

***Kagagan* From Taiwan:**

The Cultural Logic of "boarding exchange" in Lanyu.

Chien-Han Wu

Graduate Institute of Anthropology, National Chi Nan University
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Kagagan means "friend" in Lanyu dialect, a mother tongue of Yami(Tao) who live in Lanyu, a small outlying island of Taiwan inhabited by one very unique indigenous race. Tourism in Lanyu is a well-developed industry. The lovely scenery and laid-back atmosphere of Lanyu makes people want to stay longer. In recent years, a new mode of tourism is on the rise in Lanyu that tanned skin visitors with shorts, flip-flops and undershirts help the shop owners in exchange of free food and residence. The shop owners call them part-time employees. However they are not employees, they are more like friends living temporarily in the owner's house, assisting their house chores, while hosts treat them with food and a room to sleep. Lanyu's boarding exchanging phenomenon is not like "working tour" because there is no obvious employer-employee relationship between the shop owners and the visitors. Thus, "working tour" may not be a proper usage being applied to the cases in Lanyu. Hence "boarding exchange" is used in this article in order to distinguish from the well known "working tour" pattern. Both tour patterns may be similar, but Lanyu's "boarding exchange" has roots in the traditional cultural logic.

This article is based on a six-week fieldwork in the summer of 2010. In order to

observe the "boarding exchange" phenomenon, I chose Kai-yuan Port, the only port to Taiwan, as the main place for participant observation. In the port there is one and only guest waiting room whose operator is A-Wen from the tribe *Ivalino* of Yami(Tao) with other staffs from Taiwan as the "boarding exchange" tourists. The exchange relationship between them is main concern in my observation, and I also personally became one of them as the "boarding exchange" tourists. In addition, for comparison I often went to a restaurant called "No Hunger No Seat" in the tribe *Iratai*, the first of this kind recruiting "boarding exchange" tourists, for observing and interviewing so as to understand their operation mode and the profile of employee lifestyle. Finally, the Yami(Tao) people have been harassed for years by researchers that they don't like formal interviews. I heavily rely on records written in keywords on the spot along with fieldnotes after back to house where I lived throughout the summer of 2010.

The Development of Tourism

As of 2010, the total population of Lanyu is 3,094 people, and 90 percent of them are Yami(Tao). "Boarding exchange" in Lanyu is a phenomenon with tourism development in recent years. In generally speaking, Lanyu's tourism development officially began in 1967, when capitalists outside the island built hotels and arranged transportation. It attracted tourists from Taiwan coming to see a "tribe". There were many unequal interactions between tourists and residents (Huang 2005: 2). Beginning from the 1990s, the decline of mass tourism in Lanyu had created a good chance for developing eco-tourism by the locals. In December 1996, Lan En Cultural Educational Foundation held a training of B&B operating, and then 21 students got the certificate (Lan-En 1997: 4). Till today, eco-tourism as a new economic model is growing up, creating wealth from the natural resources of "mountain" and "sea", just like the traditional economic model did. "Modernization causes cultural similarity,

whereas postmodernization tries to find difference in the sameness or to find strangeness in the difference. Indigenous cultures are able to fit in the recent trend because they retain their distinction with rich cultural resources. By this, they reconstruct cultural value through the economic gains (Li & Yan 2004: 32-33). The eco-tourism in Lanyu arose within this its special timing and background, not only emphasized the responsibility of local community, but also evolved into a pattern operated independently by local residents. This gives opportunities for young people back to work, and for the locals to break away from "being seen" and instead to be narrators of ecology and their traditional culture. Equal interaction with the outside world has been established thus. In addition, compared to the travelling patterns in Taiwan that most tourists change lodging place each day, most of the tourists in Lanyu lodge in the same B & B throughout the trip. Being together for a while would be one of the necessary conditions of making friends.

Logic of traditional culture

Yami(Tao) tribe is a self-sufficient community, making all the basic appliances on their own (Wei & Liu 1962: 8). Fundamentally an egalitarian society, it has no unified tribal leaders but limited division of labor among ages (Darcywulawan • Bima 2002: 52). People have bonded tightly. Exchange relationship between Lanyu people could not simply be understood by the concept of capitalism. Bronislaw Malinowski was the first person against "primitive economic man" hypothesis—the pursuit of maximum profit at minimum cost (J. Huang 2008: 232). Families all produce similar taros and fishes; when there was no market in the past, goods flowed generally in the form of "gift exchange".

Marcel Mauss claims that the system of total prestation, the system of long-term contractual relationship between clans, was placed on the basis of shared public(1989

[1925]: 17). He believes that exchange is the transfer of ownership between people with a binding relation. Also to give things out to people is at the same time to send away part of self (Mauss 1989 [1925]: 22). Therefore, to refuse gifts is a declaration of war, breaking down friendship and communication (Mauss 1989 [1925]: 23). Mauss concludes that "gift exchange" appears to be voluntary, while giver and recipient in fact both have self-serving motives and obligations. Gun-Hong Yu found that gift exchange in Lanyu has the nature of "like-for-like", which people give one another similar taros or fishes on various occasions (1993: 33). He suggested that "like-for-like" is a kind of exchange in light of time deferral, while "unlike-for-unlike" is a kind of exchange in light of space deferral (Yu 1995:40). Therefore, although each family of Yami(Tao) tribe is able to produce all the necessities, they have no need to produce everything for daily consumption. Labors are hence liberated, and may be used to engage in festival or leisure.

Yu- Qian Huang(2006) has studied exchange relationship in Lanyu in recent years, she divided exchange relationship in the island into two kinds of "sharing" and "reciprocity" (Y. Huang2005: 29). Within home, family members "share" their precious materials, including pork, rare fish, and things from Taiwan (Y. Huang 2005: 32-35). On the other hand, relatives with looser blood tie principle of "reciprocity" substitutes "sharing"(Y. Huang 2005: 44). Y. Huang hence introduced three characteristics in local "reciprocity" (2005: 57). First, "giving" brings unequal relationship between giver and recipients, creating an obligation for recipient to give back; Second, the objects of giving back must have equal value to the given things, thus confirming relationships through the same things; Third, objects and human self are not separated. Most exchanged materials are self- produced, carrying producers' self. In this way, exchanged materials are able to mark out relationship among

exchanged partners. From Y. Huang's study, we could understand the obligations of "returning back" and the nature of "objects-person" boundary in Lanyu echoing Mauss' work. The scope of Y. Huang's study is limited to the Yami (Tao) tribe, while this article wants to indicate that "boarding exchange " in Lanyu is operating as extensive friendship and has its root in traditional culture suggested above.

I collected materials and data of "boarding exchange" and classified them into three operational modes: institutional model, partner-based model and traditional model. Institutional mode has a regular schedule and clear work instructions, whereas partner-based model arranges schedules flexibly, without clear-cut work instructions. Then traditional model almost has no visible relationship between employers and employees in that they become friends even in the form of "boarding exchange". I will in the following analyze all three modes in terms of relations between shop owners and tourists-turning-to staffs. All three modes are influenced by traditional cultural logic of equal exchange in different degrees. By examining "boarding exchange " accompanied with booming tourism, we may take a deep look at Lanyu's traditional culture and its contemporary transformation.

Partner-based model

Kai-yuan Port was built on April 15, 1971. As the most important point for goods and people coming and going between Taiwan and Lanyu, almost all administrative offices are close to the port, including Township Office, Fire Station, Electricity Service Centre and so on. The only gas station island wide is around, and a large supermarket run by Farmers' Association too, also the round-island buses starting from here. Once a mainly cargo port, now Kai-yuan Port has become a port of tourists coming to Lanyu. The sole airport is tiny that it can only accommodate small aircrafts

with about 20 passengers, six flights a day, two additional flights on holidays, whereas the smallest ship in Kai-yuan Port can take 169 persons.

When I went to the waiting room to assist the first time, the dock was very quiet around seven in the morning, only a few fishermen quietly cleaning the finishing rig and two lethargic coast guards still on their duties. Coast guards often dispute with fishermen and they always say, "those local people seem to have their own country which has its own laws." Around eight o'clock buses and vans from hotels and B & B hostels appeared, dropping off guests who are leaving the island and then waiting to board the incoming ship, and then picking up next wave of disembarking guests. And it was the time when the waiting room was crowded and luggages were piled on the table; guests waiting on board came in for escaping sun light or rain, or for toilet. As long as the ship docked, disembarking guests got on the waiting buses or vans, while on-boarding guests left the waiting room to line in for the ship. *Mi-Na-Du*, the name of the shop inside the waiting room, became empty in a minute, and again turned into a resting place for tourist agency and boating company clerks. The same scene occurs in Kai-yuan Port every morning and afternoon. In *Mi-Na-Du*, clerks are hurry-scurry when boats docks, and have nothing to do but to sleep when boats leave.

Mi-Na-Du means "wharf" in the Yami(Tao) language. A-Wen, the operator from the tribe *ivalino*, a 36 years old man, has worked in Taiwan after graduating from Lanyu high school. He came back to Lanyu for taking care of the elderly at 29, and decided to open a grocery store in the cement houses built by himself. Although he received education of Taiwan, used to work in Taiwan, and still love the goods from Taiwan, likes to play pop music aloud, but A-Wen is still genuine Yami(Tao). For example, he regards Lanyu's taro as food not suitable for vending, or he never eat the crabs caught near the cemetery. Waiting room at Kai-yuan Port was used to be an

empty space filled with goat shit several years ago. When the township hall wanted to reopen the room and called for tenders, A-Wen drew the lots and won the contract of management in 2005. He renovated the room, added a grocery store, a motorcycle rental shop, and a gift shop selling souvenirs designed by friends and family, after asking township office to install fans and windows.

Now A-Wen is the operator of two stores, but he expresses that *Mi-Na-Do* serves tourists mainly in summer, but lose money in winter, and that local people buy goods on credit in his family's grocery store. He hence has no extra money hiring employees, and must rely on friends from Taiwan to serve the crowds in high tourist season. For the first year *Mi-Na-Du* was like a family with a sister and a brother as assistant. On the second year, a female artist from Taiwan cooperated with A-Wen and his brother to decorate the waiting room with new style. However, the decoration plan was interrupted in the late summer, and the female artist dismantled and shipped all her art works back to Taiwan. A crisis is also a turning point, though. Many friends from Lanyu and Taiwan helped A-Wen get a new start on the new shop on January 19 2008. Beginning from that year, he wrote down his thanks on his blog, and also released "Notes for good partners at A-Wen store" to recruit assistants officially.

This summer of 2010 when I was there, the helpers from Taiwan were guys nicknamed Strawberry, Point, Monkey, Blow-Hair and DiBuSi, all of them, except Point, girls and being introduced by a friend. Monkey said "A-Wen is nice to us", and she came here working in summer since 17 years old. Working in big city like Taipei under intense command from boss is completely different from one working here. In the beginning of the study, I was curious about what kind of management operations were in *Mi-Na-Do*. Strawberry and Point are older assistants, and are midpoint between A-Wen and younger assistants. Hence if A-Wen wants to assign jobs to

younger ladies, he would say so through Point. His contacts with young ladies were more chats than assigning jobs. One day Point posted "Scheduling table" and "Staff Regulation". "Scheduling Table" assigns tasks for each person clearly, but in reality A-Wen usually took the shift on behalf of the young ladies, so they can go out visiting the island. "Staff Regulation" lists the details assistants needed to know in running the store such as the working time, electricity saving notice, replenishment tips, private time, and so forth. Point drew up these Regulations according to what she thought of an agreement from A-Wen after Strawberry's complaint. A-Wen's attitude is that although he is "boss", he sees himself on an "equal status" with the staffs. There is no hierarchy between employer and employee in *Mi-Na-Do*.

Understanding of traditional culture may have a clue. Yu pointed out that a major cultural theme of Yami(Tao) is one a self reliant (1989: 8). On one hand, Yami(Tao) people push themselves by virtue of perfect individualism, and yet on the other hand, they also concern about harmonious balance in social relationships. "Individualism" of Yami(Tao) people show a major cultural theme of "diversity and equal rights" (Yang 2004: 17). A-Wen's attitude toward staffs is rooted in "diversity and equal rights". Most of the staffs are just like his brothers and sisters. Providing food and accommodation to support their long-term stay in the island equals to their services in the store. If he can afford more, he would like to pay the staffs a bit more. I asked him what would he do if staffs don't do a good job? He expressed that he wouldn't criticize anyone even if they don't do their job well. "How short the time it is when we are together. Don't make relationship too complicated. It's better to say goodbye joyfully. This store is not here primarily for making money."

"Boarding exchange" in *Mi-Na-Du* meets Y. Huang's three characteristics of local "reciprocity"(2005: 57). First, services at store as "giving" from

tourists-turning-to-staffs bring unequal relationship between giver and recipients, creating the obligation to return; Second, the objects of returning must have equal value to the given things. This giving-returning action is used to confirm their relationship through exchanging things of the same value. Therefore, A-Wen regards staffs as friends and continues their friendship based on what they devote. In short, as soon as A-Wen gets assistance from friends, he is under obligation to return in equal terms. The more friends devote in whatever terms, the more he needs to pay back. Conversely, the fewer friends devote, the less he needs to pay back. Therefore, A-Wen wouldn't criticize staffs as a boss in its usual meaning in Taiwan under this cultural logic. Third, most of the exchanged materials were self-produced, so producers have not yet been completely separated from objects.

Y. Huang found that reciprocal behaviors create competition among people because materials of exchange represent one's ability. Competition is not only product of reciprocity but also the driving force of return (2005: 62). A-Wen wouldn't accept labors from someone when he can't return in equal terms. When I asked A-Wen to include me as an assist in *Mi-Na-Du* during my research, he answered, "It's too hard for you". When I further suggested that I could work for five weeks with "information exchange" instead of "boarding exchange", and he responded, "I can't return in equal". Although he finally agreed, he said "You already do so much, you are the boss! You can decide the working time by yourself". Therefore, Scheduling Table was set without my name because I was the "boss". Most of the time during the summer fieldwork, I went to *Mi-Na-Do* from 10 o'clock in the morning until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and then came back to write down what happened. I went elsewhere to collect data sometimes. A-Wen provided me lunch and drove me back to my living place. I felt uneasy about his kindness until I realized what the "reciprocity" means in

local relationship. If I just assist without rewards, I would increase A-Wen's "return obligations".

Institutional model

On July 23, *Mi-Na-Du* received an invitation from *No Hunger No Seat* restaurant for its ninth anniversary party. Owners of restaurant invited people from Taiwan who long-term stayed in Lanyu; and the party was free, but guests needed to bring a small gift. Door opened at 9 o'clock in the evening, and people looked to know one another. It is understandable because as a small island it is they must have met one another earlier. In no time was the restaurant full of more than 50 participants, most of them being from B&B stores around the island, including ones from tribe *Imourud*, *Iratai* and *Yayu* in the west of the island, still the others from tribe *Irarumilk* and *ivalino* in the east of the island; but no one came from *Iraralai* in the north of the island. Owners of *No Hunger No Seat* said that they hold the event annually, and in advance of the event they spread the news all around the entire island and sold tickets. Yet they had no mood to celebrate this year because of the death of their pet cat kept for five years. However, staffs all were looking forward to the anniversary, so it went on as usual only to be a social event in which staffs may know more friends this time. This was a well-planned activity with good design and execution. First of all, target audience was definite. Invitation cards were sent to the guest staffs from Taiwan only. Second, the program was designed that staffs can show themselves and, with it, know more friends. Following the program, it started off in a cordial atmosphere with opening dance, and then it was arranged team races that increased interaction. Throughout the evening activities created close physical contact, and people in turn showed their face to others when exchanging gifts. All in all, the anniversary not only created the opportunity to make friends, but also made a perfect publicity for attracting better

staffs in the years to come.

No Hunger No Seat is named by the boss, a 40-year-old Yami(Tao) man, who used to be a professional soldier. His wife from Taiwan prefers "Epicurus" which is her favorite philosopher and signifies the attitude of life. In 2000 She traveled to Lanyu with her friends, fell in love with the pace of Lanyu life, and thus desired to stay in this island. They met and together opened the restaurant the following year, and then they married in the next year. The restaurant is a hand-made store painted with blue and yellow by the boss, decorated with pigs, boats, flying fish, bottles and other patterns. Also two small portraits of the couple stand next to the words "Island as Provence". The ways the couple runs the business are unique. They post ads of employees-wanted and use the term "work" very clearly on their website. They express different needs of employees seasonally, with a little note reminding people of non-monetary exchange who want to make money. The pattern began in 2002 when a group of university graduates from Taiwan frequented the restaurant dining and talking. At that time, the boss asked for their help at the store since it was short-handed. Later, the boss paid them back with a local journey on the owner's expenses. One of them continued to be back and assisted in exchange of staying in Lanyu for a long time. From that time on, *No Hunger No Seat* carried on the pattern of more or less formal employee for B&B. Starting from 2004, more and more people were interested and asked for information on the internet, and as a result the owners required curriculum vitae for selecting staffs.

The boss prefers people who are interested in Lanyu life experience to people who simply want to make money, and he gives bonus money to those who do a good job and stay over a month. Their staffs work according to management requirements, such as that they need to sign in and off in front of the owners, and that no visitors are

allowed during business hours. One man who assisted in the B & B nearby always stopped by *No Hunger No Seat* for a chat at night, but he was not scolded by his own boss. He said the B & B's work was not hard but just very boring. Interestingly, he found out that staffs in *No Hungry No Seat* took more than he did, and they never complained about the work and were satisfied with what they got.

After anniversary of *No Hunger No Seat*, A-Wen also held a "Good Noon Party" on the beach of the tribe *ivalino*. He stressed that it would be an event providing a stage for local young people to hang around, more or less like a casual party with no need to have advance programming. It had a start time but with no ending time, "everything comes and goes naturally". On the evening around 19:30, about 80 people, some of them introduced by B & B, still others getting information from the network messages, attended and paid NT\$300 for enjoying a barbecue. But it was too chaotic at the entrance to confirm whether people had paid. Overall it was a beautiful night, with clear sky and the moon coming up from the sea horizon. About 9 pm, A-Wen tried to get everyone to dance, but it was late that tourists left one by one. After 10 pm, only local young people and a few Taiwanese staffs from the tribe *ivalino* stayed on. Young people gathered to dance with music in front of the campfire, although their steps were messy but in a cheerful mood. After midnight, the atmosphere cooled off and all of them left before 3 am next morning. Throughout the party, A-Wen sometimes chatted with friends in the corner, sometimes showed his funny dance in front of the campfire. Compared to the anniversary of *No Hunger No Seat* which had clear objectives and well-planned, the one A-Wen held was not like an "activity", but simply a get-together for friends to have fun on the beach.

In sum, the biggest differences between *Mi-Na-Du* and *No Hunger No Seat* are "publicity " and "program". As to publicity, *No Hunger No Seat* uses their name in the

anniversary or any business activities, whereas A-Wen does not want to distinguish himself in holding activities but as doing something for the community. As to program, *No Hungry No Seat* selects staffs based on curriculum vitae, has a regular daily schedule and strict shift for staffs. By comparison, A-Wen takes liberty getting people out and play without plan. There are similarities, however, between the two stores in that both emphasize the feedback in spirit more than material forms. Both owners engage relationship of employment not seen as wage labor, but rather establish emotional bonds in the gradual exchange processes. Therefore, "boarding exchange" in *No Hunger No Seat* also meets Y. Huang's three characteristics of local "reciprocity"(2005: 57). First, "giving" brings unequal relationship between giver and recipients, and hence the obligation to return. Therefore, when tourists gave a hand to the store at the start, the bosses feed backed them a paid local journey for unloading obligation to return. Second, the objects of returning must have equal value to the given things, confirming their relationship. Therefore, the bosses gave bonus money to staffs who do a good job and stay over a month in order to keep a balance relationship between each other. Third, most materials of exchange were self-produced, so producers have not yet been completely separated from objects. Therefore, the bosses prefer people who are interested in Lanyu life experience to people who want to make money. They afford something of nature beauty, namely something not produced by others, in exchange.

Traditional model

Not all of stores accept Taiwan's staffs. The reasons for objection include: they are ill-trained and playful; affording food and boarding is not cheaper than wages. By comparison, the reasons for acceptance include: summer is the only season full of tourists that there is simply not enough money to hire full-time staffs; owners want to

provide chance for someone who loves long-term experience in Lanyu that short-term visit couldn't otherwise afford. Several owners of stores said that they once hired staff of Yami(Tao), but the kinship networking is complex on the island. Besides, the locals often have excuses for not showing up, and they don't want to take orders from their tribe people. Instead dealing with staffs from Taiwan would be much easier.

"Boarding exchange" in Lanyu can operate with three modes, I would suggest. The first one is institutional mode which requires curriculum vitae in selecting staffs and has a regular schedule and clear work instructions, just like one *No Hunger No Seat* exemplifies. The second one is partner-based model which recruits staffs without a formal process and arranges schedules flexibly without clear-cut work instructions, *Mi-Na-Du* to be the example. As I said earlier, there is similarity in those two modes that staffs do not necessarily know the boss before they start the work, and they would build emotion bonds slowly during boarding exchange. On the contrary, the third mode of boarding exchange which starts reciprocal relationship after boss and staffs become friends. I call it traditional model in that they become good friends like family.

Let me give one example. Nun, 30-year-old man from Taiwan, first came to Lanyu in 2008. He originally wanted to lodge at Abiah B & B for only ten days, but it was comfortable and cheap to live in Lanyu, so he instead stayed for five months. He ate with the family and slept anywhere in the house except the guest room and in return he mainly helped for sending off and picking up guests. Two months later, he realized many B & B in Lanyu with no websites, the easiest way for publicity, so he visited various B & B and got agreements from the owners to make a coordination website called "Blue Gate". Nun came back to Lanyu the following year and stayed from July to October. 2010 is his third year to come to Lanyu. Nun planned to stay for two

months and basically did the same things as he did two years ago, such as sending off and picking up guests. He is free to go anywhere in any time without "scheduling table" or "Staff Regulation". Nun stays in Abiah B & B as a "family-like friends", a kind of friendship living with family members, as if a family member but without a heavy social responsibility as family member would have.

Abiah is one of the first B & B in the tribe *ivalino*. Back the time when there was no B & B the owner used to ask backpackers who camped on the beach to come their house for stay without charging any money. The owner had a friend in Taitung, Taiwan and every time he went to Taitung, he stayed overnight in the friend's house. So the owner invited his friend come to Lanyu as a feedback, but visitors had to spend the night on hard floors in a small house. Therefore, the owner built a three-store cement house with many rooms affordable for many visitors. The following year, the friend brought more friends, and collected NT\$250 per person to the owner actively, hence encouraging him to do a B & B businesses. The house of Abiah was completed in 2000, but the owner and his wife still maintain traditional the existing way of life and did not change because of the incoming guests. Moreover, majority of the visitors from Taiwan is very interested in traditional life so much as that they arrange taro harvest in the mountains or fishing in the sea on the trip. In the opening years guests helped doing things voluntarily at home and accommodated themselves into local life. Now, only children or the frequent guests would still do the same. In recent years tourism enjoys a boom as witnessed by more tourists, yet few would help voluntarily. The first B&B in Lanyu charge by person, but visitors sleep on hard floors at a room without toilet and bath. Traditional way of thinking still dominated in a way that to charge by person instead of room means not selling a room but receiving a friend. Sleeping on hard floors is a way of living in a traditional house without bed. The

rooms for guest have no independent toilet and bath because a friend can share bathroom with the family. All in all, the arrangements create atmosphere that visitors really sleep in and with the host family.

Yu describes the hospitality of Lanyu in a tradition way which is how the first B&B treated their guests. When a Yami(Tao) visits friends in other village, he must carry some taros and fishes as a gift. In the same way his friend must give him the same amount of taros and fishes when he leaves (Yu 1995: 41). That is so because Yami(Tao) have no need to save a lot of food. There is no winter here and taros and fishes are difficult to preserve. Therefore, wether men go hunting for *yakan*(fishes)or women go picking *kanen*(taros), they only prepare meals a day for family(Yu 1995: 41). Therefore, when Yami(Tao) bring gifts to visit friends, they basically prepare food for themselves in case friends would not have enough food. From the second day on, the host could invite the male visitor to pick and hunt for food together, while the female guest climbs mountains with the housewife (Yu 1995: 42. It's not difficult to understand why the first B&B in Lanyu regarded it normal that the visitors help housework. With tourism going on, Yami(Tao) only turn exchangeable things by friends in a traditional way from taros and fishes into the new Taiwan dollars, and turn reciprocal behaviors from food to a visit on field or a diving activity.

Conclusion

It was not necessary to store a great deal of food in the traditional life of Yami(Tao). Local legend once views that God sets up two refrigerators, one on the mountain and another in the sea. No cash economy existed in traditional society. Humans take food back home by their strength, though in a collective efforts that gathering wealth by individual is not favored. Hence the rich should share food to others in need (Darcywulawan • Bima 2002: 70). To a Yami(Tao), taros and fishes are not wealth for

glory but foods for sharing with each other; people could buy pigs and goats by shells and laurite beads, but never sell their taros and fishes (Darcywulawan • Bima 2002: 71). A Yami(Tao)who shares his surplus food to relatives and friends behaves just like a Han who saves his money, both of them preparing for an accident of life. A Yami(Tao)share his surplus food to relatives and friends actively, then they are more or less like saving their surplus food in relatives who shall return them back to him when he is in need. The traditional way of exchange actively works well till the boom tourism in that the shop owners provide food and residence to get tourist's help in store in return. It's good for interpersonal relationship and also practical on business.

With tourists from Taiwan invade Taiwanese culture into Lanyu exchange system. Lots of new materials are exchanged such as Taiwan tourists for visiting, rice and candies for taros and fishes; new relations also introduced, the most important of which being "unlike-for-unlike" items instead of "like-for-like". In recent years, Lanyu traditional economic system was destroyed, the family lost the function of economical cooperation. They often argued with each other for land right and water source. On the other hand, the friendship without profit is even important and extensive to people from outside the island. Although "boarding exchange" in Lanyu with tourism are influenced by "working tour" abroad, it still operate on the reciprocal logic of traditional culture. Therefore, "boarding exchange" is not only phenomenon with tourism development, but also the extending of the traditional friendship.

I classify "boarding exchange" into three operational modes: institutional model, partner-based model and traditional model. The first one to operate with the booming tourism is the traditional model which happened naturally without publicity. It was produced by the local sharing spirit actively. The next one is institutional model which happened due to the lack of cash and labor on the high tourism season on the island.

The owner hired tourists who would like to have a long-term visit on Lanyu. Partner-based model appeared last, which picked up the name of the institutional model but operated on the spirit of the traditional model. Although both of them meet Y. Huang's three characteristics of local "reciprocity"(2005: 57), there are differences to be clarified. First of all, the traditional mode is not effected by modern business. The owners start boarding exchange after becoming friends with the staffs and never call their friends as staffs. Second, the institutional model calculates "labor need" as a commodity. Owners of this kind earn both labors and money. Finally, the "Partner-based model" is the mode in between the other two, it may use "Staff", "scheduling Table", "Staff Regulation" or other words, but the way of its meaning or practice is different from one in Taiwan.

In sum, the traditional mode is the extending of the traditional friendship; the institutional model uses the traditional friendship as "working experience"; the Partner-based model borrows modern terms from the institutional model, but practices them in the traditional mode. Although its economy had a huge change after the development of the indigenous tourism, its cultural logic still plays an important role. It is as Marshall Sahlins said "the very experiences of the past are the way the present is experienced." (1985: 59) From those three modes of boarding exchange, we can trace how the locals deal with tourism and the outside world.

"The Japanese treated us as slaves, Han took away our land." (X. Guan 2007: 106) Taiwan's government always sends Lanyu something dangerous, such as criminals and nuclear waste. However, the traditional culture in Lanyu is not isolated or self-centered. Kano Tadao had asked two Yami to draw the world around them, and both put the ocean on the center, Lanyu and other islands on the side (H.Guan 2007: 106). Lanyu, a small island outlying to Taiwan inhabited by one very unique

indigenous race, does not need a conqueror like Japanese or a philanthropist like Taiwanese government. What they want is *kagagan*, a friend that treats them in a reciprocal way.

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