified. Hsu (2014: 3) observed that the politics of indigeneity is a vital notion through which to clarify the connection between musical

identity and power relations in cultural production in Taiwan. With regard to the nature of indigeneity, from a positivist approach, the features are extracted from the essences via observation and from a dialectical approach; the position is produced by the relations between the original inhabitants and the dominant settler populations (Gomes, 2013: 8). Indeed, the nature of indigeneity has been politicized through the interaction of political materials in Taiwan, but it has provided a discourse for negotiations between the indigenous people and the Han Chinese.

Under the concept of multiculturalism in Taiwan, indigenous identity has been simplified in a discourse that claims that the Austronesian identity can be distinguished from that of the Han Chinese (Hsu, 2014: 4). Additionally, the boundaries and musical characteristics of each of the ethnic indigenous groups in Taiwan have been emphasized in order to construct the 'authentic' in Taiwan (Ibid.).

There is other research that explores this indigeneity in diverse fields in Taiwan. The indigeneity of indigenous film is mainly concerned with cultural identity in transformation, which is a production process that is based on the local people, on regional objects, and on existing social relationships (Lin, 2013: 157). The working field is an interactive network of people, technology and society that is carving out the indigenous tradition, the combination of culture and video technology, and the manifestation of modernity. The intention of the research is to answer the question about the nature of indigeneity through exploring the indigenous film production process. As Shih and Wu (2009: 2) appealed for the research of indigenous people to abandon intellectual colonialism, the research issues should pursue the coexistence of ethnic groups, the restoration of traditional territories, the development of the economy, and national self-determination, in spite of their application of Western theory, methods and philosophy. The recent research on indigenous issues in Taiwan thus focuses much

more on the connotations of the relationships between the indigenous peoples and other concepts in various research fields.

As indigenous societies are moving towards modernization and informatization, the boundaries of indigenous culture and life become more and more blurred. The hidden conflict between indigenous culture and the mainstream technology is the powers of Sinicization, globalization, and commercialization that enter the indigenous society and, therefore, the dialectical negotiation between 'indigeneity' and the mainstream social order is still ongoing (Chang, 2012: 115).

According to Tan (2017: 40), this digital remediation is essential in retrieving indigenous artists' multiple identities, because musicians have consciously mentioned technological developments, urban life, and politics. It should be realized that social media are one of the new technologies in which contemporary society in Taiwan can debate the relationship between indigenous music and new media, but digital media mean using diverse media content, such as texts, music, photos, and videos, to deeply embed the indigeneity in the dynamic indigenous culture and in society. On the other hand, the media content comes from indigenous culture and society. That is, indeed, the interaction between the musical network of indigenous cultures and social media networking: that embeds indigeneity. The music of the Taiwanese Amis singer, Lu Jingzi (盧靜子), might be an example of the interpretation of the complex interactive networks. The asynchronicity of Lu Jingzi's online and offline musical presences, and through the overlapping appropriations of indigenous pop music, ethnographic content and incidental videos via multiple media, mean that the boundaries have constantly been blurred in music recreation (Ibid.: 46).

Under the oppression during Taiwan's colonial history, the indigenous music culture was dynamic. Meanwhile, the social media have become a required space for knowing the music culture and indigeneity that Taiwanese indigenous musicians

convey in the post-digital era. Tan (2017: 49) indicated that the national discourses on indigenous subjects were affected by the rise of the political empowerment of indigenous peoples and the advanced technologies, and therefore part of the context is reconstructed through the musical network online.

The key concept is an understanding of the symbols that indigenous musicians use, and their cultural differences from non-indigenous musicians, via observation on Facebook. Indigenous people give meaning through a framework when performing their identity online, which is similar to the music-making process in which musicians select the melody and lyrics around which to convey their interpretation of the indigenous culture and of being indigenous people.

The indigenous movement is another good example with which to explain the influence of the indigenous network on social media. The ongoing protest on Ketagalan Boulevard (凱達格蘭大道) in Taiwan, which has continued since February, 2017, is an attempt to protect the traditional territories of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. Panai Kusui (巴奈・庫穗) composed and recorded songs at the protest site, and released two E.Ps during the movement period. Members of the movement had launched a musical campaign, The *Panai Is Singing Tour* (巴奈海嘯巡迴 100 場) had　a crowdfunding platform to fundraise in order that she could complete the tour in Taiwan, and they posted information on a previous music movement's fan page, *The Panai Taiwan (Nu)clear Tour (巴奈非核家園),* on Facebook. They also live-streamed videos on Facebook to draw attention to the issue of protecting the traditional territories.

3.9　Non-movement, performance and articulation

The context of the indigenous movement is generally involved in discussion when delving into awareness of indigeneity in Taiwan in relation to colonial history. However, non-movement, as the collective actions of non-collective actors (Bayat, 2010: 14),

considerably influences the identity formation in contemporary Taiwan. In particular, indigenous musicians communicate indigenous culture and issues to other ethnic groups from indigenous society, and even among themselves, on social media in order to rethink identity in contemporary Taiwan. Consequently, this research is trying to apply the characteristics of non-movement in order to observe their everyday online self-presentation of Taiwanese active indigenous musicians, and it their online actions as a non-movement under the unfinished decolonization project.

According to Bayat (2010: 19), the claims to non-movement are made individually, rather than as a collective group, and they directly practice what they claim in their everyday life. In my observation of indigenous musicians' online everyday life in Taiwan, they often make claims and practice their indigeneity through music, performance and self-presentation on social media. Bayat also indicated that the crucial point of non-movement is the common practices of everyday life by a large number of people (Ibid.: 20). The number of indigenous people in Taiwan seems not correspond to Bayat's perspective that a large number of practices can capture and appropriate spaces of power in society. However, the non-movement of music by indigenous musicians implies the meaning of an art presence, which may cultivate in non-indigenous people the possibility of being part of the non-movement's members unconsciously, even if it is somehow an alternative sound for the non-indigenous people in Taiwan. The notion of there being a large number of non-movements everyday can thus be involved in diverse ethnic groups rather than just indigenous peoples.

It is not just music that is a term for exploring sound and politics, but also 'noise'. In defining noise, Attali (1985) first established a relationship between music and a country's political economy, and then constructed the cultural actions of music so as to mediate difference, to manufacture harmony, to control violence in politics and society,

and to monitor, manipulate, record, and re-use it. He questioned the 'pure' nature of music and further placed the production and consumption of music in the context of the balance between economic and cultural developments in order to measure the ideological domination of each period, the use of value, and the functions of planning the political order or highlighting the new order. Following this concept, obviously, popular music in indigenous tribes is different to that of the Han Chinese music in society, since it has an alternative sound, which is the 'noise' that is outside the harmonious society (Ho & Lo, 2015: 93). When talking about the perspective that indicates that indigenous music is outside that of the Han Chinese society, this research will use the term 'alternative sound', rather than 'noise', as the connotation of 'noise' tends to lead excessively to the discourse around politics.

The conflicts between indigenous and non-indigenous people absolutely exist in Taiwan under the unfinished decolonization process, as Bayat (Ibid.: 22) interpreted that the multitude in non-movements is not clear precisely about understanding the interaction between individuals' actions and avoiding conflicts. However, on one hand, the musical hybrid of the 'alternative sound', as just mentioned, may be a field on which to carry out the non-movement of raising the awareness of indigenous identity in order to reach a solution. On the other hand, social media provides a space within which to connect individuals by networking. It creates a tremendous opportunity for establishing passive and active networks (Ibid.: 24) and to have a discussion online, to express their thoughts via self-presentation, and even the non-movements will turn into a collective movement.

Regarding self-presentation on social media, the notion of performance will be discussed. Clifford's perspective takes on contemporary indigeneity. As he observed:

> 'Performance is another key term that helps us grasp the ambivalent complexity
> of contemporary social and cultural processes. In much recent work, identity

politics is understood as a form of self-recognition and self-marketing in systems of neo-liberal tolerance. Performance is reduced to interpellation. Persons or groups are "called" or "hailed" to perform themselves as authentic cultural subjects (2013: 47).

Indigenous performance is easily coordinated to the environment, and it often makes connections between humans and the non-human world in artistic and social contexts (Gilbert, 2013: 176-177). This kind of performance has been regarded as naturally being an image of being indigenous, and this also presents Clifford's perspective that the indigenous people perform themselves as authentic, cultural subjects through self-presentation on social media.

The recent study of the Taiwanese pop star, Chang Hui-mei (Amei) [張惠妹],[18] show the importance of musical performances of indigenization and gender (Gao, 2020). For Amei, re-presentation of the self is the question, rather than relegitimization or disidentification, and it is related to the pluralization of identity, which is the historical context of Sinitising the indigenous with a Han name (Ibid.: 546). Amei released an album with the indigenous name 'Amit' in 2009, Amit is different from the Mando-pop star, Amei, thus creating a brand-new music style. The performance of Amit represents a gender icon, as she has built an affective community between women and gay people (Ibid.: 551), and the importance of Amit's performances goes beyond simply being a pop cultural event (Ibid.: 544). Gao (Ibid.) argued that indigenization is influential in the inventive indigeneity that emerges in contemporary Taiwan.

Additionally, being indigenous musicians, music is regarded as the main channel through which they can perform their identities. The music performance is spatio-temporally mapping practices in which the sonic qualities of diverse places and

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[18] Chang Hui-mei, known as Amei, is a Taiwanese Puyuma singer and the most famous Taiwanese pop star who has an indigenous origin (Gao, 2020).

historical junctures have been recorded (Ibid.: 177). This research applies this notion to explore affection and emotions that are inspired by the music-making process of indigenous musicians in contemporary Taiwan, because they use dwelling and travelling as sophisticated strategies to perform.

This research will employ the notion of articulation to examine musicians' spatiality and temporality. With respect to spatiality, being indigenous in contemporary Taiwan, the younger generation are dwelling and travelling in order to return to their tribes so as to find their indigenous identity and to engage in uploading the content of daily life on social media. Articulation provides a non-reductive way to consider transformation and the clear coming and going of traditional forms (Clifford, 2001: 478). The on- and offline performance of indigenous musicians in Taiwan will thus be observed in this research in order to rethink their contemporary performative identity.

About the temporality, indigenous musicians, especially the younger generation of musicians, often connect modernity to traditions as part of the identification process of being indigenous. For example, the hybrid of ancient melody and popular music has been applied for a while to present the merged cultures today. Chang Huei-mei is someone who has shaken off the indigenous stigma and achieved enormous success in the Mando-pop scenes of Taiwan in the 1990s, and in Hongkong and China, some indigenous artists also became popular through incorporating 'alternative sounds', as mentioned earlier, into the mainstream music market (Tan, 2012: 213-214). Following the historical perspective on aboriginal pop from cassette culture, the Amis karaoke to the Mando-pop market, in order to discuss the diversification, urbanization, and regionalization of the music industry in Taiwan, Tan (2012) offered a comprehensive context for the relationship between popular music and indigenous sounds in order to understand the continuous observation of the articulation of temporality. These indigenous pop collectives can be seen as a kind of non-movement that has penetrated

the Mando-pop market gradually. Accordingly, this research provides a further exploration of musical culture online, together with self-presentation, so as to rethink the contemporary identity of being indigenous musicians in Taiwan.

3.10 Conclusion

In the past, research has focused on indigenous people needing a platform from which to provide cultural and political empowerment in order to counter the impressions of the country's colonial history and to establish the autonomy of traditional territories, indigenous languages, and lifestyles (Landzelius, 2006). The Internet provides a space for indigenous self-representation. For the movements, social media may improve their visibility in society in order to articulate the world in which they can reshape their self-positioning. However, in my research, the perspective is transferred to an exploration of the more comprehensive debates on the complicated interaction amongst those in the Taiwanese indigenous musical network, indigenous culture, and networking on social media. This is undertaken to investigate the nature of indigeneity in contemporary Taiwan through the observation of the communication process of indigenous musicians on social media.

It should be noted that the virtual community is not a homogenous group but is a heterogeneous community and also a group of individuals. On a certain issue, thus, some people stand in the same group, but they would be disassembled into different groups according to their distinct positions. In applying the concept to indigenous society, the identity fluctuates alongside the changing policy and the atmosphere of Taiwanese society. When the issue is beneficial to the indigenous people, as a whole, the identity will be biased towards the Pan-indigenous group. When the issue is related to the diaspora of various ethnic groups, villages and communities, the individual identity will be revealed. The same procedure may be easily adapted to obtain

behavioral models for the indigenous public sphere in cyberspace. There are two concepts of the indigenous public sphere; one is the counter-public (Latimore et al., , 2017: 2), which significantly differs from the mainstream media, as a space for indigenous media production that forms a critical counterpoint; the other is a wider sphere of representation in which to produce and communicate the heterogeneous ideas and images of indigeneity through negotiation between indigenous and non-indigenous people (Ibid.). On the debate around the protest on Ketagalan Boulevard, there are different opinions and perspectives that arise, not from non-indigenous people, but from indigenous groups. As a result, it is valuable to research the communication process on social media in order to rethink the identity of indigenous people in contemporary Taiwan. 'Doing' indigenous identity is a work-in-progress for many, as the ritual of identity self-presentation is never finished (Fraser & Dutta, 2008: 40).

Chapter 4   Methodology

'waitraitras mawahu ta
(Let's go! Let's get to the high place.)
'awa ta meledeka kana marevulavulay
(We are going to a place that is a beautiful place)
'azi kapamamezi ka i semangala ta
(This can't be wrong. We have to face it optimistically) [19]

4.1   Introduction

Exploring the use of sound in a variety of media from a culturally based approach requires not only a historical perspective in regard to the interaction between indigenous music and the media, but also to the complex relationships in the diverse media production situations that are associated with contemporary media (Theberge, 2005: 391), in order to understand the communication methods that indigenous musicians use in their daily lives online.

However, unlike most research, in which the online identity provides the 'backstage' for private life via impression management (Hogan, 2010: 379), the indigenous users need to 'Aboriginalise' their profile pages on Facebook in order to demonstrate their Aboriginality at first glance (Carlson, 2013: 149), and to avoid the anxiety of not 'being' indigenous people, especially those indigenous musicians who show an interest in indigenous music, artists and cultural events online.

To explore how indigenous musicians convey their identity and culture through musical appropriation, collaboration and the self-presentation of their daily lives online to their audiences, the methodology adopted for this research will be in-depth interviews and digital ethnography. These will complement each other, so as to grasp

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[19] The lyrics are from the song '*Dalan (Path)*', which is also the name of Sangpuy's first album. The meaning of this album is to guide indigenous people home through music.

in-depth accounts of the complex phenomena of cyber-cultural and social values (Kozinets, 1997: 471).

This research will explore the indigenous musician users' motivations and the value of their interpersonal interactions on Facebook. It is important to break through the perspectives of regarding the Taiwanese indigenous people as a whole (Chen, 2013: 11), this research provides the differences, which are relevant to Taiwanese indigenous musicians in order to acquire the diverse situations that are necessary in order to complete the cartography of the communication between Taiwanese contemporary indigenous music and the social media.

4.2 Digital ethnography

To explore the communication processes through which indigenous musicians have expressed their culture and identity on online platforms, online data collection is crucial to this research. Tulloch and Jenkins (1995: 282) have pointed out that it is a very important task for researchers to 'observe' on the Internet, and the collection of network data files is sufficient for further classification and interpretation. On social media, virtual identity is attractive in cyberspace, so people can rebuild and upload it for the public without being "accurate" in relation to the subject (Lumby, 2010: 69). For example, Facebook provides a space in which indigenous people can put on a new 'cyber-skin' for self-representation, as an embodied subject actively creating an identity (Ibid.). This research thus needs to collect online data so as to examine how indigenous musicians communicate with their audiences/other users.

The spatial form of the Internet is immaterial. The conditions of the research field are the practice and commitment of users under the premise of no walls, no fences, a lack of buildings and no living people (Jones, 1997: 8). The dynamics of the field on the Internet causes a lack of salience for entry and exit in time and space during the

observation period. The time and space of the observation might also be questioned. Eichhorn (2001: 567) pointed out that conservative anthropologists have misgiven the results that observing the interaction in virtual communities is because of the lack of reality in their fieldwork. Correll (1995) further recommends that researchers, in addition to participating in online discussions and activities, use face-to-face interviews with the users/participants. Kozinets (1997, 1998, 2001, 2002) suggested that traditional ethnographic methods have to be incorporated into research, although digital ethnography provides flexibility so that data collection techniques can be used according to the researcher's preferred research purpose. Hine (2000, 2007) also emphasized that the question can be answered with the on- and offline observations and interactions between researchers and users. As a result, in addition to digital ethnography, interviewing will be applied in this research.

Ethnography on the Internet is an ethnographic research method that helps researchers observe how people conduct social interaction and meaning construction there. In fact, ethnographers may use different names to define their own research methods when studying the Internet and Internet phenomena, such as virtual ethnography (Hine, 2000), ethnography for internet (Hine, 2015), digital ethnography (Pink, Horst, et al., 2016), network ethnography (Kozinets, 2010). These expressions look very similar, but there are some differences.

Moving from 'Virtual Ethnography' to 'Ethnography for the Internet' is to eliminate the misunderstanding of this research methodology, because the term 'virtual', is often interpreted as meaning unreality. However, Hine (2007: 666) suggests that the nature of virtual ethnography is to retain the space for conversation with the established ethnography principle and to eliminate the opposition between the virtual and the real. Juxtaposing virtual ethnography and established ethnography emphasizes that the virtual world is not illusory, but it is real, material, and cultural (Ibid.).

Further, this has weakened the opposition between on- and offline space in order to emphasize the meaning of ethnography for the Internet. The role of the Internet in people's daily lives has undergone fundamental changes so that the Internet has increasingly penetrated into every corner of human society. Both ordinary individuals and organizations are increasingly relying on the Internet to conduct social practice. The Internet has become an infrastructure that supports the daily lives of human beings, rather than a practical platform for surfing. Hine (2015: 41) indicated that 'going online' is not regarded as a separate experience, but as an extension of other embodied ways of being in the world.

Digital ethnography, like virtual ethnography, not only stipulates the field of research, but also suggests a way of collecting and recording data for that research, such as online questionnaires, digital video, social networking websites, and blogs (Murthy, 2008: 839). Pink has focused on the research direction of digital ethnography, which is inspired by anthropology, and proposed digital visual and sensory ethnography (Pink, 2015: 4). For example, she believes that the hand is an extension of the brain, recording the user's hand-operated touch-screen mobile digital device through video recording, and the material produced as a non-textual statement can reveal the daily use of other research methods that are difficult to capture, and whose habits are difficult to detect (Pink et al., 2016: 13).

Kozinets (2010) regards network ethnography as a kind of 'pure' ethnography, which explores people's behavior online through the Internet. Network ethnography could be combined with face-to-face ethnography in order to study a certain cultural phenomenon as it is related to the Internet. Although Kozinets and Hine have pointed out that the online and offline space cannot be separated, Hine emphasizes that study from online to offline does not mean a shift from virtual ethnography to another ethnography, but for researchers pursuing the mobility and meaning of users' behavior

in order to explore the online culture. Hine proposed 'ethnography for the Internet' so as to refuse to use 'ethnography through the internet' or 'ethnography on Internet', to profoundly emphasize that the divisions between the Internet and everyday life are seamless and inseparable (Hine, 2015: 41).

Digital ethnography has the same research interest as face-to-face ethnography; that of acquiring a detailed understanding of social phenomena to reflect and express their cultural significance and to directly experience the life of cultural members in order to conduct a field analysis of their group structure, rather than testing existing ideas or assumptions. Digital ethnography, therefore, is regarded as an interpretative process through which to deconstruct the Internet and to break through our original misunderstandings and the myths about the Internet by observing the context of online culture (Beneito-Montagut, 2011: 729). Beneito-Montagut (Ibid.: 730) proposed an expanded ethnography that demonstrates the individual's online communication behavior by use of a multi-situated, user-centered, flexible and multimedia method.

The younger generations of anthropologists are increasingly interested in digital areas because the world is changing, and ethnographic research methods have responded to this. Marcus (1995: 96) proposed the concept of 'multi-sited ethnography', which is driven by following the context of cultural production. He has pointed out that this method reflects the transformed locations of cultural production and was trying to use multi-sited ethnography as a way to promote anthropology as a discipline that adapts to contemporary society. Multi-sited ethnography therefore provides a method through the use of which to conceptualize the problems that have intervened in the ethnographic project (Hine, 2007: 656).

In addition, Marcus (1995: 97) has indicated that the world system has provided the context for contemporary research on the location, which ethnographers have observed as being a discontinuous, fragmentary, and multi-sited image. This is because

some interdisciplinary fields have become involved, such as media studies, feminist studies and diverse cultural studies, but there is no clearly bounded object of research. This means that multi-sited ethnography provides an appropriate method for observing the connections between different locations and the relationships between the local and the world system.

There is still an argument about the 'thick' and 'thin' descriptions on the different sites of special projects, causing some ethnographers to be worried about the design of multi-sited ethnography being incomplete (Marcus, 2011: 21). In traditional anthropological fieldwork, we have a 'spatial' imagination of culture, which gives a range or boundary to culture. When anthropologists choose a 'site', they choose a set of research methods. These methods imply a contextualized and territorialized presupposition in which anthropologists assume that the cultural phenomena involved in a research object are tied to their geographical area.

However, for the cultural geographers and sociologists, multi-sited ethnography provides a reinforcing inspiration with which to rethink the concepts of space and place, such as migration studies across borders in diasporas, which are related to the construction of identities in a global-local context (Marcus, 1995: 105). Furthermore, multi-sited ethnography theoretically merges with representation and the construction of media studies.

The design of multi-sited ethnography is built around the chain, path, thread, conjunctions, and juxtapositions (Ibid.). The 'global' that traditional ethnography understands as being opposite to the "local" is not established. The world is the context, which is reflected by diverse local connections. Besides, the so-called 'thickness' of traditional ethnography may be problematic when observing a mobile and multi-sited population, such as the Taiwanese indigenous people. To acquire the thickness of this research, it may be useful to explore their multiple movements.

In my research project, indigeneity in contemporary Taiwan is embodied in complicated and dynamic contexts. A rethinking of the identity of Taiwanese indigenous people needs to consider the relationship between individual identity and the collective identity, migration from rural to urban areas, the image(s) that the media have framed, and the self-presentation on social media. To answer the research questions, multi-sited ethnography will therefore be applied in order to support the multi-sited possibilities.

Facebook will be the focus of this empirical study; followed by Instagram, since it is widely used by the pop music industry in Taiwan, and, thirdly, the video platforms, like YouTube, will also be studied to complement the data emerging from other platforms. Besides this, they also use music platforms, such as *KKBox* (a Taiwanese pop music platform), *StreetVoice* (街聲, a Taiwanese indie music platform). I will also be accessing data from *NANGUAQ!* (聽聽那屋瓦), which is a new digital library that collects traditional indigenous music and stories from Taiwan.

Statistical overviews and web content will provide rich research data as a background but cannot respond to the questions or explore the further details of behavior and attitudes (Postill & Pink, 2012: 124-125). This research will therefore apply in-depth interviews and digital ethnography in order to answer the research questions.

With regard to the time period of the research, there are some points that need to be considered. First, this research will explore the next stage-- online music after the Enigma event[20] opened the CD era of indigenous music, and a wave of indigenous music emerged in the 1990s (Chen, 2013: 210-211). Furthermore, Facebook became popular in Taiwan in 2009, because of the Facebook game application *Happy Farm*,

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[20] See page 22 and page 32.

although it was launched in its Mandarin version in 2008 (Lin et al., 2012: 196). The starting point will thus be set in 2009. However, social media content will result in there being a large amount of data to collect, so this research will select a period for the observation that is both before and near to the date of interviewing Taiwanese indigenous musicians during the fieldwork. On Facebook, there will be four types of content to research: the profile page, the news feed, the photo page and the video page, in order to collect the indigenous characters in the photos, words, likes, and the music in the videos. For example, in the top page of a news feed from Ado Kaliting Pacidal (Figure 4-1), on Facebook, the profile picture demonstrates her indigenous identity with a traditional costume in black, while the cover photo is a concert photo from the *Small Island Big Song (小島大歌) Tour*, which is a project that collected lots of Austronesian musicians, produced an album and toured the world, showing her concern for indigenous culture and Austronesian cooperation. Besides, on Suming Rupi's live video page, on 25th February 2018 (Figure 4-2), the content tells us that he was singing in his hometown to support protests aiming to protect traditional territory in Taiwan.

Figure 4-1: The news feed page of Ado Kaliting Pacidal on 10th September 2018.

Figure 4-2: Suming Rupi's live streaming, on his video page on 25th February 2018.

Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube are general and popular social media platforms and thus, in this chapter, I will give details about the music streaming platforms, *KKBOX*, *StreetVoice* and *NANGUAQ!*, in Taiwan.

4.2.1 *KKBOX*

KKBOX is a brand that was founded in 2004 by a group of engineers who love technology and music. It provides a music streaming service with original cloud technology, allowing users to play songs that are stored on the cloud, through the Internet; and encrypting those media files by the use of technology (Digital Rights Management, DRM), which has successfully achieved a perfect balance and protection for online music and intellectual property rights. It has opened up the copyright concept of legal authorization for online music, and it became the standard brand for the first time in the Asian market. To date, *KKBOX* has 20 million tracks (including the world's largest Chinese music library) and is legally licensed by over 500 mainstream and independent record companies in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore, and Malaysia. *KKBOX*'s services can be used on computers, smartphones, or other mobile devices. Not only can you listen to music online, but you can also download it to your computer

or mobile phone for offline listening, giving consumers a world of music that is convenient and free from boundaries[21].

4.2.2 *StreetVoice*

Established in Taipei in 2006, the *StreetVoice* website began to use the 'starting point of dreams' as a reminder of itself and musicians. It is committed to providing independent music creators so as to exchange, release, and accumulate energy on music. *StreetVoice* selects countless newly uploaded potential music works every day, and promotes the works of independent music creators farther through various on- and offline recommendation methods, including the event *The Next Big Thing (大團誕生)*, which is held in Taipei's live house 'Legacy' once a month, the series of live performance videos, the *Simple Life Festival* and *The Next Big Thing*, which are held in different cities in the cross-straits area, and *Blow Music (吹音樂)*, which was the first information website for independent music in the Mandarin world, and started in 2014. Meanwhile, *StreetVoice* launched a project, *Packer (派歌)*, to assist independent musicians in obtaining good distribution services, and, at the same time, to promote musical works through the channels of all of their friendly alliances. Driven by the synergy of these diverse channels, *StreetVoice* is looking forward to creating a complete ecosystem for the new generation of music creators, allowing music to spring into life, to grow on the spot, and to spread in the media[22].

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[21] http://kuangyi01.pixnet.net/blog/post/367725431-
%E9%A1%98%E5%A2%83%E7%B6%B2%E8%A8%8A--
kkbox%E6%93%AC%E6%8E%A8%E9%9F%B3%E6%A8%82%2B%E8%BF%BD%E5%8A%87%E6%9C
%8D%E5%8B%99
[22] https://streetvoice.com/service/about/

4.2.3 NANGUAQ!

The name 'Nanguaq' is taken from the Paiwan language, and its meaning is 'good' and 'beautiful'. It is a digital music playback application with indigenous ancient songs, collecting Taiwanese indigenous traditions and stories in the indigenous village. It is also the digital music library for amateur singers and musicians in traditional communities in Taiwan. It is worth mentioning that the founder is Aljenljeng Tjaluvie (Abao), who is a famous indigenous singer in Taiwan.

4.2.4 Research design

This research focuses on the communicative process that Taiwanese indigenous artists perform and present on social media, so it should be noted that digital ethnography will collect more data from the communicators, who are the musicians, within the social media networks, rather than the users, whose views are shown in different ways, such as comments. The social media content is insufficient, because musicians somehow can perform their indigeneity through daily self-presentation online. As a result, this research will employ in-depth interviews to give mutual support to the collected content by trying to answer the research question.

Strategies are necessary for collecting online materials via different social media platforms, as the amount of information that is available is huge. I will thus point out those parts which are to be analyzed on each platform and will collate a table to demonstrate the strategies of digital ethnography. In addition, it is important to address some situations that may obstruct the process. This research also applies in-depth interviews to support the digital ethnography, so I will collect the data relating to each indigenous musician whom I interview. The interviews with the musicians should be undertaken earlier, so as to arrange the data collection and online observation. With regard to social media accounts, there are two issues to be addressed in this chapter. On

the one hand, most musicians have at least two accounts on social media platforms, for instance, a private account and a public fan page, or they may have even more accounts. However, there is the possibility that I will not be able to acquire access to both accounts, and this may affect the data collection. This research will therefore focus on the public accounts that everyone can view, and that anyone can use to communicate with the musicians. On the other hand, most musicians use more than one platform, such as Facebook and Instagram, and even some alternative platforms. It would be ineffective if this research wished to cover all of the platforms. To avoid this, the platforms with a high market share will be given priority in this research.

In Table 4-1, the analysis of the parts will be profile, cover photo, feeds/posts, videos and comments. All platforms have a profile section, and this research will analyze the photos and the introductory text. The cover photos that the musicians choose on Facebook will be discussed. The feeds on each platform have a distinct content, for example, the posts that are first see on Instagram will always be photos, so this part will offer a huge amount of data to collect and analyze. YouTube is a video channel, and photos of the clips will even be shown on the covers of the videos, but this still belongs to the video section. The videos may be regarded as supportive data, for instance, there are live stream videos on YouTube to enable us to understand the issues or the content that the musicians have proposed, especially those stories that are on Instagram and Facebook. The comments will also be analyzed in order to understand the communication process between the musicians and their fans.

Table 4-1: The social media platforms in Taiwan

	Profile	Cover photo	Feeds/Posts	Photos	Videos	Comments
Facebook	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Instagram	✔		✔	✔	✔	✔
YouTube	✔	✔	✔		✔	✔

However, Facebook is the main platform of this research upon which to conduct the online ethnography, as it is currently popular in Taiwan and it is also the platform that each musician has used a lot.

In Table 4-2, I choose five music platforms from which to analyze the sections: the profile, cover photo, music works, events, a playlist for the supportive data, and connections with other social media platforms. Before proceeding to examine every section, it will be necessary to mention that *NANGUAQ!* is regarded as being an indigenous library, rather than as being a personal page or channel, so the attributes of *NANGUAQ!* will be distinct from those of the others. However, it is a special platform for analysis in Taiwan. As explained earlier, there is *NANGUAQ!*, without a personal profile for specific musicians. Besides, only *StreetVoice* has a cover photo that can be discussed. Music and the playlist are the crucial content, without a doubt, and thus this may be the basic information for this research. However, this research may analyze the playlist in order to comprehend the music's flavor and to find the symbols of the indigenous identity of the musician(s). In addition, *KKBOX* has usually invited musicians to do a live podcast with listeners and to reply to questions online, so this may be an interesting section through which to enable an understanding of the communication process. The final section may be the interaction between music and social media. On most of the platforms, we can easily find a button, by use of which

we can share content. To discover the interaction amongst all of the platforms is therefore to explore contemporary indigenous music in Taiwan.

Table 4-2: The music streaming platforms in Taiwan

	Profile	Cover photo	Music	Event	Playlist	Connection with social media
KKBOX	✔		✔	✔	✔	✔
Spotify	✔		✔		✔	✔
Apple Music	✔		✔		✔	
Streetvoice	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
NANGUAQ!			✔	✔	✔	✔

In Table 4-3, the social media platform that indigenous musicians use, including solo artists and groups, are listed in order to conduct the digital ethnography on their social media platforms on Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. Panai Kusui's private account on Facebook will be analyzed in the research because she is an important activist singer, who usually communicates her concern in relation to indigenous issues through adjusting the privacy to 'public' on Facebook.

Table 4-3: The indigenous musicians' use of social media

Musicians	*Facebook*	*Instagram*	*YouTube*	
Sunay Takal (蘇奈・達卡爾)	✔	N/A	✔	Channel
Suana Emuy Cilangasay (蘇瓦那・恩木伊・奇拉雅善)	✔	N/A	✔	Channel
CMO group (Creating Music Orchestra)	✔	N/A	✔	Playlist
Tai Siao-Chun (戴曉君)	✔	✔	✔	Playlist

Ilid Kaolo (以莉・高露)	✔	✔	✔ Channel
Cemelesai (徹摩)	✔	✔	✔ Channel
Sangpuy (桑布伊)	✔	✔	✔ Playlist
Abao/Aljenljeng (阿爆/阿仍仍)	✔	✔	✔ Channel
Anu (阿努)	✔	N/A	N/A
Laka Umaw (拉卡巫茂)	✔	N/A	N/A
Boxing Band	✔	✔	✔ Channel
Princess Ai (戴愛玲)	✔	✔	✔ Channel
O-Kai Singers (歐開合唱團)	✔	✔	✔ Channel
LabagaTaru (謝皓成)	✔	N/A	✔ Channel
Suming (舒米恩)	✔	✔	✔ Channel
Ado・kaliting・pacidal (阿洛・卡力亭・巴奇辣)	✔	✔	✔ Channel
Panai, the Non-Nuclear Hometown for Kids *(巴奈 給孩子們，非核家園)*	✔	✔	✔ Channel
Panai Kusui (巴奈・庫穗)	✔ Private account	N/A	N/A

In Table 4-4, the time period of the online ethnography will be three months, from September 2018, to December 2018, for collecting the data online, data which is related to the presentation of self. The in-depth interviews will be carried out after the data collection, from January 2019, to March 2019, in Taiwan, so the last data collection will be done in April 2019, so that the analysis can be interplayed with the discussion in the interviewing data.

Table 4-4: The time period of the online ethnography

First period	September 2018-December 2018	Before conducting the interviewing
Second period	March 2019 – April 2019	After the interviewing

4.3   In-depth interviews

In order to answer the research question, this research will employ semi-structured interviews to explore the experience of the selected indigenous musicians. Semi-structured, with reference to a qualitative approach, generally includes interviews and observations which have a clear structure, but which are not completely structured (Blandford, 2013: 2). The interviewer may freely explore further details based on the original response from the interviewee (Mathers, Fox & Hunn, 1998: 2). This method is appropriate for interviewing Taiwanese indigenous musicians because they need to accommodate to it gradually, and this is based on the nature of their personalities.

The interviews with Taiwanese indigenous musicians were conducted face-to-face, and, as often as possible, with a digital voice recorder and with a GoPro. The participants were selected through snowball sampling of musicians' recommendations that is loosely based on the characteristics of Taiwanese indigenous musicians in their diverse contexts. Besides, the process takes the success rate into consideration, and thus the interviewer selected those musicians who were observed on social media. The participants will be listed below alphabetically.

4.3.1 Abao (阿爆), also known as Aljenljeng Tjatjaljuvy

Abao, whose indigenous name is Aljenljeng Tjatjaljuvy, is from the Paiwan Tribe of Taitung, In 2003, she made her debut with the group Abao & Brandy, and won the Best Group Award at the *Golden Melody Awards* (金曲獎). Since then, the record label has not put out any sequels due to certain changes. From 2012, she worked for indigenous television, until, in 2014, the traditional music album, *The East Payuan Folk And Three Generations (東排三聲代),* was released. In 2016, the Pinayuanan album, *Vavayan Women (Vavayan 女人)*, was released and, in the following year, they won the Best Aboriginal Album Award from the *Golden Melody Awards*. Her third album

in the Paiwan language, *Kinakaian (母親的舌頭)*, was released in 2019 and was nominated for 8 awards at the *Golden Melody Awards* in 2020. *Kinakaian*, which creates a dance music vibe to share her pride in the indigenous culture, has set a new record for the most nominated indigenous language album at the *Golden Melody Awards*, and the first album in an indigenous language was nominated for the Best Lyrics Award. This album has been finally awarded the Best Indigenous Language Album, the Album of the Year and the track 'Thank You' has been awarded the Song of the Year.

4.3.2 Ado' Kaliting Pacidal (阿洛‧卡力亭‧巴奇辣)

Ado' Kaliting Pacidal is from the Pangcah of Fata'an(馬太鞍) tribe in Hualien, and is a songwriter, a singer, an actress, a host on Taiwan Indigenous Television, and a doctoral student in literature. In 2015, she was nominated for the Best Newcomer at the *Golden Horse Awards* (金馬獎) for her starring movie *Wawa No Cidal (Children of the Sun/太陽的孩子)*'. She was awarded the Best Host of an Educational and Cultural Programme at the *Golden Bell Awards* (電視金鐘獎). Her program, *Songs Blowing Over The Island (吹過島嶼的歌)*, on Taiwan Indigenous Television, is an indigenous music program which aims to present different ages in Taiwan through stories and songs. In 2013, her album *Cidal Fulad (Sun and Moon/太陽月亮)*, was nominated for the Best Indigenous Singer Award and the Best Indigenous Album Award at the *Golden Melody Awards*. In 2020, her latest album *Sasela'a (Breath/氣息)*, which connects with Austronesian artists and cultures, was nominated again at the *Golden Melody Awards*.

4.3.3 Anu Kaliting Sadipongan (阿努‧卡力亭‧沙力朋安)

Anu was born and raised in the Pangcah of Makota'ay (港口) tribe in Hualien. In 1996, he left the tribe to work in Taipei. In 2005, he returned to the tribe to search for

his identity. He has participated in local art groups and devoted himself to artistic creation, cultural inheritance and ethnic language promotion for a long time. In 2013, his debut album *Cepo' (cepo 混濁了),* was released. In 2014, the album was nominated for the Best Indigenous Album Award and he was awarded the Best Indigenous Singer Award at the *Golden Melody Awards*. In 2020, His latest album *Laloken Ko Orip (Diligent Life/認真生活)*, was nominated again at the *Golden Melody Awards*.

4.3.4 The Boxing (拳樂團)

The Boxing (拳樂團) is the first Indigenous Latin Rap band in Taiwan. It focuses on Latin, rock, hip-hop, and fusion styles. The six members are composed of three pairs of brothers from the Paiwan tribe in PingTung (屏東), who have a background as boxers. The members are Kasiwa (葛西瓦/黃克雄) and Jaljan (好樂迪/黃克強), as vocalists, Luwa (阿六/杜王雄) and Kulele (柯曉明), as guitarists, Rukuc (洛克斯/杜凱文), as the bassist, and Mudi (柯曉龍), as the drummer. Their debut Paiwan album *Wild Boxing (野生 Boxing)*, and their Mandarin album, *Boxing*, were released at the same time in 2014, and they were nominated for the Golden Melody Awards' Best Newcomer Award, for Best Band Award, and for Best Indigenous Album Award. Finally, they won the Best Newcomer Award in 2015. In 2018, Kasiwa, the vocalist in Boxing, released a single, *Maya maluqem (Don't flinch/別退縮)*, and was nominated for the Best Indigenous Singer Award at the *Golden Melody Awards* in 2019.

4.3.5 Cemelesai Pasasauv (徹摩)

Cemelesai was born into the Tjanavakung (崑山) tribe in Majia Township (瑪家鄉) in PingTung. He participated in the *Classical Poetry Composition and Singing Competition*, sponsored (舊愛新歡-古典詩詞譜曲創作暨演唱競賽) by the Hanguang Education Foundation (漢光教育基金會), in 2015. He became the champion with the

song ,*Missing (思念)*, and he obtained the opportunity for brokerage and a record contract. At the end of 2016, his debut album, *ZEMIYAN (真圓)*, in the Paiwan language, was released, and he was nominated for the Best Indigenous Singer Award at the *Golden Melody Award,* in 2017. In 2018, his second album, *VANGAV (Skylight/ 天窗)*, was released. In 2019, he was shortlisted for the Golden Melody of the Year*,* the Best Indigenous Album Award and the Best Indigenous Singer Award.

4.3.6 Ilid Kaolo (以莉‧高露)

Ilid Kaolo is from the Amis of Cingaroan (吉納路安) tribe in Hualien. She joined the band, Hohak (好客愛吃飯), in 2006. She and her husband, Guanyu Chen (陳冠宇), have started to farm and plant organic rice in Yilan (宜蘭) and they have become musicians and farmers since 2010. In 2011, her debut album *My Carefree Life (輕快的 生活)*, won the Best Indigenous Singer Award, and the Best Newcomer Award at the *Golden Melody Awards*. She made her first official tour in 2017, and, in addition, was invited to participate at the *Fuji Rock Festival.* Her second album, *A Beautiful Moment (美好時刻)*, was released in 2015. She was invited to the *Eight Mountains (ヤツガタ ケ Stream/八岳之流)* concert in Chino, Nagano, Japan, and she performed her songs in the Amis language, together with the Japanese song, *Flowers (フロックスの花/長 春花)*, which was written by the Taiwanese Tsou (鄒族) artist Uong'e Yatauyungana (高一生). Her new album, Longing (尋找你), will be released in March, 2021.

4.3.7 Labaga Taru (謝皓成)

Labaga Taru is Truku artist from Wanrong in Hualien and is studying at the Graduate Institute of Ethnomusicology at National Taiwan Normal University (國立師 範大學). In order to pick up the traditional culture of the Truku, which has gradually broken down over time, he returned to Hualien many times to undertake fieldwork and

to collect tribal music. It took 4 years to finally complete his first album, *Pgagu (An ancient Truku flute/獵首笛),* which was released in 2018, and which includes 7 fusion based tracks, which are combinations of traditional Truku music and world music. He has been undertaking lots of performance using traditional instruments.

4.3.8 Laka Umaw (拉卡‧巫茂)

Laka Umaw is a Seediq (賽德克) singer from Mingli (明利) Village, Wanrong (萬榮) Township in Hualien, and he debuted with A Fei (阿飛) as his stage name. He has continued with his acting career as well as being a singer-songwriter. In recent years, he has been singing at Hualien's Dongdamen (東大門) Night Market (a street of indigenous people). His most important influence during the singing period at live house 'EZ5' in Taipei was meeting indigenous musicians and, from then on, he used Seediq as the main language of his album. In 2004, he released his first indigenous language album, *Skiya Sabah (Flying Home/飛‧回家)*, and then won the 16th *Golden Melody Awards'* Best Indigenous Pop Music Album Singing Newcomer Award in 2005. In 2006, he independently published his second indigenous language album, *Desire to Fly (想飛).*

As a singer, he also worked as an ironworker, due to the financial pressures, but never left his singing career. He maintained two completely different jobs, including being a builder in the daytime and performing in a pub at night. In 2007, he was selected for the Cloud Gate Dance Group's (雲門舞集) *The Wanderer Project (流浪者計畫)*, and, in 2008, he went to Lugu Lake (瀘沽湖) alone, for three months, collecting local voices and musical instruments as inspiration. He wrote the theme song of the movie *Seediq Bale (賽德克巴萊)*, which was called *The Rainbow Promise (看見彩虹)*, and which was nominated for the *48th Golden Horse Awards'* Best Original Movie Song. In 2013, under the stage name of Laka Feilang (拉卡‧飛琅), he released his third

album, *The Wandering Song (流浪的歌)*, which was inspired by his experience at Lugu Lake. This album was nominated for the Best Indigenous Singer Award and Best Indigenous Album Award at the *25th Golden Melody Awards*.

4.3.9 O-Kai Singers (歐開合唱團)

O-Kai Singers is an A Cappella group that was formed by Taiwanese indigenous artists in 2004, and it has performed in Taiwan, Hong Kong, China, the Netherlands, Austria, Italy, the United States, Canada, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and other places. At the end of 2012, their debut album, *O-Kai A Cappella*, won six nominations at the *24th Golden Melody Awards* in 2013, and won the Best Singing Group Award, the Best Indigenous Album Award, and the Jury Award. From 2014 to 2017, O-Kai Singers was operated by the original members, Jia-Ching Lai (賴家慶), Anton Yeh (葉孝賢), Sean Yeh (葉孝恩), and Wei-chen Yeh (葉微真). They created Taiwan's first A Cappella radio program, on National Educational Radio, in July, 2014, and then a second program on *Bravo FM 91.3* (財團法人台北勞工教育電台), which was shortlisted for the Non-pop Music Program Award and the Non-pop Music Program Host Award at the 50th *Radio Golden Bell Awards (廣播金鐘獎)*. In November, 2018, the group members were the tenor, Sean (Atayal people/泰雅), the soprano, Wei-chen (Atayal people/泰雅), the alto, Xiang-Jun Li (芭塔/李湘君, Paiwan people), the bass, Heyhey (Han-Ting Feng/馮瀚亭), and they released a second album, *Some People Say (南方靈魂)*, which was Nominated for the *30th Golden Melody Awards* and for the *CARAs* (*Contemporary A Capella Recording Awards)* in the USA.

4.3.10 Panai Kusui (巴奈・庫穗)

Panai Kusui (巴奈・庫穗) is a singer-songwriter and activist from Puyuma, and is from the Amis tribe in Atolan (都蘭), Taitung. Before the end of her collaboration

with Rock Records (滾石唱片), Panai finally released her debut album, *Clay Dolls (泥 娃娃)*, in 2000. The title track, *Wandering (流浪記)*, is one of her masterpieces. Panai joined the Formosa Aboriginal Singing and Dance Troupe so as to learn the ritual music and dance of the indigenous ethnic groups, and she toured abroad with the group every summer from when she was 26, after terminating her contract with Rock Records. In 2002, she was invited to participate in the *Fukuoka Asian Art Festival, Pacific Music Festival.* In 2003, the Japanese version of the album, Panai's *(Wandering 巴奈流浪記)*, was released. In 2011, Panai Kusui changed her name from her original Mandarin name to an indigenous name.

She has organized a protest on Ketagalan Boulevard (凱達格蘭大道), near the Presidential Palace, aiming to protect traditional territory, since February, 2017. This movement is still in progress, and President Tsai has offered no answer so far. In 2017, two EPs were released: *The Ear of Rice on Ketagalan Boulevard (凱道上的稻穗)*, and *Panai Wandering in Ketagalan (凱道巴奈流浪記)* in order to express the feelings for this protest. The albums were produced and recorded in Ketagalan Road with the help of Panai's friends. They were recorded during the night, and the sounds of the cars were also recorded, and this has created the soundscape of the movement. Her new album, *Love and Yet… (愛，不到)*, has been released in November 2020.

4.3.11 Princess Ai (戴愛玲)

Princess Ai (戴愛玲/ Lugui), a Paiwan singer, was born in Kinayiman (歸崇部落) of Kasugagu (春日鄉), PingTung. Her family are the noble descendants of Kinayiman, and thus, she has a nickname 'Princess'. Her debut album, *Magic*, was released by Virgin Records (維京唱片) in 2002 in Mandarin. The title track, *Mr. Right (對的人)*, from the album, *Love's Foolishness(為愛做的傻事)*, became a hit song from 2003, and every Taiwanese can sing along to it. In 2019, her 10th album, *Lost and Found (失物*

招領), was released by Sony Music. She has been an icon singing in Mandarin since her debut. In her latest album, however, she has begun to sing in Paiwan indigenous language. The track, *Maleva (媽樂法)*, from her latest album, was a cooperation with Abao and Sangpuy.

4.3.12 Sangpuy Katatepan (桑布伊), also known as Lu Jie-Xin, 盧皆興)

Sangpuy Katatepan is from the ancient Puyuma tribe, Katratripulr (卡地布部落/知本部落), where the mountain meets the ocean. Since he was young, he has been well known for his amazing vocal performances and skills, self-made musical instruments (a nose flute and the lubuw, which is the traditional mouth harp of the Atayal music culture).

Sangpuy began to perform at large-scale international stage events and has created music with Puyuma language lyrics since 2008. In 2012, his debut album, *Dalan (Route/路),'* was released. The album was nominated for multiple awards at the *Golden Melody Awards* in the following year, where he won the Best Indigenous Singer Award. His second album, *Yaangad (The Root of Life/椏幹)*, was released in 2016, and it was nominated for seven awards at the *Golden Melody Awards* in 2017. In addition to winning the Best Indigenous Singer Award again, he also won the important award, Album of the Year. In the same year, *Yaangad* was the winner of the Gold Medal at the *Global Music Awards*, which is a well-known international music competition celebrating independent musicians. His new album, Pulu'em (Gaining Strength/得力量) has been released in 2020.

4.3.13 Sauljaljui, known as Siao-Chun Tai (戴曉君)

Siao-Chun is a Paiwan singer from the Shimen (石門) tribe of the Mudan (牡丹) Township, Pingtung (屏東). In 2011, she won the First-prize award of the Taiwanese

indigenous music awards - indigenous language group (臺灣原創流行音樂大獎原住民語組), and her award-winning song, the *Coming-of-age ceremony of Music (音樂成年禮)*, is about the story of the *Maqati (Tribal Music Festival 音樂傳承音樂祭)*. The song, *Sad Teaser (悲傷彩布)*, was written after Typhoon Morakot (莫拉克) caused the worst flooding in 1988, and she was once again honored with the First Prize at the 2014 *Taiwanese Indigenous Music Awards*. In 2016, she released her debut album, *Walk Down the River (順著河流走)*, which was nominated for both the *28th Golden Melody Awards* and the *7th Golden Indie Music Awards (金音獎)*. In 2019, she released a second album, *Insides Revealed (裡面的外面)*, which was nominated for 4 awards at the *31st Golden Melody Awards* in 2020.

4.3.14 Suana Emuy Cilangasay (蘇瓦那・恩木伊・奇拉雅善)

Suana is a member of the Amis ethnic group in Guanshan (關山), Taitung. The family were troubled by their indigenous identity. They concealed their identity and moved to Xinying (新營), Tainan. Suana returned to Taitung when he was ten years old. After the death of his grandmother, in 2015, he was determined to maintain his indigenous culture and to return to his identity. In 2010, he and his friends established the CMO group (the Creating Music Orchestra). In 2015, their first album in the Amis language, *The Journey of Freedom (自由的旅程)*, was released, and it was nominated for the *27th Golden Melody Awards'* Best Indigenous Album Award. In 2017, they released CMO's second album, *Naomi (直美)*, and won the *29th Golden Melody Awards'* Best Indigenous Album Award. In 2018, he released his first solo album, *Nashi (那希)*.

4.3.15 Suming Rupi (舒米恩・魯碧)

Suming Rupi is an Amis singer-songwriter from Taitung. He served as the lead singer and guitarist of both the band Totem, (圖騰樂團) and the Echo G.S Band (艾可橘斯樂團), playing flutes, accordion and other musical instruments. He has participated in many music competitions and has composed for many singers. He is also a traditional bamboo craftsman, theatre dancer, and amateur artist (a painter). In 2007, Totem was nominated as the Best Band in the *Golden Melody Awards,* for the album, *I Sing There (我在那邊唱)*. In 2008, he won the *Golden Horse Awards'* Best New Performer Award with Totem. In 2011, he was awarded the Best Aboriginal Album Award at the *Golden Melody Awards*, with *Suming (舒米恩)* In 2015, the theme song, *Aka pisawad (Don't give up/不要放棄)*, from the film *Wawa No Cidal (Children of the Sun/太陽的孩子)*, won the *Golden Horse Award*s' Best Original Movie Song.

He has organized the Amis Music Festival (阿米斯音樂節) in Atolan, Taitung, taking one year off after every two years, since 2013. This indie festival was originally held at the Atolan Secondary School, showcasing indigenous culture, such as the *Malikuda (Handing Dance/牽手舞)*, in the Opening Ceremony. In 2019, the *Amis Music Festival* was moved to Pacifalan (都蘭鼻) for the first time. *Pacifalan* is a traditional territory for the Amis ethnic group, allegedly where their ancestors landed, and it is a sacred place of worship. Suming's latest album, *Bondada*, was released in 2020, although the festival was cancelled due to Covid-19.

4.3.16 Sunay Takal (蘇奈・達卡爾)

Sunay is an Amis from Chenggong Town (成功鎮), Taitung. In 2010, she co-founded the CMO Group with Suana, and is currently the music consultant and Amis language guide to the CMO. In addition to performing with the CMO Group, she also performs with musicians, who perform in different styles, at diverse music venues.

4.3.17 The interviewing information

Since face-to-face is the priority for interviews, a period of time in Taiwan was set aside for conducting the interviews. Most of the interviews' time slots were related to the musicians' schedules and, thus, fieldwork was conducted at the music venue in order to observe musicians' performances, the appearance of the backstage areas, and the verbal and nonverbal signs that they give when they perform their identity. In addition, it can also be seen in Table 4-5 that some interview locations are in the UK, as some of the musicians happened to be invited to perform in the UK, or to tour in Europe. Sometimes, I would be the audience, and sometimes I would be their interpreter. This was therefore an opportunity to observe nearby and to conduct interviews at any time. The discussions also became more profound and offered diverse perspectives, as we had more time to relate to each other. Table 4-5 provides the interviewing information that is relevant to each interviewee.

Table 4-5: The indigenous musicians' interviewing information

Musicians	Date	Place	Style
Suming *(舒米恩)*	17 Oct 2018	Edinburgh	Face to face
Sunay Takal (蘇奈・達卡爾)	3 Feb 2019	Taipei	Face to face
Suana Emuy Cilangasay (蘇瓦那・恩木伊・奇拉雅善)	25 Feb 2019	Taipei	Face to face
Tai Siao-Chun (戴曉君)	7 Feb 2019	Pingtung	Face to face
Ilid Kaolo *(以莉・高露)*	13 Feb 2019	Hualien	Face to face
Cemelesai *(徹摩)*	18 Feb 2019	Taipei	Face to face
Sangpuy *(桑布伊)*	19 Feb 2019	Taipei	Face to face
Abao/Aljenljeng *(阿爆/阿仍仍)*	26 Feb 2019	Taipei	Face to face
Anu (阿努)	1 Mar 2019	Hualien	Face to face

Laka Umaw (拉卡巫茂)	4 Mar 2019	Hualien	Face to face
Boxing Band	7 Mar 2019	Taipei	Face to face
Princess Ai (戴愛玲)	7 Mar 2019	Taipei	Face to face
O-Kai Singers (歐開合唱團)	8 Mar 2019	Taipei	Face to face
LabagaTaru (謝皓成)	13 Mar 2019	Taipei	Face to face
Ado・kaliting・pacidal (阿洛・卡力亭・巴奇辣)	18 Apr 2019	London	Face to face
Panai Kusui (巴奈・庫穗)	15 Apr 2019	London	Face to face

4.3.18 Interview question design

The first parts of the interviews were made up of introductory questions through which to acquire the interviewees' personal information, including their names, their tribes, and/or the name of the village where they had grown up, their musical background and history, the conditions of their social media use. The leading questions (Appendix 1) were divided into three sections: musical interests, identity issues, and their personal experiences of social media use. The final section was made up of the extension questions, including language revitalization, the indigenous music scene in Taiwan, the connection to Austronesian culture and musicians, Taiwanese indigenous musicians and the global market.

4.4　Research limitations

A. Lin (黃麗玲)[23] and Ara Kimbo (胡德夫) have recently been promoted to the Chinese mainstream market, and they have earned fame in China through their

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[23] A Lin is an Amis singer. She is a well-known and powerful singer in Taiwan and has been nominated for the Taiwan *Golden Melody Awards* several times. Her album is in Mandarin, rather than in an indigenous language. However, she often presents her indigenous identity through performance.

performances on popular TV shows. For instance, A Lin was one of the indispensable singers on the program, *I Am a Singer (我是歌手), Season 3,* on the Hunan Channel (湖南衛視) in China, and Ara Kimbo was the principal performer in the program, *The Weiyan Song (未央歌)*, which is produced by the Cultural Center of Phoenix New Media Limited in China. Ayal Komod was also one of the hosts of the program, *Hip-Hop in China (中國有嘻哈)*, but, as a Hip-hop singer, rather than using his identity as an indigenous musician. The original idea for this research project was thus to interview those indigenous musicians who have gone to China to perform in recent years and to undertake the digital ethnography on Weibo, which is the main social media platform on which artists communicate with fans and audiences in China but, due to the snowballing random sampling method, I did not have the opportunities to connect with these musicians.

In order to break through the limitations on the perspectives relating to indigenous peoples as a whole, this research did not apply the notion of choosing one artist from each of the sixteen different indigenous ethnic groups[24] in Taiwan. Instead, this research randomly selected artists from among those musicians who are still creating and releasing albums, by using snowball sampling, and also selected artists whose official social media were observed before interviewing. Accordingly, some Taiwanese indigenous musicians who have been dedicated to music, but who do not use social media have had to be excluded from this research, for instance, the Betel Nut Brothers (檳榔兄弟)[25]. On the one hand, there is no chance of meeting these musicians through personal connections. On the other, the context of this research does not focus on 'non-uses' of social media. The motivation for the non-use of social media might be another

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[24] According to Council of Indigenous Peoples, Kanakanavu (卡那卡那富) has been recognized in June 2014 as the sixteenth indigenous group in Taiwan.
[25] The Betel Nut Brothers (檳榔兄弟) are a group from the Amis in Hualien. Their music is not vulgar, does not plagiarize the commercial mainstream, and it is self-consciously continuing the traditional ancient tunes, fresh and bright, a new pathway for the singing of the Amis' music.

issue to discuss, as the research was undertaken to explore the communicative processes of self-presentation online, in order to rethink the identities relating to being indigenous musicians in Taiwan.

With regard to the methods applied here, the digital ethnography and the in-depth interviews will supply most of the content for this research. In order to acquire a comprehensive perspective, this research will apply textual analysis, so as to discuss the lyrics of the indigenous musical works when musicians post on their social media. However, there will be some problems that are predictable. On the one hand, there are sixteen indigenous tribes in Taiwan, and they each have their own language. On the other, some musical works are just made up of chanting, without lyrics, or, rather, they are only formed of vocable sounds, which have no meaning. This research will thus supplement the content of the music's text at the necessary point in the discussion process, rather than analyzing the music works thoroughly.

Digital ethnography allows for flexible operation, but if the researcher is not constantly introspective, reflective and exploratory, and prepared to propose a refined research design that compensates for the things that are lacking in the original design, the results will be the same as those that would arise from the use of a more general research method and will become caught up in the resultant loss or deviation. The final session in this chapter discussed the ethnographer's positionality that result from digital ethnography and interviewing and offers some research reflections from the researcher.

4.5   The ethnographer's positionality

Unlike ethnography, in which fieldwork experiences bodily engagement (Okely, 2007) related to the cultural characteristics at local sites. Digital ethnography largely explores contextual digital fields in the realm of online research on social media (Airoldi, 2018). These digital fields have been interconnected with those that are

intercultural and, therefore, it is not easy to collect precise information online. The researcher needs to engage in the online culture through participatory observation, which echoes what an ethnographer does.

To be honest, the data was too large for me to know exactly where to start collecting at the beginning of the project. When I was reading *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century*, Clifford (2017: 30) suggested that the researcher needs the representational tact to be patient and to be inclusive of self-reflexivity. The attitude that Clifford mentioned is to maintain awareness and to draw conclusions without being in a hurry. As a result, I slowed down my steps and gave myself adequate time and space in which to observe more detail when conducting digital ethnography, since even the data on social media is too rich to collect. Correspondingly, I used the same attitudes to observe the surroundings while interviewing at performances or in their hometowns. Finally, I had to discern my own steps in order to organize the research project.

Another obstacle is being affected by other perspectives when reviewing more and more literature. Tan's studies on Amis pop songs, and Taiwan's aboriginal music on the Internet, have influenced me enormously. On one hand, she has provided proper concepts that will allow me to explore advanced notions of indigenous music culture. On the other hand, her views on the indigenous affected me in relation to re-examining and rethinking my perspective for my thesis. After analyzing the online data collection and the interview data, I was able to find my own perspective in some ways. The indigenous musicians I observed helped me to overcome the frustrating moments. I suddenly realized the meaning of fieldwork, which is to interact with people culturally, no matter whether is through bodily engagement or in the digital field.

This thesis is a presentation of my 'indigenous commuting' as a younger indigenous person growing up in the city. When I participated in different kinds of

music scenes to conduct interviews, I felt the spirit of 'homecoming'. I was given an indigenous name, Kuing, by an elder, while I was in the village in Taitung of Taiwan. This means a lot to me, as my mother, who suffered from discrimination during her youth, has no interest in the indigenous name recertification in Taiwan. My name, Kuing, symbolized my first step towards returning home.

As a member of the younger generation of indigenous people, I learned much more than I had expected when doing interviews with the senior musicians. They are the elders who guided me to return home culturally, as I did not grow up in my mother's village in Taitung. I therefore truly feel some passion arising from the interviews, and that somehow affected my analysis. I also gained much more than I expected when participating in online activities in order to observe indigenous musicians' daily self-presentation. This experience of interacting with indigenous musicians on social media somehow strengthened my networks and, because of this, I participated in more and more music festivals and concerts and experienced unique scenarios.

Chapter 5 Taiwanese Indigenous Musicians' Social Media Platforms: A Digital Ethnographic Approach

'ano tala'ayaw mafohat ko lalan a misi'ayaw
(If life goes on, the road is always ahead)
ano tala'ayaw tatiih to, fancal to , sahto nga'ayay
(If life goes on, whether you encounter bad or good, it is worthy of experience)
aka sawaden ko tileng
(Don't give upon yourself)
o olip caay ka mi liyaw patatikol
(Life cannot be repeated)[26]

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will investigate, the use of digital ethnography as a method, and consider the ways in which Taiwanese indigenous musicians use social media, music streaming platforms and official channels in order to reach, and to communicate with, their audiences. There are crucial principles for conducting digital ethnography, including multiplicity, non-digital-centricness, openness, reflexivity and the lack of orthodoxy (Pink et al., 2016: 8). The principles of digital ethnography will be employed in this chapter in order to unpack and discuss the infrastructure of the everyday life of Taiwanese indigenous musicians on social media.

According to Pink et al. (Ibid.), the concept of multiplicity reminds us of the interdependent relationship between participants and digital media, and how users engage with digital media in different ways. Moreover, approaching this research through non-digital-centric-ness is an insight that provides a method through which to find something wider than that which can be found merely through standard interviewing, and rather than through a focus that is only on media (Ibid.). In addition to applying digital ethnography, the insights of traditional ethnography can also be

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[26] The lyrics are from Suming's song '*Aka pisawad (Don't give up)*', which is the theme song of the film, *Wawa No Cidal (The Child of the Sun)*.

employed in order that they can be complementary to each other. There are diverse forms of digital media in contemporary society, and thus the notion of openness indicates that the collaborative process is the core concept of digital ethnography. The reflexivity required that this research needs to go beyond the bias in conducting digital ethnography. The concept of the unorthodox reflects the alternative forms of communication in digital culture. This indicates that the forms do not just give us an image, but also evoke the emotions, relationships and the other facets that are found on social media.

The social media platforms that will be investigated in this chapter are Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. Facebook is one of the popular platforms that are used by all of the musicians participating in this research as their main official channel through which to communicate with their audiences in Taiwan.

This chapter will examine the information obtained from the research samples relating to Taiwanese Indigenous musicians that is available on social media platforms. Firstly, the research will examine Facebook, as the musicians that were approached for this research utilize it as their main official platform. Such examination will include analysis of the cover images, profiles, photos, videos and feeds on Facebook, which are used to depict the details of the texts, photos and videos. Furthermore, Instagram is a relatively new platform for Taiwanese indigenous musicians, thus the functions on Instagram that are different from those on Facebook will be the key points used to arrive at an understanding of the collaborative process of digital culture, for instance, their biographies and story highlights. Obviously, for its users, the interface on Instagram is image oriented, so how musicians communicate with audiences through uploaded photos will be vital when researching Instagram. Finally, YouTube is an alternative social media platform, in that its communication process is commonly viewed as being a video-based channel, just as mainstream media programs are. The users can manage

the playlists on YouTube so as to have suitable topics and collections for their audiences. The arrangement of the videos and playlists on YouTube will thus represent the user's perspective as being that of being an indigenous musician in Taiwan.

This chapter features data analysis resulting from the collection of the content on social media platforms through digital ethnography. It shows the self-presentation and the communication of Taiwanese indigenous musicians in relation to cultural and social issues. In this chapter, this research argues that indigenous musicians perform their identity through online self-presentation in everyday life, and the analysis will begin from the observation of the main page in order to explore the first impression that the musicians have given. From this perspective, the discussion used to rethink indigenous identity will then be presented in the next chapter, with a thorough description of the interviewing, including a definition of indigenous music in contemporary Taiwan.

5.2   Main page on Facebook and the first impression

As Goffman (1956: 5) pointed out, the first impression is essential in everyday life; the cover image is the first impression that users have when they reach musicians' official social media platforms. It might therefore be regarded as being the primary means of image building that musicians expect to display themselves for their audiences. This is similar to the example of the service occupations that Goffman provided in order to explain the work adjustment that happens when taking the initiative in a service relationship. The musicians want to hold the initiative absolutely, in order to build their persona in fandom, and that notion is also connected to self-presentation on social media.

Regarding the cover image on Facebook, which may be a photo or video, I made observations about the musicians' fan pages that will be discussed later. Firstly, only Abao has used video. Her music video, *Izuwa (Having)*, is used as her cover image.

The music video is the leading track from her album, *Vavayan·女人 (Women)*, in the Paiwan language, which was released in 2016. The video shows her grooving, and also manifests her grassroots through the music, performance and her dancing with other indigenous ordinary dancers (Figure 5-1), which are all shown. This video was filmed in the KaLaRuLan (卡拉魯然部落) tribe, Taitung, with 5 dancers from the *Bulareyaung Dance Company (布拉瑞揚舞團),* which is funded by an indigenous artist.

Figure 5-1: Abao's cover video on Facebook

Secondly, there are only three musicians wearing traditional costume, i.e., Ado, Labaga Taru (Figure 5-2) and Laka Umaw, and some musicians wear clothes with indigenous decoration, such as Tai Siao-Chun (Figure 5-3) and Cemelesai. In Figure 5-2, Labaga Taru is playing the 'pgagu', a kind of flute that is played by a hunter when he returns home from the head hunting that was carried out by the Truku ethnic group (太魯閣族), together with wearing traditional clothes. In Figure 5-3, Tai Siao-Chun offers the photo of her participation in the *Golden Melody Awards*, and she is shown wearing an adapted traditional costume.

Figure 5-2: Labaga Taru's cover image on Facebook

Figure 5-3: Tai Siao-Chun's cover image on Facebook

Focusing on bridging the interaction between personality and society, Goffman (1956: 154-156) indicated that the social structure, or social system, no longer directly determines the individual's actions but, through the intermediary social interaction, the influence is transmitted to the individual in a specific social situation. This perspective confirms the complexity of a society that stems from diverse social scenarios and the dynamic interactions that occur within them. It may be a reflection of people's expectations of someone who is an indigenous musician, which Abao has used in her

music videos in order to perform an indigenous identity, and that Labaga Taru set up his cover photo through the use of indigenous costume and traditional instruments.

Thirdly, in particular, Panai Kusui's photo is shown as cartoons (Figure 5-4). This cover photo is a promotion for her ongoing hundred music tours around Taiwan. The yellow words are the title of her tour in Mandarin, but the phrase '海嘯' needs to be mentioned for discussion. The original meaning of this phrase is 'tsunami', but it has become popular in indigenous society to use it to mean 'still need to (還是要)' because of the homophonic in Mandarin. This is a distinctive culture of the indigenous accent in the Taiwanese indigenous community, which has also become popular on social media. The cartoon on the right shows that there are the Office of the President and some barriers behind Panai, who is wearing the clothes with the flower crown that she usually wears on this tour.

Fourthly, five musicians put their concert information on the cover photo, e.g., Ilid Kaolo (Figure 5-5), Cemelesai, Sangpuy, Labaga Taru (Figure 5-2) and Suming, and only Princess Ai has put the release date of her digital EP on her cover photo.

Figure 5-4: The cover image of
'Panai, the Non-Nuclear Hometown for Kids' on Facebook

Figure 5-5: Ilid Kaolo's cover image on Facebook

As an activist singer, Panai Kusui has spent over two years on the street in relation to the Ketagalan Boulevard Protest. She recorded her EPs and released them at the protest area, and she has started a tour to appeal to her audiences to support indigenous traditional territory. Shepherd and Wicke (1997: 95) have suggested that the constitutive features of music are as crucial as the social process that cannot be reduced in relation to other fields. This may be found in Panai's music, which is interdependent with both the protest and the society.

Fifthly, Anu is the only musician who uses a natural scene as his cover image (Figure 5-6). According to his personal introduction, he lives in Makota'ay Village (港口部落) in Hualien (花蓮), a county in Eastern Taiwan, that is near the ocean. The ocean photo is therefore easy for audiences to connect with his cultural identity, which is related to Hualien County.

Figure 5-6: Anu's cover image on Facebook

Goffman (1956) put forward the concept of the 'dramaturgical metaphor', pointing out that social life is actually a play, and that individuals 'play' their behaviors and activities in front of 'others', and individuals lead, shape, and control the impression and understanding that they get from 'others'. I argue that Anu had maybe presented personality internalization on social media through his use of the ocean cover photo that shows where he lives. However, there is another possibility, that he may rather be performing his indigenous identity, as seen by others' imaginations at the same time. I try to understand this obvious contradiction, not to imply that images as symbols can circumvent an intermediary that belongs to its inherent characteristics, on a certain level, but in order to ask questions to find ways in which people can understand these mediations.

Lastly, most of the texts that are found on cover photos are in Mandarin. Yet Ilid Kaolo's photo tells audiences about her Japan concert in Japanese (Figure 5-5), and Ado's cover photo shows her performance which featured with Austronesian musicians on a world music album, *Small Island Big Song*, through the concert photo, which has English language information (Figure 5-7). It may be too assertive to indicate that there

are few musicians who consider international audiences, here, but I provide the argument that is to be discussed, in connection with language use, later in next chapter.

Figure5-7: Ado's cover image on Facebook

Profile: on the *About* area, on Facebook, there is another form of first impression building for audiences, one which allows them to understand the musician's background, including information about their music genre, hometown, biography, awards, etc. In addition to Sunay and Suana's personal pages from the CMO group, and *Panai's Non-Nuclear* page, other musicians have posted their detailed information for audiences on Facebook's *About*, including CMO's fan page. Some of the profiles are just shorter biographies, but audiences can still understand the musicians' backgrounds through their music history, e.g., albums, awards, contacts, etc.

Throughout the observation of *About* on Facebook, focusing on sixteen artists, including individual and groups, four characteristics are worth mentioning. First of all, with regard to the genre, most musicians choose to join the singer-songwriter group, and I interpreted this to mean that it is a generalized definition that is used to avoid confusing the audiences, as the definition of indigenous music is uncertain. Despite this, there are some musicians who put a specific, and rather narrow, genre in the space to represent their style. The O-Kai Singers' genre is simply 'a cappella', and band

members categorize Boxing's music as Latin fusion. Sangpuy has described his music as 'Taiwan indigenous folk song' (Figure 5-8), and the CMO group describe their genre as World Music, which is in capital letters, and as 'Taiwanese contemporary indigenous music' (Figure 5-9).
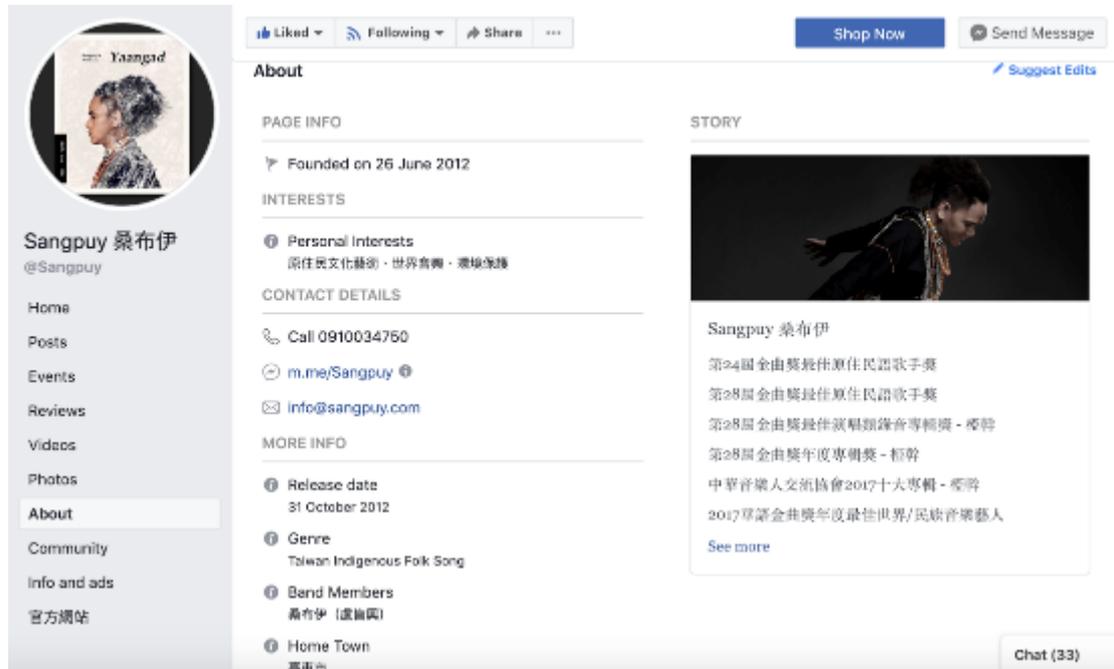
Figure 5-8: Sangpuy's *About* on Facebook
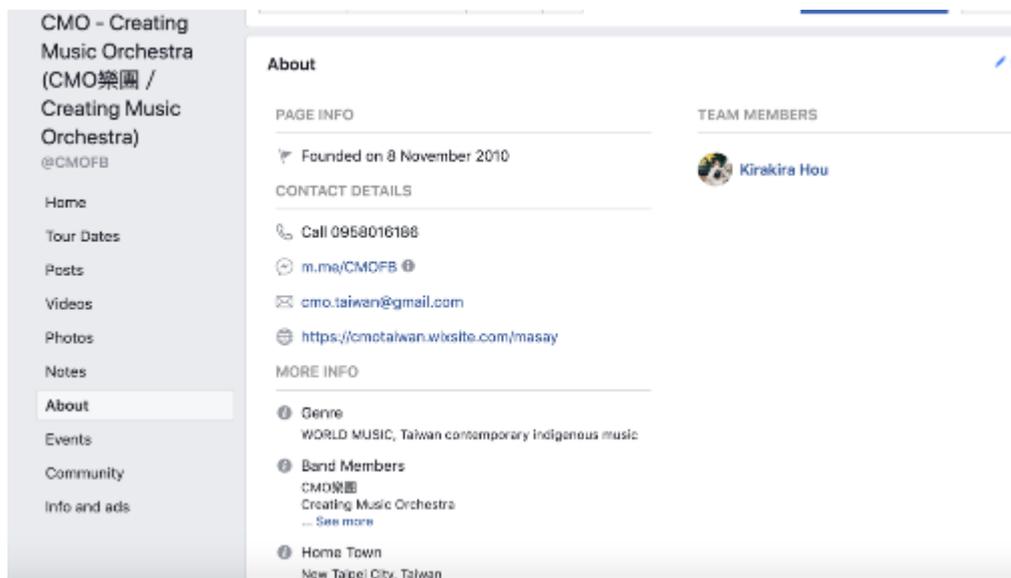
Figure 5-9: CMO's *About* on Facebook

Secondly, most musicians put their hometown in their profile, but there are three musicians who make no mention of them. Boxing and Princess Ai do not mention a

hometown, but Laka Umaw wrote 'Wandering College (流浪學院)' in the space for affiliation (Figure 5-10). For Taiwanese indigenous people, their hometown is important information in relation to confirming their tribe and village, as that different area has its own culture and indigenous name, as there are sixteen official indigenous ethnic groups in Taiwan.

Figure 5-10: Laka Umaw's About on Facebook

Peirce (1992: 24) pointed out that the thought is observed in every sign when making the order of selection, and all the signs inevitably represent our form of expression. Laka Umaw thus selected the words 'Wandering College' as his affiliation so as to represent his imagination as being a wanderer, and in reminding his fans about his wandering project to Lugu Lake (盧沽湖), in China, in 2008[27].

Thirdly, the place that musicians used to fill in this space relates to the concern for the identity of indigenous people, due to the connection between the indigenous people and the land. That is, the village or the communities still represent the borders between

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[27] The *Cloud Gate Dance Theatre (雲門舞集)* is a famous modern dance performance group in Taiwan, founded by Lin Hwai Min in 1973. The wandering project provides funding for artists going to any other Asian country to find themselves. Laka Umaw was one of the participants in 2008. http://site.cloudgate.org.tw/wanderer/2008_story02.html

different tribes. For instance, Cemelesai put Makazayazaya (Paiwan language) (瑪家鄉), the Paiwan village in Pingtung (屏東) County (Figure 5-11), and Tai Siao-chun is from Shimen (石門) Village, Mudan (牡丹) Township, Pingtung. People in Taiwan will understand that they are from the Paiwan tribe, but from different villages.

Figure 5-11: Cemelesai 's hometown is named as Makazayazaya in *About* on Facebook

Yet, the O-Kai Singers' page is the only one on the *About* section on which Taiwan was named as the hometown (Figure 5-12). There are four members from different hometowns in the O-Kai Singers, and this must surely be the reason for this. However, in examining the members' descriptions, they have indicated the position of each member of the group, rather than their hometown (Figure 5-12). The more likely explanation rests in the nature of the target audiences that they set out to access.
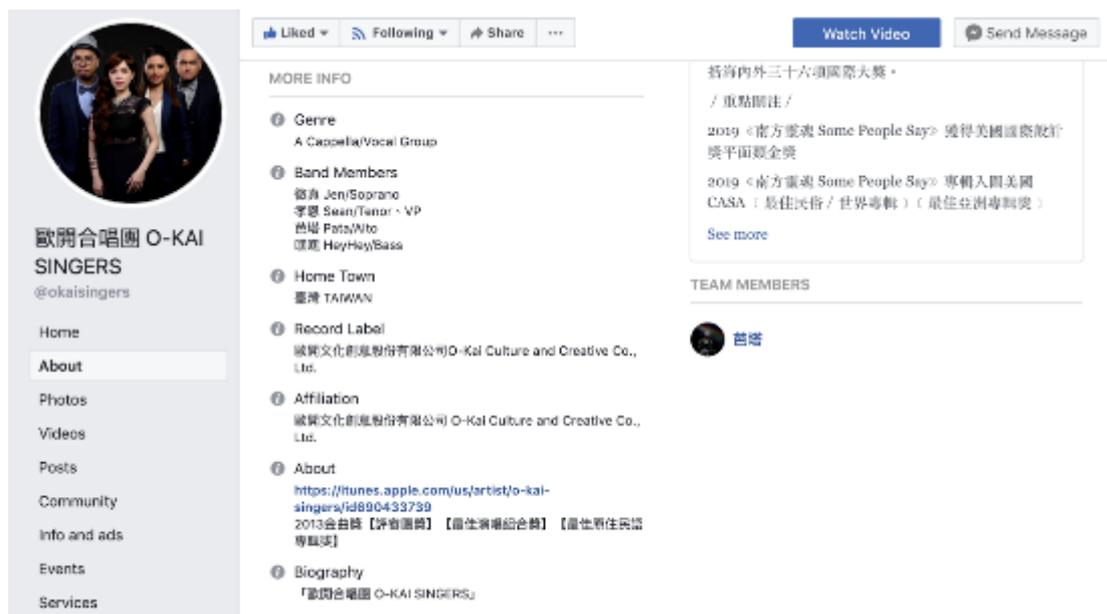
Figure 5-12: O-Kai Singers' *About* on Facebook

Finally, there are five musicians who have activated the *Story* function in the *About* section on Facebook (Figure 5-8), including the O-Kai Singers' Sangpyu, Abao, Anu, and Suming. This section is a brief biography, which will be shown on the right-hand side of the main page as *About Musician* (Figure 5-13). Audiences will see a new page with another cover photo when they click on it. Sangpuy's cover photo, on his *Story* page, reveals his traditional costume (Figure 5-14), as his main cover photo is an image in darkness (Figure 5-15). It has resulted in a process that has gradually emerged, in which users review his Facebook fan page. The impression management of Sangpuy's *Profile* setting on Facebook is another adventure for his fans in order that they can be engraved unconsciously with this knowledge.
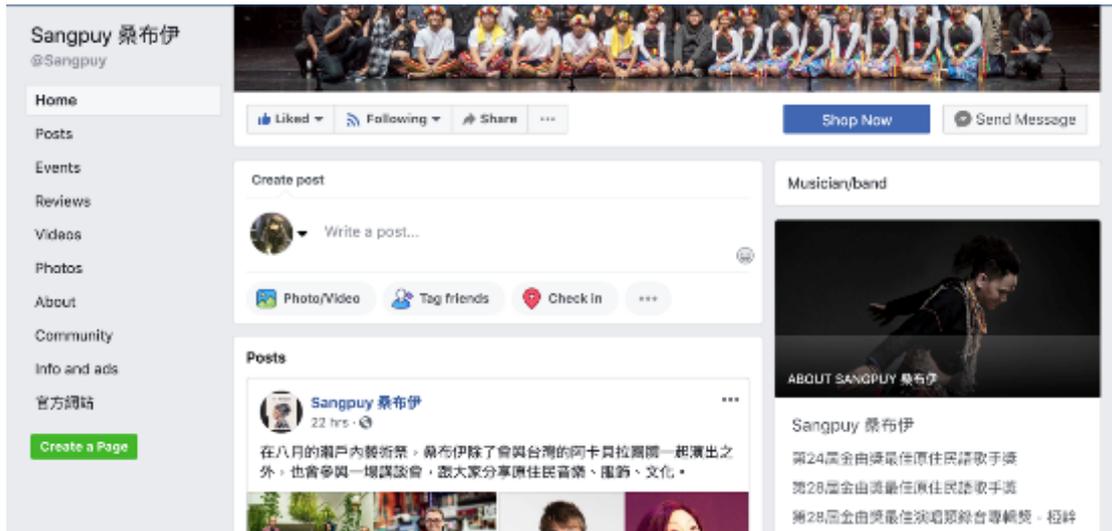
Figure 5-13: Sangpuy's main page on Facebook
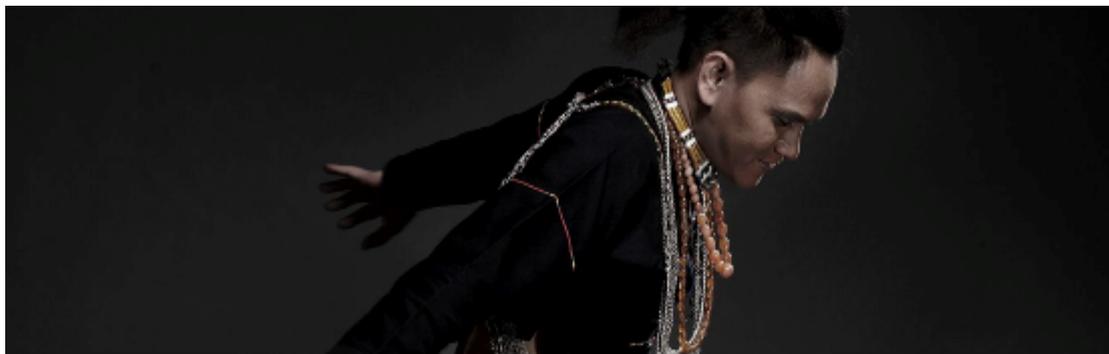
Figure 5-14: Sangpuy's cover photo on his *Story* page on Facebook

Figure 5-15: Sangpuy's cover photo before his concert in April 2019.

Moreover, Anu's Story function in About maintains his spontaneous personality, similarly to his nature scene on his main cover photo. He has just put the ocean scene and a link through which to buy the album (Figure 5-16). In reviewing his profile, he shows his current location as the 'East coast (東海岸)' of Taiwan' (Figure 5-17). Anu's Facebook fan page retains much more coherence in order to harmonize with the nature of his personality.

Figure 5-16: Anu's cover photo on his *Story* page in Facebook

Figure 5-17: Anu's 'About' section on Facebook

As I previously mentioned, in the discussion of Anu's cover photo, there are possibilities that the setting of his performance on Facebook comes from his Internalization, and also from the expectation of an indigenous impression from others. Goffman (1956: 13) suggested that the setting was an important process before the performance, since it involves a physical layout and a background item. In applying this notion to Anu's social media platform, the setting will be the image of the ocean and a guitar, in order to perform his daily life in Hualien, which is his hometown.

5.3 *Photos* page on Facebook and self-presentation

The number of photos that each musician has uploaded on Facebook is large, so that it would appear that it would be possible to discover the frequency of use through looking at the main photos' page, including the first four albums and the date of their updates on Facebook. Exploring the content of the photos shown on the main photo page will be the basis of further discussion, together with the observation of the handpicked profile pictures and the cover photos on Facebook.

Table 5-1: The first four albums and the updates' dates on Facebook (2nd April 2019)

Fan page	1st album	2nd album	3rd album	4th album
CMO group (Creating Music Orchestra)	Mobile Uploads 31st March 2019	Timeline photos 12th Dec 2018	Profile pictures 1st Dec 2018	Cover photos 28th Aug 2018
Sunay Takal (蘇奈・達卡爾)	Mobile Uploads 31st March 2019	Profile pictures 31st Jan 2019	Cover photos 5th June 2018	N/A
Suana Emuy Cilangasay (蘇瓦那・恩木伊・奇拉雅善)	Mobile Uploads 30th March 2019	Timeline photos 15th March 2019	Profile pictures 9th March 2019	Cover photos 16th Jan 2017
Tai Siao-Chun (戴曉君)	Mobile Uploads 29th March 2019	Timeline photos 26th March 2019	Profile pictures 9th Nov 2017	Others 19th July 2017
Ilid Kaolo	Profile pictures	Mobile Uploads	Timeline photos	Instagram

(以莉‧高露)	2nd March 2019	17th Feb 2019	31st Jan 2019	29th Oct 2018
Cemelesai *(徹摩)*	<u>Instagram</u> 30th March 2019	Timeline photos 28th March 2019	Mobile Uploads 2nd Feb 2019	Cover photos 16th Feb 2019
Sangpuy *(桑布伊)*	Mobile Uploads 27th March 2019	Timeline photos 15th March 2019	Cover photos 28th Jan 2019	Profile pictures 4th Aug 2016
Abao/Aljenljeng *(阿爆阿仍仍)*	Timeline photos 18th March 2019	<u>Instagram</u> 18th Jan 2019	Mobile Uploads 15th Dec 2018	Cover photos 7th Sep 2017
Anu (阿努)	Profile pictures 1st April 2019	Mobile Uploads 26th March 2019	Cover photos 10th April 2018	Timeline photos 13th Feb 2018
Laka Umaw *(拉卡巫茂)*	Mobile Uploads 26th March 2019	Timeline photos 10th Feb 2019	Others 10th April 2018	Others 22nd Sep 2018
Boxing Band	Timeline photos 28th March 2019	Mobile Uploads 25th March 2019	Cover photos 30th Nov 2018	Profile pictures 30th Nov 2018
Princess Ai *(戴愛玲)*	Mobile Uploads 17th March 2019	Timeline photos 8th Aug 2018	Cover photos 2nd Aug 2018	Profile pictures 23rd March 2018
O-Kai Singers	Mobile Uploads 30th March 2019	<u>Instagram</u> 19th Feb 2019	Timeline photos 24th Jan 2019	Profile pictures 10th Nov 2018
LabagaTaru *(謝皓成)*	Timeline photos 31st March 2019	Mobile Uploads 10th March 2019	Cover photos 12th Feb 2019	Others 11th Dec 2017
Suming *(舒米恩)*	Mobile Uploads 2nd April 2019	Timeline photos 31st March 2019	Cover photos 9th March 2019	Profile pictures 11th Aug 2018
ado‧kaliting‧pacidal (阿洛)	Mobile Uploads 23rd March 2019	Others 4th March 2019	Profile pictures 27th Feb 2019	Timeline photos 21st Dec 2018
Panai, the Non-Nuclear Hometown for Kids *(巴奈 給孩子們，非核家園)*	Timeline photos 24th Dec 2018	Mobile Uploads 23rd Nov 2018	Others 19th May 2018	Cover photos 20th July 2018

The updated album was displayed at the top, and users were able to see the first four albums when entering the main photos' page. Table 5-1 presents the information that musicians usually directly update photos via their mobile phones, without creating specific albums for a designated topic. Only Ado had created an album of her recent

concert within this month. Having acknowledged the limitations of the general observation of the main photo page on Facebook, I can nevertheless confirm that certain musicians seemed to have a particular manner in relation to their use of the photo features.

Three solo musicians and one group uploaded their photos via links between Facebook and Instagram: Ilid Kaolo, Abao, Cemelesai, and the O-Kai Singers. Ilid Kaolo, however, uploaded only two photos, and the latest one was uploaded in October 2018. Despite users being able to unlink Facebook and Instagram, this may be insignificant information in relation to comparing the user frequency in relation to Facebook and Instagram. It is a surprising phenomenon that the link between these two platforms is weaker.

Another noticeable circumstance is that only a few musicians have made updates to their profile pictures and cover photos recently. Ilid Kaolo and Anu had just updated their new profile pictures, but the last profile photo that Ilid had uploaded was over half a year ago and, for Anu, it was around five months ago. This information means that Facebook is not the only social medium that the musicians use, and that some musicians have no passion for Facebook, even as a social media platform.

Glancing at the photo on the first page, the distinct content of the pages represents different styles. Working photos are a popular style on the musicians' Facebook pages, in that over 10 of the musicians' photos present them either on stage or recording. An additional style relates to daily life; especially for those musicians who live in their hometown, like Tai Siao-Chun and Anu. For instance, Tai Siao-Chun has posted her recording process with the students of the Shimen Elementary School (石門國小), who are also children who are learning about the traditional culture and music from her, and she has sometimes posted photos of her dogs, the mountains, and the ocean (Figure 5-18). Anu's photos were still taken near his village and along the coast as he was

recording and filming (Figure 5-19). Comparing the photos of Tai Siao-Chun and Anu, who live in their hometowns, this shows that the photos of Tai Siao-Chun are more diverse in displaying her daily life.
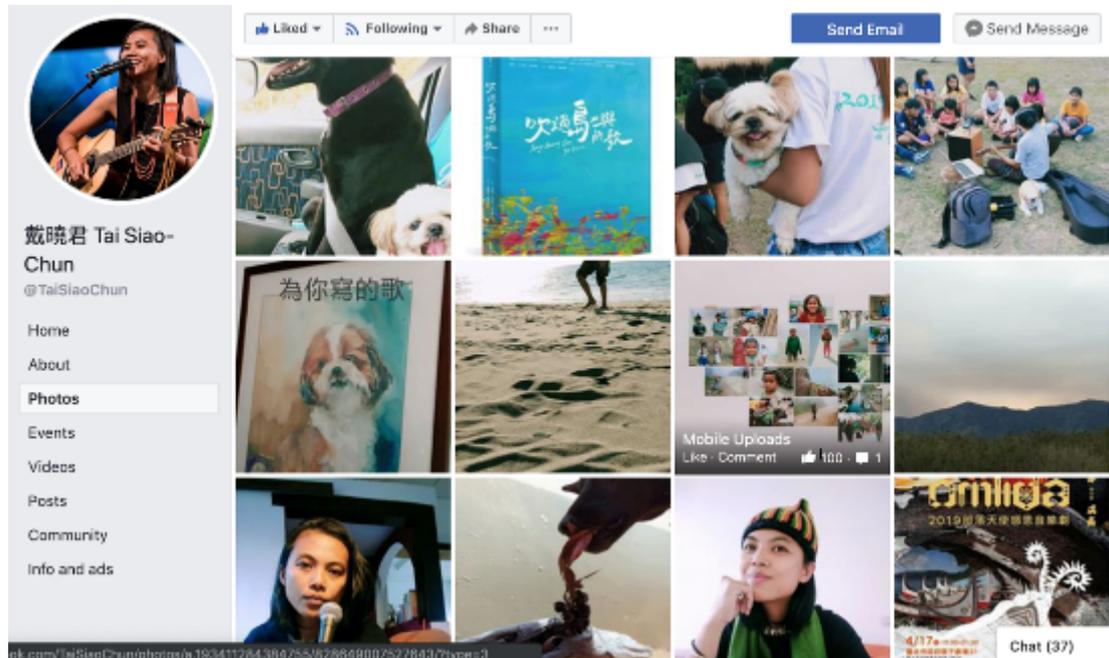
Figure 5-18: the photo at the top right shows her recording with children.
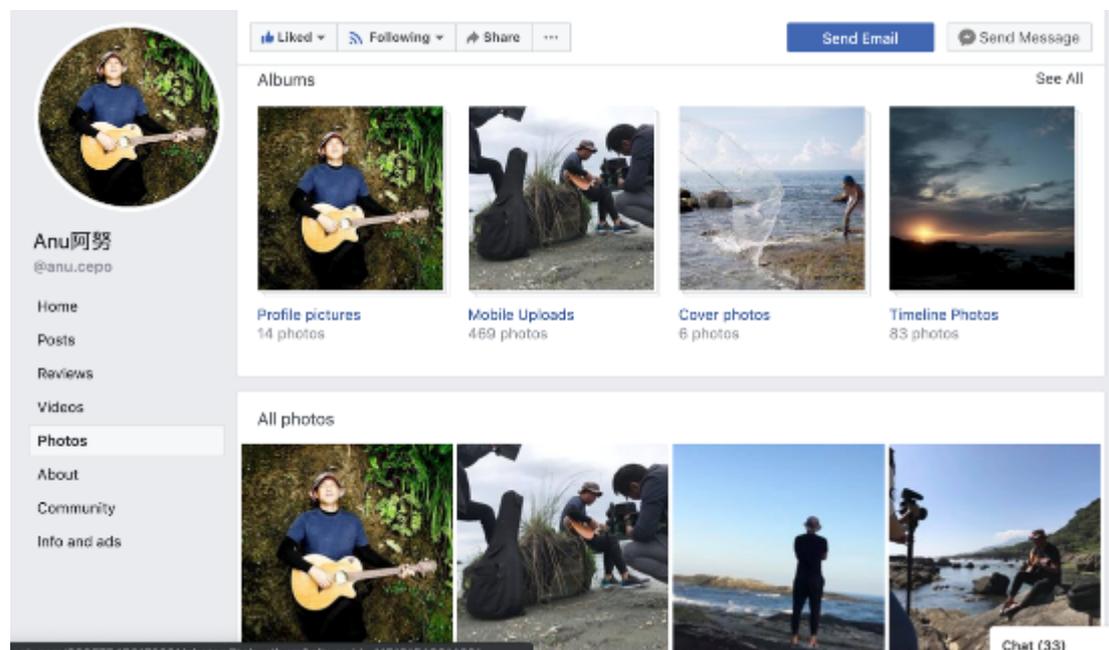
Figure 5-19: Anu's photos are taken near his village and along the coast

Since signs are the medium of communication, each communicator has certainly become a sign (Peirce & Welby, 1977: 196). Human beings even have outstanding

communication techniques as a result of this concept. Tai Siao-Chun and Anu are the signs in their stages of communicating with the audiences as indigenous musicians in their hometown, rather than as musicians in urban cities. This feature has also become their unique indigenous identity symbol and is connected with their music to create natural musical vibes. This is another kind of 'play[ing] themselves' (Clifford, 2013: 47) for audiences who prefer a natural scene with native vibes.

It is worth noting that most of Laka Umaw's photos are of online live music performances via Langlive (浪 live)[28], which is not a popular platform in Taiwan (Figure 5-20). He usually uses Langlive when he is busking in the famous night market in Hualien (花蓮) City. The Langlive application, with an interesting filter, has a 'comments' function, as well as one on which viewers can send gifts. On his other photos in the last row, Laka Umaw has used the stickers on the photos to communicate with his fans on Facebook. His setting for his performances has an easy-going orientation with which to attempt to attract users on Langlive.
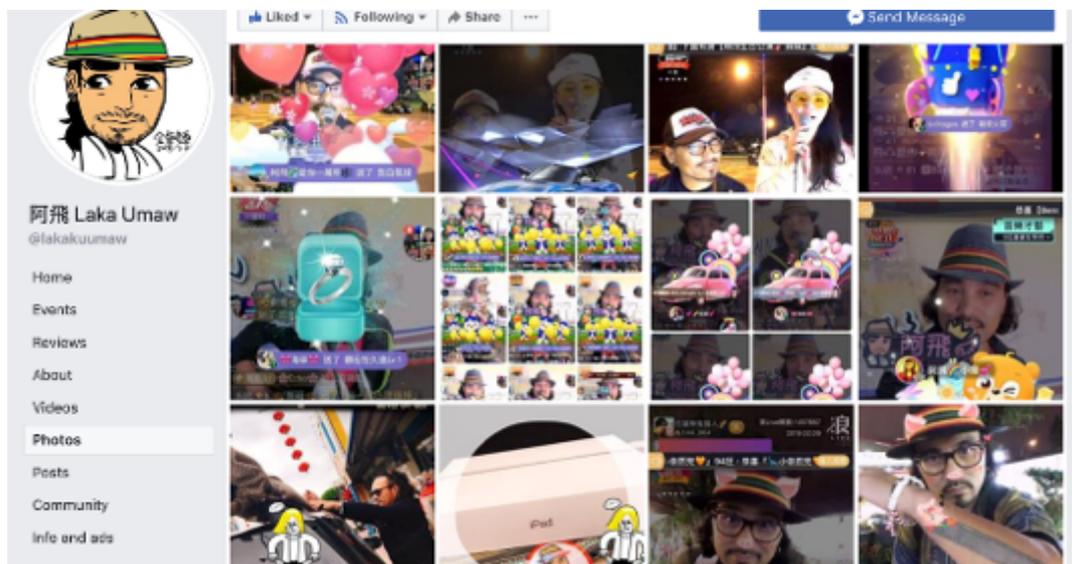
Figure 5-20: Laka Umaw's music: live photos on Langlive

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[28] Lang Live is a real-time audio and video-streaming platform in Taiwan, focusing on the development and training of talented anchors. The live content covers singing talents, instrumental performances, magic performances, game live, cooking production, life understanding, and so on. (https://www.langlive.com.tw)

In general, the profile picture is a certain symbol that means that the musicians may be characterized as musicians and, more specifically, as indigenous musicians. The observation results slightly support this perspective, even though two-thirds of these musicians set the photos with microphones and instruments and use their albums as their profile pictures, e.g., Ilid Kaolo and Anu. However, this just meets the conditions of being musicians, not that of being indigenous musicians. Only half of the musicians had ever put up the photo showing them in their traditional costumes as their profile picture on Facebook, and two of them only had one photo in the profile picture album. However, in my observation during the fieldwork and during the interviewing period, the indigenous musicians often use traditional costumes as a symbol of performative identity in live performances. Whilst this observation has been descriptive, a number of findings have also allowed the research to reach an understanding of much more relating to the musicians' perspectives.

Firstly, a contradiction has been revealed between the profile pictures of Suming and his personal image. For the most part, people expect Suming to be a grass-rooted Amis musician, rather than a pop-idol. Although this falls into the trap of stereotypes, it is indeed the image that has been constructed by his music. As a result, Suming's profile pictures represent some kind of rebelliousness, with a sense of novelty (Figure 5-21).
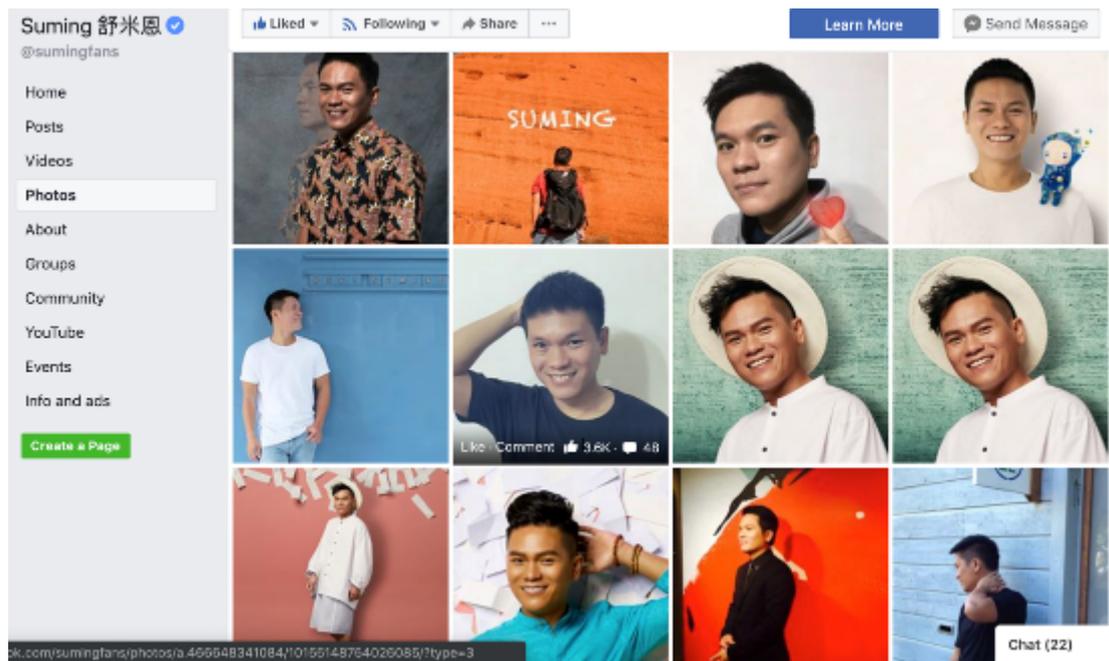
Figure 5-21: Suming's profile pictures' album

Goffman (1956) proposed that there is a 'role distance', which is the 'gap' between the individual and the role. Suming's gap, in relation to role distance, is between his role on social media and his unadorned personality as an indigenous musician. For Suming, there are two stages to being an indigenous musician: the first stage is the musician role, and the second is his role in social media.

Furthermore, Boxing and Princess Ai are musicians who have major brokerage companies that deal with the mainstream music markets. Consequently, there are barely any photos of them in traditional costumes and decorations among their profile pictures. Besides, Princess Ai's profile pictures had been framed with a rainbow in order to support marriage equality (Figure 5-22), and this means the profile pictures represent the possibility of musicians being able to convey their opinions. There are a number of possible explanations for this situation and, similarly, this may not completely represent the connection with indigenous identity. The findings from the examination, however, raise the issue of communication between musicians and the company which publish their recordings. There is still a difference between the music

of Boxing and that of Princess Ai, in that the former had an album in the Paiwan language, while the latter had nine albums in Mandarin.
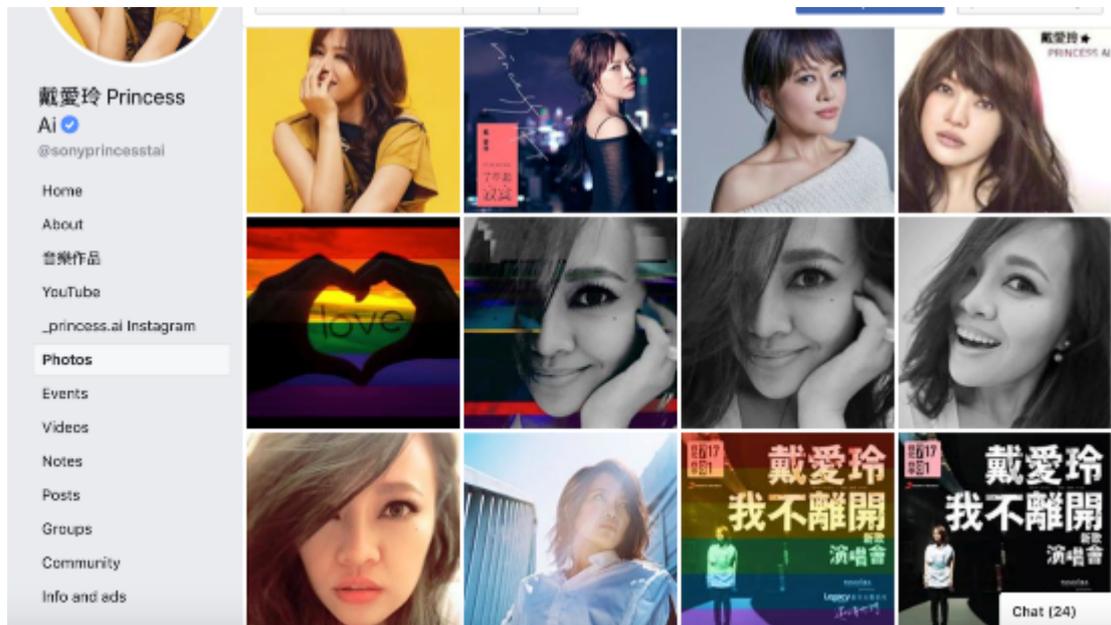
Figure 5-22: Princess Ai's profile pictures

In these cases, their brokerage companies control impression management, which may cause cognitive dissonance in relation to the musicians' roles and their performances.

Finally, both the official Facebook page, *Panai, Non-Nuclear Hometown for Kids*, and Panai Kusui's personal account have put up profile pictures that aim to address the indigenous people's demands for the protection of their traditional territory (Figure 5-23 and Figure 5-24). As shown in Figure 5-23, the text attached to the first photo, which is also the current profile picture, means that the traditional territory needs to be complete, rather than to be divided into public and private land. The next cartoon photo shows the slogan: 'no one is an outsider (沒有人是局外人)', in black and white.
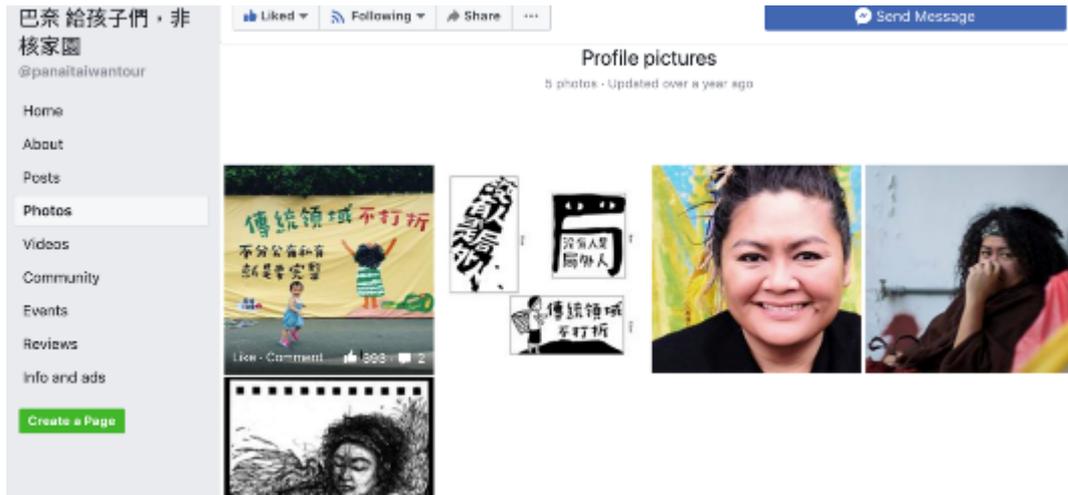
Figure 5-23: The profile pictures of *Panai, Non-Nuclear Hometown for Kids*

Figure 5-24 presents the days, counting from the beginning of the ongoing indigenous movement on the street, and the background of the three photos on the second row are photos of Panai Kusui (the person on the left) and of President Tsai of Taiwan, one that was taken at the inauguration of the 14th President and the Vice-President, in 2016. Panai Kusui was invited to represent indigenous people and to sing with other musicians who had participated in social movements, such as Lin Sheng-Xiang (林生祥). The white word, 騙, between them, which is set against a red background, means 'deceiver'. The yellow tower that Panai held, with the sentence 'Get Out', is used to support Taitung, and means 'Nuclear waste! Get Out!'

Figure 5-24: Panai Kusui's profile pictures from her private account on Facebook

The profile picture is associated with the cover photo. Take the example: *Panai, Non-Nuclear Hometown for Kids*, and Panai Kusui, the profile pictures show us that they convey the appeal for protest, which can be shown among the cover photos. Figure 5-25 offers an abstraction that reflects the concept of protest. The first and second photos in the first row are the music protest tour poster, and the third photo is the cover of Panai's second EP, which was recorded on the street. The fourth photo in the first row is one of the incidents relating to the ongoing movement, an occasion on which the riot police forcefully expelled them. The first and third photos in the second row are the cover of Panai's first EP, which was recorded on the street. With regard to Panai's personal account on Facebook, there are at least five photos with slogans on them (Figure 5-26). For example, the first photo says, 'Say No to nuclear!', and the fourth photo in the first row shows the slogan of the ongoing movement: 'No one is an

outsider.' The first photo in the second row is there to support marriage equality in Taiwan.
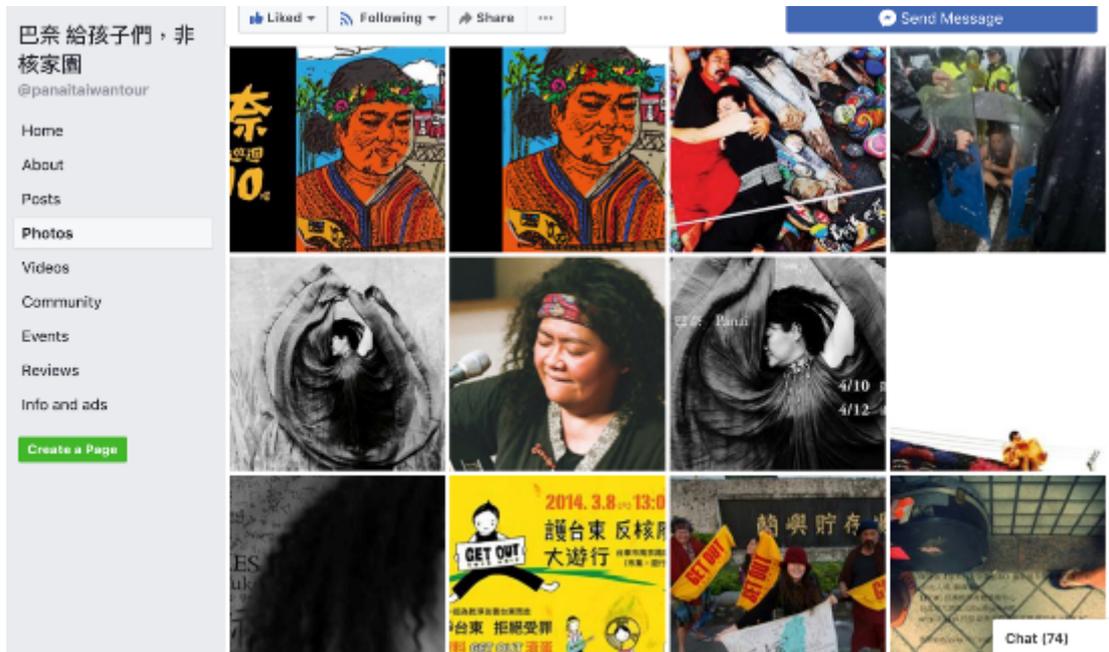
Figure 5-25: The cover photos of *Panai, Non-Nuclear Hometown for Kids*

Figure 5-26: The cover photos in Panai's personal account

Amongst these musicians, only Abao has used a music video as the cover photo (Figure 5-27). She has also used the first photo on the second row with her hairstyle as

a cover photo, and also as her profile *Story*'s cover photo. The written text of her photos offers information about volunteering after a natural disaster. The hairstyle is not a symbol of the indigenous people, and Abao has just used this to emphasize her personality in being energetic.
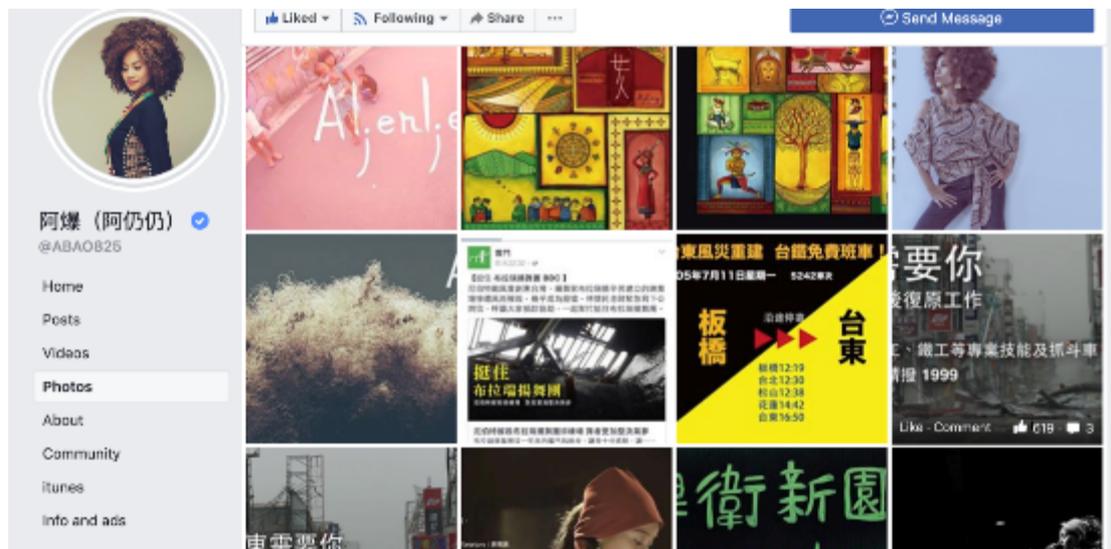
Figure 5-27: Abao's cover photos' album

There are some musicians whose cover photos are fewer, for instance, Suana has only one photo, Sunay has three photos, Sanpuy and Tai Siao-Chun have four photos, Laka Umaw five Photos, and Anu six Photos. It must be mentioned that Anu's cover photos are all related to oceans (Figure 5-28).
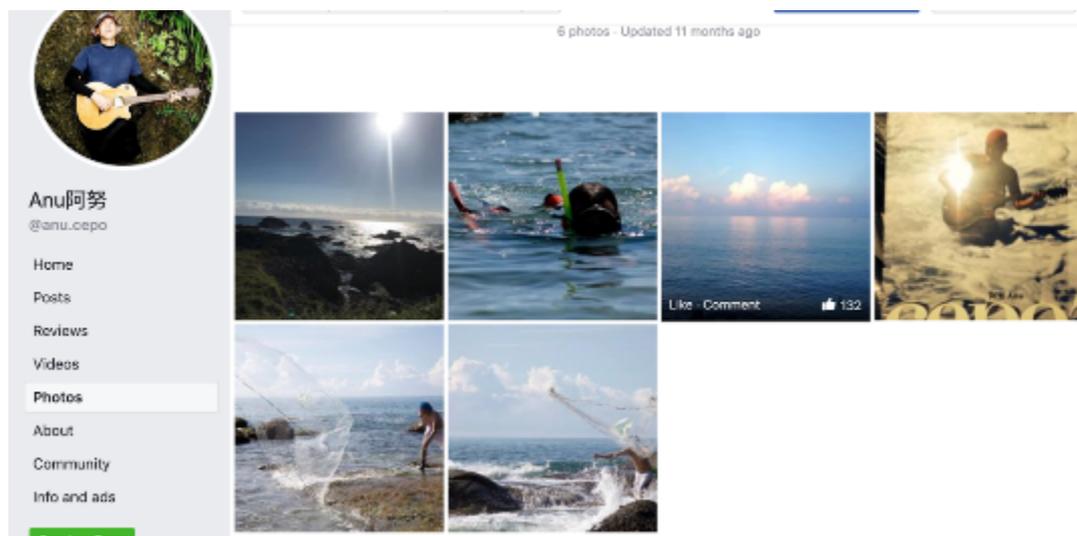
Figure 5-28: Anu's cover photos' album has just six photos, all with the ocean

Notice that Ilid Kaolo's cover photo has a special nature scene, which is related to her daily life as a farmer, and the photos are of plants and fruit. Figure 5-29 provides information on her work and daily life. The working photo is complete with a guitar, and the nature scene represents her daily life in the countryside. She attempted to gain crowdfunding to support her production of a new album, and the gifts of the project are the rice that she has personally farmed. The symbol of the plants and fruit will remind her audiences that her farming life matches her folk music.
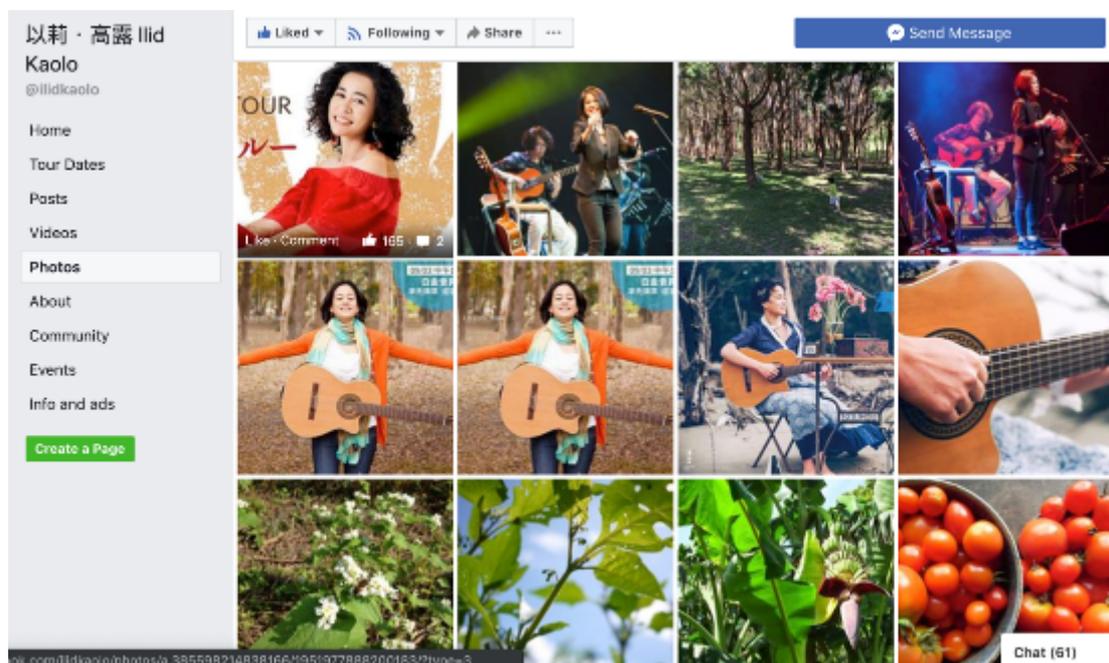
Figure 5-29: Ilid Kaolo's cover photo has some plants and fruit

Laka Umaw has only five photos, and three of them show his identity as a member of the Seediq people (賽德克族), wearing their traditional clothes (Figure 5-30). The third photo is an action still from the film *Warriors of the Rainbow*: *Seediq Bale (賽德克巴萊)*, in which he played the chief of a Seediq tribe village. He composed the theme song of the movie *Seediq Bale (賽德克巴萊)*, which was called *The Rainbow Promise (看見彩虹)*.
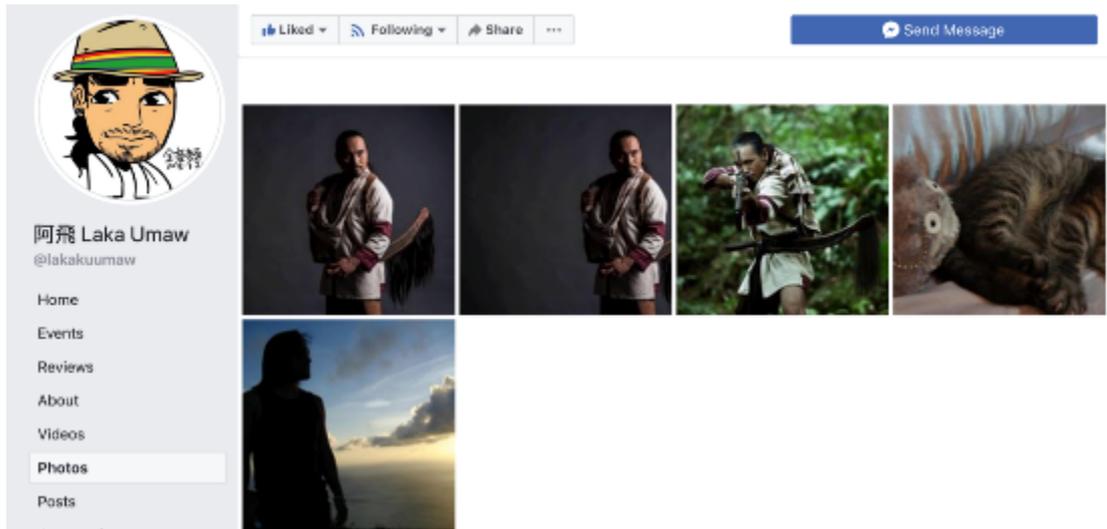
Figure 5-30: Laka Umaw's cover photos with traditional clothes

5.4   Video page on Facebook

The video page on Facebook has three special functions from which the musicians can choose the one that may represent their image, feature video, cover video, and playlist. The feature video's frame is larger, so that it can be focused on the video pages chosen by the owner of the Facebook account. The cover video represents the primary image of a Facebook page, and it will be listed on this page. The playlist is similar to the YouTube channel's playlist, in the order that the musicians hope that the audiences will want to watch them in, and in order to categorize different videos under one topic.

Communication is a process of encoding and decoding from communicator to receiver (Hall, 1980). Traditionally, mainstream media do not just control the content, but also the program that audiences have followed directly. Social media platforms have changed the ways audiences can watch and select the non-linear program, and that can then rebuild the program in relation to a specific topic.

In observing the feature video, there are only four solo musicians and one group who use this function to attract their users' eyes: CMO, Ilid Kaolo, Abao, Princess Ai, and Suming. If compared to other musicians, CMO has set the live video as their feature

video, and it is a live concert with other musicians from different countries that happened around three years ago (Figure 5-31). Ilid Kaolo's feature video was uploaded four years ago, and is a complete live recording of her title track from the album *A Beautiful Moment (美好時刻)* (Figure 5-32). She wrote the description for this posting with a memory of that day, when it was suddenly clear and the warm sunshine lit the window of an old house in winter, which made her full of joy. She likes the video without any editing, and that day was a wonderful day. The link in the description leads to a crowd-funding project for the new album (Figure 5-33).
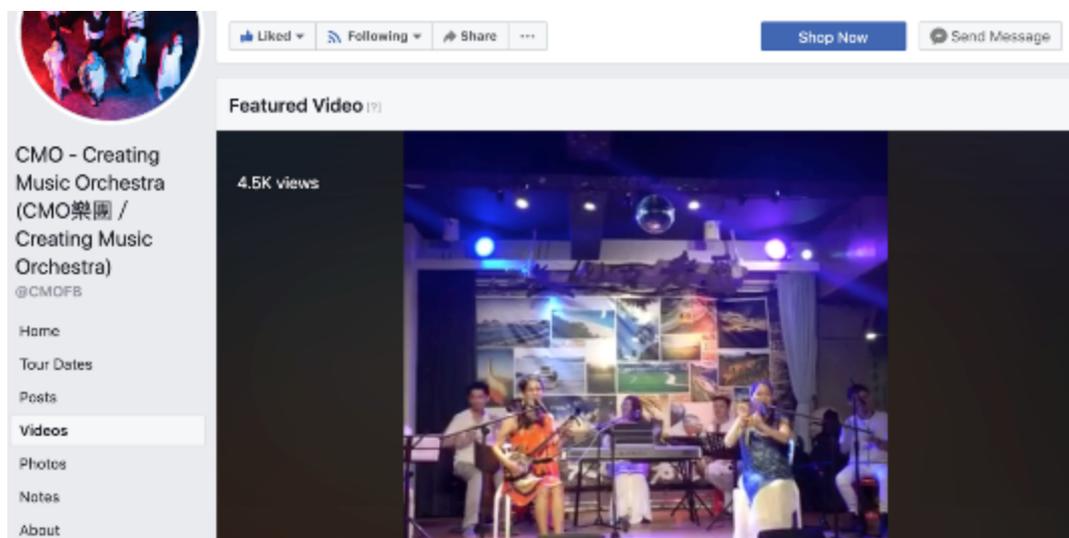
Figure 5-31: CMO's feature video

Figure 5-32: Ilid kaolo's feature video is her title song's live recording.

Figure 5-33: the description of Ilid Kaolo's feature video

Abao's feature video represents her indigenous identity through the music video, Vavayan, which means '*Woman*' in the Paiwan language (Figure 5-34). The subtitling to the music video is in Pinyin (the Paiwan language) and in Mandarin and it had drawn 175k views when this research examined on 12th April 2019. With regard to this music video, there was an incident[29] relating to language issues that caused a discussion about the current writing system for indigenous languages. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[29] See page 212.

Figure 5-34: Abo's feature video is the music video for *Vavayan*

Princess Ai has set the trailer of her title song, *It's No Big Deal (了不起寂寞)*, which was released in 2017, as the feature video (Figure 5-35).

Figure 5-35: Princess Ai's feature video

Suming's feature video is the first chapter, *Restarting (重新開機),* from his video project, *Pillow Time (枕邊時光),* which has also been released on YouTube (Figure 5-36). The content of this video is about the Barunga Festival in Australia, which shows Suming's perspective on this festival as a means through which to reflect upon the meaning of Taiwan's Amis music festival, which he initiated. The connection started

from the handing of the flag of the Amis music festival to the organizer of the Barunga

Festival (Figure 5-37).

Figure 5-36: Suming's feature video is the first chapter, *Restarting (重新開機)* , from

his video project, *Pillow Time(枕邊時光)*.

Figure 5-37: Suming hands the flag of the Amis music festival to the organizer of the

Barunga Festival

Regarding the cover videos, there are just three musicians who use cover videos:

Cemelesai, Abao, and Princess Ai. They have also created the playlists for their

audiences. in order to focus on the topic that they have set. It is worth mentioning that Abao's playlists have provided diverse concepts in relation to her image, there are four topics: the *Vavayan* album, Abao's *Nanguaq*! recording project, an Instagram short film, and Live stream videos (Figure 5-38, 5-39 and 5-40).

Figure 5-38: Abao's playlist: the *Vavayan* album

Figure 5-39: Abao's playlist's *Nanguaq recording project* and *IG short videos*

Figure 5-40: Abao's playlist's Live stream videos

5.5   Posts on Facebook

The *Nanguaq!* project is a recording project around Taiwan that has the same content as the channel on YouTube. Since 2016, Abao has executed the project in order to record traditional music from amateur singers in diverse villages all over Taiwan, and she has used Facebook, YouTube, and Apps for this project (Figure 5-41). Abao has also been invited to give a lecture on this project by the Pulima Link[30] in Taiwan, which has established the Pulima Art Award, an indigenous art award in Taiwan. The Instagram short videos' playlist had not been added to since September 2016, but she still uses Instagram to communicate with her audiences. The interesting playlist is that of the live stream videos which provide the interaction between Abao and the users, and even the audiences in the video. However, this part had also not been added to since 2016.

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[30] The Pulima Link is created by the Indigenous Peoples' Cultural Foundation in 2015. It is the first Taiwanese website to introduce and observe the environment of contemporary Taiwanese indigenous arts. 'Pulima' means 'a person of fine craftsmanship' in the Paiwan language.
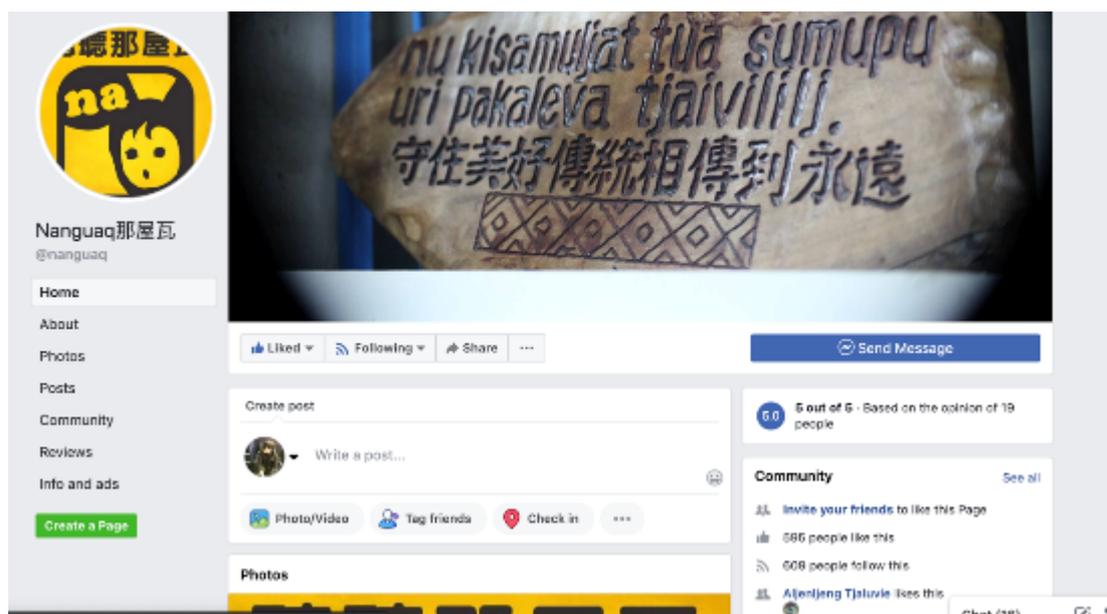
Figure 5-41: *Nanguaq!'s* official Facebook fan page

The post on the *Nanguaq!* app is always on the top of Abao's Facebook page, which describes the functions of the app, i.e., music, story, playlist, news, and radio, with a video demonstration, and it provides the download addresses (Figure 5-42). The content is in Mandarin and also in an indigenous language, with Pinyin.

Some musicians have posted language-related issues on Facebook, e.g., Abao and Ado. Abao posted her music video on International Mother Language Day, saying that we need to listen to songs in indigenous languages (Figure 5-43).

Figure 5-42: The posting of the *Nanguaq!* app is always on top of Abao's Facebook

page.

Figure 5-43: Abao posted her music video on International Mother Language Day

Ado usually posts Amis language teaching with a beautiful photo, in order to allow people to learn simple words or sentences in Amis (Figure 5-44). She also cares greatly about cultural issues, and she lectures at university on indigenous music and social movements (Figures 5-45 and 5-46). This post showed her concern for indigenous history. Figure 5-44 shows a lesson from which to learn the sentence 'I dreamed about it, or I was blessed', in the Amis language. She posted that she had finally talked about Taiwanese colonized history, and the different protests relating to the protection of their indigenous culture and land, for students at a music lecture at a Taipei university, in Figures 5-45 and 5-46. She hoped the students would understand the history of the indigenous in order to re-find their culture.

Figure 5-44: Ado's posted Amis language teaching

阿洛·Ado • Kaliting • Pacidal
@ado.k.p

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阿洛·Ado • Kaliting • Pacidal added 6 new photos to the album 師大音樂講座.
23 November 2018 · 🌐

關於一場音樂講座～

沒錯，我確認一件事
面對自己、面對認同
始終是每個台灣、原住民族年輕人
在這樣的世代下
至關重要不可忽略的思索

To face yourself and to rethink identity

昨晚師大，一場雨下得很大
在斗大的教室裡
某種程度緊縮原本該來的同學
但也留住了 那奮不顧身的青年

上台前，思考許久
在近日沸沸揚揚的國族認同紛擾下
選舉潮四起的喧囂裡…
我終於還是選擇了一個不討喜的題目
面對可能快要睡著的台下同學…
原本眼神裡充滿期待我會展開笑話出擊或是唱跳載歌的演出的粉絲學生

我終究談了
日本殖民時期下的台灣歷史
談228事件
談白色恐怖
談1980年原住民族社會運動

Talk about the history of the Japanese colonized period
And the 228 incidents, the White Terror,
and the indigenous social movement in the 1980s…

Figure 5-45: Ado posted the lecture on indigenous culture

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我，如果面對歷史無感
做太多文化都是枉然

一個人如果沒有歷史
這個人是不存在的

謝謝會後願意分享的同學們
謝謝願意聆聽故事的你們
最後受惠最多的
是我

If you have no feelings, it's in vain to do cultural things. A human being without history will not have existed. Many thanks for the audiences sharing your stories and listening to my story. I gained a lot.

#師大 #原住民 #師大母語 #indigenous #musically #history #identity #阿美族 #Social movement#pangcah

Figure 5-46: Ado thinks that people needed to know their own history and culture

Some musicians usually post items about their daily life in their hometown, e.g., Anu and Tai Siao-Chun. Anu posted about his recording process near the ocean, and he has mentioned the importance of a mother language (Figure 5-47). Tai Siao-Chun has posted on issues relating to environmental protection (Figure 5-48), a music festival (Figure 5-49), the recording process, and also in relation to mother language preservation (Figure 5-50).

In Figure 5-47, Anu posted that he hoped that new works could be listened to as soon as possible, and he hoped to sing to the world in his mother language. In Figure 5-48, Siao-Chun wrote in the texts that the life of the river was so bitter, and why do you want the river to leave us to express her concern. Figure 5-49 provides the unique music festival, *Kapanan[31]*, in Siao-Chun's village, where the music festival had been held for over ten years. *Kapanan 2018* was organized as a children's festival, and this meant that the meaning differed from the normal concept of 'a festival for Children'. However, it shows the meaning of cultural inheritance, in that the children in this village are the hosts of this festival. She is not just a singer, but also a cultural educator. She sometimes posts the translation of the lyrics on which she is working and mentions the issue of language preservation.

Figure 5-50 is a lyric for a song from her new album, which is called *My Moonlight*, in the Paiwan language. She has written the Mandarin translation on Facebook so as to tell her fans that her new album would soon be released. The lyrics' translation in English is below.

> Ah! My kid! My tears are over.
> You need to follow the moonlight.
> It will light up your road.
> Ah! My kid! I regard your photo as my pillow.

---

[31] The 2018 festival was renamed after the 11th year of the *MAQATI Music Festival.* It was initiated by tribal youths in Mudan Township, Pingtung County, Taiwan. The reason for the name change was to show the growth of the music festival in the past 10 years and to expand the organization.

I hope that I can dream of you.

Ah! My kid! I planted a tree for you.

Don't refuse to grow up.

The tree makes me relaxed.

Figure 5-47: Anu posted the recording process

Figure 5-48: Tai Siao-Chun has posted on issues relating to environmental protection

戴曉君 Tai Siao-Chun
23 January · 🌐

我以部落孩子為榮！

大年初三孩子們的Kapanan音樂小節
他們未來都是讓家鄉更好的關鍵人物

I am proud of our kids in our tribe!
#The Kapanan music Festival of kids
#They are key people to make our
home better in the future

小小主持人：劉益銘

今年的是

9,989 Views

Kapanan部落文化音樂節-Maqati山上的孩子
21 January · 🌐

阿瑪奈！到底是怎樣？
從一個小小音樂節講到世界的變遷？
這根本是蔡康永的頭腦+沈玉琳的口才吧！

Figure 5-49: Tai Siao-Chun shared the Kapanan Music Festival video

戴曉君 Tai Siao-Chun is 😇 feeling blessed.
18 March at 04:13 · 🌐

【我的月光】 母語

啊依~~~我的孩子
我的眼淚已經結束了
你要跟著月亮走
它會照亮你的路

啊依~~~我的孩子
我把你的照片當作枕頭
我希望能夠夢見你

啊依~~~我的孩子
我為你種了一顆樹
你不要拒絕長大
它可以讓我好好的休息

#歌詞翻譯工作
#專輯進度GO

Figure 5-50: Tai Siao-Chun posted the translation of the lyrics of songs

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Some musicians have shared lots of information about concerts, publications, and all kinds of events, with their fans, for example, Suming and Sangpuy. Suming recently occupied a new position as the curator of the Taitung (台東) Pavilion at the Creative Expo Taiwan (臺灣文博會). He has applied a daily objects collection and the music of life's pulsing rhythms from Taitung in order to create an exhibition, so that visitors can feel the lands (Figure 5-51). He is not just a musician, but also a cultural worker. Figure 5-52 provides his story as a dreamer through a video that shows a description: 'Even if we sustain losses in business, I still try to let my tribe board the world.' This project is supported by a foundation, 'Be a Giver'. As a curator of the Amis Music Festival, he also hopes to have the participation of the younger generation. He has thus started a project offering speech and singing sessions in different high schools and universities around Taiwan (Figure 5-53), which is called *I Have a Dream (我想做個夢)*.

Figure 5-51: Suming has become the curator of the Creative Expo Taiwan

Figure 5-52: Suming is a dreamer in this video

Figure 5-53: Suming has started a project in high schools and universities

Sangpuy has recently played at lots of concerts at particular events, such as the *President's Concert* and the *2019 Taiwan International Festival of Arts (TIFA)* at the National Performing Arts Center (NPAC, Taipei), and he has thus posted a lot of information about all of the concerts. The information about the concert at the President's Hall is related to live streaming platforms, including *KKBOX, Line TV*[32], and so on (Figure 5-54). Regarding the *TIFA Concert*, he has posted more than five times for different purposes, i.e., sharing information before concerts, posting on each of the visiting musicians for three days, uploading a cover photo, and the 'thank you' post after the concerts. Sangpuy posted a long comment to express his appreciation for the support of the sponsor, the production team, band members, and all the staff, together with concert photos (Figure 5-55 and 5-56).

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[32] *LINE TV* is a mobile video and audio streaming platform launched by South Korea's *NAVER's* subsidiary, *LINE,* in Thailand and Taiwan.

Sangpuy 桑布伊
@Sangpuy

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Liked ▾   Following ▾   Share   ...

Sangpuy 桑布伊
5 April at 13:44 · 🌐

🎙總統府音樂會🎤🎹
2019-04-06 19:00
大家除了可以來現場聽歌，也可透過中華電信MOD、華視教育體育文化頻道、HamiVideo、公視+、LINE TV、LINE TODAY、KKBOX、myVideo、遠傳friDay影音、愛樂電台、中央廣播電台、教育廣播電台、漢聲廣播電台、寶島聯播網等平台，同步在線上觀看。
#總統府音樂會
#中華文化總會

Figure 5-54: The information about the concert at the President's Hall by Sangpuy

Sangpuy 桑布伊
@Sangpuy

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Sangpuy 桑布伊
18 April at 18:09 · 🌐

連續三場的 2019TIFA桑布伊演唱會已經圓滿落幕，第一個最該被感謝的對象，就是所有的歌友們。不論您們有沒有到國家劇院現場支持這三場演唱會，您們都是桑布伊最棒的家人與後盾。

感謝國家兩廳院 NTCH, Taipei的邀請，讓桑布伊能在台灣國際藝術節中為大家分享原住民文化與桑布伊的音樂。感謝兩廳院劉怡汝總監與施馨媛經理的支持；感謝負責節目企劃的同仁黃緯騰、行銷組張舒涵；感謝兩廳院舞台總監與後台經理。

感謝源活娛樂不計成本鼎力相助，沒有您們從節目內容企劃到執行一路不惜成本、勞心勞力，這三場演唱會不可能順利完成。感謝監製陳鎮川、執行導演莊佩禎、概念導演彭佳玲、製作人李佳珊、製作人王鈞平、後台及舞台Staff林爵卿、張朝傑、余雅惠、林海平、周國豪、舞監郭嘉霖。以及盡心盡力被特別延攬來幫忙的舞台總監張仲平。

感謝音樂總監陳主惠，助理陳主平、郭玟馨。感謝妳們與樂手一起重新編排演譯每一首歌曲。

感謝辛苦的樂手老師，不只彈奏還要共同創作：
電吉他/木吉他/月琴/Band Leader：#普仁義（奶雞老師）
吉他：#郭一豪
鍵盤：#洪子龍
鍵盤：#鄭捷任
打擊：#吳政君

Figure 5-55: Sangpuy used many words to express his appreciation for his team

Figure 5-56: Sangpuy used posts with many words, together with photos taken on

stage (continuation of Figure 5-55)

A special posting style needs to be mentioned. Laka Umaw usually posts his live performances on Facebook in order to invite users to join the Langlive app. (Figure 5-57).

Figure 5-57: Laka Umaw posts information about the app Langlive.

Sometimes, he puts live performances on Facebook, and he also writes the text in order to invite fans to watch his performances live on Langlive, with his ID number (Figure 5-58).

阿飛 Laka Umaw is live now.
6 mins ·

浪Live金曲比賽拼啦！ID:1457854

LIVE ⊙ 20

Figure 5-58: Laka Umaw was streaming live performances on Facebook

5.6 Connections among diverse platforms

The connections among the different platforms are normal, and this means musicians usually use more than one platform from which to communicate with their fans. For example, Sangpuy promoted his Instagram account on Facebook (Figure 5-59). This feed was posted in April 2019, when Sangpuy was trying to be active on Instagram, and I found another Sangpuy account with only a few posts, and it has not been updated since December 2018.

Figure 5-59: Sangpuy promoted his Instagram account on Facebook

Only Cemelesai and Sangpuy have used the word 'indigenous' on their Instagram biographies. Cemelesai used the hashtag 'indigenous' (Figure 5-60), and Sangpuy used the word in Mandarin to describe his awards (Figure 5-61). This provides the research with information through which to rethink the texts that are used on social media, demonstrating that indigenous musicians do not mention their identity through directly using words, but by the use of other signs, symbols, audio, and videos.
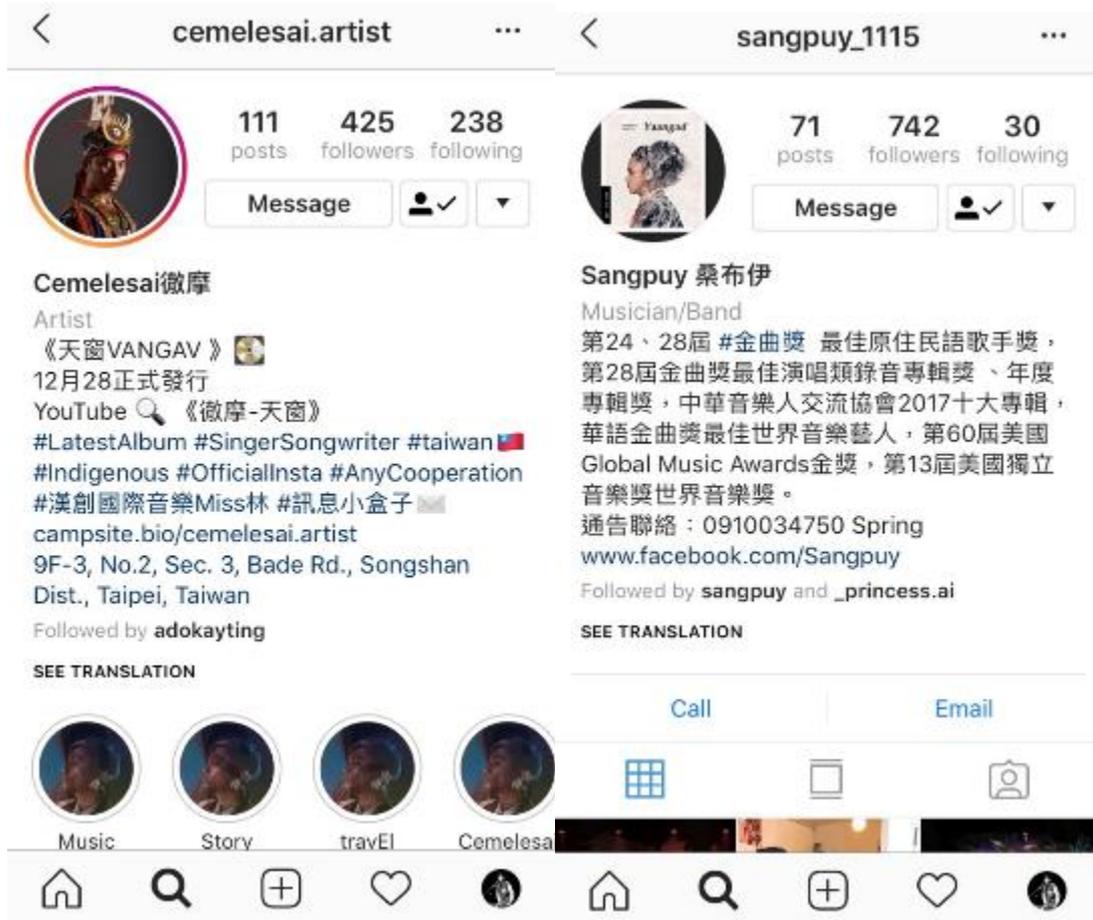
Figure 5-60 (left): Cemelesai used the hashtag 'indigenous'

Figure 5-61 (right): Sangpuy used a hashtag in Mandarin

Tai Siao-Chun put a quotation in her biography on Instagram that says, 'the dream is the heart, without the fear of an attack from the rear' (Figure 5-62). Her Instagram photos are all about her daily life, such as those relating to food, the park, performances with other musicians, and so on. The second row shows her trip to Taipei for a music concert, because the background to the last photo is Taipei 101, with a Truku (太魯閣族) musician. The situation shows the opposite self-presentation to those showing past indigenous issues, demonstrating that the indigenous younger generations do not live in their hometowns, as they need to work in urban cities.

Figure 5-62: Tai Siao-Chun's Instagram

Some musicians are good at connecting with other platforms on Instagram and they make efforts to reach out to larger audiences. Boxing and Abao put their contact details, and Suming put the YouTube link on an Instagram biography that is attached to the *Pillow Time* project (Figure 5-63). In particular, the *Non-Nuclear*, and the Instagram account for *Panai's Taiwan Tour*, link two Facebook accounts in the biography: the NGO, *Indigenous Transformative Justice TW (一起陪原住民族畫出回*

家的路), and the *Non-Nuclear* (Figure 5-64). The photos and videos on this account

make up the tour documentary of *Panai's Singing 100 Tour (巴奈海嘯百場)* (Figure

5-65), and you can see the tower with the slogan in lots of the photos.

Figure 5-63: Suming's biography, which is connected to his YouTube channel

Figure 5-64: *Panai's Taiwan Tour* is in the *Non-Nuclear* account on Instagram
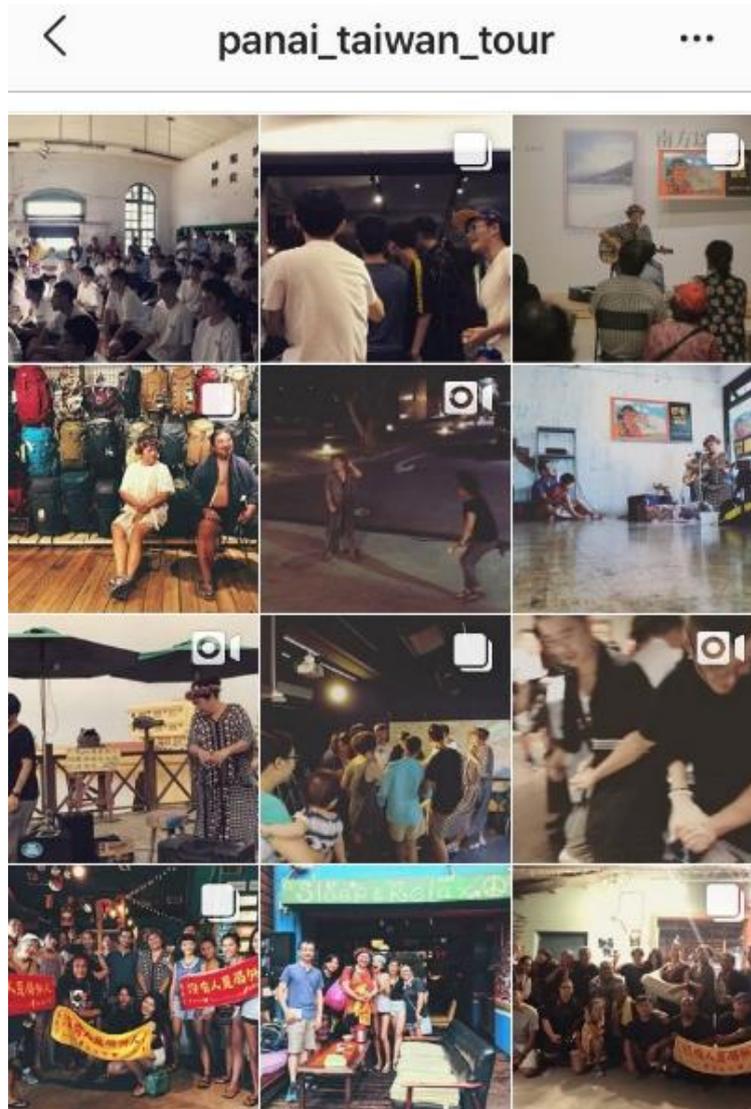
Figure 5-65: *Panai's Taiwan Tour's* photos and videos on Instagram

The O-Kai Singers put contact details on Instagram, but the unique one is that they have noticed WeChat, which is an app that is particularly used in China (Figure 5-66). They are the only musicians who put the WeChat ID on the other platforms and the O-Kai Singers are the only group who put a simplified Chinese introduction on the *Story* on Facebook.

Some musicians are addicted to the *Story* function on Instagram, which means that the feeds in *Story* last only twenty-four hours. Abao, Cemelesai, Princess Ai, and Suming use the *Story* function to represent their daily life in an interesting way, for

instance, with GIFs, stickers, text, short videos, photos, and boomerangs. Since Suming is conducting a project, *I Have a Dream*, which will tour high schools and universities in Taiwan; he has been carrying out lots of *Story* posts. Figure 5-67 provides an interesting point, as Suming sang an ancient song 'Drinking song' at this university, and the students sing along with him. This shows the hybridization of traditions and modernity on social media in contemporary Taiwan.
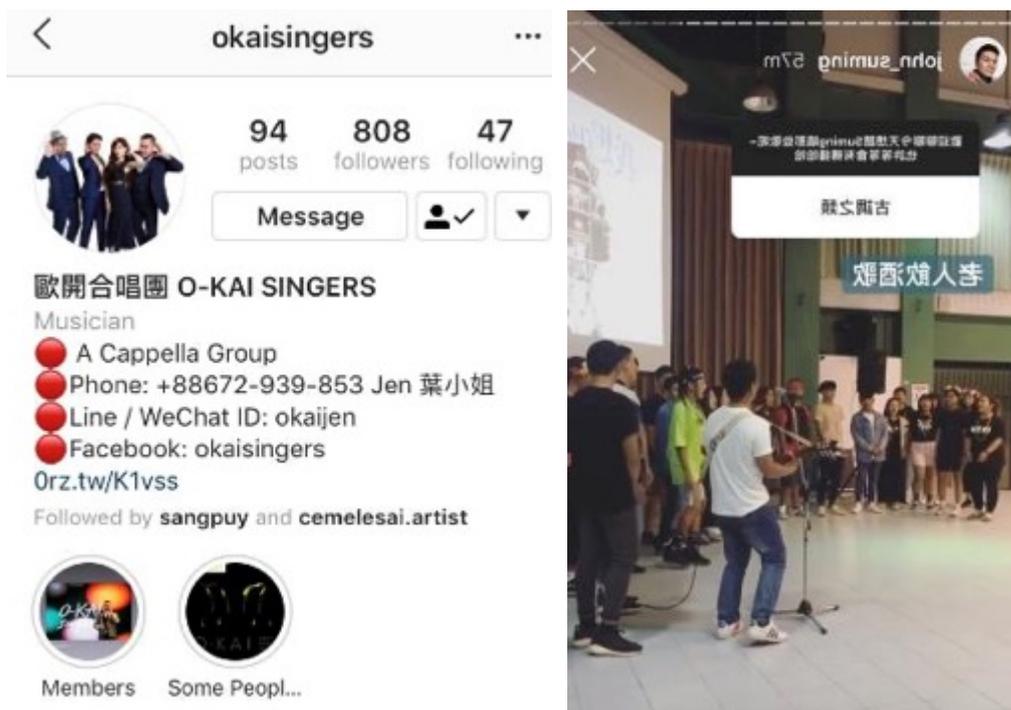
Figure 5-66 (left): O-Kai noted their WeChat ID on Instagram

Figure 5-67 (right): Suming shared daily life via the Instagram *Story* function

 Abao is good at using different text styles to enrich the photos or videos on the Instagram *Story* function. Figure 5-68 is an example of the colorful *Story* feed from Abao, which has a pink background and white words against a news video. The meaning of the words is 'the peak of life'; from the start of 2019, because the off-screen view is of the fireworks, and this is in the Paiwan language.

Figure 5-68: Abao used the text to enrich the photos on Instagram *Story*

Another interesting issue is the connection between Facebook and Instagram through the *Story* function. This function started on Instagram, and Facebook followed in order to create this section. Some musicians are now therefore used to posting on the *Story* function on Facebook and Instagram at the same time. Figure 5-69 provides the same photo seen on the print screen simultaneously on these two platforms from Abao. The content is also interesting, in that Abao has supported another singer, Matzka, in a performance from the Chinese program *Chuang (這!就是原創),* on YouTube, and she has commented 'The guitar solo is fabulous!' on the photo.

Figure 5-69: Abao posted these *Story* feeds on Facebook (right) and Instagram (left)

In addition, Labaga Taru has used the Facebook *Story* function much more than Instagram. Figure 5-70 shows a concert to celebrate the Tung blossom (桐花) in New Taipei City, and Labaga wrote 'I felt tired today' on his Facebook *Story*. He wore the traditional costume and played traditional instruments, as usual.

The Instagram *Story* function has another extended role through which users can create an album on *Story* on the Instagram main page. Cemelesai, Abao, Boxing, Princess Ai, the O-kai singers, and Suming use this function to remind audiences to read about their daily lives quickly. Boxing has created some interesting albums on Instagram, including *Recording every Concert*, *The Vital Thing Before the Stage*, *Dreams Come True*, and the *Golden Melody Awards* (Figure 5-71). On each album,

users can easily follow their daily working life. For example, in the *Memory of Every Concert* album, we are able to watch their different concerts via short videos.

Figure 5-70 (left): Labaga Taru performs on the stage

Figure 5-71 (right): Boxing uses the extended *Story* function

Facebook and Instagram are social platforms that facilitate interaction between account owners and users. The main function of these two platforms is not for music, and thus YouTube is the platform that combines the interaction, the music and the video. There are just two musicians, Anu and Laka Umaw, who have not created their own channel or playlist on YouTube. On the whole, most musicians have their own channels and playlists, and some of them have channels and playlists, such as Abao.

Abao has her own channel on which to upload her personal projects, and she used a microphone as her cover photo, with a connection to Facebook (Figure 5-72). Figure

5-73 provides videos of concerts with her mother and the videos of her previous album, *The East Payuan Folk and Three Generations (東排三聲代)*. This album is a project for her family, especially her grandmother, who passed away during the recording process. Her record company, Elevenz Music (十一音樂), has also created her playlist, and has uploaded her music videos from the album *Vavayan*, which the company distributed (Figure 5-74).

Figure 5-72: Abao's personal channel on YouTube

Figure 5-73: Abao's videos on her personal Youtube channel

Figure 5-74: Abao's playlist, created by Elevenz Music

The cover photo on YouTube has a function to connect it to other platforms. Cemelesai's YouTube channel gave the facility to connect to five different platforms that are popular in Taiwan: Facebook, *KKBOX*, *INDIEVOX*, *Spotify*, and *Friday Music* (Figure 5-75). Princess Ai's cover photo on her YouTube channel offers connections to Facebook, Weblog, Instagram, *KKBOX*, and Apple Music (Figure 5-76). This function shows the musician's preferences for these platforms and how they try to interact with audiences.
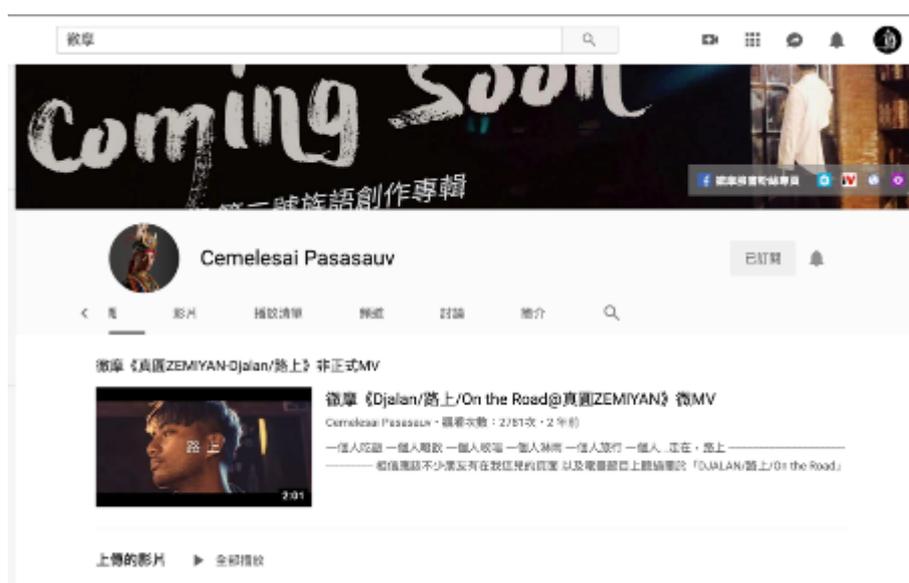
Figure 5-75: Cemelesai's YouTube Channel Cover photo
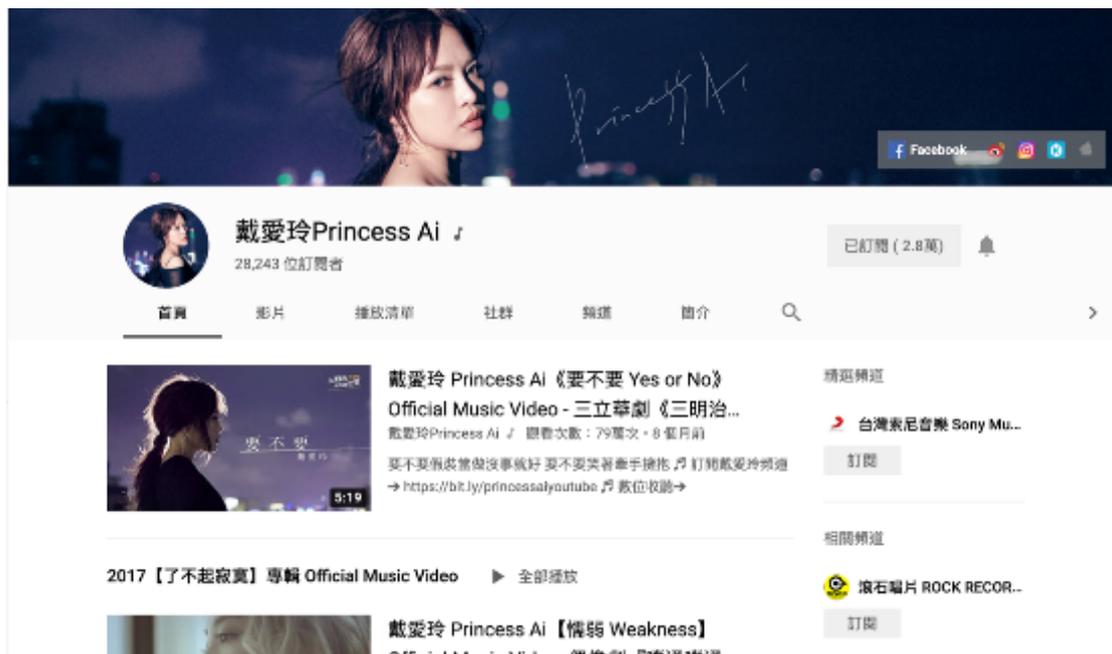
Figure 5-76: Princess Ai's YouTube Channel Cover Photo

It is worth mentioning that one of Cemelesai's playlists is different from those of other musicians. In Figure 5-77, the playlist on the second row is related to his religion, and it is called *The Music Sharing Session of the Sanhe-Ho Cross Church, Majiatang District, Catholic Church in Kaohsiung (天主教高雄教區瑪家堂區三和聖十字架堂 音樂分享會)*. The videos are for Gospel songs in both Mandarin and the Paiwan language.
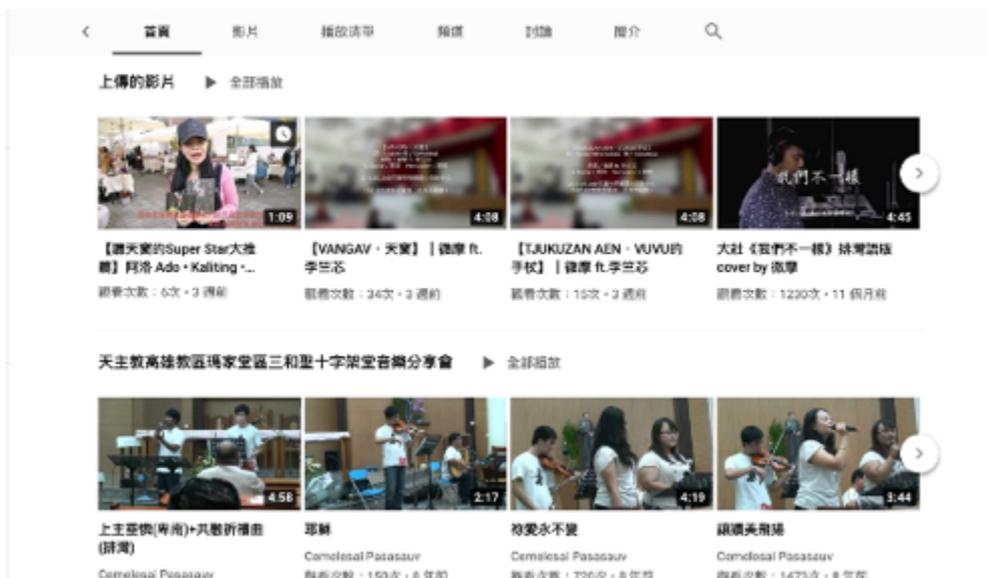
Figure 5-77: Cemelesai's playlist is related to his Catholic religion.

Wind Music (風潮音樂) provides a detailed introduction to the musicians'

playlists on the company's YouTube channel, e.g., Tai Siao-Chun and Sangpuy. Both

have a title on their playlists, and their hometown and indigenous identity are both

shown in the introduction. Tai Siao-Chun is described as a veteran singer-song writer

(Figure 5-78), and Sangpuy as a breathtaking male soul singer, who has won many

awards (Figure 5-79). The content of the playlists is made up of music videos of their

albums.
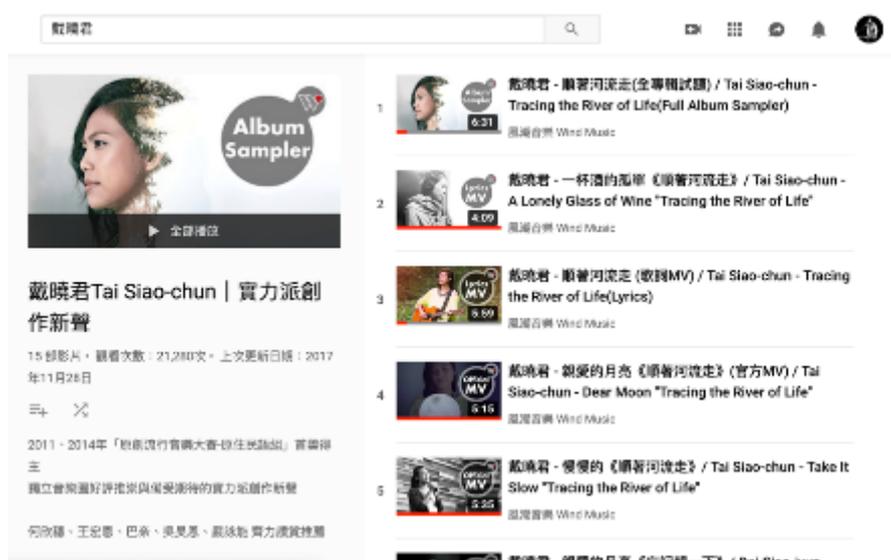
Figure 5-78: Tai Siao-chun's playlist on Wind Music's YouTube channel
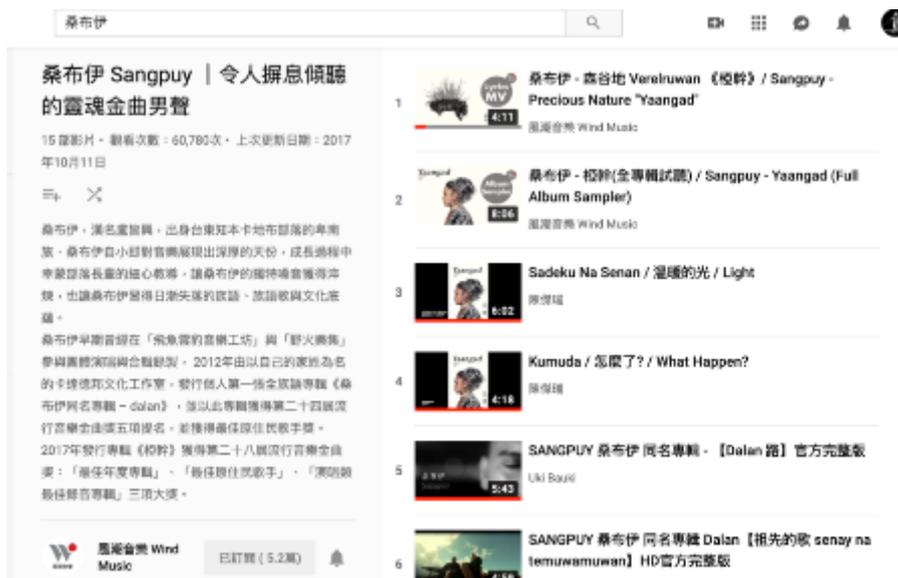
Figure 5-79: Sangpuy's playlist on Wind Music's YouTube channel

Furthermore, Suming's YouTube channel is called Mita (米大創意). As he is the owner of the Mita Company, most of the content is related to his work, projects, and events. From Figure 5-80, it can be seen that Mita has its own logo, and the connections on the cover photo are to Suming's official site and to his Facebook fan page. The playlists on the Mita channel are some projects, like *Mita Broadcasting* and *Pillow Time*, Suming's songwriting time, and the music videos of all of Suming's albums (Figure 5-81). On the YouTube channel, there is an introduction tab, which gives a quick intro, which enables users to understand the channel, and it is the last tabbed page. Mita's introduction directly points to the brands they provide, including Suming (Singer), the *Amis Music Festival*, *Wawa No Liyal* (the concert *The Kids by the Coast*), and *Travel in Dulan* (都蘭) (Figure 5-82). On this tabbed page, Mita explains that the name Mita means 'us' in the Amis language, in order to create a platform from which to promote indigenous culture, songwriting, and indigenous events.

176

Figure 5-80: Mita Company YouTube channel
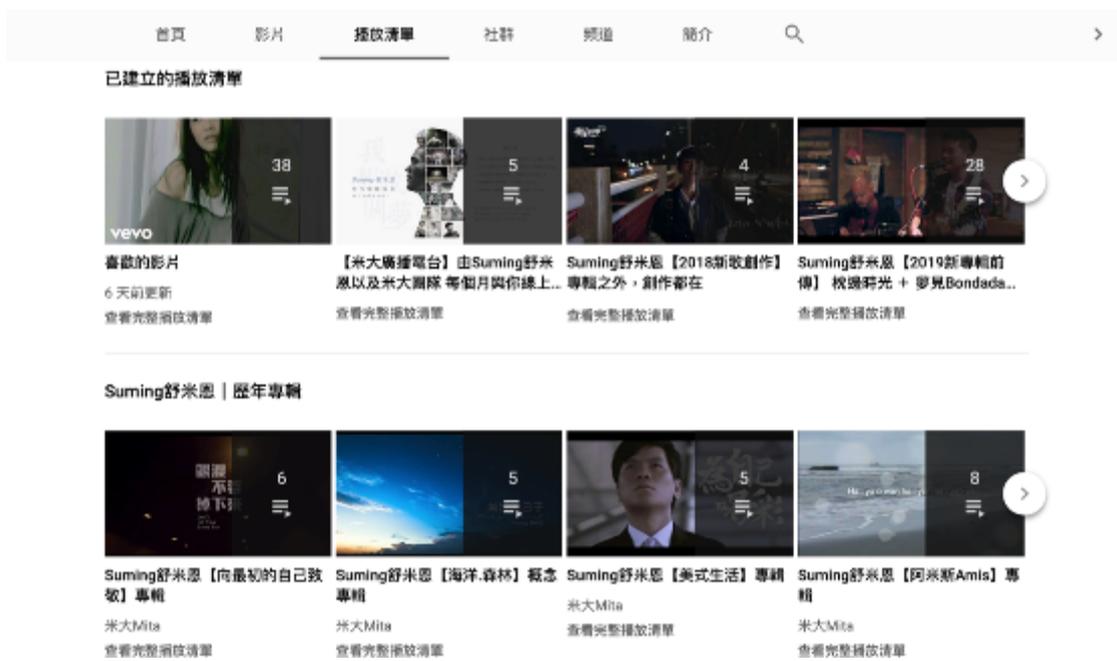
Figure 5-81: Some of the playlists on the Mita YouTube channel
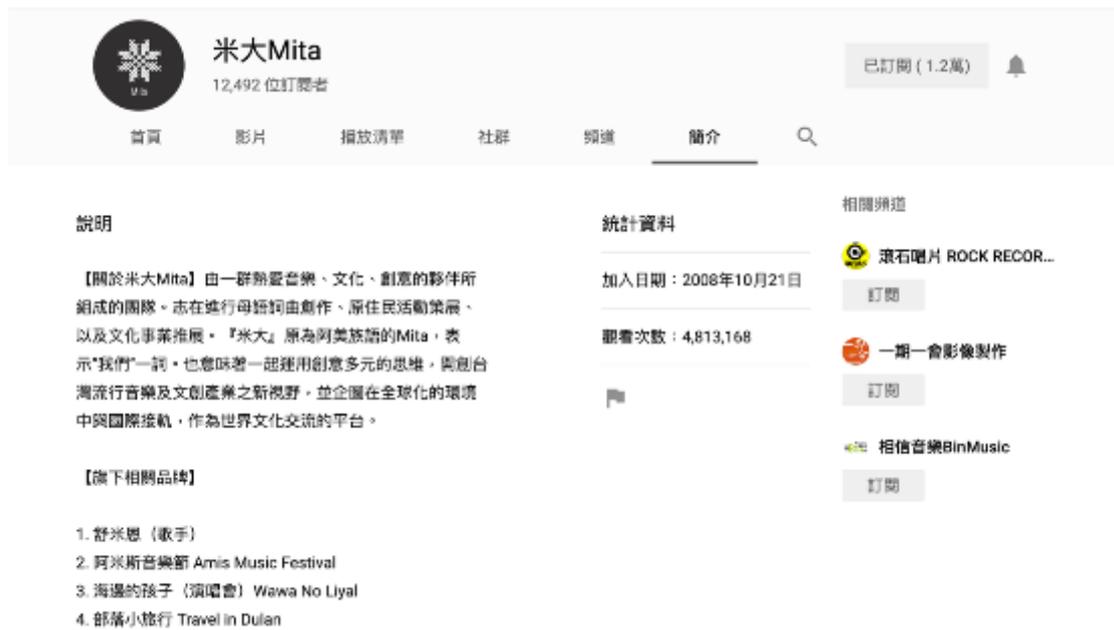
Figure 5-82: Mita introductory tab page on YouTube channel

Non-Nuclear used the name: *No One is an Outsider* and *the Indigenous Justice Classroom (沒有人是局外人原轉小教室)*, as their YouTube channel title. The cover photo is of the the ongoing movement on Ketagalan Boulevard (凱達格蘭大道) (Figure 5-83). There are just four videos on this channel, and all of them are music videos recorded on the street. The cover of the last videos, which are called *Rock 365*, is the famous slogan, *No One is an Outsider*. The introduction to the videos on this channel particularly mentioned the recording place. Taking *Panai's wandering (巴奈流浪記)* as an example, the list of the production team in the introduction on YouTube, provided the information that the recording place is the No.1 protest area on Ketagalan Boulevard (Figure 5-84).
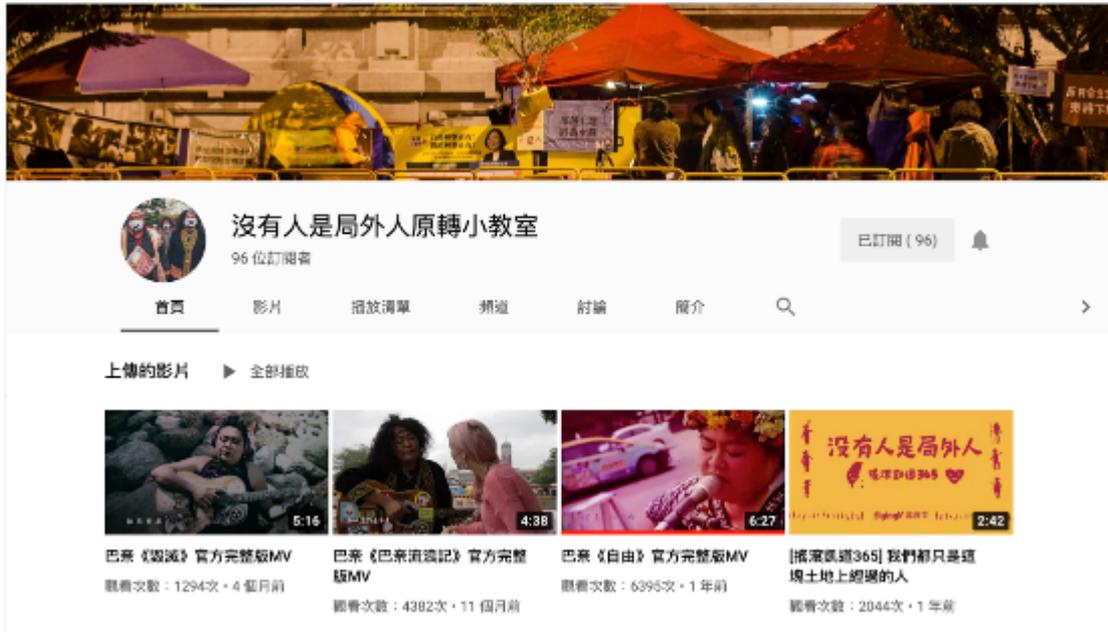
Figure 5-83: *No One is an Outsider* and the *Indigenous Justice Classroom's* channel

《巴奈流浪記》
詞曲 / 巴奈
演唱 / 巴奈
電鋼琴 / 鄭捷任
電吉他 / 李常磊
貝斯 / 陸家駿
鼓 / 李守信
和聲 / 王繼三
編曲 / 柯智豪
錄音時間 / 2017年05月12日
錄音地點 / 凱達格蘭大道1號抗議區
錄音器材整合 / 童智偉、劉詩偉
錄音 / 劉詩偉
母帶後期處理工程師 / 劉詩偉
拍攝 / 鄭舜仁、蔡名修、林庭宇、簡正昇
MV製作 / 簡正昇
單曲介紹文字 / 吳也民
標題文字 / 陸君萍

Recording place: The No.1 protest area on Ketagalan Boulevard.

Figure 5-84: The introduction to *Panai's Wandering*, which mentions the recording

place on the street

An interesting interaction between a younger musician and senior music is found in the video that Labaga Taru filmed on the trip to attend Sangpuy's 2019 *TIFA* concert at NPAC, Taipei (Figure 5-85). He filmed the transportation, the place, and the interviewing of himself.

Figure 5-85: Labaga Taru's video on attending Sangpuy's Concert at NPAC, Taipei

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter uses evidence from social media to demonstrate how indigenous musicians use self-representative structures to communicate with their audiences. The evidence shows that Facebook is still the main channel on which Taiwanese indigenous musicians share information and interact with their fans. Instagram is usually regarded as being supportive, rather than as being a main medium of communication. It provides alternative content for researching the digital culture of Taiwanese indigenous musicians, although some musicians are only active on Instagram. YouTube is similar to the mainstream media, in that videos are the primary content used to support the musicians' channels, but it still has the features of social media, involving comments and connections.

For Taiwanese indigenous musicians, performing their identity on different platforms seems to be the same, with indigenous traditional costumes and with words that only indigenous people understand. The difference is in the formation of the content that is used to attract more audiences to 'like' their fan pages. Through social media, indigenous culture and issues can be highlighted and may thus influence society in Taiwan.

This research concludes that there are some symbols that the indigenous musicians use for presenting their identity. Firstly, the visual on the social media represents the first sight of the impression offered to the audiences or users. Most indigenous musicians put up photos wearing traditional costumes, and videos on the stage with traditional instruments in order to manage their audience's first sight of them as indigenous musicians. Some musicians show much more of their life in the surrounding photos so as to demonstrate different lifestyles from those with urban styles.

Furthermore, the audiences still discovered their indigenous identity through the issues about which they posted, although they have usually applied Mandarin as a language when observing the comments under the posts. For example, the feeds to the heritage language teaching, and to the issue of World Mother Language Day. Besides, they often use Mandarin as a phonogram with which to spell the indigenous accent of speaking Mandarin for their audiences. For instance, the term '海嘯' means 'Still need/want (還是要)'. These posts are regarded as the self-presentation of being indigenous people, as the audiences get the concepts that the musicians communicated straightforwardly.

In addition, diverse platforms provide musicians with more opportunities to reach different users. This is a trend in which the musicians are trying to perform different aspects of their identities. The key point is that they often use different platforms to support other musicians, especially indigenous musicians. For example, Abao often

supports Matzka by posting stories on Instagram and Facebook when he is performing on the TV show. They 'like' each other's fan pages each for the fine interaction function online, so as to tell their fans not just to support one musician, but also other indigenous musicians. It can be seen that they still emphasize the collective identity of being *Yuanzhumin* (原住民) in Taiwan, even the villages and the tribes in which they grew up are more important so that they can raise their individual identity, and so most of them put the detailed tribe or village name of their hometown on the *About* area on Facebook.

After discussing what the self-presentations by the indigenous musicians are, and this research will consciously explore the 'performing' online. According to Fraser and Dutta (2008: 40), the ritual of identity self-presentation is that 'doing' indigenous identity is a work-in-progress and is never finished. The communication between the musicians and the audiences is a series of ways of 'doing' indigenous identity. Even indigenous people are active online, without feeling in present the same depression as the previous generation had, but do they still perform the indigenous identity from 'Others'' imagination of the stereotypes and the labels coming from those 'Others'?

Chapter 6 Exploring the Multiple Aspects of 'Indigenous Music' and its relation to identity

'i ya maqacuvucuvung, izua malevaleva
i ya au qinaljan, na maligu maligu
(Youth is the backbone of our tribe)
i ya maqacuvucuvung, izua cuganan
i ya ka kudakudanan, na maligu maligu
(Honoring the tribe is our mission)'[33]

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine indigenous identities in Taiwan by analyzing interview material gathered from indigenous musicians. The interviews were conducted using semi-structured interviews, in order to deal with people who are accustomed to the efficient use of their time (Bernard, 2006: 212), such as musicians, who have to allocate the time from a full schedule. In my research, the interviewed participants are regarded as the meaning makers (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995), those who define the indigenous music and rethink the relationship between music and identity in contemporary Taiwan.

To examine the contemporary indigenous society in Taiwan, interview conversations with indigenous musicians were considered within the context of everyday life. As we learn from Holstein and Gubrium (Ibid.), interview participants are everyday practitioners and regard the interview process as an interpersonal drama with a developing plot, and they constantly engage in communicating the recognizable and orderly features of experience (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997: 121). This chapter will use empirical evidence that emerged from the qualitative interviews to examine key issues that are relevant to contemporary indigenous music in Taiwan, including: a) the definition of indigenous music, b) the language used in music, c) the relations between

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[33] The song, *Cemavulid (War song)*, has repeated two sentences to raise the concept that the younger generation is the core people to protect indigenous tribe, culture and land. This song is taken from Tai Siao-Chun's album '*裡面的外面(Insides Revealed)*' released in 2020.

music and identity, and d) the musicians' intention to self-present online. The complex dialectics between music and indigenous identity will be explored through the musicians' narratives of self and their experiences of being indigenous musicians.

6.2   Defining indigenous music

To discuss the definition of indigenous music requires an insight into the interplay between and, at times, the contradictions between, contemporariness and tradition. Based on the perspectives of the indigenous musicians I interviewed, language is crucial and is related to music. While heritage languages express a meaningful identification for the musicians, their essential position lies in the historical context in which the indigenous peoples in Taiwan have been colonized by different countries until the present.

While examining the indigenous musical genre in relation to the profile of different indigenous musicians on Facebook, the categories commonly used by indigenous musicians to define their music, include folk music, fusion, or world fusion music. Nevertheless, to capture the reasoning behind indigenous music is arduous, as the process of indigenous music is literally embodied within indigenous knowledge and identity.

'New media development has affected the trajectories followed by Taiwanese indigenous music, and these are obviously layered and messy' (Tan, 2017: 48). Although researchers often tackle the categorization of indigenous music, it has proved difficult to find a clear and coherent definition for it. However, it is essential, in our attempt to define such a genre in order to reflect on the dialectics between modernity and tradition (Hoefnagels & Diamond, 2012: 12). Defining indigenous music produced by Taiwanese indigenous musicians, at present, is an introductory process, allowing for the comprehension of the relationship between indigenous musical culture and identity

in Taiwan. It is essential, in pursuing a critical definition of indigeneity, to distinguish between being indigenous and indigenous music in the Taiwanese contemporary context. Ado, a Taiwanese musician, observed:

> I think of indigenous music and want to become an indigenous musician now. You don't need to have any identity to make indigenous music, but you have to acquire an indigenous people status in government household registrations to become an indigenous musician. I think… a little bit… If you want to define the indigenous music, you should be able to distinguish between music and musicians so, that is to say, the indigenous musicians…being an indigenous musician is more self-proclaimed, and making indigenous music is that I think I like this music and I want to make it. (Ado, 18 Apr 2019, London)

Ado raises a number of complex questions: how is identity acquired, and who is qualified to gain that identity? How is indigenous music defined by the identification process of indigenous musicians? These are questions with which I will engage in the rest of this thesis. Since music produced by contemporary indigenous musicians is hybridized with a confluence of diverse music genres, this research will adopt Gibson's perspective to avoid essentializing the processes of culture production that is inherent to indigenous music. Gibson (1998: 167) adopted textual frameworks and recognized indigenous music as a hybrid form that fuses both traditional instruments and non-indigenous elements so as to avoid the cultural label of the heavily entrenched traditional - contemporary dichotomy. To define the indigenous through the Western binaries of traditional and contemporary offers limited possibilities, as one exists in a pre-colonial past, and the other in an isolated present (Guy, 2015: 4). Assuming that the traditional and contemporary exist in different and isolated temporalities neglects the intricacy and complexity of cultural production. This thesis steers away from the conventional wisdom, in which indigenous music merely fills the gap between ancient

melody and hybrid forms. Instead, this thesis's approach is inspired by the historical view embedded in the socio-cultural contexts of Taiwan. For Ilid Kaolo, a Taiwanese musician, the definition of indigenous music is fluid and changes overtime:

> I think culture is such a thing that it will follow the time… like 'our indigenous music', but comparing it to earlier times, for example, the indigenous musicians in the 1960s would ask me 'what are you singing?' Compared with a much older time: what is traditional indigenous music now? Is it the same? The difference might tell us whether the musicians are much older than in the 1960s, so the definition may be different. I love fantasy. If one day there were a time machine, the people in the past would come to the present. At my age, will they be surprised? Will they think that we are actually another ethnic group? (Ilid Kaolo, 13 Feb. 2019, Hualien)

Music is a dynamic text, the focal point of participation, and a possible implementation of empowerment (Gibson, 1998: 168). The connotation of contemporary indigenous music, according to Ilid Kaolo's argument, was simplified as being in a relative time frame. Contemporary music, nevertheless, involves features of the production process in the music industry that are affected by Western music (Dunbar-Hall & Gibson, 2004: 28). This means the definition positions the contemporary as cultural development, rather than disregarding the music's intention to be traditional. The contemporary and the traditional should be explored at the same time, as previously discussed, and even including the implication of traditions in the contemporary to emphasize the complexity, not only of the musical text, but also of modernity.

The Taiwanese musician, Tai Siao-Chun, regards the Paiwan traditional music as a space that the elders have accommodated, and in which the younger generation can communicate with their elders. As she commented during an interview:

I also feel that I cannot make indigenous music due to the four notes used in Paiwan[34] music. The elders were singing the Paiwan tunes with the composition of these four notes, which are close to each other. In fact, I always wanted to use this tune in my music. However, one did not often sing with it, so there was no way to write such a song. The reason why the elders could improvise within the composition of the notes is that the elders had grown up with it. Their voices are like that. The music we made, which is very popular, did not originate from the Paiwan ancient melody. Thus, I questioned myself: Do I need to make an album? Will it represent the indigenous music of my own village? If the elders can sing it, it is indigenous music for me? (Tai Siao-Chun, 7 Feb 2019, Pingtung)

Lu & Sun (2007: 39) examined the meaning of tradition and how the traditional consciousness is constructed, interpreted, and even changed. They found that the tradition is alive, rather than immutable, and the understanding of tradition will be changed in pace with historical perspectives, social environments, and interpersonal activities. As a result, defining indigenous music in contemporary Taiwan is dialectical, and never static. For Suana, defining the indigenous is about a search for, and into, the origins of indigenous culture.

If we want to define indigenous music, we should trace the music's origins… (Suana, 25 Feb 2019, Taipei)

Regarding the musical origins, we might take African indigenous music research as example. Idamoyibo (2016: 329) indicated that there are many approaches to research on African indigenous music, and the decision on which to take relies on the perspective of the examination. However, music is conceived and practiced by the musicians and thus, it can be viewed as a cultural expression that is initiated by society, no matter what the approach is. He took the indigenous music in Christian worship in

[34] The Paiwan (Chinese: 排灣; pinyin: Páiwān) are one of the sixteen officially recognized groups of Taiwanese aborigines. The second-largest indigenous group (Hsieh & Wu, 2015).

Nigeria as an example, in order to explain that musicians and churchgoers had appropriated the main performance of the worship of the gods into contemporary music. Following this perspective, according to Suana, looking for the origin of music is the beginning of conceiving and practicing traditional indigenous music.

Aljenljeng/Abao, an indigenous musician, demonstrates how playing a certain music is an attempt to communicate with, and participate in, a certain culture.

> For example, the vocals: the vocals are good, the Paiwan people also have some traditional harmonies. It is also polyphonic from the Amis people in Taiwan, the famous polyphony. If I were born at that time, hearing the beauty of polyphony, the beauty of the vocal expression style, I would like to find it. If I also heard another beauty in vocals, like Gospel…both of them, express the beauty of the vocal…for me, these things seem to be able to carry out a collision and dialogue with my ethnic group by means of music. Thus, for me, I think it is… the current indigenous music is actually that the contemporary indigenous musicians or songwriters talk to other different ethnic groups through music, to see how their works connect to their own culture. This is my opinion of contemporary indigenous music. (Aljenljeng/Abao, 26 February 2019, Taipei)

For younger musicians, the music hybrid is a channel to involve non-indigenous people in indigenous culture. Sunay Takal proposed the conflict between the youths and the elders in different approaches to present music.

> The elders are influenced by previous concepts, so they would not do something that can really change. Thus, indigenous people are trained to be like that you have to follow the previous tradition of indigenous culture. If you are trying to change, it is not good. You will not go smoothly because you did not follow the way of previous generations. However, in fact, the current situation is not to change the internal society. We should involve the external society into our culture. Shouldn't we make changes? (Sunay Takal, 3 February 2019)

The dynamic intricacies of cultural production and expression have a long history. Take the traditional Amis song which is called *Kayoing no Falangaw (A Girl from Falangaw)*, as an example. It has been widely diffused and there are even diverse language versions in Hokenese, Hakka, and Mandarin. The famous cover is from the Amis[35] singer, Jing-Zi Lu, who has written lyrics in the Amis language instead of the ancient vocable (Huang & Cheng, 2019: 208). Lu's singing performance preserves the lingering charm, but the whole structure of the song is transformed into a more modern style. It can be seen that preserving ancient music by being endowed with creative ideas is a way of keeping the traditional cultural spirit. Suana acknowledged that the classics of traditional music are preserved as the fundamental spirit of his musical life.

> I only want to use the possible appearance of the story to match the music's melody, lines, and even the whole style, so I cannot define those styles and I am not sure what these are called. However, it seems to be like that, so I have completely expressed what I want with an emotion and a melodic emotion. Thus, this kind of definition, for me, I am not going to…I do not reject it at all, but I think that music should progress more. Yes, as the world keeps moving. Of course, it is great to keep the original things and to preserve the classics, because this is the basis of our lives and the basis of the musicians, which should exist. And the new things should also be there, just like the basic norm of law (Suana, 25 Feb 2019, Taipei)

The villages and the communities of Taiwanese indigenous people, in addition, are rich and diverse in their cultures. Ilid Kaolo indicated the differences between the southern and the northern Amis traditional music.

> Mountain aborigines or plains aborigines…actually 'the indigenous' is a big name covering all of those in any indigenous group. There are various

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[35] The Amis are an Austronesian ethnic group that is native to Taiwan. One of the sixteen officially recognized groups of Taiwanese aborigines and the largest indigenous group (Hsieh & Wu, 2015).

ethnic groups. It is hard to tell the difference between the ethnic groups in Taiwan. What is the music of their group or village? They cannot use a term to… such as the Amis group in the North. If you heard the music from the south Amis group, like Defang's (郭英男) music, it is totally different from the Amis songs in the North. Every tribe has its own style. The people in different tribes maybe have different perspectives on the mountain and the sea, and thus their musical and cultural references differ. (Ilid Kaolo, 13 Feb 2019, Hualien)

Ilid Kaolo's perspective is central to this research's argument, as it insists on not essentializing indigenous Taiwanese musicians. During an interview, Suana also discussed his perspective on the origins of indigenous music and the effect of colonial history.

The true indigenous music should be an ancient tune, and it is the thing of the original period. The ancient tune… for me…because the ancient tune is more than a hundred years old…it is real indigenous music. In fact, more than two hundred years old, but we have been colonized by completely different cultures since then. For example, Amis people have a song called *Kayoing no Falangaw*, which sounds like the Japanese style, as it was written during the Japanese colonial period. Besides, in earlier times, there may have been some songs more like…some older songs, which actually sound like they come from the Chinese and then, I think that true indigenous music should be the song, *Drinking Song*, which Defang sang, because it is from the tribe. It is not called *Drinking Song*, actually. It is a different piece of music that was sung at the ceremonies and, even then, they used to use some words with the melody to pray for something in their life. (Suana, 25 Feb 2019, Taipei)

As Suana observed, the origins of indigenous music date back to the pre-colonial era. These precolonial origins, argued Sangpuy are seldom researched by young contemporary musicians:

Whether they are indigenous or non-indigenous, young people in Taiwan today, the pop music in indigenous languages… I am worried that many people think this is the music of the indigenous because they hear the heritage languages. I will always encourage younger musicians to research the characteristics of their own tribal music and ethnic music, and to develop music from the roots, to grow from there, because the music that our ancestors gave us is too rich, beautiful, these are great, and they are unique in the world. (Sangpuy, 19 Feb 2019, Taipei)

However, in order to present being indigenous and to become indigenous, some younger musicians have attempted to trace their hometown. This is a crucial pathway for the younger indigenous musicians, especially urban indigenous people, to get access to indigenous cultures. The younger indigenous musicians explore the traditions of their tribes or villages so as to identify themselves, and that is an important process in indigenous music-making. For Labaga Taru, the instrument, *Pagagu* (An ancient Truku flute/獵首笛) is the channel for him to represent his identity.

For example, the instrument, *Pgagu*, I used as the title of my album because most people in Taiwan, including Truku people, don't familiar with it and don't know how important the Taroko ethnic group is. Therefore, I can tell them that Taroko people used this Pgagu to communicate with and to confort the soul. In fact, for me, contemporary indigenous music represents a way of history and also can be regarded as a way of transforming music into life and getting closer to life. The reason why we have history is because of our lives and we will have a future. Each area in different era has its own life. Thus, I think indigenous music is life, our life (Labaga Taru, 13 Mar 2019, Taipei).

Anu is a role model for younger musicians that he finds the identity back via the music route. Anu left his hometown, for the city and a job opportunity, when he was 16 years old, and stayed until he was 28 years old, and then returned to his tribe in order to re-find his original culture, which he felt he had lost during this period in the city.

As a result, he had learned traditional songs naturally in his daily life among the tribe from the time he returned to his hometown up to the present.

> Actually, no one taught me, I learned it from life ... because of the tribal rituals. There are a lot of interesting things in life, such as when weddings are celebrated, funerals, or when everyone is just together, they sometimes sing, so I learned it from ... from life, instead of deliberately looking for someone, a master, or a teacher, from whom to learn. My way of learning is more natural, and then I try to memorize such songs in the way of life. (Anu, 1 Mar 2019, Hualien)

For Anu, the music comes from his daily life. That is why he felt lost in the city but feels the sense of steadiness in being indigenous in his hometown. This argument reveals another narrow definition of indigenous music, which has to be related to the traditional culture and must be in one of the heritage languages, which provides a perspective from which to discuss the connotations of traditional culture.

> My idea is that, in contemporary terms, the narrower definition must be that it is in an indigenous language. Then it must be related to traditional culture. The so-called traditional culture is not necessarily a wizard, or something serious. In fact, often ... what I call traditional culture is something that is closer to the kind of culture and behavior that the tribe is still showing. It doesn't indicate serious issues, like oracle culture. In the narrow sense, the indigenous languages, like Paiwan, and other Taiwanese indigenous languages, are predominant. In a broad sense, of course, like Kimbo Hu (胡德夫), they can also sing in Mandarin, and many musicians, like Suming, also sing in Mandarin. For me, that's a broad definition, so they can still be shortlisted ... or they can be considered to be shortlisted for the native speakers' award at the *Golden Melody Awards.* (Cemelesai, 18 February 2019, Taipei)

This revealed a problem, in that defining the indigenous music relies on the song either being in one of the heritage languages, or related to the consanguinity of the

musicians, so this should be rethought, involving the cross-culture, the social context, and the music industry. Music has interacted with both local and transnational influences, borrowing, migrating, and domesticating musical and socio-cultural features in the society (Born & Hesmondhalgh, 2000; Ottosson, 2010: 276). The difference between the collective and the individual expressive cultures essentially appears to be that they are reproduced and transformed during ongoing intercultural processes (Ibid.: 277). Preserving heritage languages is vital for indigenous peoples, and music-making in heritage languages is an avenue through which musicians can promote them, and audiences can learn them. The next section engages more systematically with the question of language and its relevance for indigenous Taiwanese musicians.

6.3   Language use in indigenous Taiwanese music

The *14th Golden Melody Awards,* in 2003, was the earliest to start giving awards related to Hakka and other indigenous languages. To encourage musicians to make songs in Hakka and indigenous languages, the Singer Awards in these two types of languages were added. Since 2004, the Government Information Office of the Executive Yuan, the Hakka Affairs Council, and the Council of Indigenous Peoples, have jointly sponsored the *Taiwan Music Composition and Songwriting Contest (臺灣 原創流行音樂大獎),* in order to encourage more musicians to become engaged in writing songs in Hoklo (Tai-Yu), Hakka, and other indigenous languages. In terms of music creation, this has also been linked to the amendment to the *Golden Melody Awards*. Many new-native-born musicians who have won awards in the *Taiwan Music Composition and Songwriting Contest* have gradually appeared on the *Golden Melody Awards*' stage.

At the beginning of the *16th Golden Melody Awards*, in 2005, the Government Information Office of the Executive Yuan simultaneously encouraged "native music creation" and expanded the four-language category album awards into Mandarin, Hoklo (Tai-Yu), Hakka, and indigenous languages. This has gradually shaped the present Best Mandarin Album Award, which became the last award (meaning that it is the biggest award) of the annual *Golden Melody Awards*. Even the Singing Newcomer Award in the same year was specifically divided into four language categories, but it was merged into the Best Newcomer Award the following year.

In 2007, Lin Sheng Xiang, the winner of the Best Hakka Singers' Award and the Best Hakka Album Award, "rejected" the trophy on stage. The reason was that "the award should be classified by musical genres, rather than ethnic languages (*United Evening News*, 17 June 2007)." Lin Sheng Xiang's questioning raised the notion that this classification seems to respect and protect musical works in various languages and cultures, but it has actually consolidated the situation of a cultural system that continues to marginalize relatively vulnerable language groups.

Ho (2007: 3) has indicated that ethnic languages and musical languages are problematic in the era of 'political correctness', and the *Golden Melody Awards*, as the contrast in the society in Taiwan's post-war era, reflects the opening up of 'regional dialect' music under the domination of 'Mandarin' culture. When following the definition of the four major ethnic groups, the award fell into the resistance to, or duplication of, nationalism, and it was made more rigid as the basis of advocating a pluralist cultural theory. As a result, the Lin Sheng Xiang incident challenges the marginalization of ethnic languages. Take Panai Kusui as an example, she wrote songs in Mandarin, rather than in an indigenous language, but the audiences think that her music is indigenous music.

Although I'm not singing… I'm not singing in my heritage language, but ... to audiences, they would hear clearly, that this is the way the indigenous people sing, although it is in Mandarin. (Panai, 15 Apr 2019, London)

In a specific context, the application of ethnic languages is often based on a medium in which the music is one of the communication channels (Ibid.: 3). Language, as a carrier of meaning, is linked to the music. Even if there is no writing system for an indigenous language in Taiwan, the oral language has its own grammar in order to demonstrate the culture, which cannot be reproduced by the colonial language. However, Panai often uses Mandarin to express her emotions of being lost as an indigenous musician, and she still feels the audiences' empathetic feedback. For Panai, Mandarin is the symbol of being lost as an indigenous musician: that she cannot speak her heritage language and cannot use it in the music. For the audiences who speak in Mandarin in Taiwan, this expression is honest and is immediately easy to understand.

In Taiwan, the writing system adopted by the indigenous peoples could be summarized under three historical developments: The Kana system, the phonetic system (Bopomofo), and the Roman system (Lee, 2013: 8). The Kana System comes from written records in the Japanese colonial period. The phonetic system was used because the National Language Promotion Committee (國語推行委員會) of the KMT Government prohibited the use of Roman characters, and the government advocated that "various dialects in Taiwan" could be written through using "phonetic symbols". The Roman system, which is the mainstream writing system for many ethnic groups in contemporary society, originated in the Dutch period. This system is the most widely used in Taiwan and, thus, there are different versions: from the Ministry of Education's 1992 version, to the announcement version in 2005, and that is the process of character standardization (Ibid.: 17). However, any kind of language cannot be used compatibly to interpret the connotations in the indigenous language.

As Tai Siao-Chun, a Taiwanese musician observed:

> It's because the language is too esoteric. I don't know if I've ever told you that when I was writing a sentence of the lyrics in the Paiwan language, 'No matter where I go, my shadow follows me', I asked Vuvu (the elders in the Paiwan language) how to say 'shadow' in Paiwan. My mother tongue is not good, so I took Vuvu outside, under the sun, and asked her what this dark thing on the ground is, as I was standing here. My dog was there as well. He seemed to have no idea in the beginning, but a word 'Kaka Kaka' (sisters and brothers in the Paiwan language)" he said to me. You know, wow, I'm glad I used this way to get a word, the shadow is called 'Kaka'. What is this? It's brothers and sisters. It is also called Kaka in Paiwan. There are many indigenous tribes that have called sisters and brothers 'Kaka'. Why is shadow 'brothers and sisters?' Because shadows will never leave you, like brothers and sisters. If you wrote shadows in Mandarin, the shadows are just shadows, but in the Paiwan language, the brothers and sisters are like the shadow that will never leave you. Yes, however, we don't have the knowledge of the Paiwan language, so even if you have a life like that, the language is not there, you cannot write beautiful lyrics like that. Ah! I use the logic of Mandarin to write indigenous lyrics that are miserable. (Tai Siao-Chun, 7 Feb 2019, Pingtung)

Following Siao-Chun's perspective, language is regarded as a channel through which to perceive the knowledge and wisdom of the native cultures. The importance of language and traditions, and the gap between the generations, are revealed through Siao-Chun's experience. It is evident that heritage languages' loss implies a loss of the knowledge, values, beliefs, and conventions that such languages encode and convey (Zent, 2001). In referring to music, the heritage language lyrics are not just metaphorical, but are directly connected to the cultural identity of being indigenous singers. Sometimes, the language is even a bittersweet responsibility for those indigenous musicians who grew up in a heritage language village.

> We just started to sing in our mother tongue, as the strongest language we can speak is our mother tongue. Actually, it's not the strongest. We simply

can't speak Mandarin so well. Thus, we started with our mother tongue. That means we do not do it on purpose. We did it due to our own beliefs. Nor do we want to sing in our own language all the time. We hope to sing in Mandarin and also in English. However, when we decided to sing in Mandarin, our native peoples from the village started to complain that we could sing in our own language, and that we should. Why do you sing Mandarin? That means we shouldn't sing in Mandarin, and they said we had just forgotten our roots in being indigenous. (Boxing, 7 Mar 2019, Taipei)

However, the language is always in continuous flux and change, as each generation takes their language culture slightly differently from their predecessors (Maffi, 2002: 385).

The elders wonder why our heritage language has become like this when they listen to music from contemporary musicians. We have to find those elders who can accept this and are open-minded. I think the most interesting thing about the indigenous people now is that we are …I am between the elders and the younger generation…the younger generation, how do they get along with the people in the village in order to find inspiration? And then, how do these elders find a way to communicate with the younger generation and to build bridges among indigenous society. I think that there are not so many people doing this, except for those people who are based in the tribes. (Aljenljeng/Abao, 26 February 2019, Taipei)

This is also the reason why most indigenous musicians in Taiwan create music in their heritage language. They do it in order to transfer it to the succeeding generations.

My first album is related to traditional culture, and the reason I produced this album is that the surroundings in the present are different from those in the previous generation…as I have stayed in my tribe for a long time. Then, I found lots of younger indigenous people from the cities coming back for the festivals in the tribe. When we were singing, we were all together. I think there are some songs for singing when attending the Hunting Festival. Thus, some of the songs the males usually sing were recorded and produced in the first album, such as *Happy Swing Night (快*

樂搖擺之夜). I think, at least, there are a few songs for them to listen to at home, or in the car, at any time. They can listen to different voices and learn to sing. After they come back to the tribes, they can sing together. It really works. It's fantastic to sing together after learning the songs, and that's what I want. (Sangpuy, 19 Feb 2019, Taipei)

Indigenous peoples understand the importance of the heritage language that they have inherited, but the difficulty is the gap between the elders and the younger generation. Maffi (Ibid.: 391) indicated that the issue of linguistic diversity should be raised to a high level of public awareness so that people value indigenous languages. Although some of the musicians I interviewed modestly said that they do not make the music on purpose to affect the next generation, the music has its discourse, in which it is made to be representative of the channel that is used to transmit the cultural influence.

I have not thought about how our singing in our mother tongue would have an effect. We did not think about it, or that our songs would be textbooks. It is often misunderstood that we make music in order to be the music textbooks for young musicians on purpose. We often say to the younger musicians: since you can speak your mother tongue and write your mother tongue, why don't you use it in a whole song. In the beginning, we didn't think we could use our own language to teach those who cannot speak the mother tongue. However, it is natural that we speak our own language smoothly in music-making. We have recently discovered that it is very influential. Do we have to do something for our own indigenous people, do more for our own tribes? And we should be more careful, just because many parents sent us messages saying that their child had started to speak their mother tongue and had started to learn their mother tongue because of our music. (Boxing, 7 Mar 2019, Taipei).

Anu, a musician from Hualien, proposed another perspective on the translation of different languages into music.

I feel that our indigenous people… have a small population. In this era, as long as we have to work in the cities and abroad, we have started to learn

their culture. Do you know that? I mean, why do we have a small number of people ... we can easily learn it, for example, I can speak Hoklo (Tai-Yu) and can speak a little English. Why can we talk so fluently? So, why can't other ethnic groups learn about our culture or language like this? We have to translate our language for them intentionally. My explanation is that this is discrimination? Or ... it's not because we have a small population that they have to translate it. Like me, I often listen to English songs, and I don't understand the meanings, but I like them. So why does the music in indigenous languages have to be translated? Why don't they just come and learn from us? (Anu, 1 Mar 2019, Hualien)

All the above reveals that the interrelationship between the language and the identity of indigenous people is bidirectional (Ting & Rose, 2014: 95). The translation is a method for readers to figure out the meaning of different languages. However, there is an invisible hierarchy behind the languages of minority groups, especially the endangered languages. Heritage languages have been seen as a crucial factor in preserving the indigenous culture in Taiwan. As a result, a strong ethnic identity affects the vigorous use of ethnic language (Ibid.).

6.4   Music and identity

The identification process that arises from certain genres of music for a group of people is the precondition for the discussion of the connection between the music and the indigenous identity. According to Frith (1996: 120), musical tastes correlate with class cultures, including different social skills, cultural histories and subcultures, through the notion of taste that has developed. This means the connection between ethnicity and sound is also relevant. In ethnomusicology, music is used in dance, in rituals, in political mobilization events (Ibid.). This means music is vital for indigenous people in their lives when they are carrying out diverse kinds of events, and it is difficult for this research to find a precise fit between sound and the ethnic groups. However,

through music, we might still find an approach that is related to the identities of the indigenous musicians.

Although this research attempts to explore communicative behavior on social media in order to explore indigenous musicians' identity, the identity of being a musician should not be ignored. The music itself represents the experience of identity as both a social and an aesthetic process (Ibid.: 110). The music-making process and the performance are therefore a form of self-discovery in relation to the identities of indigenous people. Some respondents have declared that it is only the music that is the focus, rather than the identity. This is evidence that indigenous musicians often reveal their identity unconsciously in their music. The heritage language is one example of this.

> We are not tied to the identity of the indigenous people in making music, whether it is the mother tongue, Mandarin, or even English. It is a hybrid form with popular music. In fact, our starting point is to return to the essence of ourselves. Actually, the music is very simple, and we do it without imposing our identity. I didn't think about it like this. I think all our members should have this idea that we did not deliberately have when we wrote the song, we did not set it that way because we wanted to use it. We used the local language as we did not think about the way that would affect indigenous people. We just like music. (Boxing, 7 Mar 2019, Taipei)

In addition, language is the first layer that enables the audiences to make sense of a musician. However, this is not the same as the musicians' thoughts. For example, from the perspective of others, Aljenljeng/Abao, as a singer, has changed a lot, because she used to sing in Mandarin, and now she sings in an indigenous language.

> They think that I have changed, but I have not. It's much like I can sing in Hoklo (Tai-Yu). So, today, I choose what language I want to sing in. In essence, I have the same identity. (Aljenljeng/Abao, 26 February 2019, Taipei)

It can thus be seen that the connection between music and identity is important, and even sometimes the relationship between the identity and the language that is used in music will not be that significant. This does not mean that language is a minor facet, but, as Frith argues, that it is particularly sophisticated in ethnomusicology.

Moreover, indigenous music is essential in shaping identity, as indigenous cultures in the world have been colonized under different conditions of diverse countries. It has thus often been part of the constitutional features of political, economic, social, and spiritual ideality. For example, the band, Message (狼煙樂團), of which Panai is one of the members, was formed after the Hunter accident[36]. *The Smoke Signal League (狼煙行動聯盟)* was organized on 28th October, 2008, and established ties with the tribes in Taiwan who were igniting wolf smoke[37]. The first track of Message's debut album is the voice of traditional songs with an arrangement of electronic beats, which is the first message: *Warning from the Tribes* (Huang & Cheng, 2019: 150).

The music of Message fulfills the notion of a diverse melody with cultural collision, as the members of Message include both indigenous and non-indigenous musicians living in East Taiwan, for instance, Panay Kusui, Halu, Dakanow, Nabu Husungan, and others. They gave a voice to the issues of traditional territory, environmental protection, and nuclear safety and security, through their debut album

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[36] In December 2007, the Mangayau (the Big Hunting Festival) of the Puyuma had just ended. During that period, it was revealed that the hunters of the Katratripulr tribe in Chihpen (知本), Taitung (台東), were arrested by the forest police that saw the White Terror [白色恐怖] reappearing. More than sixty Puyuma people gathered in Chihpen to fight fiercely (Huang & Cheng, 2019: 148).

[37] In many tribes, announcing messages, arranging times, and starting communication with the spirit world are all done through wolf smoke, as a medium. In addition, there was no tinder in the early society, which was very inconvenient, so maintaining a fixed campfire all day long became a symbol of the tribe's life being maintained. In order to convey the land issues and cultural problems that had been encountered by the indigenous people for many years, in 2008, the Puyuma Katratripulr tribe therefore united with the Chulu (初鹿) and Lijia (利嘉), as well as the Paiwan Lalaulan (拉勞蘭) and the Bunun Pasikau (巴喜告). At the same time, more than 30 tribes from all over Taiwan were connected in a series on the Internet, and they agreed to take to the streets on February 28th of that year to express their tribal voices and demands together. (Mata, Taiwan, 22nd February 2015).

(Ibid.: 162). It can thus be seen that music is useful in exploring the historical perspective of indigenous culture within the contemporary music context.

As Aljenljeng/Abao mentioned, indigenous music is the presentation of cultural collision blended with the present.

> Indigenous music is the connection to your own ethnic group, regardless of the lyrics and the style you use. Musicians hope to express their feelings and to find themselves in the lyrics and the melody when they are making music. This is actually a means of discovery to me. I think so. As there are so many different styles from native musicians who are writing songs in indigenous languages, they want to hybridize their own culture with the Other through creating music. (Aljenljeng/Abao, 26 February 2019, Taipei)

In addition, it is important to clarify the identity. Identity refers to the individual's distinctness in their embodiment of personal characteristics, and also the experiential side of the self-awareness of the public aspect (Ruud, 1997: 5). Ruud (Ibid.: 6), also applied the concept of reflexivity (Giddens, 1991) to assert that identity is a process, something that is never fulfilled.

Panay (15 Apr 2019, London) gave evidence of the process of identity.

> In fact, it is really another kind of indigenous people ... In fact, a very important logic of languages is the metaphorical part, we are using metaphors. My contract with Rock Records (滾石唱片) was terminated in 1995. Then I decided to learn new things through attending the *Formosa Aboriginal Singing and Dance Troupe (原舞者)*, as I know that this group includes a lot of people from different ethnic groups and I could learn the ritual music and dance of the diverse ethnic groups of Taiwanese indigenous people. I was thus a member of the *Formosa Aboriginal Singing and Dance Troupe.* When I was a member of the group…because of this experience… in the process of learning the original ritual music and dance, it was a non-stop awakening of my childhood in the tribe. I was constantly awakening my consciousness of belonging to my own tribe, and

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the songs from my own tribe when I was a child. (Panay, 15 April 2019, London)

As described above, Panay's experience of the *Formosa Aboriginal Singing and Dance Troupe* can be regarded as a description of the relationship between music and identity. The similarity between music and identity is actually based on the performance and the story describing the 'individual in the social' and the 'social in the individual' (Frith, 1996: 109). The concept of identity is a mobile process of becoming that echoes the experience of this self-in-process through music-making and listening to music. Panay's identity has therefore been shaped gradually through the process of learning the indigenous heritage culture from the *Formosa Aboriginal Singing and Dance Troupe.*

Comparing the learning process of being involved in culture intentionally, it can be seen that the reflection of an indigenous musician growing up in a village comes from the need for self-examination, in order to understand the Other's perspective. Cemelesai provided his experience of being asked some cultural questions, which is just a matter of course for him, and which is related to his identity of being a Paiwan person when he went to university.

> The Director of the Department of Music at Taitung University asked me the first question directly: do you speak heritage languages? I was just flabbergasted, and wondered whether the question was for me, as I thought I would go to the Department of Classical Music? Why would you ask me, do you speak ethnic languages? I didn't know the background of Taitung University's music department and the chairperson, so when he asked this question, I was very confused. He asked about some cultural things. I just wanted to say, aren't these things in my life? He actually told me that as he knew that I was an indigenous student, he had therefore specifically called me personally to confirm this. Anyway, it's because of his actions that I rethought, from another perspective, the appearance of my life in the tribe

and the village. It was only later, when I was at university… just as I mentioned that I would like to view myself from another angle, and about how I think of myself as having an indigenous identity? Is it genetically related? Do you speak ethnic languages? Or, as you live in the tribe, you are one of the indigenous people…you are from the Paiwan people. I don't know! For me, that was something that I started to reflect upon after going to college. (Cemelesai, 18 February 2019, Taipei)

With respect to the experience of this self-identification through music-making, Cemelesai also proposed his perspective on regarding music as a channel through which to learn the value system behind the heritage language, which has rich cultural knowledge within it.

Why do I still create ... continue to create -- music with ethnic languages? Because the languages carry a lot of knowledge about how tribal people live, together with the mountains and forests, sharing culture and the cultural worldview, in the tribe, which includes life with the forest and the animals. Things that are recorded in this heritage language. For example, in Paiwan, there is no such thing as being related to the ocean in our tribe, because we do not rely on the sea. That's why we do not have an ocean culture. (Cemelesai, 18 February 2019, Taipei)

As Frith (1996: 109) indicated, the concepts the 'individual in the social' and the 'social in the individual' were implied in the music's content, and, from the previous discussion, it can be seen that the surrounding affects the indigenous musicians into rethinking their identity through the process of music-making. The sense of identity is rooted in the sense of a self, which is to experience the world from an uncommon location of a human being's body (Harré & Gillett, 1994: 107). The identity of the indigenous musicians therefore implies the consciousness that they have when they are looking for something in their activities, memories, and fantasies.

I feel that our ancestors created the best music, and we have nothing to make. That is to say, I don't think I can surpass some of the traditions that are too powerful. However, one thing we have to think about is that, as we go further, we may always think about where we come from. It's very simple. Where do we come from? What do we represent? And so, when you face different cultures, or even homogeneous things, such as the Austronesian culture, you will start to seriously think about who you are, and what is in your body. (Ado, 18 Apr 2019, London).

Despite this, music made by indigenous musicians does not just demonstrate musicians' self-in-process identity, but also a practice through which audiences can encounter the musicians' stories and experiences. As discussed earlier, heritage languages represent notions that are intimately tied to the challenges facing something that is endangered, so that young musicians often regard writing lyrics as part of the fate of being one of the indigenous people. The content and the stories behind the lyrics are in indigenous languages, thus, they have become a dialectical thinking process and have also become a better way for non-indigenous audiences to interpret the musicians' self-identity.

The elders really don't care whether you can speak the heritage language or not, they care about your willingness to work hard to participate in the culture so that you learn it. So, I think…I should be on the same page in thinking about the young musicians. That is to say, we still have to give them opportunities in the whole music-making process. For me, as long as they are willing to identify with this matter, s/he will spend time and s/he will find his/her method. Even the methods are very different, but they lead to the same destination. However, they have to accept the dialectical thinking process as well, which we actually need. Because our responsibility lies in what we want to leave. As I have just said, if the thing you left is right, the dialectical process will be there. If you have not done the dialectical thinking, it means you are just doing it yourself blindly. I just understand that the reflexive process is important. (Ado, 18 April 2019, London)

Music connects people as the raw material in the process of building values in life and is a method with which to position and to frame culture that is related to ethnicity, gender, and class that strengthens the formation of identity. (Ruud, 1997: 11). This means that music provides a social meaning for identity formation. As a result, the younger musicians make music in relation to the traditional culture, but with a much more modern approach that comes from contemporary society, because the proportion of urban culture is becoming prominent.

> I think people like to be exposed to new things. The traditions are new to young people, and also the message that young people give is new to the elderly. If you are a curious and energetic person, you will continue to work on it. Musicians who can continue to create basically have a very strong backup, and many of them are based in the tribe. Seredau (桑梅絹)[38], who grew up in her village, is a good example of the previous generation. For the younger generation, Tai Siao-Chun, as a talented musician, has gone home to live with the people in her village so as to gain support from her own culture. Like us, assuming that we are all citizens, the urban indigenous…nowadays, the proportion of urban indigenous is very high, and most are Taoyuan (桃園). I have started to do face to face performances and lectures, since I produced my albums in the indigenous language. Oh, in fact, the urban indigenous people need affirmation, and they need help. They are good at studying, and they may get better resources in society. Everyone knows this. I think this is very common. However, when they want to identify with their culture, and also need some assistance when they want to learn their culture, I think we need to support them. (Aljenljeng/Abao, 26 February 2019, Taipei).

Aljenljeng/Abao pointed out that the current issue of the indigenous musicians, which is also the difficulty that indigenous people encounter in Taiwan, is the gap

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[38] Seredau is a Paiwan singer. Seredau's 2017 album, *Infection*, features adaptations of 10 traditional Paiwan songs, earning her the award for Best Aboriginal Singer at the *29th Golden Melody Awards*. Her voice is rich. (https://www.moc.gov.tw/en/information_234_94412.html)

between generations. It is important that music plays an increasingly important role in our efforts to understand indigenous musicians in contemporary Taiwan when researching the online behavior of the musicians' representation. That means music, as the metaphor for identity, is the content used by musicians to communicate their culture and identity to the audience.

As Ottosson (2010: 282) found, in relation to the music's role in Central Australia, music has always been part of the ongoing intercultural dynamic of interaction, mutual influences, and continuous 'Othering'. The musical hybridity between traditional music and diverse styles was developed in the local society, and in the urban indigenous areas, during the colonial period (Ibid.). In Taiwan, when the conversation between generations happens through music, particularly in indigenous society, the gap should thus be recognized as being a part of the identity formation process.

To become a musician is to position oneself in a specific self-consciousness in society, as music has become a cognitive system that involves sound, which represents memories, associations, and histories (Ruud, 1997: 11). For indigenous musicians, positioning self-consciousness is vital for rethinking the identity in a complicated contemporary society. Music has been regarded as a core component of indigenous culture for a long time, and it has its signs as references that connect sounds to social and cultural society and to experiencing life on- or offline.

6.5   Self-presentation online

Having discussed the relationship between music and identity, the final section of this chapter addresses the ways in which the indigenous musicians self-present online. The digitization of information and social media provide indigenous musicians with an opportunity to accelerate the public acknowledgment of indigenous cultural practices

and the characteristic values of their world. As a result, the communication process online explains the indigenous musicians' self-presentation of their identity.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the musicians use the different functional settings on social media, such as the profile, cover photos, and posting feeds on Facebook, to perform and to communicate with their audiences. Before employing interview data to discuss self-presentation online, it is necessary to clarify the identity of these indigenous musicians, in as much as they perform their identity online consciously, not just their identity of being musicians, but also that of being indigenous.

Identity declaration made by individuals, and identity placements made by others who have accepted that announcement, have constructed a public process that is regarded as being identity construction. The identity construction process is a vital part of the self-concept, which is the totality of a human being's thoughts and feelings concerning their self (Rosenberg, 1986). The self-concept describes reflection and impression management, which are actions that are used to perform the presentation of self. Impression management, which is a goal-directed endeavor formed by someone who, consciously or unconsciously, constructs an identity that is constructed to achieve social goals (Goffman, 1959: 49). Goffman (Ibid.: 34) argued that people perform to give particular impressions, which will be affected by the audience's composition, in order to meet their preferences and with whom they perform. The social media platforms provide indigenous musicians with a space in which to display their self-concept through a strategy of impression management.

When I asked Ado about the decision to choose the cover photo of her fan page on Facebook, she said that she chose the photo that interprets the concept she is working on in her album. This means she has consciously managed her impression in order to describe her self-conception.

It is simply because I feel this photo shows me standing in the center, on the stage ... On the one hand, this image .... I want to become an Austronesian bearer. Really, I'm conscious, yes, yes. It is because I want to be the Austronesian bearer. My latest concept is this, so I had to pick this one. (Ado, 18 Apr 2019, London)

Through Ado's photo choice, we can easily understand that her contemporary identity is related to Austronesian culture, as many pieces of research indicate that Taiwan is the homeland of the Austronesian language family. With evidence from linguistics and archaeology, the archaeologist, Peter Bellwood, and the linguist, Robert Blust, were the first to propose that Taiwan was the homeland of the Austronesian language family (Chen, 2004: 37). Jared Diamond (2000), who published a short article "Taiwan's gift to the world" in *Nature*, briefly explained this set of arguments. Nowadays, as more research results emerge, the details of Taiwan, as the homeland of the Austronesian language family, is a little different from Dimond's description of it, but the structure remains similar.

When I was doing my fieldwork, following Ado's tour with some Austronesian musicians in Europe, I found that she had begun to put her concept of being the Austronesian bearer into practice. She worked on music with them and invited them to feature in her new album, which was released in November 2019. She also found the linguistic similarity and used this in jamming a new song with them when they were touring. This is why she chose the photo, which is a staged photograph of Ado and her Austronesian friends (Figure 6-1), and which shows her in the center of the stage, and this is the evidence of the identity construction process that she has been through, as she has rethought her identity in being an indigenous musician in contemporary Taiwan.

Figure 6-1: Ado's cover photo

Applying this argument, Ellison et al. (2006: 418) proposed that the interaction on the social media emphasizes verbal and linguistic cues, rather than controllable nonverbal communication cues, and this research accentuates the linguistic, sounds, and visual communication content, on social media, that the musicians set in order to perform online. Musicians who are under contract to label companies therefore have the pressure resulting from the clickthrough rate of the 'likes' on Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube, and the plays of songs on streaming music platforms, such as Spotify, Apple Music, and *KKBox*, in Taiwan, because they have to manage their impression in order to perform an identity that the audiences will accept.

> Social media, in particular, gives the artists… I don't know about other artists, but it gives me the great pressure of the statistics. Just these numbers, you know! You will think: "Oh, my God! Nothing has grown!" However, when I was with my previous band, before becoming a contract musician, we managed social media by dropping ideas onto it. We got lots of ideas at that time to think about how to get people to pay more attention to our band. I feel it was actually free then! After that, my company has its promotion strategy, which has limited me much more. And they care about

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the numbers… in this matter, I will feel stressed. (Cemelesai, 18 February 2019, Taipei).

This example indicates the difference between on- and offline identities, or the difference between the private and public accounts. Cemelesai pays attention to attracting users or audiences first, in order to achieve the statistical goal that the company sets on the fan page.

> My private account on Facebook is more like my true personality. And my agent company hopes the image on the fan page may connect to my personality, but, basically, they will… use a strategy for marketing, like the photos in which I am wearing indigenous costumes. (Cemelesai, 18 February 2019, Taipei).

It might be seen as being the theory of frontstage and backstage, which is "a place where the performer can reliably expect that no member of the audience will intrude" (Goffman, 1959: 114). Goffman (Ibid.: 87) used the hospital space to explain the situation in which the staff lunchroom is such a common backstage space. The staff members feel relieved from the pressure of facing patients in the frontstage space at the hospital, and they prepare themselves to go performing again. For Cemelesai, the private account is the backstage of his online space of being an indigenous musician on the fan page on Facebook.

For Labaga Taru, social media is a place to commutate indigenous Taroko culture to his fans through presenting his daily.

> I hope to make the content on social media into life, but I think the most important thing is to pass on the Taroko culture. However, if posting something about Taroko culture would be too serious on the Internet so I sometimes use daily life posts to bring it into Taroko culture. I used some short documentaries intentionally. Those music and videos are for the

purpose to let users understand me, Taroko tribe, my mysic, and Taroko music (Labaga Taru, 13 Mar 2019, Taipei).

On the other hand, according to Zarghooni (2007: 8), the profile page can be regarded as the front of stage, and the back of stage would be the messaging interaction between users and the physical person who edits the content. However, the comments area is where the conversation happened when users or audiences criticized the musicians by their imagined stereotype of the indigenous identity. Aljenljeng/Abao gave an example of the discussion on the subtitles to her music video for her previous album on Facebook. It is an example through which to understand the situation of the language writing system use online in Taiwan, the gap between generations, and the communication between musicians and audiences. The story has come from the subtitle of Aljenljeng/Abao's music video: that she is trying to use Mondegreen (空耳版)[39] so as to make it friendly for audiences, but some audiences criticized it as the government has the official Pinyin system for indigenous languages. They thus asked her to use the Pinyin system, rather than Mondegreen. Figure 6-2 shows the triple subtitles of the video on Facebook. The first, Mondegreen, is on the top of the video, and the bottom is in Mandarin and English.

Some people who have a high educational level have criticized me on my Facebook fan page... Their starting point is kind, and this is also an interesting thing on the Internet. The whole story is like this. I put the subtitled version of my song, *Vavayan*, in Mondegreen. There was a person who commented that "there is a Pinyin system to use in Taiwan, why don't you use it? Why do you use this messy language?" He felt there was

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[39] Mondegreen describes misperceptions as defined by 'slips of the ear', presenting that an utterance is perceived differently from what has actually been said (Meyers & Ptok, 2011). In Taiwan, it is applied to the phenomenon that using spelling in Mandarin for the indigenous words, rather than in Roman phonetic. It is called a Mondegreen from Korean songs, that used Mandarin to spell Korean words. (Aljenljeng/Abao, 26 February 2019, Taipei)

something misleading about it. Then I replied to him: "Do you know that there is a gap in using the Pinyin system?" Like my mother, their generation couldn't understand Pinyin, even if they speak the mother tongue well. It's just because, if one is learning indigenous languages academically, one has to use some languages that look like systematic English, they have become accustomed to this. I think there is something about which they need to be reminded. They should care about their elders, who are not good at the Romanization system. We have to be open-minded to each other, and to understand what the ultimate purpose is in doing this. The purpose of my Mondegreen subtitles is that no matter what ethnic group you belong to, as long as they hear this, and when they want to sing along, they have something to do. This is my purpose, but he didn't agree with it. He thinks I should have used the Romanization system. Then, I replied to him that not everyone can use Roman Pinyin, so there are actually subtitles in both Mondegreen and in Roman Pinyin on my video. I don't know who you are. You could choose which ever subtitle you needed. That's what I could do. (Aljenljeng/Abao, 26 February 2019, Taipei)

Figure 6-2: *Vavayan*'s Mondegreen subtitle on the top

In Figure 6-3, a fan, 'Coody Chiu', commented that he likes this video, but the subtitle should use Roman Pinyin. If people want to learn the pronunciation to sing, the Mondegreen version is not good, and the meaning of the subtitle is not related to the original lyrics. Aljenljeng/Abao replied politely that this video, which was first uploaded to Facebook, is for an event rather than an officially released video. The purpose of Mondegreen is that it is more friendly for audiences to learn, as some people are not familiar with the Roman Pinyin system. However, oral communication is still the traditional way of learning a language.
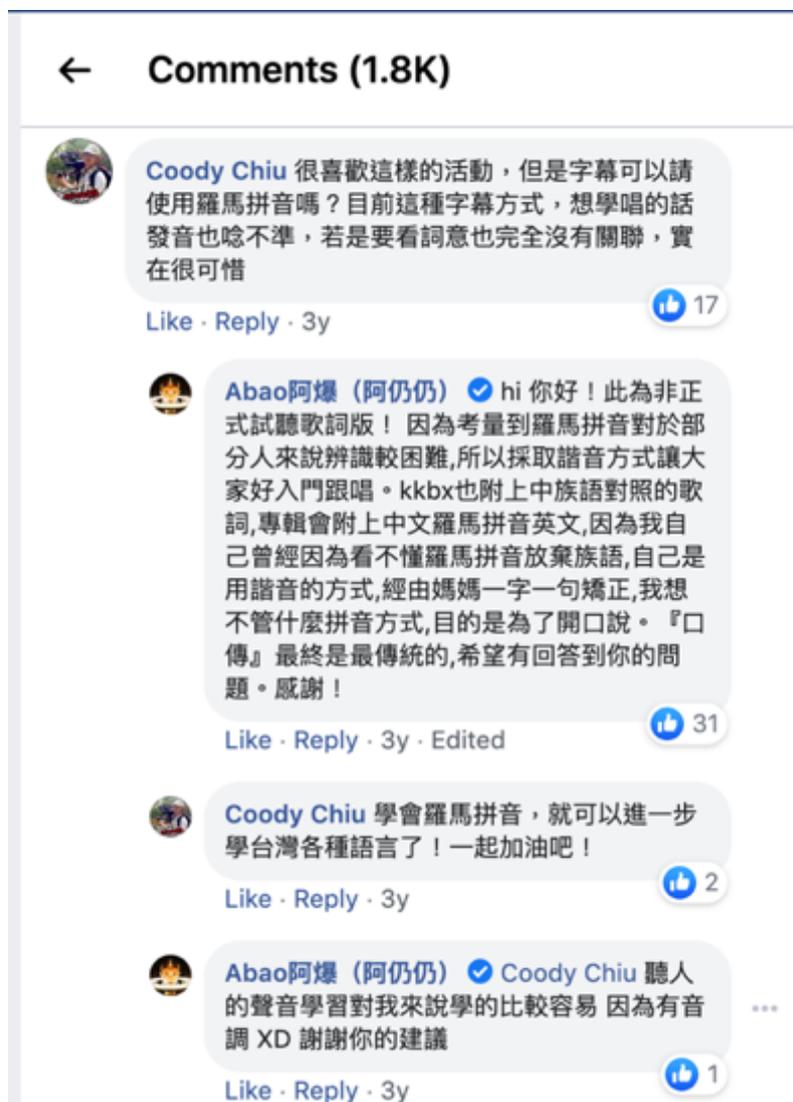
Figure 6-3: The discussion of the subtitles on Facebook

In this case of discussing the language that is used to interpret the indigenous language into words on the Facebook frontstage, to rethink the identity is not just something for the musicians, but also for the audiences. More specifically, it is not for just the indigenous peoples, but also for the non-indigenous people in Taiwan. For musicians who manage the content on their official fan pages, this discussion would be part of their process of self-conception in their rethinking of their identity.

> The netizens discuss it themselves. In that discussion, you will see a lot of different ideas. They will discuss it. This is a very interesting place on the Internet. You just need to tell everyone your position on the matter when doing this, and after that, you don't need to be emotional. Then you can see how many people think about it while commenting on social media. (Aljenljeng/Abao, 26 February 2019, Taipei)

However, the differentiating features of Facebook are essential, and even Facebook is a composite of objects and narratives/prose (Boz, 2012: 5). The fan page on Facebook is for the public to 'like' (Figure 6-4), rather than for sending a friend request, and the discussion usually happens among people who 'like' the page. That means that the actions that musicians have taken will show on the users' Facebook page. It is not the common Facebook interaction of being friends, but more like the media, which are managed by someone, or by a group of users. They set the agenda and frame the issues so that they become a feed, and posting on social media involves words, photos, videos, and even links to other platforms. The manager of the fan page thus edits the page, uploads sound, and visual clips, and posts feed consciously.

> Sometimes, I really want to reduce the mother-tongue teaching lessons on social media. I think this kind of post cannot be too much, because the teaching of a mother tongue is very important, I like it ... and sometimes you can't really do too much in mother tongue teaching so that people will

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ignore it. You have to teach your mother tongue a little bit. When that sentence is beautiful, many people will ask you to record it, because they still don't know how to speak it. It's troublesome to edit the sound, but, yes, I am conscious of this. (Ado, 18 April 2019, London)

Figure 6-4: The fan page is for users to 'Like'

The indigenous musicians perform being indigenous people through their conscious impression management on social media. From another perspective, the musicians' self-identification might be affected by the process of self-presentation.

With respect to the multilink function on social media, cooperation with other YouTubers is popular with indigenous musicians. Suming commented that this cooperation is not for the music, but for the promotion of his album. However, the language is still a crucial material for this promotion.

> I think cooperation is not about the music itself, it's marketing. For example, I asked the YouTuber, Thai Yga (蔡阿嘎), to sing my songs in an indigenous language for just four sentences. If he helps us to make a special episode, he teaches me Hoklo (Tai-Yu), and I teach him my mother tongue. That's it. His high network volume sponsored me, or…he uses my

song in the title of his YouTube video, just ten seconds, maybe the best part of my song. This is a kind of cooperation. (Suming, 17 Oct 2018, Edinburgh)

The performance of being indigenous is formed gradually in this process of promotion on social media. Even if they are indigenous people, they still need to perform in the front-stage area. In the case of Suming's proposal to cooperate with a non-indigenous YouTuber, he is trying to use the cultural exchange involved in the language as a strategy through which to attract audiences. Indigenous peoples have a unique cultural purity, although the emancipatory potential of hybridity has become an analytical cliché (Tucker, 2011: 388). This means that maintaining original cultural lifestyles is a cultural claim. When they attempt to engage with modernity, this would be regarded as evidence that denies their distinct identity (Ibid.). That is also the reason why indigenous musicians manage the impression that viewers/listeners obtain by maintaining the so-called 'original cultural life', which may be imagined by others. After performing constantly during the communication process with others, rethinking one's self-identity has become another ideology of being colonized, unconsciously, on social media in contemporary Taiwan, especially when musicians have attempted to fit into the mainstream popular culture on social media.

> I really don't think that every singer can express their own argument well, because it is not easy for people to express and discuss this issue. I don't think social media users are interested in this identity issue. A vast number of social media users have no motivation for indigenous consciousness or for issues in relation to indigenous peoples. They don't want to pay attention to them. It is weird that they pay attention to something boring that I posted on Facebook. (Ado, 18 April 2019, London).

As discussed above, the self-identity of indigenous musicians is influenced by the communicative process with others on social media, but the self-conception in

reference to indigenous issues and identity is embodied in their musical works. Music, which is dynamic, makes musicians legitimate interlocutors through whom to communicate with colonized history. The features of the music are constructed by socio-economic change, multicultural politics, the booming global market in exoticism, and the shifting rhetoric of the international indigenous movement (Ibid.: 408-409). Indigenous musicians use social media resources to influence the public debate, but, meanwhile, they might be affected by the Other's perspective via consciously reflecting on it.

6.6   Conclusion

Language is often regarded as a meaningful transmission channel that is connected with music. When redefining music that is related to indigenous culture, the indigenous language used in lyrics is often the first step to be used as a framework within which to classify a music genre. As Panai Kusui uses different languages, rather than indigenous languages, to convey her strong emotions, in which the indigenous identity has become embodied through its linking to the social issues rather than to the indigenous languages, it can still communicate cultural knowledge that is connected to the land. However, the indigenous musicians have still been imprisoned within the framework of language.

From the context of conversations with contemporary musicians about their identity, this research found that indigenous musicians have their individual interpretation of defining the music that is produced by themselves. Whether musicians think that identity is defined or undefined, that the music has narrow or broad definition, that the music origin is crucial, and even that the definition of indigenous music relies on the elders' ability to sing, it does indeed indicate that music cannot be simply defined in a fixed way.

Moreover, when the definition gains most musicians' preferences, the less true interpretation can instead be formed during the identity construction. The music genre cannot be framed by language, although language is important to expression in music. However, language is not the only way.

From the previous discussion, the musicians' experience is essential for reconstructing the music culture and for rethinking the identity of being indigenous in contemporary Taiwan. The historical perspective that is rooted in indigenous culture has affected musicians' self-identification through redefining the music that they themselves produce. The argument around defining music that is related to indigenous culture is represented and transformed during the ongoing intercultural process by contemporary indigenous musicians.

The ethnic languages that musicians have used in their musical works represent their strong identity and also reveal the gap between generations, as the cultural knowledge and wisdom exist behind the language. Languages need to be inherited, and this makes the indigenous musicians take responsibility for using it in their music. Thus, on one hand, the ethnic languages change among generations when they are inherited by musicians with diverse backgrounds in contemporary society. On the other hand, music can be seen as being an appropriate channel through which to fulfill the gap between the elders and the younger generation. It can be seen that the differences in heritage languages between the generations are therefore not just the symbols of diverse ethnic groups, but are unique for different generations in building their identity.

Music-making is a self-conscious process that is used to rethink their complicated identity on their own in contemporary society by indigenous musicians. Music empowers people within their own cultural context (Rudd, 1997: 11), and thus, becoming Taiwanese contemporary indigenous musicians is to situate themselves in the Taiwanese context, as music is related to identity building. Music provides a space

for intercultural interaction and the understanding of other cultures. Self-presentation online also demonstrates the communication between musicians and audiences. As a result, self-identity is constructed through the progress of self-presentation, which is affected by multiple perspectives from others when they perform their identity online consciously, and music thus presents a different appearance.

Chapter 7　Discussion

'azua tja kinakaian,
(Our words are natural)
bulay aravac aia.
(How beautiful it sounds)
azua tja kinakaian,
(What we say is accustomed)
bulay aravac aia.
(How beautiful it sounds)'[40]

7.1　Introduction

Thinking of 'being indigenous' may be simplified as a self-presentation on the Internet, especially when the boundaries between indigenous culture and life have become increasingly blurred with the modernization of indigenous society. Social media provides a virtual space in which indigenous people can reconstruct their identities. Those indigenous people who live in the digital media generation have also begun to use social media to represent the indigenous people's cultural context, which is different from daily life, and they even re-construct their identity through self-presentation online.

Using empirical evidence, this research analyzed the indigenous musicians' self-presentation online and found that musicians perform their identities differently by using varied forms of symbolic communication. In the process, this research also sought to explore, using interviews as a methodology, how Taiwanese musicians defined indigeneity. This discussion chapter revisits some of the key findings in this thesis and contextualizes them within the key, relevant debates on social media use and identity performance.

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[40]　The lyrics is the Paiwan ancient song '*Sinacealjan*', which is used in Abao's song '*Kinakaian (Mother tongue)*'. It reminds us the beauty of heritage language.

The first section of this chapter will examine Taiwanese indigenous musicians' daily performance online as a social non-movement in order to address the substance of their online self-presentation in the context of the unfinished decolonization project. After understanding the link between daily performance online and social non-movement, unpacking the musicians' performance, through the discussion of 'playing themselves' for multiple audiences, is explored in the following section in order to perceive the musicians' identity being reshaped and reconstructed in contemporary Taiwan. The identity that indigenous musicians performed is absolutely a suture into Taiwan society. The concept of the articulation of spatiality and temporality should thus be explored, as it reflects the identities, both on- and offline and between tradition and modernity.

This research re-examines the indigenous identity in contemporary Taiwan with an indigenous perspective on popular culture, as Taiwan's indigenous culture has been affected by colonial history and there are few studies of indigenous popular culture in Taiwan. This research provides the views of active indigenous musicians who are the cultural communicators who make bridges between the elders and the younger generation. Becoming an indigenous musician in postmodern Taiwan is a controversial phenomenon and thus it needs a conjunctional analysis that delves into both the past and the contemporary. This research thus discusses the whole picture of being an indigenous musician in contemporary Taiwan in its final part.

7.2   Daily performance as social non-movement

This research focuses on Taiwanese indigenous musicians' daily performances online, which are regarded as social non-movements from the perspective that musicians interpret their identity as a process. The social non-movement, in this research, applies the meaning of the collective actions of non-collective actors that are

embodied in the peoples' fragmented, but similar, practices (Bayat, 2010: 14). In Taiwan, the history of the indigenous movement has certainly played a significant role in raising awareness about the rights of indigenous peoples. The term 'Yuanzhumin (原住民, indigenous people)' that most of the Taiwanese use at present, therefore, refers to meaning being the first nation in Taiwan, and so this is a success for indigenous peoples. However, the decolonization status of the Yuanzhumin remains unfinished. Most scholars and commentators in Taiwan, even the indigenous people, have raised the issue of indigeneity in Taiwan (Hsu, 2010a; Hsu, 2010b; Chen, 2016; Hsieh, 2017b; Chiu, 2020). For example, Hsieh (2017b: 240-241) just mentioned that the indigenous people on the front of stage are awakened, and are active in building a positive future, but the backstage to indigenous peoples' daily lives is disheartenment. However, the daily lives of indigenous people should be seen through a channel connecting the front and backstage. Hsieh's perspective reminds us of the diverse routes of daily performance, which represent a social non-movement in the context of unfinished decolonization

Suming's diverse sounds and images on his Facebook page and YouTube channel show the different aspects of his contemporary indigeneity, which exists within the larger ecosystem of culture and politics (Tan, 2017: 41). This daily performance reflects symbols of stereotyped traditional indigenous culture, but also, collectively, provides a view of an indigenous musicians' life beyond the notion of it being 'authentic' or showing 'indigeneity'. Furthermore, as the qualitative data demonstrated, some musicians shed light on their hometown life in the tribe or village so as to create a sense of 'authentic 'indigeneity/identity', e.g., Anu and Tai Siao-Chun. Anu has uploaded photos of the ocean and guitars to show a coherent image on Facebook that will build the audiences' knowledge in relation to the east coast of Taiwan. Tai Siao-Chun has posted in relation to her daily life information about her village, such as river scenes,

music festivals, and the related affairs of the village, as she is the president of the tribal youth association. This alternative online performative identity somehow overlaps with the musicians' private lives, but it can also be seen as a public social non-movement.

Performing is a must in a musicians' daily life, as it helps them build their reputation. Performing being indigenous musicians reveals the social characteristics of a social non-movement. First, the claims made by music-making are largely made individually. It is also described as politics of practice, which is merged through everyday life rather than by protest within a social movement (Bayat, 2010: 19-20). Furthermore, music in indigenous society is a common every day, cultural practice. As a result, music created by Taiwanese indigenous musicians will be transmitted in the indigenous society, and even in non-indigenous society, in order to unconsciously affect indigenous people. This kind of power of non-movements, such as music, will have influences on the norms and rules of indigenous issues through the communication between musicians and audiences, especially when more and more indigenous youths are trying to make art to express their thoughts on some controversial issues. That is the art of presence (Ibid.) in Taiwanese indigenous society that indigenous musicians write songs in relation to indigenous social issues and that audiences reflected when listening to musicians' works.

In addition, it is important that indigenous musicians engage in the role of construction when they are performing online through self-presentation. The digital activities on social media are observable, and the motivation behind them is explored. The motivation for self-presentation is activated by others' assessment and by the understanding of others' behavior (even for the potential behavior) (Baumeister & Hutton, 1987: 71). It can be seen that when users regard social media as a platform for their performances, they will be subject to other users' evaluations, or to their understanding of their own behaviors. The discussion here is not just the identity of

being indigenous, but also that of being a musician. It is therefore important to discuss the strategies they use to attract the audiences' attention on their fan pages. Although the motivation of musicians is distinguished between 'pleasing the audience', which allows self-presentation to match the expectations of the audience, and 'self-construction', which allows self-presentation to conform to the ideal self (Baumeister, 1982), the indigenous musicians continuously perform and communicate on social media under the overlapping influence of the two motivations.

7.3 Unpack the performance

The cultural subjects, such as indigenous people, 'play themselves' for multiple audiences as they are trying to be identified by the powerful audiences (Clifford, 2013: 47). On one hand, indigenous musicians care about their identity and, on the other, they take advantage of it to carry out the performance.

The indigenous musicians I observed and interviewed performed a multilayered identity that required unpacking. On the one hand, they put a great effort into reviving their heritage cultures through music-making, album releasing, and deploying diverse communicative strategies to communicate with their audiences. The musicians improvise differently, and they approach performing indigeneity by mixing both traditional and modern forms of discursivity.

On the other hand, they are also, I should add, subservient to commercial pressures, since their music is aimed at both indigenous and non-indigenous audiences. This situation is associated with the colonized history of Taiwan. When Taiwanese indigenous musicians have communicated with audiences through music, they will somehow be affected by the dominant government, or the majority groups in Taiwan. This is a colonized history that is affected by survival, which has been a dynamic process of uprooting and re-rooting, of shifting scales and affiliations, and of reducing

identities (Clifford, 2007: 197). These musicians live in a shaped, complex era of emergence, in which becoming indigenous is a process of performative 'voice' (Ibid.).

As diverse audiences, with varying scopes of discipline and freedom, will enact their performative indigenous identities (Clifford, 2013: 48), the contradictions between double performances are evoked. This was demonstrated in the fieldwork by indigenous musicians' on- and offline displays of traditional costumes. Indigenous musicians generally make a connection between wearing traditional costumes and their ancestors' spiritual presence, especially in relation to the handmade costumes. However, there's little emphasis on traditional costumes online, and musicians seldom upload images of themselves wearing traditional costumes online. Most of the time, they intentionally upload photos showing them wearing casual clothes in order to perform another so-called daily tribal life or village life in their hometown. This daily tribal life performance, via their self-presentation online, represents the articulation between modernity and indigeneity, which is constructed by considering the Others' subjective angle of view.

This is not an appropriation of indigenous materials, nor an essential ethnic distinction, but is related to the transmission of the ethnic consciousness of indigenous performers through self-presentation within a modern performative framework (Chen, 2018: 155). To explore the modern performative framework in this research, the different gaze from the various indigenous and non-indigenous audiences should be discussed. This gaze drives the multiple identities that indigenous musicians feed into a large ecosystem of indigenous modernity with closely integrated digitality (Tan, 2017: 47). They talk about their growth stories, indigenous issues through music-making and self-presentation, which are embodied on social media platforms with a hybrid of the heritage and Mandarin languages. Indigenous musicians' ability to manipulate digital

media is one of the reasons for their complex indigeneity, and it specifically promotes indigenous awareness and results in discourses online (Ibid.).

Raising indigenous awareness is vital in colonial history in Taiwan (Ching, 2018: 28) and the performance can thus be regarded as a method through which to fight for the rights of indigenous peoples. The performance of being indigenous in a post-modern society is reshaped and reconstructed under the globalized market for identities, in which native communities are oppressed and enticed (Clifford, 2013: 30). The key selling point of the performance is that it is exotic for tourists. Applying this perspective, in this research, is used to examine the performance of the self-presentation by indigenous musicians online, and their live music performances offline, in Taiwan, and it was found that the cultural subjects perform a kind of social non-movement in order to promote indigenous awareness.

7.4   Language, music and indigeneity

Language is one of the examples that must be tackled in this discussion of performances. The previous chapters not only discussed the language teaching posts used by musicians on social media and the formation of popular heritage languages' cultures,[41] but also discussed the lyrics of their musical works. The indigenous musicians are keen to preserve heritage culture, especially that of the endangered languages, so they regarded singing in an indigenous language as being their responsibility in order to transfer this culture to future generations, and to have it recognized by other ethnic groups. To unpack the performance of the languages, they are not just a tool for musicians that is used to display the indigeneity that audiences

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[41] See page 193.

use to identify their indigenous identity, but also creates an exotic atmosphere via the establishing of an alternative language culture on social media.

Let us take some unique indigenous internet slang words as examples: '矮沙 (Aisa)' is an auxiliary word that is used to express different kinds of attitudes, such as happiness, anger, and crying; '海嘯 (tsunami), in indigenous society, means 'still need to (還是要)' due to the homophone in Mandarin. This alternative culture in languages has become popular when performers want to perform their indigenous identities, or wish to pretend that s/he is close to indigenous culture both on- and offline. To begin, this alternative culture is used on social media. After it has become popular, they use it in their real daily life. The particular marginality of indigenous existence in Taiwan has been represented in specific ways through diverse types of connectivity (Tan, 2017: 48). They played themselves via performing indigenous pronunciations, which caused discrimination in the previous generations but which, in this generation, this is undertaken in order to entertain non-indigenous audiences and to present their performative indigenous identity.

In dealing with the terms of 'performance' and 'performativity', this research applies Butler's (1999) perspective to distinguish between performance and performativity, a concept which she has arrived at through her analysis of gender performance. The performance refers to people's speeches and actions, such as raising hands, eating, telling jokes, etc., so that every action that can be seen by the others might be called a 'performance'. This means that all of their actions are made in order that others can watch them. In contrast, 'performativity' means that people's actions can be regarded as a performance by others, and this describes the nature of performance as 'performative' (Salih, 2002: 45). The crucial point of analyzing the performance process is that the performer is less important than the actions. We

recognize a person by the impression of their performance, which has nothing to do with the performer (Ibid.: 63; Butler. 1999: 25).

However, there is a concept here that needed to be clarified. The performance of indigenous musicians is related to their indigenous identity. This means that sometimes people ascribe the performances, such as the clothes that are worn, pronunciations, etc., add to the indigenous identity, and sometimes musicians' identity is first recognized and is then connected to their performance. Yet, the identity has still been performative but there is a difference in degree. As Clifford (2013: 21) indicated, the concept of '*présence indigene*', which means a public role that is to be perceived in the globalized world. The connotation of '*présence indigene*' is actually related to the process of rearticulation. It is performed at traditional occasions, such as language revival, traditional territory protection, performed at arts festivals, at cultural festivals, and at political activities. However, this image will sometimes lapse into self-stereotyping. As a result, the distribution of their true belief in, and strategy for, self-presentation in performative identity, is difficult to measure.

7.5   Social media and identity

In recent years, the Internet under globalization has been driven to maturity when exploring the connection between the Internet and society through the influence of social media to change information, through the construction of various issues, and through the perception of the masses (Stinger & Brooking, 2018: 50). The 'Internet' that is presented in contemporary society is not just made up of the 'networking' that was discussed in the past but is an ecosystem that is composed of people around the world who use their thoughts, since everyone desires to leave their footprint on this digital public land (Ibid.: 52).

Social media have indeed reconstructed a more expanded world, one with a new attitude. Although the audience believes that they can distinguish the boundary between the media and their own lives, such a sense of distance actually exists between the viewer and events, rather than between users and events. Digital media thus still forces people to change their daily behaviors and activities (Appadurai, 1996: 3). The tradition, which emphasized social unity and new forms of cultural communication, is being reconnected through new contexts, and performed to different audiences through new digital communication methods, and Facebook has also become a new site for tribal mobilization (Clifford, 2013: 21).

On one hand, digital tagging is used to broaden the scope of messages so as to share thoughts and communicate with the users and, as a result, users can be involved in an issue through using tagging on social media, such as Facebook and Twitter (Gündüz, 2017). For example, the controversial post[42] about Taiwanese indigenous on Instagram by a YouTuber, 'Alisasa', caused flaming online, and Abao called upon her audiences to reply to Alisasa's post by correcting the discriminatory words on Instagram's *Story* function. Another example of tagging is 'NoOneisOutsider', which is used to support the protest relating to traditional territory, which was based on Ketagalan Boulevard in Taiwan and, after this protest, this tag has been widely employed in other social movements and issue raising campaigns.

On the other hand, the everyday user presents their identity online through regular social media use, which helps the development of sophisticated visual practices, and so engaging in social media has become an important self-presentation tactic in online culture (Stokes & Price, 2017: 160). As described in the previous chapter, Taiwanese indigenous musicians are engaged in communicating with their fans through self-

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[42] See page 68.

presentation. In addition, lots of communication occurs by means of the visual arrangement, especially when internet speeds have contributed to the current information age (Cinque, 2015). It has been noted that the musicians construct and maintain a continuous practice of identity, specifically by uploading photos and videos onto the social media, such as their profile photo and cover photo/videos on Facebook, and through the image arrangement on Instagram. This makes the indigenous musicians produce flattering framing as the signature visual representation of indigenous identity online.

According to Jones & Hafner (2012), people were trying to present and promote their real selves, without anonymous action moving towards authenticity online, in the 2010s. This tendency means that identity construction has become vital for users in order to associate musicians with their indigenous identity in Taiwan. Precisely because of this, indigenous musicians have performed their identity through daily self-presentation.

7.6 The Articulation of spatiality and temporality

As discussed previously, daily self-presentation online can be viewed as a social non-movement, but from another point of view, and is a performance undertaken to display performative identity. This research discovered an articulation of temporality between tradition and modernity in the performance. Indigenous musicians regarded themselves as being a channel through which to bridge tradition and modernity. For example, Tai Siao-Chun created a warrior song for her village. This was for youths to sing and dance when the younger generation raised the issue of why there was no warrior song in their village. When she was trying to compose it, and wrote the lyrics, she asked the elders for help. The warrior song for her village reflects a belief in a reviving culture in the contemporary world and embodies the ancestor's traditional

spirit from her heart. Tai Siao-Chun's performative identity possesses true belief and a strategy of self-presentation through the articulation of tradition and modernity, rather than as a kind of musical hybrid.

Some Taiwanese scholars have explored the notion of articulation in different musical works. Huang (2015) applied Stuart Hall's (1995) concept of articulation to discuss the articulations of heterogeneous elements between indigenous people and the Han Chinese, indigenous music and western music, and the tribal and theatre space through three routes: context creation, music-making, and performance practice, in the Taiwanese musical drama *On the Road (很久沒有敬我了你)*[43]. After this, Chen (2016) examined the concepts relating to the musical modernity of Taiwanese Aborigines and the Aborigines' responses to modernity, through exploring the articulations of modernity and aboriginality in the same musical drama that was studied by Huang. Huang pointed to the perception of the spatial and interpersonal relationships, and Chen applied Huang's ideas to discussing the interpersonal relationships between the indigenous performers in this musical drama. To follow on in this context, this research argues in regard to the relation of on- and offline spaces, and the temporality between tradition and modernity, through the use of observation on social media, and through the dialectic around the definition of indigenous music.

Articulations awaken a profound meaning in relation to the term 'politics', a production process of transforming life that is inherent in all societies, which includes consent, exclusion, alliance, and hostility (Clifford, 2013: 55). Observing the indigenous musicians' online self-presentation provides a rich complex practice around which to discuss the performative identity behind the performing. However, the

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[43] *On the Road* is coordinated by the founder of *Taiwan Color Music (角頭音樂)*, CHANG 43（張四十三） and integrates the indigenous singers with an orchestra, and with documentary film, in 2010. (https://www.artsticket.com.tw/CKSCC2005/Product/Product00/ProductsDetailsPage.aspx?ProductID =hx0fZA09nGfA7Z68jAxcCQ)

sophisticated concept of dwelling and traveling in indigenous society needs to be mentioned first, in order to understand the indigenous people's offline daily life. The relation between colonial fixity and post-colonial mobility, and between indigenous roots and diasporic routes, could not be simplified as being antagonism or disparate parts of a story (Ibid.: 59). This articulation is thus conceptualized as a discourse with which to voice the situation. This research applies this connotation of articulation so as to explore the different performances on- and offline, as well as the temporality, when musicians mentioned the hybrid that is formed between a traditional and contemporary melody in the process of music-making.

Hall (1995: 53) pointed out that articulation is a linkage that is not necessary, determined, absolute, and essential for all time. He also interpreted the connotation of a theory of articulation:

> …ideology discovers its subject rather than how the subject thinks the necessary and inevitable thoughts which belong to it; it enables us to think how an ideology empowers people, enabling them to begin to make some sense or intelligibility of their historical situation, without reducing those forms of intelligibility to their socio-economic or class location or social position (Ibid.).

This is to say that, in this research, the theory of articulation enables audiences to understand how indigeneity empowers indigenous musicians to understand their identity through music, self-presentation, and performance.

Indigeneity entitles musicians' performances of indigenous identity via self-presentation on social media, and thus gradually constructs multiple aspects of 'being an indigenous musician'. Some musicians prefer traditional appearances, and some prefer to weaken traditional features. Some musicians often emphasize the preservation of heritage languages, and some prefer to use modern colloquial language to communicate.

The 'authenticity' of being indigenous is a kind of 'novelty (Frith, 2001: 96)' for non-indigenous people in Taiwan. In dealing with pop music, particularly, when indigenous musicians hybridize different genres and, with the so-called exotic indigenous style, this 'authenticity' will be the 'novelty' for the audiences who stand in a colonist position. This reflects the double layers of the performative identity that musicians 'play themselves' in music with a reverse musical appropriation, in order to satisfy the non-indigenous flavor, and it also reflects the articulation of their on- and offline identity and the articulations of tradition and modernity. As the previous chapter demonstrated, Abao says the tradition is newness for the younger generation, the metaphor behind the interaction between traditional materials and modern approaches, and the interaction that is involved in the indigenous culture, both on- and offline, has gradually become an identity, which has an effect on complete audiences.

Nevertheless, the cultural continuum of indigenous societies is often unevenly distributed, and there is no guaranteed continuous and transformative structure (Clifford, 2013: 61). The performative identity behind the performances of indigenous musicians, consequently, has been dynamic, although musicians have explored the definition of indigenous music that is related to their identities. For example, Sangpuy has long focused on the learning and singing of ancient. He retains more ancient tunes and tribal choruses while composing, and his music is relatively traditional and complete, in the sense of listening to it. His public representation for audiences is strongly associated with his music. He often uses photography, in which he wears traditional costumes in his self-presentation online in order to perform his contemporary revived identity which is distinct from that of the younger generation of indigenous musicians.

The connotations of the theory of articulation are to 'be made', 'unmade', and 'remade' (Ibid.: 62). Accordingly, indigenous musicians have the ability to select

history and to reconstruct themselves, as diverse appearances of being indigenous in contemporary Taiwan. In Panai Kusui's story, she has not inherited the indigenous language of her hometown, but audiences in Taiwan recognize her as an indigenous musician due to her identity as an activist musician in indigenous movements. Her post-colonial mobility and diasporic routes are based on the colonial history of Taiwan and on her perspective as a lost indigenous musician under the unfinished project. This is the reason that she sings in Mandarin, but audiences understand her performative identity and her concern about the issues she has raised via online self-presentation.

As far as this research is concerned, it is not saying that the theory of articulation can interpret the indigeneity that indigenous musicians have, and which affects them. This research has regarded the concept of articulation as a possibility for reconstruction in order to discuss the diverse performative identities shown by the performances of indigenous musicians, and to rethink the process of becoming indigenous in contemporary Taiwan. The indigenous identity, in contemporary Taiwan, is complex and non-linear in relation to colonial history, so resituating it in the large, flexible global world is a process of becoming. This resituating process can be seen as being the cultural suture.

The cultural 'suture' that Stephen Heath (1981) called the 'intersection', is a concept through which to discuss the concept of articulation (Hall, 1996: 6). Identity is a representation in which the subject is informed and constructed by deficiencies and by the other's position. The subject thus needs to be sutured into the historical position with willingness. It is not a unilateral process (Ibid.). The performance of indigenous musicians is to be sutured into Taiwanese diverse society, even if it is still on the way, and is unfinished and decolonized. Yet, as the previous discussion demonstrates, identity politics is a process, one that includes consent, exclusion, alliance, and hostility. The concept of suture does not just mean consent, but also other attitudes.

Moreover, Taiwanese indigenous musicians are trying to be sutured into the Austronesian culture so as to connect outside of Taiwan. Here, the performative identity behind the performance is transformative survival, which hinges on selective assimilation, resistance, transgression and concealment with which to reckon on diverse audiences (Clifford, 2013: 19). The range of audiences thus expands, and the scope of the audience's location also extends. Ado has collaborated with Austronesian musicians in recent years, and that can be observed from her self-presentation on social media and in her album, *Sasela'an*. Through the discussion about indigenous music when I interviewed her, she pointed out that the comparison between different cultures prompts musicians to discover new ideas, especially when the cultural encountering happened between the homogeneous Austronesian culture and Taiwanese indigenous culture. Ado performs her identity in a different way via online self-presentation, and she believes that the connection to the Austronesian is a unique way for audiences to imagine her as Austronesian, rather than as just being indigenous. The intersection between the on- and offline is involved in the discourse around the local and the global.

Although, at present, the cultural encountering will be regarded as a symbolic phenomenon, the act of encountering, and the spatiality within and through which it happens, gravitate to the phantasmagoric (Sabry, 2010: 11). Cultural encounters now occur for anyone in any part of the world at the click of a button (Ibid.). Applying this notion of cultural encountering in order to interpret the articulation within the complexity between the spatiality of the on- and offline is suitable for discussing the performance of the collaboration between Taiwanese indigenous and other Austronesian musicians. When cultural encounters between different countries have become a way of performance via self-presentation online, this represents a phenomenon of globalization which is relative to the localness in Taiwan. That is, if the authenticity that indigenous musicians play themselves represents a 'newness' for

the non-indigenous audiences in Taiwan's society, the performance in which indigenous musicians collaborate with other countries' indigenous musicians is another 'novelty' for the other indigenous musicians in Taiwan.

The representation of newness, and the novelty here, is a comparative cultural concept that the indigenous musicians have internalized in the affect of their music, which is affected by the temporality between tradition and modernity. Most of the indigenous musicians involved in this research have the responsibility for the revival of their own endangered heritage cultures. However, they are unable to live in a truly traditional surrounding the 'suture' between tradition and modernity that these indigenous musicians have performed is thus influenced by globalization and the sense of the locale[44] of indigenous culture and, as Giddens (1991: 1) pointed out, the modernity is the interconnection that the two 'extremes' of extensionality, for instance, globalization, and intentionality, the personal dispositions on the other, interacted. This means some of the contemporary indigenous musicians are affected by globalization to connect to other ethnic groups in the world and some of them intentionally 'suture' to the tradition to trace back the origins of indigenous culture that is influenced by each musician's background.

The discussion on social non-movement, performances, and their articulations so far, is dialectical of the identity that the research project explores in relation to the performances of indigenous musicians' self-identity process through the communication of music-making and self-presentation. It shows the diverse appearances of the indigenous musicians' experiences, which are enhanced or weakened by different factors that pertain in contemporary Taiwan. Self-identity is the

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[44] The sense of locale is expressed and felt through internal and external re-negotiations (Clifford, 2013: 80).

reflexivity of knowing themselves (Sabry, 2010: 206) as both being indigenous and being musicians, and offers continuity across time and space (Giddens, 1991: 53).

7.7   Being indigenous musicians in contemporary Taiwan

Exploring the articulation of spatiality and temporality acquires the performative identities of diverse performances. This research is thus not trying to use a rigid angle from which to think about the identities which are formed by a variety of indigenous experiences. Indigenous people have developed new and creative strategies in order to fight for space and sovereignty, through which they are trying to find a way to survive in a complex and diverse modernity, while maintaining independence, and this usually rests on cultural heritage transmission and locality and the ongoing history (Clifford, 2013: 81-82). These diverse performances display the everyday performative identities of being indigenous and of self-identification in the musical work of being musicians in Taiwan.

The context of colonial history in Taiwan is embodied in the thinking of indigeneity. From the conversations with the indigenous musicians interviewed, they often take the responsibility for their cultural heritage, including the languages, traditional cultures, and artistic aspects, as a necessity of being indigenous. Yet, the self-identification still comprises the question about who is indigenous, although their identity is issued by the Han-dominated government. The process of music-making and of communication to their fans, thus makes musicians approach the rethinking of their identity through reexamining the definition of indigenous music, through a growing process, by reviewing the content of the online presentation, and through live performances offline.

Taiwanese indigenous peoples are diverse ethnic groups, so each of the indigenous experiences is rare and incomparable. The definition could not be precise when most

scholars were trying to find a unified induction through which to interpret the scope of the features of one indigenous ethnic group. It will also be a risk when trying to organize the indigenous (as *Yuanzhumin*) in comparison to the Han-Chinese in Taiwan. This is the original concept of this research: that the identity of being indigenous musicians is not just about discussing the collective identity of being *Yuanzhumin* in Taiwan but is also about being indigenous from their own tribe. The interaction between collective and individual identity has been affected by social changes and has been performed via self-presentation and music in everyday life. Consequently, the question about what the definition of indigenous music is, is best answered by active indigenous musicians in contemporary Taiwan. In other words, indigenous musicians who need to answer the question about what the identity of being indigenous is themselves, and do this through examining the modality of the music that they produce.

The definition of 'indigenous' has been researched by diverse scholars. They have usually defined it through reconceptualizing it through an interdisciplinary and self-identification framework (Corntassel, 2003: 77). As Kinsbury (1998) advocates, as essential requirements of being indigenous, the indigenous people need self-identification as a distinct ethnic group, to have had the historical experience of vulnerability or exploitation, together with a long connection with the region, and the viewpoint that they hope to retain a distinct identity. Taiwanese indigenous people clearly meet the requirements. The issue in this research is to create a flexible and inclusive discourse with which to break through the framework that regards the diverse Taiwanese indigenous ethnic groups as a collective population, even giving this collective population united characteristics, rather than finding a definition of being indigenous.

7.8 Conclusion

The environment that is shaped by contemporary Taiwan for the indigenous youth who were born in the 1990s, and where they are are growing up in a political atmosphere that emphasizes multiculturalism, regards indigenous culture as Taiwan's native characteristics. Becoming indigenous is an encouraging ambition and even a necessary responsibility (Chiu, 2020: 49). Multiple performances provide thinking about the performative identities of being indigenous. From the observation of indigenous musicians' performative identities, the indigenous experiences from the musicians in Taiwan suggest that this identity is not fixed.

This research contributes profound, detailed, and rich data in relation to indigenous musicians' online self-presentation via thick description and interviewing data through the use of which to discuss their thoughts about being indigenous or becoming indigenous. The research's purpose is to break through the conservative framework of collective identity and, thus, the indigenous musicians provide a valuable discussion of the identity that lies behind their performative identity, which can be seen via the exploration of performance.

As Taiwan's indigenous culture has been affected by colonial history, there are few studies of Taiwanese indigenous popular culture in Taiwan and, instead, there are more studies that tend to focus on preservation and on the music's contextual analysis. This research provides an indigenous perspective of popular culture in Taiwan which should be rethought as a means through which to reexamine contemporary identity in Taiwan. The active indigenous musicians I interviewed act as cultural communicators, acting as bridges between the elders' traditional cultures and languages and a younger, hybrid, and postmodern generation.

Being indigenous in postmodern times is a highly contested phenomenon, as it requires a conjunctional analysis that delves into both the past and the contemporary.

However, the communication that the indigenous musicians make known demonstrates their position to the audiences, the 'traditional' others, the other ethnic groups, and the mass, via online self-presentation in everyday life, is a sphere within which to recognize their self-identification process, which is different to that of the previous generation, in no matter what aspects.

In the era of globalization, with its increasingly blurred borders, the so-called 'going home' of contemporary indigenous youth, is actually a form of commuting between urban and rural spaces (Chiu, 2020: 73). This means that the 'indigenous commuting' under the articulation that lies between rooted in and routed through in contemporary Taiwan, has to be more than a local pattern (Clifford, 2017: 64-69). Social media provide a space for indigenous youth to perform their contemporary identity through online self-presentation of 'indigenous commuting'. The creativity in the music that indigenous musicians own highlights their performative identity online, through which a difference is articulated between younger and previous generations, in that the elders regard going home as grounding in the tribes or villages. This gap among generations offers users a way of seeing contemporary identity through the performances of online self-presentation.

The nature of identity is dynamic and diverse. In the process of social interaction, the information exchanges are not just self-conversation, but are communication with others. Identification is a reorganizational process of past recognition and difference (Burke & Stets, 2009; Giddens, 1991). Their identity in being indigenous musicians is constructed by an identification process of music-making and self-presentation online, when they have conversations with themselves and communicate with others. This research sheds new light on the self-presentation of active indigenous musicians so as to understand the contemporary indigenous popular culture in Taiwan in relation to how it is different from the culture of previous generations. It can be seen as being a non-

movement that has been created by younger indigenous musicians under the unfinished decolonization project.

Although this research is a basic study of contemporary indigenous music culture in Taiwan, it still gives the indigenous culture a contemporary understanding of 'becoming indigenous'. Becoming indigenous is a dynamic process of social non-movement under the unfinished decolonization project in Taiwan.

Chapter 8   Conclusion

'*Pinokay to pinokay to ya wawa ako (Come home, come home, my child)*
Maruray to maruray to kiso (You are tired and exhausted)
Caay to liyangen iso ko kakarayan haw
(Don't you want to struggle and fight against the world?)
Pinokay to pinokay to ya wawa ako (Come home, come home, my child.)
Aka pihakeno i tisowanan a dawdawl.
(Don't forget, that I will leave a light on for you.)'[45]

One of the challenges encountered in writing this thesis is maintaining, rather than falling, into the perspective of being Others, and thus continuing to question myself about being inclusive so as to observe the phenomenon of indigenous musicians' self-presentation online and their performances during the fieldwork period. The main research purpose is to break the frame regarding Taiwanese indigenous peoples as a whole, if compared with other ethnic groups. A simplistic scheme of binary opposition cannot represent the pluralistic nature of the music produced by indigenous musicians in the Taiwanese context.

This thesis offers an indigenous perspective on popular culture in Taiwan as a method through which to re-examine contemporary identity in Taiwan. Under the colonial history, Taiwan's indigenous culture has been influenced. There are few studies on Taiwanese indigenous popular culture and, instead, more studies have focused on the preservation of traditions and contextual analysis of music. In this research, the active indigenous musicians, as cultural communicators, make bridges between generations and between tradition and modernity. Being an indigenous musician in postmodern Taiwan is a highly contested phenomenon, as it requires a conjunctional analysis that delves into both the past and the contemporary.

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[45] The lyrics are taken from the track '*Pinokay to ya wawa ako (Come Home, Child)*' of Ado's album *Sasela'an (Breath)*, which was released in 2020.

This thesis started from the historical context and the perspectives of the media and music industry in order to contextualize the dynamic music that is related to the colonial history of indigenous culture, and it has argued that the capability of social media allows indigenous people to present their complex identity, and to communicate with audiences, through music online. This thesis has thus discussed the sophisticated and diverse ethnic groups in Taiwan and the differences in their music cultures so as to research the relationship between indigenous musicians' affect and identity when they are engaged in the music-making process and are using social media as a platform from which to present them. The comprehensive debates on the complicated interactions among the Taiwanese indigenous musical network, indigenous culture, and networking on social media, showed that 'doing' indigenous identity is a work-in-progress for many, as the ritual of identity self-presentation is never finished (Fraser & Dutta, 2008: 40).

Observing the identity performance of indigenous musicians through music, online self-presentation, and offline performances, as an ethnographer, this research reflects that performing an indigenous identity is a pathway through the decolonization project in everyday life as a non-movement in Taiwan. As a lost generation of indigenous in Taiwan, the process of connecting to contemporary indigenous musicians is a way to understand the communication process of the 'bridging' between generations, between on- and offline, and between tradition and modernity.

When analyzing the data from the digital ethnography, the musicians' visual arrangements revealed that they have used symbols to represent the first sighting of their impression on social media. There are also issues posted that relate to indigenous on social media, in order to perform their indigenous identity, including lyrics in indigenous languages with a link to their musical works, discriminatory news, and sharing other musicians' posts. Additionally, musicians have uploaded diverse photos

and videos of their daily lives and working scenes to maintain a coherent indigenous identity that is seen to be performed online. In order to break the frame of regarding indigenous people as a whole by which undermines the diverse characters of different ethnic groups of Taiwanese indigenous people, this research stands the perspective that indigenous musicians have their own views to negotiate with the issues, music and they have the ability to communicate with audiences to display their multiple aspects.

From the analysis of the interview data, this research found that the contemporary indigenous musicians have their interpretation of the music they had produced when exploring the definition of so-called 'indigenous music'. These various interpretations identify their individual identity as indigenous in contemporary Taiwan, and they feature the diverse background of indigenous culture. Languages direct the audiences to recognize that each musician's personal identity belongs to a different indigenous ethnic group, and even sometimes to identify the different tribes and the villages that are the musicians' hometown. The crucial meaning is the metaphor behind the languages that demonstrate that the musicians are lost in the colonial history of Taiwan when musicians merely sing in Mandarin, rather than in indigenous languages.

Indigenous musicians often express their emotions in being the lost generation through self-presentation on social media, including posting songs related to this topic, language learning, and sharing news in relation to indigenous issues. The performance of being indigenous is formed gradually in this process of promotion, on social media, through self-presentation and discussion. This thesis thus unpacks the performance of contemporary indigenous musicians in the post-digital media age and offers five findings.

Finding 1: Play themselves as a performance

This thesis found that the prime issue lies in the fact that previous indigenous studies have considered the indigenous to be dominant-hegemonic audiences, with few abilities to negotiate and oppose the messages they receive through the perspective of audience research. When these previous studies explored the indigenous issue on this premise, and ignored the fact that they are also audiences, it is easy to fall into the perspective of being Others under this circumstance. This research, therefore, offered the possibility that the active contemporary indigenous musicians have the ability to negotiate. Rather, the indigenous musicians play themselves on social media since the musicians still suffered some discrimination.

According to Tan (2017: 48), the specific marginality of indigenous existence in Taiwan has taken effect on a particular type of connectivity. This is an essential factor through unpacking the online performance of playing themselves in Taiwan. Social media offer a virtual space in which indigenous musicians can present the identity of their subjective consciousness in reverse, rather than being represented by Others. This is exactly the main research scope to stand at the point of being indigenous in this thesis that contemporary indigenous musicians have the ability to present their personal thoughts via self-presentation when rethinking the identity, in particular, on social media.

Finding 2: Suturing performance into the local and global scene

The performance of indigenous musicians is sutured into the Taiwanese diverse society and into the Austronesian culture to connect indigenous culture outside of Taiwan. The authenticity that musicians play for the local society in Taiwan represents newness for non-indigenous audiences and for the global scene outside Taiwan, it shows novelty to other indigenous musicians in Taiwan when indigenous musicians

collaborate with foreign musicians. Surely, the subject requires to be willingly sutured into the local and global scene. Accordingly, the digital ethnography of online self-presentation proves the subjective consciousness of indigenous musicians both to perform and to be sutured into diverse scenes in contemporary Taiwan.

The reason that Taiwanese indigenous musicians are willing to be sutured into the contemporary context, as shown in this thesis, is that there is a multitude of transformative realities of digital media, which change the ways of thinking about the past, the present, and the future imperceptibly. Self-presentation is involved in musicians' daily life, as they are eager to express and communicate with others and to interact with society. The dramatical transformative realities thus motivate the active contemporary indigenous musicians in Taiwan to rethink the possibilities of the present, including the subjective consciousness of indigenous identity, our bodies, and ourselves (Tan, 2019: 266).

Finding 3: Indigenous musicians as a bridge for spatiality and temporality

'Homecoming' is a popular but elusive issue enabling the understanding of the contemporary indigenous situation in the complex and globalized digital age (Chiu, 2020: 73). As 'homecoming' seems to be oversimplified for the interpretation of the actions that Taiwanese indigenous musicians are engaged in at present, this thesis has employed the term 'indigenous commuting' (Clifford, 2017: 64) to support the behavior that we call going home.

Indigenous musicians are the principal feature of the process that forms the indigenous commuting, as they often commute between urban and rural spaces to acquire materials for creating music. Moreover, the indigenous commuting between rooted in and routed through, this thesis observed, is materialized in the self-presentation on social media. The visual arrangement on social media that musicians

set presents their commuting process in everyday life. With regard to spatiality, indigenous musicians have bridged their hometown and the area in which they usually live and have bridged on- and offline life in contemporary Taiwan.

Music, as a sphere for conversation, demonstrates lots of indigenous musicians' temporality, bridging between tradition and modernity, particularly to the knowledge of indigenous cultural heritage from the previous generation. They have learned from the elders to complete music works in which indigenous languages and culture are anchored in the Taiwanese context in colonial history. Their audiences have understood musicians' interpretations through their musical works and online self-presentation and have communicated and discussed them with the musicians that they follow. Besides, the indigenous musicians have created an imagined community of being indigenous, and even an imagined community of 'becoming indigenous', for those who are eager to be identified as indigenous, or who want to participate in indigenous culture.

Finding 4: Music-making as a process for rethinking identity

Behind this music-making process of experiencing cultures, indigeneity is constructed by an identification process. This thesis applied language that is used in lyrics and the thinking around music's definition to establish a debate for rethinking the identity. When discussing the issues of languages and definition, affect between indigenous musicians and the contemporary situation can be seen as an intensive and creative interaction. The differences among individuals are revealed through this affect. In light of this discussion, the analysis in Chapter Six is useful for returning to my initial proposition: that indigenous identity has multiple aspects that are embodied in the music-making and online self-presentation, rather than presenting themselves only as a collective identity.

As Tan (2017: 41) proposed the multiple identities of being an Amis singer in contemporary society, the indigeneity lies in a larger ecosystem of culture and politics and also in presenting the interaction between traditions and modernity.

> Collectively, these presentations reference symbols of stereotyped Amis 'traditionality' but also offer a holistic picture of a contemporary, networked aboriginal musician's life beyond the notion of any 'authentic' or 'ethnic' Amis-ness (Ibid.).

Tan's perspective provides a simple way to understand the presentations of indigenous musicians. However, this thesis has suggested a comprehensive discussion to illustrate the communication process that musicians present and perform their identity through self-presentation and music-making and interact with their audiences and other ethnic groups. While indigenous musicians attempt to create and define their music, the identification process has been initiated.

Finding 5: Performing identity through online self-presentation

Observation of indigenous musicians' multiple layers of performances and online self-presentation, the indigenous experiences of everyday life underlying the performative identities of being indigenous in contemporary Taiwan, construed that the identity is unfixed, as each of the indigenous experiences is rare and incomparable. People have found a way to survive in complex and diverse modernity while maintaining the uniqueness to develop creative strategies with which to fight for space and relational sovereignty under the articulation of the post-colonial period (Clifford, 2017: 81).

However, there were concerns about the misunderstanding of indigenous musical culture, for instance, in the discussion of the music's definition. As mentioned earlier, indigenous musicians have possibly created an imagined community, as a mainstream popular culture in indigenous society on social media, in which the Internet slang

creates a popular vibe intentionally shaping the imagined community of being indigenous or becoming indigenous. The information is open to the individual's interpretation, and can thus be misconstrued (Carlson & Dreher, 2018: 11). The concept that social media may be a double-edged sword was thus suggested in the introductory chapter to this thesis.

When engaging in cultural practices online in order to debate upon the competing cultural values of the indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, the social media provide a space in which to express and to produce new cultural practices, and they also raise the concerns of the participants (Ibid.). This thesis has observed this phenomenon: that online discrimination occurs, indigenous musicians often present their ideas, and even share posts, in order to initiate a discussion online.

Social media offer a larger space in which indigenous musicians can communicate, present, and perform the indigenous culture, issues, and identities. On one hand, indigenous musicians can expand their scope of audiences to other countries, especially other indigenous peoples in the world and can broaden the indigenous community in order to involve non-indigenous people in participating in the culture, even though the cultural conflict is necessary in order to process, for instance, on- and offline social movements. On the other hand, performative identity in everyday life represents the subjective consciousness of indigenous identity that enables participants to form a non-movement gradually on social media through online self-presentation in Taiwan. The musical presence, in the contemporary Taiwanese context, is a process of 'doing' indigenous, 'being indigenous', and 'becoming' indigenous.

Limitations of the thesis and opportunities for further research

This thesis has attempted to represent multiple aspects of being indigenous in contemporary Taiwan through the music-making process and the self-presentation of

indigenous musicians. However, it is still hard to describe identity precisely. The samples in this thesis cannot also be extrapolated to whole groups of indigenous musicians, since this research has applied snowball sampling. Besides, this thesis has attempted to break through the limitations of the notion of regarding indigenous people as a whole, so the sampling goes beyond the categories of the sixteen officially recognized indigenous groups. The indigenous musicians that were interviewed for this research come mainly from a couple of indigenous ethnic groups, i.e., the Amis and Paiwan as there were more Amis and Paiwan singers coming to Europe for performances so that I had the opportunity to get closer to them.

There are also other Taiwanese indigenous musicians who are excluded from this thesis, since they do not use social media to participate in online culture. While the prime research purpose is to explore the musicians' communication process in terms of their online self-presentation, the musicians who do not use social media are not the main research objects of this research. However, the research methodology has produced a framing of media-oriented indigenous musicians to be observed, and thus it has possibly neglected the importance of face-to-face communication in contemporary Taiwan. For example, the notion of live performance is becoming a vital and unique avenue through which indigenous musicians can communicate with their audiences directly.

As this thesis focuses on active, contemporary, indigenous musicians in Taiwan, the research scope has been limited to the Taiwanese context. However, there are issues connected with the social media in relation to politics and the economy. For example, some indigenous musicians shift their focus to the Chinese music industry, and social media use in China is entirely distinct from their use in the Taiwanese context. Future research might therefore explore the differences in social media use in the Taiwanese

and Chinese contexts in order to re-examine what it is to be indigenous musicians, and what their identity is seen to be.

Correspondingly, the research's purpose is to observe the indigenous musicians' online self-presentation and to re-examine identity in contemporary Taiwan. As a result, in this thesis, the major aspect of this observation is with regard to indigenous musicians as communicators, rather than to their audiences on social media. The audience sphere of this research thus falls short of addressing this topic, and this could also be a subject for further research in order to discuss how audiences receive and understand the indigenous musicians' thoughts through such musicians' online self-presentation.

Appendices: Interviewing guide

A. Leading question

1. How would you define 'indigenous music'?
   您怎麼定義原住民音樂？

2. What is your opinion on the genres for indigenous music g?
   您對原住民音樂在音樂類型的歸納上有什麼看法？

3. How do you identify yourself as a indigenous in contemporary Taiwan?
   您怎麼認同自己在台灣的原住民身份？

4. Does the indigenous culture represented by your background affect the process of music-making process and music content? How does it affect?
   您的背景所代表的原住民文化，是否會影響音樂製作的過程和音樂內容？
   請問如何影響？

5. Do you employ music to perform/express the identity of being indigenous?
   您是否用音樂來展現/表達原住民的身份認同？

6. What role does music play in the indigenous culture represented by your background? What is the role of music in your life?
   音樂在您的背景所代表的原住民文化中扮演什麼角色？音樂在您生活中的作用是什麼？

7. What do you think of the musical hybrid, such as cooperation or appropriation between popular music and traditional indigenous music?
   您如何看待音樂的融合，例如流行音樂與本土傳統音樂的融合？

8. Do you listen to music through social media platforms? Which platform? How often do you use it?
   您是否通過社群媒體平台收聽歌曲？哪個平台？多久使用一次？

9. How do you think these platforms affect your music, including music-making and music taste?
   您認為這些平台如何影響您的音樂的選擇和創作？

10. How do you think social media affects your life, identity and culture?
    您如何看待社群媒體影響您的生活，身份和文化？

11. Does the social media you use represent your true self? why?
    您使用的社群媒體是否就代表著真實的自己？為什麼？

12. What do you think about the interaction with fans through social media, such as messages reply, live streaming, etc.?
    您如何看待與粉絲藉由社群媒體的互動，例如留言回覆、直播等方式？

13. Under the three different situations of music-making, live performances and live streaming on social media, do you express yourself with different aspects? What causes the difference?

您在製作音樂、音樂的現場表演和社群媒體這三種不同的情境下，您會表現不同樣貌的自己嗎？這樣的差異是什麼？

14. Have you moved from your hometown to another city? Has this process affected your music? And what role did social media play in this process?
您是否由原鄉移居到其他城市？這樣的過程是否影響了您的音樂？而社群媒體在這個過程中產生了什麼的作用？

15. How do you understand the impact of social media on you?
您怎麼理解社群媒體對您帶來的影響？

16. For you, what are the challenges that you may encounter in the future regarding identity and music-making?
對您來說，在關於認同和創作上未來可能遇到的挑戰是什麼？

B. Following questions for each musician

Abao (Aljenljeng)

1. What is the concept and the beginning of the '*NANGUAQ!*' project? What does this project be conducted? What do you want to achieve? What is the future plan?
「聽聽那屋瓦」計畫的規劃構想的起始、過程及未來想達成什麼願景？

2. The application on phone is main platform of the '*NANGUAQ!*' project. How is it affected by the digital media circumstance in contemporary Taiwan?
「聽聽那屋瓦」計畫以 APP 為主，是如何受當代數位媒體環境影響？

3. The selection criteria for the music and stories of the '*NANGUAQ!*' project? Is this one of the ways to display the identity of being indigenous people?
「聽聽那屋瓦」計畫的音樂、故事的選擇標準？這是否是某種展現原住民身份認同的方式之一？

Ado' Kaliting Pacidal

1. Please talk about the idea of cooperating with Austronesian musicians on your new album.
請談談和南島音樂人合作新專輯的想法。

2. As you are working at Taiwan Indigenous TV, from traditional media to new media, such as social media, do this have any impact on your music-making process and identity of being indigenous? How does it affect?
由於您也在原住民電視台工作，請問從傳統媒體到新媒體，如社群媒體的興起，是否對您的音樂創作和身份認同有影響？如何影響？

Anu Kaliting Sadipongan

1. The Indigenous issues, including tribe, culture, and language, are transmitted through music. How does it affect you? For example, elaborating on related discourses about the Makota'ay (港口部落) through your album '*Cepo' (cepo 混濁了)*'.

   議題（包含部落、文化、語言）透過音樂傳遞，對您來說，是如何產生對自己的影響？例如用 Cepo 這張專輯，闡述關於港口部落的相關論述。

2. How does the connection between music and performing arts affect cultural transmission, such as participating in the musicals of the *Formosa Aboriginal Singing and Dance Troupe (原舞者)* and working on video art. What role does music play in it?

   音樂與表演藝術的連結如何影響文化傳遞，例如參與原舞者的音樂劇，製作錄像藝術的「文化音癡」，音樂在其中扮演什麼角色？

Boxing

1. How did the journey from Pingtung to Taipei affect your music-making? For example, would you miss your home more, write more about music related to hometown, or see more indigenous injustices in society, hoping to sing more songs to influence others?

   從屏東到台北的過程怎麼影響了你們的創作？比如說會更想家，寫得比較多關於家的音樂，或者看見更多原住民在社會上的不公平，希望能唱更多歌去影響其他人？

2. Do you want to create more songs in Paiwanese (indigenous languages), or let the indigenous languages spread to the world?

   會不會更想要創作更多原住民族語歌曲，或者讓族語能夠擴散到國際等想法？

3. The reason and opinion of Boxing 's simultaneous release of Pawanese album '*Wild Boxing*' and Mandarin album '*Boxing*'? Please take about the music-making process.

   為什麼決定同步發行排灣語專輯《野生 Boxing》和中文專輯《Boxing》？請聊聊創作的過程？

4. What does members of Boxing think about the preservation of indigenous languages and the preservation of music? For example, can rap better express your own indigenous Paiwan culture? Is it more likely to be saved when singing indigenous languages in popular music?

你們對於原住民族語的保存有什麼看法？例如饒舌是否能夠更能表達文化？用流行音樂唱族語是不是更有可能保存？

5. Please share with me your thoughts when you met Mau Power, an Austronesian musician from Australia because of the program '*Songs Blowing Over the Island*'.
請跟我分享你們上次因為《吹過島嶼的歌》的時候，遇見澳洲南島音樂人 Mau Power 的感想。

Cemelesai Pasasauv

1. Do you think that the indigenous languages can be better preserved through music? How to preserve it?
請問您認為原住民語言能夠透過音樂而更好的保存下來嗎？如何保存？

2. Does the pressure of traffic and Click Through Rate on social media from the company affect your music-making?
公司給予關於社群媒體流量的壓力，是否影響到您的音樂創作？

Ilid Kaolo

1. Back to farming and music-making in Taitung, does the identity of being indigenous have any influence or change in this process?
回到台東農田耕作與音樂創作，原住民的身份在這個過程中是否有任何的影響和轉變？

2. In the experience of being a residence working in farming and engaging in music, do you feel the change of the media and what kind of influence it has, such as crowdfunding?
媒體對文化的影響很大，甚至是影響了音樂內容和原住民認同，在從事音樂和耕作的這個經歷之中，是否感覺到媒體的轉變，帶來了什麼樣的影響？例如募資。

Labaga Taru

1. Please share with me the experience of the music night for Taiwanese indigenous in Japan with Chen Jian Nian (also known as Pur-dull) and Yaway·Mawring.
請和我分享這次在日本和陳建年、雅維茉芮老師的台灣原住民音樂之夜。

2. What are your thoughts on the heritage of indigenous musical instruments?
您對於原住民樂器的傳承有什麼想法？

3. Is the work of the *Trukubox Culture and Art Troupe* and Doise Studio's work related to the inheritance of indigneous music culture?

偊儷芭里文化藝術團和多伊斯錄音室的工作是否和原住民音樂文化的傳承有關？

Laka Umaw

1. Please share your experience of film performance and talk about the process of creating the theme song for the film?
    請分享電影演出的心得，聊聊為電影創作主題曲的過程？

2. Please share how the process of *The Wanderer Project (流浪者計畫)* affected the music-making and share the process of producing the album of *The Wandering Song (流浪的歌)*. Is it shared through social media while you were wandering in Lugu Lake (瀘沽湖)?
    請分享流浪者計畫的過程是怎麼影響了音樂創作，流浪的歌這張專輯的創作過程。在流浪瀘沽湖的過程中是否透過社群媒體分享？

3. How to preserve the indigenous culture in an innovative way, do you have any suggestions? Such as musical instrument performances and language inheritance.
    如何用創新的方式保存原住民文化，您有什麼建議？例如樂器演奏和語言的傳承。

O-Kai Singers

1. Since O-Kai has performed in many countries and won lots of international awards, please talk about the idea of being international and how this has affected the culture of the indigenous in contemporary Taiwan?
    由於歐開曾於多國演出，也獲得多個國際獎項，請談談走向國際的想法，以及這是如何影響了台灣原住民的文化？

2. Please talk about the journey before and after being awarded in Taiwan and the experience of winning international awards.
    在台灣獲獎前後的心路歷程，以及國際獲獎的歷程。

Panai Kusui

1. Please talk about the process of the protest on Ketagalan Boulevard for protecting the traditional territory.
    請談談凱道抗議傳統領域的過程。

2. The importance of the connection between land and culture, and how should the wisdom of the indigenous people be preserved through music?
    土地與文化連結的重要性，以及原住民的智慧該如何透過音樂保存？

Princess Ai

1. Having been deeply involved in popular music scene for a long time, is there any

influence or change in the identity of being indigenous in this process?

於流行音樂深耕已久，原住民的身份在這個過程中是否有任何的影響和轉變？

2. The media has a great influence on culture, even music content and indigenous identity. In this experience of working in music, do you feel the change of the media and what kind of impact?

媒體對文化的影響很大，甚至是影響了音樂內容和原住民認同，在從事音樂工作的這個經歷之中，是否感覺到媒體的轉變，帶來了什麼樣的影響？

Sangpuy

1. From the album '*Dalan (Path)*' and the album '*Yaangad (The Root of Life)*' to the upcoming concert at the National Theatre in Taiwan in April 2019, what was the change during this period? For example, the identification of being indigenous, music content, etc.

從 Dalan、椏幹到即將於四月展開在國家戲劇院的演唱會，這期間的轉變是什麼？例如對自己身份的認同，音樂等。

2. What are your thoughts on international cooperation? For example, international performances, international awards, etc.? Does the Internet, digital and social media have any influence on it?

您對世界接軌的想法？例如國際演出，獲得國際獎項等？網路、數位和社群媒體是否有其影響？

Suana Emuy Cilangasay

1. How does the Japanese culture influence your music-making process, and the understanding of historical context in Taiwan?
2. 日本文化對您音樂創作的影響，以及臺灣歷史脈絡的理解？
3. How did the members of the CMO group (the Creating Music Orchestra) join this group? And what are the future plans of the group?
4. 請問 CMO 樂團成員是如何加入樂團的？以及樂團的未來計畫是什麼？
5. What is the difference between your album and CMO's album, as well as the difference in influence on your indigenous cultural identity?
6. 請問你的專輯和 CMO 專輯的差異，以及對自己原住民文化認同的影響上的差別？

Suming Rupi

1. Please talk about the marketing process of Mita Creative on social media, such as cooperation with other YouTubers.

請談談米大創意在社群媒體上的行銷過程，比如說和其他 YouTuber 合作。

2. Is the connection between the Amis Music Festival and cultural heritage influenced by social media? How does it be affected?
阿米斯音樂節的籌辦與文化傳承的連結，是否受到社群媒體的影響？如何影響？

Sunay Takal

1. How does the collaboration between indigenous musicians and non-indigenous musicians affect your identity of being indigenous and music-making?
2. 原住民音樂人與非原住民音樂人的合作，對你的身份認同與音樂創作有什麼影響？
3. What kind of collaboration opportunities does the CMO group provide, and what kind of channel does music provide for you to communicate with others?
4. CMO 樂團提供了什麼樣的合作機會?以及音樂對你而言是怎麼樣的一種通道去傳遞訊息？

Tai Siao-Chun

1. Currently you are involved in the Paiwan culture in your village, Kapanan, in which you have been grown up, does the identity of being indigenous have any influence or change in the process since you have decided to go back to your hometown?
妳在 Kapanan 部落深耕，原住民的身份在這個過程中是否有任何的影響和轉變？

2. The media has a great influence on culture, even music content and indigenous identity. In the experience of returning to your hometown to engage in music and cultural work, do you feel the change of the media and what kind of influence it has?
媒體對文化的影響很大，甚至是影響了音樂內容和原住民認同，在回到部落從事音樂和文化工作的這個經歷之中，是否感覺到媒體的轉變，帶來了什麼樣的影響？

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