

日常生活的金融活動與原住民發展：以當代太魯閣人的處理債務與運作資金的民族誌為例

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摘要

資金是原住民產業經濟發展中重要的環節，然而對於多數長期面臨經濟發展條件落後困境的族人而言，籌措資金以改善經濟生活是相當具有挑戰的。為了維護原住民經濟社會健全發展，政府設立「原住民綜合發展基金」以解決原住民經濟貸款與信用保證的問題。原本該基金的用意是在於提供經濟事業與生產用途性質的貸款為主，但從2008年開辦原住民微型經濟活動貸款之後，該基金以個

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人消費與週轉用途貸款為大宗。本文認為上述兩者的落差，一方面顯示要發展原住民產業應從改善當代原住民個人經濟條件著手。另一方面，思考「如何鼓勵族人申請創業貸款」的議題則突顯理解與學習原住民社會內部如何在日常生活中處理金融與借貸事務的必要性。然而，當代原住民所面臨的金融問題是什麼？他們又是如何解決問題呢？而日常生活中的財務處理又如何影響族人對於金錢、債務、貸款的理解？本文將從居住在花蓮縣北部的太魯閣族人如何處理債務與財務規劃的經濟人類學研究來思考上述問題，藉以探討如何在貼近在地文化、政治、經濟與發展的脈絡下，打造更友善的原住民產業發展與解決個人經濟問題的原住民金融政策。

關鍵字：原住民金融、債務、土地交易、太魯閣族

Dealing with Debts and the indebted: Financial management in everyday life and indigenous development in the contemporary Truku society

Abstract

Financial supports and aids have been seen as one of the most important ways to solve problems of the poverty in the contemporary indigenous society. Inspire of the success of the ‘micro-financial aids’ in the South Asia, the government sets up the programs of ‘the micro-financial loan for the indigenous people’ in order to make them more conveniently apply for a loan and easily borrow money from the banks. However, this financial policy is not effective and therefore cannot benefit most indigenous people. This article looks at activities of the financial managements in Truku people’s everyday life. Truku people is

one of the indigenous groups, and most of them have been undergoing economic difficulties. In this paper, I argue that unfriendly economic environments and poor conditions make them unable to gain sufficient family income to fulfill household needs. Nevertheless, the costs of the monetized ritual or ceremonial exchanges that are based on their concepts of *gaya* leads them to increase the number of the family expenditure. As a result, how to deal with debts has become one of the most important financial issues in their everyday life. From the investigation of activities of the financial managements and dealing with debts, I argue that it is necessary to carefully understand indigenous concepts of the relationship between the economics, normal society, and their believes. Furthermore, we should accurately examine what factors bring them to the indebted cycle, but not simply assume that giving them sufficient money can solve most economical problems.

Keywords : micro-financial aids, debts, indigenous people, everyday life, financial management, land

2015年四月我在花蓮市區巧遇太魯閣族人W。W是我在2002年在花蓮縣秀林鄉F村進行太魯閣族卡拉ok文化實踐的碩士論文研究的重要報導人，當年他是十七歲的可樂少男，是村落青年的意見領袖。高中畢業之後，由於父母親以打零工為生，家中還有兩位幼小的弟妹，沈重的家庭經濟壓力迫使他選擇當任職業軍人。2005年，當我在村落進行博士論文的田野調查時，他正結束了三年多的軍人生涯回到部落生活。沒過多久，他也步上父母親的步伐，以打零工為主要生計。然而，他的經濟壓力可能比他的父母親來得沈重，因為他必須工作養活四個小孩。然而，今日的物價飛漲而工資停滯，一份不穩定的薪水讓他的家飽受貧窮威脅。

在與W短暫見面之後就接到他的電話，詢問我是否可以介紹朋友購買他的家族的土地。他所說的土地都是在現在土地價格持續上升具有市場價值的地段，一塊地位於H火車站周邊，一塊位於T村。當我回覆他：「我找不到買家」時，他有些失望。過沒幾日，他問我：「可不可以借他十萬元周轉？」。我沒有答應他，但是跟他說政府有一些協助原住民的貸款方案，請他試試看。他直接在電話中說：「那些東西都沒有用啦！」、「我都問過了」。當時或許我應該問他「那些東西」指的是哪些？他又問過誰？在尷尬中掛上了電話，我的內心一直忐忑不安，到部落也是有意無意地希望能不要跟他見面。2018年6月某日，我再與他相遇，他爺爺的土地已經賣出去了，我問他：「你有分到一點錢嗎？」，他面帶無奈的表情說：「沒有！」。

W的祖父母是我博士論文研究的重要報導人。W的祖母的父親

曾經是日治時期某部落的意見領袖，帶領族人遷徙到今日秀林國中附近的聚落。由於W的祖母是獨生女，繼承了父親廣大的土地，包含這一塊位於新城火車站周邊的土地；位於T村的土地則是W的祖父在日治時期跟著父母親一起開墾的地。W的祖父母今年約八十五歲，在過去他們是一對努力工作的夫妻，帶領著小孩一起開墾，即便他們過著相當貧窮的生活，日常零用金來自於資源回收，但是他們過去經常驕傲地跟我說：「我們就是不賣土地」。如今他們卻首肯要變賣部份土地。

與W的偶遇之後，我意識到或許從2008年我離開博士論文的太魯閣族社會的田野調查之後，田野的報導人與田野地點在這幾年有許多的變化，為什麼他需要借錢？為什麼他借不到錢？為何以前他們不賣土地來解決欠債或貧窮問題，現在他們有180度的轉變？為了回答這些問題，我從2016年開始進行太魯閣族的土地交易和日常生活金融的研究，利用教學之餘的時間，重新回到博士論文研究的田野F村進行的田野調查和訪談。

W與他的家人的壓力主要是來自於貧窮，但是長期看起來貧窮似乎沒有直接擊倒他們，他們依然住在部落，有好的人際關係，晚上與他們一起聊天時，酒酣耳熱的場景彷彿回到2001年我第一次在他們家前庭的聊天。即便許多家庭如同W的家庭一樣，都有極大的金錢壓力，但是他們卻依然挺住壓力，持續向前。那族人又是如何在日常生活中處理金錢壓力呢？

根據〈民國95年台灣原住民經濟狀況調查〉的資料比對2005年主義處〈家庭收支調查報告〉，林徐達指出：「在全國家庭可支配

所得五等分之中，原住民家庭在全國最低所得組戶數中佔了六成之多」（2012:138）；以儲蓄率而言，有兩成的原住民家庭收支入不敷出（ibid: 139）。曾冠傑根據〈2017年台灣原住民經濟狀況調查〉，其指出台灣原住民平均年收入為81.8萬元/戶，而薪資收入佔所有來源的81.59%，換句話說原住民族人的被動式收入較少，因此一但家戶經濟來源的主要貢獻者失去工作，家庭經濟將陷入困境。與全國比較，2017年原住民族家庭可支配所得為全體的0.73倍（2021: 31）。當我們將W所面臨的經濟壓力的故事放置在整體台灣原住民族當代的經濟條件不利的情境下，可以大概理解W並非特例，他所面對的問題許也是許多族人共同的問題。

雖然從經濟數字表現來理解當代台灣原住民的經濟狀況是具有參考性，但是所謂經濟數字上所「呈現」的「貧窮」則是需要脈絡化理解，如此才能更貼近於族人經濟的狀況（林徐達，2012），也更能理解族人如何解讀所面對經濟條件與困境；族人又如何結合社會組織和文化來消解所謂「貧窮」所帶來的更種挑戰。例如，蔡禮闡（2015）提出泰源部落的阿美族婦女利用「宗親互助基金會」（cumatatiking）的類似金融信用系統的方式來滿足宗族成員的金錢需求，達到金融安全的效果。與「宗親互助基金會」很類似的金融手段是「標會」，通常族人會選擇具有「信用」的親戚組會，以免產生「倒會」的風險（鄭瑋寧，2017；Lin, 2010）。另外有學者專注在原住民社區的儲蓄互助社的營運和限制（吳宗昇，2011；曾冠傑，2021），黃應貴（2012）與鄭瑋寧（2017）則分別透過其在布農族和在魯凱族社會的民族誌資料的研究，提出儲蓄互助社的營

運方式和其在族人在當代資本主義化進程的不同階段所扮演的角色是鑲嵌在社會文化之中的。然而，從原本單純儲蓄的功能轉而增加多樣性的放貸業務，一方面這樣的轉化有助於滿足個人在籌措資金的需求，但另一方面卻也可能成為社會內部強化或重置經濟接續的重要機制。除了上述的金融工具之外，族人也會使用土地交易或抵押的方式取得資金，然而這樣的方式卻經常因為族人無法還款進而促使土地流失（官大偉，2014；Lin, 2010）。

從量化的研究可以發現有超過半數的台灣原住民的經濟條件是處於不利的狀態，然而即便族人可以透過土地交易以及在地性的金融手段取得資金，但是若沒有辦法負擔還款，長久下來不但造成社會關係的緊張，人與人的關係轉為長期的放款者與負債者的關係（Lin, 2015）；若使用土地交易的手段取得資金也會造成土地轉手他人。當有金錢需求的族人無法向親友借貸時，又因為原住民保留地政策造成土地價格普遍偏低且有交易限制使得族人很難用土地做為擔保品向銀行貸款，這使得部分族人轉向信用卡簽帳、向私人的金融機構貸款，然而這些金融手段都必須負擔高利率的利息，飲鴆止渴之後經常需要面對無法還款後的龐大壓力。若是採用土地交易的方式取得所需資金時，直接買賣或因無法還款都會導致土地轉為他手，其結果經常是以高額「設定抵押」的方式將土地轉至非原住民的手上（官大偉，2014）。

為了解決原住民在金融手段上的不足以及促進原住民經濟發展，原民會於1999年設立「原住民綜合發展基金」，以此提供原住民在經濟發展、個人消費、急難救助等金融服務。隨著業務發展與

制度調整，今日「原住民綜合發展基金」的貸款業務包含：「經濟產業貸款」、「青年創業貸款」、「原住民微型經濟活動貸款」、「獎助儲蓄互助社計畫」。前兩者可借貸的金額較高，相對的有能力符合申請條件且具有還款能力的人較少，主要申請者是原本就具有較高經濟能力的族人。「獎助儲蓄互助社計畫」於2016年開始施行，協助有意成立儲蓄互助社的族人，補助族人開辦費與設備費，以此增進族人金融親近性。依照規定，透過該計畫讓儲蓄互助社能提供族人不超過七萬元的微型貸款。¹這樣的精神與「原住民微型經濟活動貸款」（簡稱「微笑貸」）不謀而合，只是前者是由族人所經營的儲蓄互助社提供小額貸款，後者是由政府提供擔保，讓族人可以向金融機構申請貸款。微笑貸從2008年開辦至今已有十二年，但是這項針對原住民的小額貸款的金融服務或許幫助了許多族人，但也有許多族人無法獲得這項服務。當我向W建議試著申請「微笑貸」時，他的回答是：「我問過」、「沒有用」等。這樣的反應或許可以看出一些端倪。

在本文，首先我將從描繪田野地點的商店發展歷程出發，概述當代太魯閣族社會的資本主義化的過程，以及說明資本主義化對於社會階層化的影響。接著，我將概述原民會近年所推動的「原住民金融」政策，尤其著重於「原住民綜合發展基金」的貸款業務的分析與反省。最後我將回到田野現場，先從政治經濟條件弱勢的族人的視野來審視原住民金融政策對他們的意義。對經濟條件弱勢的族

¹ https://youth-resources.yda.gov.tw/subject/content/TSjZdIudfZZgGX3AA2uS_Q

人而言，他們需要一筆現金通常是要解決個人或家人的債務，而債務的產生可能是起因於各種意外，也經常是起因於文化因素和信仰因素，也就當代太魯閣族社會的金錢化 *gaya* 實踐。在此章節，我也將說明對社經地位較低的族人而言，賣土地是最有效解決財務問題的方式，尤其是當他們意識到近五年來原本不值錢的原保地身價大漲的情況。最後一個部分，則是從經濟條件較優渥的族人的角度來思考原住民金融政策和他們之間的關係。

壹、商店作為經濟生活的縮影

F 村是我長年從事田野調查的太魯閣族村落，²根據，2018 年的人口統計資料，該村有 696 戶，2243 人（男 1168、女 1075）。多數的村民在族群登記上是登記為太魯閣族。F 村是一個日治時期集團移住政策之後所形成的原住民村落，該村落鄰近今日太魯閣國家公園，過去族人的長輩的生活領域則是在國家公園園區內。村落可分為上中下三個區域，台九線貫穿並連結這三個區域，每個區域都

² 相較於許多原住民地區，F 村的族人土地長期以來飽受私人企業與公部門的掠奪與限制之苦。1973 年亞洲水泥設立與 1986 年的太魯閣國家公園的成立，土地流失成為族人的夢魘。因此從 1990 年代之後，社區居民陸續發動針對太魯閣國家公園的遊行抗議（楊玲慧 1996），以及成立「反亞洲水泥自救會」的還我土地運動（張岱屏 1999，陳竹上 2000）。至今，這些土地運動依然持續進行著。

由幾個部落後裔所組成，在尚未遷徙到這裡之前，這些部落散落在今日太魯閣國家公園內的山區，彼此之間或有姻親關係，繼嗣關係、或者是沒有任何關聯。

在被遷徙下山之前，太魯閣族人在山區過著刀耕火種和採集狩獵的生活；當日本政府將他們遷徙下山之後，在政府有計畫的扶植之下，太魯閣族人逐漸轉為定耕與水田耕作。日本政府於1927年在F村設置太魯閣水圳，是太魯閣族地區第一個灌溉水圳系統；並於1931年在中F村地區設立太魯閣族地區的第一個農業傳習所（岩城龜彥，1936）。從政府的統計資料顯示，該區域的族人已經沒有土地是從事游耕。因此，從山上到山下，太魯閣族人離開了原鄉並失去原本生活與耕作的土地；與此同時，他們也獲得了新的耕地，而農業生產模式也從游耕轉為定耕，從採集狩獵的社會轉變為農業社會。

1970年代之前，許多原住民以經濟農業作為家戶收入最主要的來源。原住民保留地政策規定原住民必須有持續耕作十年才能取得所有權，這項規定也鼓勵原住民從事農業。³然而許多研究台灣原住民土地政策的學者指出，台灣經濟的快速發展卻導致許多原住民面臨土地流失之苦。就外在因素而言，政府為了經濟開發，使得原住民保留地政策成為政府或私有企業以廉價的方式取得土地（顏愛靜、楊國柱，2004）。就內部因素而言，李亦園（1983）指出，在發展經濟農業時，多數原住民面臨許多結構性的問題：諸如缺乏資

³ 在1986年修訂為五年取得土地所有權。

金與機械化工具、完備的灌溉系統與基礎設施、和農業技術與知識相對低落等。雖然在許多地方，原住民嘗試運用各種方式來解決農業發展所面臨的困境（陳茂泰，1986），但是多數的原住民還是依然無法跳脫上述的結構性問題。以此，許多原住民選擇將土地賣給漢人以求獲取短暫的資金所得（例如，黃應貴，1986；顏愛靜、楊國柱，2004）。不僅如此，1968年推動九年義務教育的推動，對許多父母而言，學校教育不僅讓小孩幫忙農事；小孩的學費卻成為家庭支出的負擔。

當原住民社會資本主義化之後，一個家庭要負擔的不僅是小孩的學費，還有水電費、各種日常生活開支。為了維繫家庭生活，從1960年代末期開始，許多F村村民選擇到外地去工作，尤其是男性與國中畢業後的青年男女。根據秀林鄉的抽樣調查資料，在1967年，每戶的農業收入佔全部每戶家戶年收入的73.9%，而非農業收入僅佔26.1%（花蓮縣政府，1967）；到了1972年，農業收入降至每戶家戶年收入的47.7%，而非農業收入則是52.3%；到了1985年則非農業收入已經佔每戶家戶年收入的82.2%。在此階段，許多家庭的經濟來源不是來自於原鄉的生產，而是家族成員在外地工作的所得。

這樣持續至少二十五年的勞動人口外移的情況，改變了多數族人的生計模式，即便在1990年代之後，因為外籍勞工的引入和以勞力密集的產業外移，使得許多原住民失去工作的機會當原本在外地工作的居民返鄉，但家鄉卻沒有太多的工作機會提供給族人充分就業，失業便成為嚴重的經濟與社會問題。但是這樣艱困的就業環境

卻無法誘發過去的移動性勞工重拾農具、開闢良田，用農業生產來增加家戶經濟收入。多數返鄉的居民傾向選擇在村內或鄰近都市（花蓮市）打零工，收入並不穩定，且打工的所得並不高，打工的日薪是一千或一千五百元。根據2014年的調查，原住民就業者每月收入平均是27,584元，有將近五成四的就業者的每月收入介於一萬到三萬之間（原民會，2014：52）。除了少數的軍公教人員和擁有全職工作的勞工擁有較穩定的收入之外，許多家庭面臨貧窮的問題。

當族人被從山區遷徙的F村之後，當地的太魯閣族人不僅改變了生計模式，也讓他們逐漸地資本主義化。在日治時期，族人的交易是被法令限制的，他們被規定要與政府在該村所設置的交易所交易物資，不能在沒有被允許的情況下，直接與外地人有交易。當地的族人最有印象的事情是長輩經常到交易所買太白酒，偶爾也聽說F村跟鄰近村落的界線也可以看跟哪個交易所交易來判斷。但這樣的交易制度在國民政府時期有了許多的改變，松岡格（2018）爬梳歷史資料，提出在日治時期之後，國民政府初期是用「山地合作社」、「民生商店」、「山地物資供銷委員會」等方式來取代過去的交易所，後來因施行上的困難，最後改成讓供銷會轉型成農會，讓農會來處理關於原住民農產的交易活動。松岡格認為從日本時期的交易制度到國民政府的供銷會，都是作為「階段性引進貨幣經濟或市場經濟的措施之一」（2018:234）。

族人稱「商店」為sbrigan，也就是交易（東西）的地方。在F村內有許多的族人自己開設的商店，商店的規模可以小至檳榔攤、

大到卡拉ok店、雜貨店。在日常生活中，族人也會跟穿梭在各部落的菜車、麵包車、點心車、水果車等買東西，如果要新鮮肉品與農用工具則會到隔壁的漢人聚落H村採購，而每星期三與日在F村辦公室前廣場也有小規模的夜市。由於交通便捷，越來越多族人習慣驅車（大約三到四十分鐘路程）前往花蓮市採購生活所需。

若檢視商店在F村的發展歷程，也可以發現族人的資本主義化的過程。在1980年代之前，並沒有族人開設商店，在此之前，在F村開設雜貨店的人通常是漢人，而且是隨著蔣介石政權來到台灣的外省退役軍人。當他們與F村村民結婚之後，就在村內落地生根，經營小生意。當時他們有一筆退休金和穩定的補助，這是族人所沒有的。村內第一個太魯閣族人所開的雜貨店是在1980年代之後才出現的，開店的族人也是當時的村長，他之所以能有資金開設雜貨店是來自於他在1970年代到海外當移工所積累的儲蓄。對族人而言，能夠開一間雜貨店是一個很榮耀的事情。L是下F村第一個開雜貨店的人，他很驕傲地跟我說：「我是第一個Truku開店，除了上面有一位榮民之外。我用的錢是我當職業軍人的退休金」。若我們從資金來分析，可以發現族人是用在外地工作所積累的儲蓄來開設商店，除了L之外，在下F村最具規模的雜貨店也是由一對夫妻帶著三個兒子運用他們在1980年代在台北工地打工所賺的錢而開設的。

從雜貨店的存在與創設可以讓我們看見太魯閣族社會逐漸被捲入當代資本主義社會之中，被整合在同一個市場，金錢也越還越重要了。當族人不再務農之後，家庭的收入主要來自工作薪資，一但沒有足夠的工作薪資支撐家用，家裡馬上就會陷入困境。在1990年

代之後，台灣開放外籍移工、大量工廠西向、以及台灣經濟發展遲緩，使得許多在外地工作的族人失去了工作，並返回家鄉。而這些返鄉的族人卻很少重新開墾土地，而是在家鄉等待公部門的、鄰近都會區的、鄉內的礦場公司的打零工機會。除了少數婦女和年邁長輩持續有田裡耕種之外，土地經常是拿來換得休耕補助的。

為了增加收入，許多家庭選擇運用部分在外地工作所累積的資金開設商店，做點小生意。這些商店無論規模大小，主要都是由女性負責。通常開設一間簡易的檳榔至少要五萬元，小間的檳榔攤每個月的收入經常不到一萬，好一點的話可以到一萬五；大型的雜貨店，每個月大約可以淨賺兩到三萬。但是大型雜貨店的投資金額是數倍於小型商店。就雜貨店的規模的大小與維持商店壽命的長度而言，凸長規模越大的商店可以持續存在，但是小的商店通常無法撐過半年。這原因跟族人的工作節奏與商店經營者的資金是否充足有關。首先，小型商店（例如檳榔攤、卡拉ok、路邊攤等）幾乎是小本經營，但是族人經常會欠款，直到下次領薪水再結清之前的全部或部分債務，然後在欠下新的債務。如果店家持續拒絕，沒有客戶也是很難生存，有客戶不還錢也是很難生存，更何況他們所叫的檳榔、飲料、香菸等都是要現金交易的。

相較於小商店的困境，大商店就是不同的形態。通常他們的資金與家庭收入都比較好且穩定，例如在上F村最大間的雜貨店，開店的資金來自於女老闆擔任警察的先生因公殉職之後的津貼和透休金，而他的三個小孩與兩個女兒都是在服公職，有穩定的且高所得的收入。在下F村原本最大的雜貨店，小孩都在都是有穩定的工

作，再加上雜貨店女老闆和先生之前帶領小孩在都市工作所積累的钱，他們也有較為豐厚的資金來應付族人的欠款，並有能力忍受族人延遲付款的能力。通常在每個月的一號、五號、十號是族人領工作款的時候，這也是許多商店很緊張的時刻，如果欠款人沒有來還債務，商店是真的會倒的。

F村的商店發展歷程在某種程度上反映著當代太魯閣族社會的經濟發展與現況，首先是大小商店的營運模式與命運反映著在現代化與資本主義化的過程中，族人的政治經濟地位開始有明顯的差異化現象。過去離鄉賺錢的歲月已經遠去，留在部落的族人都以打零工維生，平均一個月的收入好則三四萬，不好可能連一萬塊都不到。在村落中，經濟能力較好的是有穩定正職工作的人，可能是專業人員如護士、私人企業的正式員工，或者是軍公教人員。就如同大小商店的營運模式不同一樣，我們在討論原住民社會的經濟情況時，也應該將族人的社會階層化納入重要的考慮因素。其次，我們也可以從小商店的短命命運體會到多數在底層討生活的族人，他們在經濟上的困苦。債務的出現原本是親密社會關係相互幫忙的產物，一旦無法償還，則又成為難以承受的負擔，甚至讓原本不好的經濟雪上加霜。

太魯閣社會中，欠債和借東西是不同的兩個字，債務是kusa，欠債是pkusa，還債是mgay kusa。借東西（包過金錢、工具、土地）是kmsiyuk，借來的東西（包含錢、工具、土地），例如向銀行借來的錢等，是knsyukan。Kmsiyuk蘊含會有借有還，且會在一定時間內還的意思。但是一旦借了之後，一直不還，那knsyukan就

會變成kusa。對能夠負擔族人的kusa的大商店而言，商家與族人的關係經常是長期的債務關係，而這樣的關係更長也讓商家有表現自己慷慨的能力（mhowyai），慷慨的人也是具有社會聲譽的人。在F村曾經有一年的村長選舉是一位上F村最大間的雜貨店女老闆和下F村最大間雜貨店女老闆的對決，在選前之夜，我前往下F村最大間雜貨店老闆的商店，所有的架上的商品幾乎清空，最終是下F村的雜貨店老師獲得選舉的勝利。

現在F村的村長是一位退伍軍人，在部落也是屬於經濟條件較佳和穩定的族群。此外，在F村，就我的觀察，這樣的社會階層化的現象有世代傳遞的趨勢。2001年我在部落和一群青少年一唱卡拉ok，當時他們都在唸高中，畢業後有幾位當了職業軍人，有幾位選擇到外地工作。經過十幾年之後，他們的工作幾乎跟他們的父親一樣，以打零工維生，婚姻狀況也不是很穩定。另外，具有經濟能力背景的家庭，他們的小孩幾乎都順利地上大學、甚至出國取得博士學位，但這些小孩都在外地打拼，只能從長輩嘴中聽聞，偶爾回到部落度假政治經濟地位較高的族人通常是收入穩定的軍公教警人員、擁有技術的專業人士或私人企業的正職員工，政治經濟條件較差的族人則是多數，長期處在貧窮的困局中，他們主要是以打零工維生。這樣的社會階層化似乎有一代傳一代的情況。

F村的商店可以視為是當代太魯閣族人經濟生活的所影，一方面商店因為商業交易和族人有短期或長期的「債權人」（creditor）和「債務人」（debtor）的關係；另一方面，在社區內販售各式商品的商店也成為在日常生活中族人與外界資本主義市場

連結的窗口之一。在日常生活中，族人與商店的互動往往反映族人的經濟條件與狀態；甚至誰能成為擁有且永續經營商店，誰又是商店可以信賴的客戶，誰又是拒絕賒帳的往來戶，這些和族人的經濟條件都有密切關聯。但是另一方面，族人所經營的商店的營運是鑲嵌在族人的社會關係之中的。商店主人並不完全是依照資本主義市場的邏輯而進行的，所有的決定並不是以獲得經濟資本累積為主，他們展現慷慨和允許親友欠款並不是從經濟資本累積的角度思考，而是從社會關係與彼此「互相」照顧的角度出發。在這過程所累積的不是經濟資本，而是社會資本或象徵性資本，這也讓商店主人能夠在展現「慷慨」中獲得更大的社會與政治資源。此外，如果沒有親友的消費（甚至是賒帳），一間商店也很難永續營運的。如何平衡市場經濟的運作以及鑲嵌在社區的經濟活動的得與失，成為了商店營運的關鍵，而這樣的經營模式也不是市場經濟可以解釋，但也不全然可以設想族人是在全球市場之外下的另類經濟活動。

從族人對於「債」（kusa）的概念來看，商店所呈現的「債」至少有兩個類型，一類是從資本主義金融市場邏輯來看的「債」，這是金錢化的「債」，在商店主人的抽屜裡所存放的一疊疊用數字記錄下的簽帳單；另一類是和太魯閣族的gaya概念與道德世界有關連的意涵，這裡所指的是每個人都因為涉入各式各樣、在人際網絡上不同規模大小的交互儀式和日常生活中的彼此互惠，使得每個人都一直處在「欠債」（indebt）的狀態（Lin, 2015）。這樣的狀態也規範了族人的權利與義務，也創造在當代有經濟能力的人能夠向他人展現慷慨。商店的經營與債務的討論也讓我們理解到，思考太

魯閣族人的經濟思維需要從巨觀的政治經濟環境的變遷和圍觀的族人日常生活的互動與各式交換，以及gaya思維來做綜合性的討論。

「原住民綜合發展基金貸款」是一項由國家制定的制度，也需要銀行和金融相關機構的配合，因此要理解該項政策對族人的影響，以及體察族人如何理解這樣的金融服務，同樣也需要兼顧巨觀和微觀的視野。下一節我將從政治經濟的角度分析「原住民綜合發展基金貸款」，在這個基金的貸款條件規範上，主要是提供融資服務給少數政治經濟地位較高的人。

貳、經濟條件與「原住民綜合發展基金貸款」

不像許多原住民村落有儲蓄互助社，在F村村民如果要借款則必需依賴不同的方法，但是原民會的「原住民綜合發展基金貸款」中的「微笑貸-原住民微型經濟活動貸款」、「青年創業貸款」、「經濟產業貸款」極可能都不是族人主要考慮的方式。除了可以到7-11繳款、稅單之外，離村落最近的金融機構是在鄰近H村的郵局和新秀農會，當然族人也經常到花蓮市辦理關於金融相關的業務。當我詢問S鄉鄉長L君關於鄉民申「原住民綜合發展基金貸款」的情況時，他直接回答我，大家都不懂也不知道有這樣的機會。

目前核發件數最多的微笑貸款政策，微笑貸款主旨在幫助需要一筆小額貸款來改善生活或解決財務問題。微笑貸款可以分為兩類，一類是生產用途，「係指購置或租用生產設備、租用營業場所

或營運週轉金等發展小型經濟事業所需」。消費與週轉用途係指生活改良及家計週轉。前者最高額度可以帶到三十萬，後者是二十萬。根據規定，也非所有人可以借款，首先要「年滿二十歲至六十五歲具有行為能力之原住民，無信用不良紀錄者，得向經辦機構申請本貸款」。在生產用途方面，必須是「經營農林、漁牧或工商業者」；若要申請消費性貸款者用，則是從事農林、漁牧或工商業之在職勞工，其現職保險年資（含農保、勞保及漁保）於同一服務單位連續達三個月以上者。或者是軍公教在職人員。就利息與還款規定而言，都是七年還款，在利率部分：「（一）生產用途：按郵政儲金二年期定期儲金機動利率加年息百分之零點一二五機動計息。（二）消費與週轉用途：按郵政儲金二年期定期儲金機動利率加年息百分之零點六二五機動計息。」目前郵政儲金二年期定期儲金機動利率是1.095%，依照上述利率計算，借三十萬的生產用途的微笑貸款，每個月本金加利息要還3,728元左右；借20萬的消費性貸款則是每個月要繳2,529元左右。這樣的利率確實比一般銀行的信用貸款低。

「原住民綜合發展基金」還有兩項重要的貸款業務，一個是「青年創業貸款」，借款額度從50萬到1200萬，獲得貸款者還要政府合作的單位上課。貸款者的年齡是要在20歲到40歲之間，利率是按「郵政儲二年期定期儲金機動利率」金，加碼0.125%浮動計息，最長期限是15年。若一位青年填上了好幾份負責的表格，順利跟原民會合作的銀行借得200萬元，以最長貸款期限十五年（含三年寬限期），從第三年起他每個月要還的金額是14,938元。或許這樣的

貸款對於許多正在尋求創業機會的原住民青年而言是很重要的資助，但是我在F村認識的青年，這樣貸款政策對他們太遙遠了，他們一個月辛苦地打工，是否能賺到18,000都不確定，更何況每個月要繳款14,938元，不過這樣的困擾是要他們真的可以從銀行那邊順利借到兩百萬的話。另外一個貸款項目是「經濟產業貸款」，該貸款的條件與青年創業貸款相類似，貸款者要去上課、利率相同，唯一的差別是借款人的年齡上限可以到65歲。

「原住民綜合發展基金」當然有其必要的面向，尤其是當原住民因為保留地政策讓他們的土地價值低落的情況下，政府成立發展基金，讓原住民更容易向民間銀行借款。在利率上，在沒有擔保品的條件下，「原住民綜合發展基金」提供的利率是很低的。但是民間銀行有其對於貸款者審核的機制，事實上多數的原住民還是很難申請到貸款的。以2017年為例，共有2025件的微笑行貸款通過（包含生產型335件、消費及週轉型1690件。台灣共有55個原住民鄉鎮，平均下來，每個鄉鎮分配到將近37件的貸款案件，而青年貸款在2017年總共核定106件。這些簡單的數字反映的是這些貸款政策並沒有在原鄉地區扮演積極性的金融服務角色，但是他可能確實幫助一群在部落以外的原住民族人，至少在F村，至今我尚未找到一位居民曾經成功向銀行申請相關的金融貸款。⁴

⁴ 筆者目前搜集到一個成功申請「微笑貸款」的案例、一個「青年創業貸款」的案例。這兩個成功案例的申請者都是優秀的原住民青年，碩士畢業，但不是在F村的太魯閣族。依照他們的經驗，從申請開始到獲得撥款，至少

原民會在2012年的《原住民季刊》第17期有關刊討論原住民金融問題，在當時，無論是原住民或台灣主流社會深陷卡債風暴之中，在探討原住民申請微型經濟活動貸款被退件的原因，以信用卡問題最多，佔33%，有16%是貸款延遲繳款紀錄，有14%是還款來源不確定，有10%是負債比過高，有15%是其他（包含保證債務、呆帳）等（李月華，2012: 34）。在該期季刊中，揭露了許多因為債務纏身而讓原住民族走向絕路的悲慘故事。事實上，這樣的故事在任何社會都會發生，但是對於在經濟上已經走在鋼索上的經濟弱勢而言，貸款經常不是解救他們脫離經濟貧困的解藥，而是隨之而來所形成的債務成為壓倒駱駝的最後一根稻草。

「微笑貸」與「原住民綜合發展基金」的另外兩項經濟型貸款與青年創業貸款的主要差別在於提供小額的消費型貸款給個人，而這也是當代許多原住民族所最需要的金融貸款項目。李桐豪與梁連文指出：「原住民消費性貸款比重相對高，除了生活上信用貸款資金需求外，推估在卡債風暴前銀行大力推動信用卡業務，原住民因生活上資金需求及對信用卡貸款高利率之資訊不充分，導致在信用卡、現金卡貸款（也）呈增加趨勢；惟創業貸款明顯偏低。」（2009: 3）他們也指出原住民在申請貸款時經常面臨信用不良紀錄、融資門檻過高、財務規劃等問題而導致財務週轉不靈（ibid: 3）。在金融表現上的情況同意也出現在「微笑貸」的情況，也因為原住民金融表現上的困境，使得『原住民發展基金』項下貸款金

要兩到三個月。

額越小，隱含授信風險越高」，又因小額貸款申請者主要是經濟能力欠佳的族人，這使得這樣的貸款隱含高風險（ibid: 19）。

事實上，原住民在申請貸款或金融服務時，複雜的銀行業務與相關法令也是讓他們卻步的地方。為了原住民更了解「原住民綜合發展基金」貸款業務，2017年開始，原民會招募「原住民金融輔導員」，讓具有商管和財經的專員協助原住民辦理貸款業務。然而，建置足夠的人力是一大挑戰，在偌大的花東地區也只有五位專員。為了革新「原住民綜合發展基金」，近年來原民會大力推動原住民銀行的建置、和原住民金融法的立法，但是這兩項業務尚未有具體的成果。但是在討論這些議題時，有一個很重要的面相在於這些原住民金融政策或法令必須從原住民社會的特殊條件與在地性出發，而非從一般的銀行行為與思考模式為依歸。

「微笑貸」的概念是學習1983年由諾貝爾經濟學得主Muhammad Yunus在孟加拉Grameen Bank所推動的微型貸款。微型貸款主要的是提供貧窮者尤其是貧窮婦女的小額貸款的金融業務，這些貧窮者也是金融弱勢，很難得到銀行或金融機構的融資。小額貸款的金額是考慮借貸者微弱的還款能力，並且讓銀行的人員和貸款者共同擬定適當的經濟活動以及有步驟的還款計畫。這個計畫確實解決了許多貧窮者在資金籌措上的困境，然而這樣的方式卻也產生許多問題。Gregory指出在思考微型貸款時，不能只專注在銀行作為債權人（creditor）上作為，只討論他們在放款業務上的革新與對於貧窮者的幫助，也要理解越多窮人尋求金融支持也是造成更

多的債務人（debtor）（2012: 385）。此外，Karim也提醒世人微型貸款與全球新自由主義以及國家治理的緊密關係，這樣的關係卻無助於窮人改善他們的處境，因為他們的貧窮是被全球與國內政治經濟環境的壓迫所產生的。他亦提出，表面上看起來微型貸款有助於貧窮婦女，但是在許多的案例卻反而造成在原本性別不平等的社會中婦女地位的更加艱難（2011）。

對於微型貸款的反思提醒我們，當在思考台灣原住民的「微笑貸」和族人之間的關係時，並不能單純地從金融或信貸的角度來思考，因該將這樣的議題放置在當代原住民社會與文化脈絡中來理解。以本篇論文為例，為何族人知道有這樣的服務，但是卻又覺得申請不到，或真的申請不到？又對於族人而言，借貸真的是完全從資本主義社會的邏輯來思考嗎？或者在不同文化有不同的理解？而除了向銀行貸款之外，當族人有金錢需求時，他們又有什麼樣的管道？理解族人在處理金融事務上的多樣性，以及從在地觀點的視野看待「借貸」或許是能夠帶領我們思索未來更貼近族人需求與習慣的金融貸款。

參、文化邏輯的驅力、金融活動與土地交易

在日常生活中，太魯閣族人喜歡與家人在庭院吃午飯或晚飯，通常他們會很熱情地邀請路過的族人甚至是陌生人一起用餐，無論吃得好或壞、多或少，族人都希望可以向他人展現慷慨。在F村

內，要飽餐一頓並非難事，除非你不喜歡出門走動。對多數的族人而言，即便長期飽受貧窮之苦，但是日子依然可以過得去。長輩有多項政府的補助津貼，例如老人年金、勞健保，中低收入戶的育兒津貼和各種減免等，他們的年收可能也不到繳稅的標準。他們的土地每年可以有兩次的休耕補助。此外，F村至少四間超過百位信徒的基督教會，多數族人也是基督徒，教會的協助也是支持族人的重要力量。種種政府的社會福利與健康保險的照顧，教會扶助的系統和族人日常生活中的相互協助，除非族人有突發的意外或事故，需要額外大量的資金來解決問題，否則維持基本的生活並不是難事。

若考察從2006年至今在F村的土地買賣案例，可以發現到對於經濟條件較差的族人而言，他們需要籌措一筆大資金的原因經常來自於族人對於gaya（道德體系）和祖靈信仰的實踐。對太魯閣族人而言，祖靈信仰和gaya是社會規範的核心。族人相信祖靈（utux rudan）是無所不在的，與祖靈保持良好關係是獲得祖靈祝福的關鍵，若因違反祖先的規範則可能讓人與祖靈的關係變得緊張，在沒有透過powda gaya儀式解除這樣的緊張關係之前，違反規範者和與他/她住在同一個家屋內的親人可能招致噩運，輕微的情節可能會造成壞運連連的低潮、突發疾病或發生意外，嚴重的情況甚至會危及生命安全、甚至導致意外死亡（Lin, 2015）。族人對於所謂「家人」的定義是很複雜的，他們認為只要曾經在同一個屋簷下共享同一個爐灶一段時間的親人及其後代都是最親近的「家人」，而一旦有人嚴重違反祖先的規範，可能就會招致厄運降禍給她/他的家人。這使得一個人違反祖先的規範變成了一個牽涉到許多家庭的事

務，必須大家一起面對、共同討論擬定合宜的處理方式、盡快舉辦 powda gaya 儀式以取得祖靈的諒解、解除緊張關係（林靖修 2019）。

太魯閣族稱「祖先的規範」是 gaya。在太魯閣族的社會中，經常會聽到族人提及 gaya，若仔細觀察會發現，gaya 跟祖靈一樣是無所不在，任何事物都可能牽涉到複雜的 gaya。gaya 是祖先所遺留的話，是代代相傳的社會與道德規範。韓國著名的人類學家金光億（Kim Kwang-Ok）在 1970 年代在花蓮縣秀林鄉研究 gaya，他指出對太魯閣族人而言，gaya 是「自然的秩序」（natural order），如果族人發現有異常或非常的現象，那一定是有違反 gaya 的事情，必須透過儀式恢復自然的秩序（Kim 1980）。對族人而言，gaya 就是許多必須要遵守的規定，當族人要解釋 gaya 時，經常會列舉一長串必須遵守的規定或者是絕對不能違反的事項。也因此，國家的法律也是 gaya，上帝的十戒也是 gaya（邱韻芳 2013）。簡而言之，gaya 是連結到太魯閣族人的超自然信仰與祖靈信仰的社會和道德規範體系（Lin, 2010）。

然而，gaya 並非僵固的一套道德體系，而是相當具有彈性且與時俱進的行為準則（Lin, 2010）。在日常生活中，家中的長輩（rudan）是決定是否要舉辦 powda gaya、判斷是否有家人違反 gaya、以及教導 gaya 的人。當他們在考慮 gaya 事務時，他們經常會依照過去的規範與慣例、顧及親友 gaya 的看法、夢占以及自我對 gaya 的詮釋來綜合性地找到合宜的見解。這使得 gaya 的解釋與實踐能夠因時因地因人制宜，也讓 gaya 內含能在傳統規範的基礎上又能

注入新時代的意涵、與時俱進。因此，即便日本殖民統治和現代化的時代進程改變了太魯閣族的文化、政治、經濟與社會，多數族人也已經改宗信仰基督教，但是gaya依然對族人的行為規範具有強大的影響力和約束力。「是否是一位能夠依照gaya行事的人」還是族人判斷一個是否是「真正太魯閣人」的重要標準；「能因遵守gaya而受到祖靈的祝福」依舊是當代族人的理想圖像。

在 *Pigs for Money Kinship and the Monetization of Exchange among the Truku* (Lin, 2015) 一文中，Lin指出太魯閣族人的powda gaya一方面連結族人在道德規範意義上的gaya，作為崇拜儀式和祖靈溝通，而透過在儀式中豬肉分食親屬團體成員，則是形塑與在形塑 (shape and reshape) 親屬團體的範圍。另一方面，powda gaya也連結個別族人或家戶的「慾望」，而這樣的慾望是隨著時代而改變的。在傳統的太魯閣族社會，成功的狩獵或獵首是男性所追求的，建立一個家庭與另一個家庭的婚姻聯盟也是重要的，因此上述的欲求經常是族人舉辦具有慶祝意義的powda gaya的重要理由。

在2005年當我在F村做博士論文研究時，我曾協助M的婚禮，擔任攝影與新娘車司機。Y和他太太是退休國小教師，三個小孩有兩位是老師，一位是醫生，是部落裡經濟條件非常突出的族人。有一天我正和他在他家庭院吃午飯，M騎著摩托車緊急煞車甩尾，帥氣地停在我和Y君飯桌的前方，他問Y說，他父親有一塊地在Y田地的旁邊要賣，不知道Y有沒有興趣。Y是M的表舅，他問了M：「賣地要做什麼？」，M回答說：「我爸說我和我太太的女兒都六歲了，還沒有辦婚禮，也沒有殺豬，這樣不行。」Y聽了理由便

說：「這不用賣地啦！你告訴我你需要什麼東西，可以的話我來想辦法」。M說了一筆二十五萬塊的籌辦婚禮費用，以及要租三輛禮車等。結果Y跟他說，婚禮需要的音響設備、禮車、婚禮照相等都由他處理。

時隔12年，我再度與M閒聊，當初那位六歲可愛的女兒，也因為高中生子成為年輕媽媽，小我五歲的M也已經當爺爺了。在這十二年中，他的雙親已經過世，那個為了他的兩個小孩的婚禮傷透腦筋的父母已經不再需要煩惱人家事務了。對太魯閣族人而言，婚前性行為、擁有婚姻外的性關係、或未婚男女相處很久沒有結婚，都是需要一件違反gaya的事情，都是需要powda gaya。理想的圖像是未婚男女交往一陣子之後結婚，婚禮的殺豬儀式也是powda gaya，或是pasdu gaya，語譯是「切斷gaya」，意思是姻親關係建立，不再會再有違反gaya的問題。

M的哥哥M1以前是警察，M1在M結婚之前經歷了兩段的婚姻，後來又和某位女性同居，他們的父母親為了M1的坎坷婚姻史舉辦了幾次規模大小不等的powda gaya，為了籌備在powda gaya時所需要的豬隻和餐宴，對於經濟能力有限的雙親而言是很沈重的負擔。為此，他們賣了兩塊地來自籌powda gaya的相關費用，捉襟見著的財務也讓M的婚禮遲遲無法舉行。原本M的父親要賣一塊地幫他辦婚禮，但因為Y的協助而免於失去土地。然而M均並沒有一直保留這塊土地，在一年前以120萬的價格將這個三分耕地賣給他人。

當M的父母過世之後，M繼承了他們的房屋。這房屋的部分土

地是M的母親的媽媽給M的父母使用的，但是當時這塊土地並沒有過戶，後來輾轉被登記在M大舅的兒子名下。當M的表哥突然成為這塊土地的地主之後，要求M返還土地，並要求拆除地上物，或者要M買下這塊地。M在鄉公所清潔隊工作，每個月有三萬塊穩定收入，但是突然要花一筆錢買這塊地，這是很大的財務壓力。為了籌款，避免父母所留下的家屋被破壞，他只好將自己的部分土地出售。成功交易之後，他獲得120萬新台幣。他自己拿100萬，另外30萬分別給兩個妹妹和哥哥。

我問M，購買這塊表哥的土地才需要30萬為什麼不要貸款呢？非要賣地不可？他說他是過了許多的借貸，但是因為之前汽車貸款有欠款，信用不好，怎麼辦都辦不出來，所以他只好把地賣了。政府的金融方案對他而言是沒有用的，他的信用有問題怎麼樣的貸款方案都是沒意義的。

M的故事並不是特例，而是經常在F村發生的故事之一。從2017年到2018年間，我所蒐集到F村賣土地的案例共有四例，被法拍的土地有六例。C是一位剛返鄉的中年女性，目前在亞泥敦親睦鄰的計畫中服務。C的母親賣土地的故事跟M類似，也是powdagaya所引發的一連串的財務操作的結果。C有一個弟弟，這個弟弟年過四十未婚，在國家公園當巡山員，有穩定的工作。當他與戀愛多時的女友結婚時，對方要求要殺二十條豬，還要辦四十桌，因為女方認為他們的女兒擁有碩士學位並在公立幼稚園擔任正值教師，值得製作許多份豬肉禮物分送（女方的）親朋好友。一條豬目前的行情是12,000，一桌婚宴的費用是3,000，加上在此期間的各項禮物

和給來協助殺豬的親戚的飲食、禮物，至少是一個五十萬以上的婚禮。為此，C的母親先用一塊兩分多的土地向新秀農會貸款六十萬，其餘依靠禮金彌補。婚禮結束之後，還是有一筆資金的缺口，剛好C的表哥表示可以用250萬買下這塊地。C的母親剛好可以用這筆費用清還貸款，也還留一筆錢可以幫助他的支付新屋的頭期款。C的父母過去在西寶擁有大片土地，⁵後來因為國家公園徵收之後，得到一筆錢，而當時後因土地徵收所得的費用則是花四百萬幫C的大哥結婚與添購新屋。

C原本一直跟家人深居在竹村種植水蜜桃，竹村位於太魯閣國家公園境內，在海拔高度1,400公尺的深山地區。在2005年政府用將近五百萬元的費用徵收了C的土地。J用這筆款項回到故鄉F村，並和大兒子和開一間結合雜貨店、卡拉ok和快炒店的複合式商店。這是F村在近十年來唯一新增的大型商店。他也利用剩餘的資金在五年前在下F村的水田地開始種紅藜，年年獲利，迅速累積資本。這幾年也是C迅速擴張土地的時期，幾位村落族人因為家裡有急難而向他兜售土地，J說只要經濟能力允許，他通常會買下來。他說：「人家有困難，我們盡量幫助他」。因為樂於助人，他成為村落內的大地主，但是他卻說同樣開設雜貨店，並且比他在村落更久的H女士才是真正的的地主。H的雜貨店是F村下部落第二家由太魯閣族人所開設的商店，也是利用她先生在外地工作的資金所開設

⁵ 西寶位於今日太魯閣國家公園境內，過去是太魯閣族族人的生活領域，如今已成為西寶農場。西寶國小位於境內。

的。H與他的先生沒有小孩，先生過世之後，她省吃儉用，所賺的錢都拿來買地，而買地的理由也是與J大同小異，都是為了幫助族人度過經濟難關。

J跟H同樣是開設雜貨店，在今日的F村下部落，他們兩家商店的規模是名列前茅。因為長期累積，多數村民很羨慕他們，羨慕的不僅是擁有許多筆土地，也包含他們可以獲得大筆的休耕補助，而且一年還可以領兩次。這同時也表示，當族人把土地賣掉之後，他也損失了原本政府每年可以給他們的休耕補助。若我們仔細觀察F村太魯閣族人在想要賣掉自己土地的詢問對象，可以發現它們也是依照親屬關係的親疏遠近的方式進行。對他們而言，最好的買主是自己的親戚，這樣土地才不會外流。雖然族人在F村大多數的土地是因為日治時期集團移住之後所取得的，但也是他們的曾祖父、祖父或父母親辛苦開墾的果實，土地所乘載的不僅是經濟的利益，也包含家族故事與長輩的連結。除此之外，太魯閣族人也認為賣土地是一個負面的gaya，因為土地是繼承祖先的遺產（Lin, 2010）。然而在T村，許多靠近太平洋海岸線一帶的土地大多被擁有強大政治經濟能力的漢人所登記走。族人之所以賣掉（或失去）土地，主要是這位漢人運用他的資金把錢借給需錢孔急的族人，一但族人沒有能力還款，他們就強置地要借款人把土地質押給他。

《原住民保留地開發與管理辦法》規定原保地的地主必須是原住民這樣規定，一方面讓原住民保留地的土地價值很低，難以成為族人向銀行或農會借款的質押品；另一方面也導致族人必須解決立即財務危機或清還債務最有效的方式。首先，即便原住民保留地的

價值很低，但是相對於族人的其他有價值的物件，土地還是相對地有價值。其次，如果是非原住民想要取得原保地，必須使用原住民人頭來過戶，這樣的情況通常會讓非原住民購買者、原住民人頭與原住民賣方的三方交易是用現金的方式支付，⁶這對於需錢孔急的族人而言，這是一種立即有效解決財務危機的方式。第三，這樣的交易比起跟銀行借款必須承擔信用不足的風險，或要填上各種複雜的表格、申請書而言，用土地換取現金的方式是迅速、方便的。

當秀林鄉的保留地地價從2010到2015年明顯的飆漲，更誘發族人透過土地交易獲得更多的資金已解決家庭經濟問題。根據內政部地政司歷年「不動產成交案件實際資訊動態分析」，自2013年第一季開始有記載秀林鄉的成交案件情況。從2013年第一季到2015年第二季共有575成交案件，至其中大多數為農業用地城間案件，共有388件。且可以看出成交按鍵有逐漸成長的趨勢，而就農地成交案件的均價而言，也從2013年第一季的每坪970元攀升到2767元，漲

⁶ 原漢土地交易經常用「設定抵押」的方式進行。「買賣」原住民保留地的方式通常涉及三方交易，首先是漢人買主甲方找到具有原住民身份的乙方，乙方利用甲方的錢向同樣具有原住民身份的地主丙方購買土地。當土地所有權從丙方便為乙方之後，乙方將原住民保留地設定抵押給甲方。或者直接由原住民保留地地主直接將其土地設定抵押給非漢人買主，漢人雖非地主但卻是該筆土地的債權人。這兩種情況經常發生在許多原住民社區（官大偉 2014，顧玉珍與張毓芬 1999），而後者直接讓原住民地主成為債務人的設定抵押方式由於不是真正的「買賣」，因此也無法從實價登錄或政府公開資訊中取得詳細資料。

幅相當大。而若以成交案件區域而言，多集中在秀林鄉公所行政中心一帶、鄰近花蓮市區的Q村以及「蘇花改」要道上的T村。這也說明了在T村會有漢人熱衷於蒐購原住民土地。F村在這波的區域發展中似乎是最被邊緣化的太魯閣族地區，自從太魯閣大橋建造完成之後，來往花蓮的車輛不再必須經過該村。但即便如此，F村的土地價格還是多少受到鄰近周邊地區土地價格飛漲的影響，讓原本一分地二十萬的價值，飆升到四十萬到六十萬。

長期以來因原住民保留地政策而讓土地價格低落的情況，隨著東部區域發展，讓花蓮市及其周邊的土地價格飆漲，非原保地的價格飆升更是驚人。Z君是長期從事原保地交易的阿美族經紀人，他告訴我：「當投資土地的熱錢在找無新的土地炒作時，原保地則成為投資者另一個選擇。」在鄰近花蓮市周邊的太魯閣族村落和鄰近台九線的原住民保留地已經不是用「分」為計算單位，而是改用「坪」數為單位。回到部落，當族人意識到自己的土地的價格突然飆升，這使得如何在這波土地交易市場獲利成為許多族人關心的議題。本篇論文的開頭所提到的W的故事，他的爺爺想要出售的土地的位置就在B村H火車站的正對面，也靠近台九線。當我問W，拿到一筆大錢之後，這些錢怎麼被分配的。他很無奈地回答說：「我的bayi、pagi就把錢給我的幾個姑姑家，讓他們還債，還有我家的債務。這樣就幾乎沒了。」

在現代化的歷程中以及在殖民統治的情境下，原住民失去廣大的傳統領域，「土地流失」是討論當代原住民發展的重要問題，也因此對於原住民保留地被賣掉，甚至轉交給非原住民時，總會覺得

非常可惜。但是對部分太魯閣族人而言，當他們的經濟面臨困境、債務籠罩在家的屋頂上揮之不去、加上無法從金融單位借到錢，交易土地則成為他們最後一個獲得資金的金融手段。他們無法從金融單位取得貸款可能是因為個人經濟條件不佳、不穩定的工作、銀行信用不足、原保地的公告現值過低等金融發展不利因素所致。即便他們順利獲得銀行核准借款，可能也因為貸款金額過少而作罷。

在F村的鄉間道路行走，偶爾會看見某塊土地插著一個木頭，寫著「法拍」的相關訊息。當族人將土地買賣視為是取得資金的最後手段時，除非有特殊情況，否則他們傾向脫手出清，而不是用土地質押借錢，無論是跟銀行、地下錢莊或個人。這些需要利用到賣土地來籌款應急的族人傾向透過自己熟識的社會關係來兜售土地，對他們而言最好的結果是由家族的某位富有的親戚成為新的地主，這樣也可以讓太魯閣族的土地留在太魯閣族內，更好的結局是讓土地依然屬於某位有經濟能力負擔的親戚家人，但是至於那位新的太魯閣族地主是不是某位漢人或私人企業的人頭，那就不清楚了。

在這一節我們討論的都是F村內社經地位較低，家庭經濟狀況非常窘迫的族人的金融故事。他們或許是原住民「微笑型貸款」所預設的可能借款者，從本節分享的幾個F村的故事，除了意外或醫療原因需要一筆款項之外，他們有著自己文化內在邏輯的理由，那就是為了要gaya的實踐，舉行powda gaya。當powda gaya已經金錢化之後，作為與祖先溝通、確認人與（祖）靈關係的祭典儀式就變得相當的昂貴，已經超出多數家庭所能負擔的費用（Lin, 2015）。族人需錢孔急是來自於對於神靈的敬畏與社會關係的維繫，但是要

如何跟「微笑型貸款」借一筆錢來殺豬舉辦powda gaya，來舉辦婚禮呢？想像族人如果要辦powda gaya而申請「微笑行貸款」，那他應該不是生產使用型，而是消費使用型。後者的利率是前者的5倍，可借貸的金額也較少，最多至20萬，⁷也不夠族人舉辦一個只奉獻六頭豬規模的powda gaya。事實上，這樣的利率和額度不如直接拿土地去跟農會貸款，利率只有0.11%（一分一釐）。但更重要的事，原本以幫助貧窮族人為利益的「微笑貸」，以我自己在F村的經驗，需要小額貸款已解決經濟困境的族人要符合貸款的條件是很困難的。

因此，就族人而言，powda gaya的儀式通常需要較大量的資金，尤其是關於籌備婚禮以及和夫妻關、性規範、或與姻親關係有關的儀式等。面對這樣文化與社會因素所產生的金融需求，其實很難獲得以資本主義經濟思維為基底的金融貸款。若我們再考慮會有資金需求的族人通常是經濟能力較弱的族群，因此他們也更難獲得信用貸款，或成功地申請微笑貸。在這樣的情況下，賣土地以籌措足夠的資金便成為他們最有效（甚至是唯一）的方案。然而對於經濟條件較佳的族人而言，他們面對當代的微笑貸或各項金融服務卻有不同的想法，靈活運用這些金融手段更能讓他們滿足物質上的慾望，也能更加鞏固與擴大他們在社會與政治領域的影響力。

⁷ 筆者在南投縣信義鄉有另一個研究計畫，該地布農族有儲蓄互助合作社，該合作社有一比籌辦婚禮的貸款，貸款額度是 50 萬，這樣的額度或許較為貼近族人的需求。

肆、個人的慾望與金融借貸

太魯閣族的傳統社會是「平權社會」(egalitarian society)沒有世襲的政治領袖和社會階級(social hierarchy)，然而在現代化的過程中，就如同F村商店的討論一樣，當代的太魯閣族社會的政治經濟已經有差別化的現象，在部落比較有經濟能力的人通常是有穩定的正職工作，尤其是當任軍公教警的現役或退休人員，還有就是專業人士，包含醫生、護士、卡車司機等、或者是非營利組織工作者或教會神職人員。這些在經濟上相對優渥的少數族人，也是最符合「原住民綜合發展基金貸款」各項貸款條件的人，他們有穩定的收入，可以按時繳款。然而在我所認識的F村內的經濟優渥的族人中，還沒有族人使用原民會的金融服務，甚至當我跟他們討論到這個議題時，他們都不知道有這些項目。當我詢問S鄉鄉長關於「原住民綜合發展基金貸款」在鄉內的辦理情況時，他的第一句話也是說：「族人不知道有這些東西，他們不懂。」這樣的情況也就不難理解，為何從2017年開始原民會需要找金融專員來推廣這些貸款業務。

這群經濟條件較優渥的族人真的不需要金融活動與理財嗎？事實不然，他們會運用主流社會的各項金融服務，靈活地有效地運用他們的資金。在購車部分，則是用汽車貸款業務，在處理關於房屋的部分，他們會善用「輔助原住民建購、修繕住宅貸款」，建購住宅最高額度，由承貸金融機構查估核定之。其中優惠貸款金額部分

比照國民住宅貸款優惠金額機動調整貸款年限最長30年。⁸在修繕住宅的部分，最高額度是八十萬新台幣，利率按中華郵政股份有限公司二年期定期儲金機動利率加計年息0.575%，貸款年限是15年。若真的能借到八十萬的話，每個月還款金額大約5,028元。這項房屋貸款是經濟條件優渥的族人最常使用的原住民金融服務，但是該項貸款業務不在「原住民綜合發展基金貸款」項目中。

但是從族人會善用「輔助原住民建購、修繕住宅貸款」來添購或改建房舍或許可以推敲，這些具有經濟能力的族人也可能在某個時刻運用了「原住民綜合發展基金貸款」所推展的貸款政策來減輕財務負擔，如同某位太魯閣族的國小主任跟我說的：「我當然會用這個（「輔助原住民建購、修繕住宅貸款」），這比較便宜，（跟一般金融機構的房貸）差很多，好不好。」然而，這位主任跟許多經濟較優渥的族人用這項金融業務所購賣或修建的房舍通常不在部落，而是在花蓮市區。所以若有更多經濟條件較好的族人更了解「原住民綜合發展基金貸款」的政策，或許能加速讓這筆資金能夠幫助到部分的族人。只是對這些經濟優渥的族人而言，「原住民綜合發展基金貸款」或其他對原住民有利的金融服務比較像是錦上添花，而非雪中送炭。

除了利用金融機構或政府單位的貸款項目來籌措資金或達到財務管理的目的之外，在日常生活中，這群經濟條件較優渥的族人則

⁸ 住宅基金提供部分利率，按郵儲2年期定儲利率加0.042%計算機動調整。
銀行融貸部分利率，按郵儲2年期定儲利率加0.875%機動計息。

會透過「標會」的方式來籌措較大筆的資金。在許多社會都有類似太魯族的「標會」的「合會」(rotating saving and credit society)組織，提供人們做金融與財務的管理，例如在馬來西亞的蘭卡威社會也有「kut」的組織(Carsten 1989: 133)。Carsten藉由kut的討論說明蘭卡威社會的日常生活的家戶經濟如何透過長期和短期的交換，而使其鑲嵌在社會和親屬實踐之中。同時他也指出，當我們透過kut的運作的軌跡進而理解家戶經濟的樣貌時，我們可以發現婦女在家戶經濟中扮演著重要的角色，甚至他們成為了家戶經濟與當代市場之間的關鍵性介面。Carsten對於kut的分析是有助於我們理解在F村的標會文化。

在F村的操作是會有一位族人或數位族人合議要「起會」，然後會推舉一位具有公信力且財務狀況良好的族人擔任「會頭」。接著是找會員，通常會找具有經濟能力、有穩定收入的會員為主。接著加入的會員合議每個月要繳納的金額，同嘗試一萬到兩萬之間，確定之後在每月按時繳費，在每個月固定的時間標會，每次都會有一個人獲得所有會錢，每個會期每個會員僅能拿到一次會錢，拿完之後還要按月繳交，直到會期結束。通常「會頭」必須承擔部份會員沒有按時繳款的風險，為了讓標會能順利進行，他/她通常會先代墊，之後再要求未繳款者儘速繳納會費，因此「會頭」通常在經濟能力上比其他會員好。也因為「會投」必須負擔標會組織相關事務和承擔風險，所以有些標會會規定管理費給「會頭」，通常都是由每次得標者付管理費。而最後一個拿到會錢的會員則不須繳納這筆管理費，因為他/她能撐到最後一期，也代表著他/她在某種程度

上也承擔在這漫長一到兩年的過程中有人跑掉、「被倒會」的風險。當會期結束之後，會員們會重新討論是否要再繼續或就此終止。

在我所搜集F村的標會組織共有三個，這三個「標會」的會頭都是商店的女老闆，其中一位是在上F村開咖啡店和民宿，另一位是雜貨店女老闆，另一位在下F村也是商店老闆。他們的會友主要是以親戚為主，在外加幾名「信得過」的朋友。通常商店老闆要找「信得過」的朋友不難，只要看跟他們交易的客人中哪些是不會惡意欠款、甚至從不欠款的人就可以知道。此外，這三個「標會」的主要成員都是女性，他們加入標會的目的通常是要籌措家庭所需的費用，例如孩子的學費、添購必要的家庭用品、修繕房屋等。這些女性會員可能沒有正職穩定的工作，但是她的先生或小孩有穩定的工作和收入。如果我所蒐集到的這三個案例是具有代表性，那或許可以推敲在日常生活中，「標會」是經濟能力較好的家庭常用的金融互助體系，而這個互助體系主要的操盤者與參與者是太魯閣族婦女。

在「原住民族綜合發展基金貸款」方案中，除了微笑貸款之外，青年創業貸款和經濟產業貸款的貸款額度都是百萬起跳，相信這對原住民企業和從事大規模農業發展的族人而言是會很有用處的。但是在F村，若族人需要貸款超過五十萬以上，對經濟條件不佳的族人而言，通常是在解決個人金融問題，例如清還債務、解救即將被法拍的土地等，可能是家裡遇到一件急需金錢解決的困難，可能是要負擔龐大的醫療費、意外事故的和解金或賠償金等。另一

方面，對經濟條件較好的族人而言，超過五十萬的貸款的理由通常也是為了家庭的財務需求，而非為了發展原住民產業。

在經濟條件上符合「原住民族綜合發展基金貸款」標準的族人是在村落經濟條件較佳的族人菁英，從我在 F 村的觀察發現，對他們而言，若因原住民身份或原住民金融政策可以讓他們的家庭財務獲得更大的利益，他們會策略性地運用，如果原住民想關貸款政策可以壓低貸款利率的話。但即便此，他們對於「原住民族綜合發展基金貸款」的相關業務是陌生的。對他們而言，他們的經濟條件也可以在一般的金融機構獲得貸款的金融服務，此外，他們也可以透過「標會」的方式獲得較大筆的資金，以資靈活運用。然而，對許多族人菁英而言，他們的金融貸款通常是為了個人或家庭，而非為了發展產業。

伍、結論

充足的資金與完善的金融制度是產業發展的重要基石，為了讓原住民能有更好的產業發展環境，政府長期挹注「原住民綜合發展基金」，並以此開辦微笑貸款、青年創業貸款、和產業貸款，以此協助原住民能在保留地土地價值不高的情況，在政府的擔保之下，能夠取得較低利率的貸款。然而，這樣的政策落實在原住民社會中的情況卻不如政策所預期的成果，也因此這府近年來成立原住民金融輔導員，並積極推動原住民金融法立法，以及原住民銀行。

原住民既有的金融政策都有其積極與進步的面相，微笑行貸款學習孟加拉鄉村銀行的微型金融服務，未來的原住民銀行也可能是以加拿大第一民族銀行為範本。但是除了好好學習值得仿效的政策之外，也應好好檢視台灣原住民日常生活的金融情況。了解他們的經濟現況、分析在資本主義化的過程中族人與金錢之間的關係、體認原住民社會階層化現象、仔細地去體察他們在日常生活中的金融活動、債務的產生、以及如何解決債務等等。

藉由太魯閣族社會的金融活動的民族誌，本文提出在當代太魯閣族社會在資本主義化過程中，社會活動與文化實踐已經金錢化，*gaya*文化和信仰是一種慾望與行動驅力，讓族人面臨金錢消費和衍生債務所產生的各種問題。在金融活動上，族人因為各種原因借不到錢，也無法從政府的原住民金融服務中取得財務減壓，最後只好將賣土地當做是金融活動的手段。但對於經濟能力優渥的族人而言，政府的金融政策提供他們很好的金融工具，但是他們卻也是相對不受經濟困擾的人。然而，政府的金融政策卻讓原住民社會內部的貧富差距逐漸拉大，這也讓傳統強調平權政治形態的太魯閣族社會產生質變。

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Making up Stories, Dealing with Emotions: Therapeutic Storytelling and the Healing Process of Abjection in Patrick Ness's Novel *A Monster Calls*

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Abstract

This article offers a reading of the novel *A Monster Calls* in which a tree-like monster visits a young boy Conor whose mother is dying. I argue first that Conor's response to the monster's stories follows Patrick Colm Hogan's view that novels can elicit readers' emotions as they evaluate the story plots in the context of their individual expectations or goals. The monster assists Conor's emotional healing through the process of abjection, a theoretical concept developed by

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Julia Kristeva, wherein he separates from his close bond with his mother. His healing also occurs through a “conceptual blending” process, as described by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner. The conceptual blending process works metaphorically: one thing is projected onto or perceived as another thing due to their similarity. This process aligns with the idea of transference in psychoanalytic therapy, by which one acts out his or her affects or experiences with a particular person in front of another person. The monster helps Conor to resolve his emotional issues by aiding his conceptual blending of his real-life episodes with the story events, so Conor can gain different perceptions of himself and other people. This process allows Conor to heal.

Key words : emotion, abjection, storytelling, *A Monster Calls*, Patrick Ness

編織故事・處理情感：派崔克・奈斯《怪物來敲門》裡的說故事以及「摒棄」療癒過程

游鎮維

摘要

本文主要在閱讀青少年小說《怪物來敲門》。首先申論小說主角康納傾聽怪物所述說的故事時所產生的情緒反應情況，如同學者 Patrick Colm Hogan 所說的，讀者在閱讀小說時，會依照自己的個人期待或目的來評量故事情節，因此產生不同的情緒反應。再者申論，怪物協助康納接受與他母親分離的情緒治癒過程，呼應學者 Julia Kristeva 提到的「摒棄」理論概念。同時，康納的治療也是一種「概念混拌」。「概念混拌」為學者 Gilles Fauconnier 和 Mark Turner 所提出來的理論：一件事物會被投射在另一件在概念上與它相似的事物上。同時，本文指出，此「概念混拌」過程如同精神分析治療時會發生的移情作用：一方會將自己過去與他人的情緒經驗，轉移到另一方。康納理解自己真實生活中的事件，與怪物說的

故事裡的事件有所聯繫時，「混拌」的發生使他能將心中兩大情感（忿怒和罪惡感）與他生活中接觸的人進行連結，進而改變他對他們的看法。因此，他能夠以新的角度看待自己的現實，而獲得療癒。

關鍵字：情感、摒棄、說故事、《怪物來敲門》、派崔克・奈斯

Introduction

In Patrick Ness's novel, *A Monster Calls*, a boy protagonist named Conor experiences emotional turbulence arising from the looming death of his terminally ill mother. During this time, a tree-like monster visits him and tells him stories. Gradually, these stories help Conor to embrace his mental conflicts about his mother's death.

In discussing how literature elicits human emotions, Patrick Colm Hogan refers to Oatley and Johnson-Laird's theory that emotions are stimulated by individual assessments of life events that are shaped by personal objectives and expectations (144). Hogan further develops this view of the reader's emotional experience in relation to literature: "Our emotional experience of a literary work is a function of junctural evaluation of narrative events in relation to our own goals—specifically our preferred final outcome, a goal that need not be the same as that of the protagonist" (149). Put simply, if the story does not develop in the direction that the reader expects, the reader may feel angry, disappointed, distressed, and so on. The reader may not share the same emotional response to story events as the protagonist, even if she or he initially identified with the protagonist. This conflict between the reader's expectation and story events can be observed in the plot of *A Monster Calls*. At first, Conor believes that the stories will solve his

personal dilemma related to his mother's dying. However, Conor responds negatively when the monster's stories do not end in the way he expects. Still, Conor continues to listen, because he can see parallels between the monster's stories and his real life.

I argue that Conor can associate the events and people of his real life with the events of the story, because the monster is skillful in making appealing parables. As Mark Turner states, "Parable begins with narrative imagining—the understanding of a complex of objects, events, and actors as organized by our knowledge of *story*. It then combines story with projection: one story is projected onto another" (*Literary Mind* 5; original emphasis). The monster skillfully combines Conor's personal situation with the plots. Thus, the stories are successful because Conor can see that the stories resemble his real life. This effect results from Conor's cognitive power. His cognition is a form of "conceptual blending," in which he blends real-life events with the story in "a generic mental space" that "contains what the inputs have in common" (Fauconnier and Turner 41). From that blending, a structure emerges from the inputs that are projected onto one another (Fauconnier and Turner 41-43).

This process is characterized through metaphor. As George Lakoff and Mark Johnson explain, metaphor "is principally a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding" (36). This interpretation resonates with Carol H.

Lankton and Stephen R. Lankton's view of the story as metaphor: a story can invite clients to "further identify and add personal detail to a particular experience introduced in the storyline" (1). Regarding the cognitive aspect of human emotions, Martha C. Nussbaum argues that the person who embodies emotional concern is "an intentional object" that "figures in the emotion as it is seen or interpreted by [us] whose emotion it is" (27). People who are intentional objects of concern are thus "invested with value and importance" (Nussbaum 30). In *A Monster Calls*, the intentional objects in Conor's emotional life include his mother, grandmother, father, and others. They influence his perceptions of events, and Conor judges them in relation to these events. Using his cognitive ability, Conor metaphorically projects them into the monster's story events.

As previously mentioned, the endings of the monster's stories conflict with Conor's expectations, causing him to feel shock and distress. These conflicts also provoke anger, guilt, and mistrust of the monster. Interestingly, despite this mistrust, Conor remains willing to listen to the monster's stories, perhaps hoping and believing that the monster can heal his mother. It becomes clear, though, that Conor is the one who needs healing, as the monster says, "I did not come to heal her. I came to heal you" (*A Monster Calls* 184). Self-healing thus is the goal that underpins Conor's continued willingness to listen to the monster's stories to the end. Therefore, this paper aims to reveal how

the monster's stories direct Conor's two emotions, anger and guilt, toward thoughts about the people in his life and help him to reorganize his ideas of people and his personal situation, leading him toward the ultimate goal of self-healing.

Existing readings of the novel, for example Nathan Carlin's "A Psychoanalytic Reading of *A Monster Calls*: Biblical Congruencies and Theological Implications," and Nishan Ghoshal and Paul O. Wilkinson's "Narrative Matters: *A Monster Calls* – A Portrayal of Dissociation in Childhood Bereavement," reveal the strength of the novel in its representation of the human psychic dimension. My reading of the novel also is psychologically oriented. In particular, I draw on Julia Kristeva's psychoanalytic concept of abjection, the state where the subject is established on the loss of the mother as the desirable and forbidden object (*Power of Horror* 5-6). Abjection is intrinsic to Conor's emotions about his mother and her death. Conor is emotionally attached to his mother. She is his intentional object, and thus her dying is excruciatingly painful for him. To free himself from this pain, Conor secretly wants his mother to die, an intentional feeling that resembles abjection. To him, his mother becomes abject. Thus, Conor develops an emotional state that is in line with what Kristeva says, "a sentimental, archaic and ambivalent affection" (*Tales of Love* 33). In this way, Conor also becomes abject, who, according to Kristeva's theory, "finds that the impossible constitutes [his] very *being*, that [he] is none other

than abject" (*Power of Horror* 5; original emphasis).

Conor's unwillingness to accept his mother's dying reveals his attachment to her. Her death also reveals his estrangement from other people. When Conor's schoolmates and teachers learn that his mother is dying, Conor feels that the teachers "only knew him in terms of his mum and not who he was before. And the other kids still treated him like he was the one who was ill" (*A Monster Calls* 79). Connor's feeling of estrangement highlights his very status as abject, or in Kristeva's words, "death infecting life ... something rejected from which one does not part, from which one does not protect oneself as from an object" (*Power of Horror* 4).

Karen Coats views abjection as a fundamental characteristic of adolescent fiction, in which young heroes' troubled relations with peer groups often represent the reworking of their relationships with a maternal figure (293). Kristeva theorizes that, to be detached from the mother and become the subject, the child needs "a third party, eventually the father, [who] can contribute [and who] helps the future subject ... in pursuing a reluctant struggle against what, having been the mother, will turn into an abject" (*Power of Horror* 13). Following Kristeva in *Tales of Love*, I thus interpret the monster as "the Imaginary Father" (26) that transports Conor from his attachment to the mother, whom he is destined to lose, to a peaceful embrace of this lost mothering. Kristeva says that the process of abjection operates with

transference “involving three people: the *subject*..., his imaginary or real *object* of love.... And the *Third Party*” (*Tales of Love* 13; original emphasis). With transference, “a true process of self-organization” (Kristeva, *Tales of Love* 14), the third party builds the subject’s relationships with other people in a new way. Through storytelling, the monster also acts a third party, initiating a healing process in which Conor addresses his feelings of abjection and works toward self-healing.

The Monster as the Father-Mother Synthesis

At the end of the novel, the monster takes Conor to revisit a nightmare in which his mother hangs from a cliff, and he lets go of her hands. Her death pains him so much that he would rather give up on her than face the pain of it. The monster tells Conor, “You let her go ... You could have held on for longer ...” (*A Monster Calls* 197). The monster then explains, “You were merely wishing for the end of pain ... your *own* pain” (*A Monster Calls* 201; original emphasis). The excruciating prospect of losing the mother underscores Conor’s emotional attachment to her. This attachment leads Conor to deny his mother’s impending death. It also makes him desperate to find any possibility of healing her. The monster embodies Conor’s desperate

desire for his mother to heal. From time to time, Connor hears his mother point out, "That's a yew tree, you know" (*A Monster Calls* 14; 88). She later explains that when she was diagnosed with cancer, she read in a book that a yew tree can be used to make medicine for cancer (*A Monster Calls* 140). Even the monster says to Connor, "The yew is a healing tree ... it is the form I choose to walk in" (*A Monster Calls* 136). The monster repeatedly insists on visiting (*A Monster Calls* 46; 181; 182), and it appears that it is Connor's strong desire to heal his mother that provokes this unconscious calling to the monster. It stands to reason that the monster's existence is a mental projection of Connor's attachment to her and that the monster's yew tree appearance originates from Connor's affective experiences about his mother.

The monster is an agent of acceptance for Connor, preparing him for the imminent separation from his mother in a psychoanalytic scenario of abjection. According to Kristeva, the third party that makes abjection work for the subject is an imaginary father, or the "father of individual prehistory," a term borrowed from Freud (*Tales of Love* 33). Several textual clues in the novel's plot imply that the monster's compositional elements represent Connor's affect about his father. First, although Connor is emotionally attached to his mother, he wants to move to the United States to live with his father and his new family (*A Monster Calls* 98). Second, among Connor's close relatives, the father is the only person Connor tells about the visits from the monster (*A*

Monster Calls 98). Third, Conor himself draws a parallel between his father and the monster: “if [the monster] could talk, I wonder if it would sound like you” (*A Monster Calls* 100). The resemblance is confirmed further by his father’s opinion that stories “don’t always have happy endings” (*A Monster Calls* 144), which recalls the monster’s view that stories are “wild creatures” that can cause damage (*A Monster Calls* 61). Thus, the monster is a Kristevan imaginary father, or “a mother-father conglomerate,” as Kelly Oliver states (133). This father-mother combination (i.e., the fatherly voice and the yew tree appearance) is apparent in the monster’s proclamation that it has “as many names as there are years to time itself” (*A Monster Calls* 44), such as “the eternal Green Man” and “this wild earth” (*A Monster Calls* 44). In this way, the monster represents several compositional elements in Conor’s mind, blending many emotions and experiences in his life, including his relationship with his father.

In short, as a polymorphous being that contains maternal and paternal features, the monster can influence Conor by sharing stories that are filled with references to Conor’s real life.

The Monster’s First Tale: Projecting Anger and Guilt

Conor feels ambivalent about his dying mother. He loves her and does not want her to die, but the fear of losing her torments him so much that he wants to let her go, leading to feelings of guilt. It is not surprising then that the monster's first story is an attempt to alleviate this guilt. According to the monster's introduction to the first tale, the story is about "a wicked queen" who attempts to take over a kingdom that rightfully belongs to her step-grandson, the prince. The monster explains to Conor, "I made sure she was never seen again" (*A Monster Calls* 61).

This tale echoes an event in Conor's real life: his grandmother planned to take custodianship of him after his mother's death. Conor finds this arrangement to be emotionally unbearable. This grim acceptance of his mother's death infuriates him. "Or it could have been more. It could have been a hint about a possible future. A possible after. Conor felt the anger rising in the pit of his stomach" (*A Monster Calls* 50). He is not ready to think about life after her death. Conor thus projects this anger toward his grandmother onto the wicked queen. He wants to get rid of his grandmother, so he sees himself as the prince who, with the monster's assistance, recovers his kingdom. In this context, the grandmother is Conor's intentional object of *anger*. He wants to remove her from his life in the same way that the wicked queen is removed from the kingdom, as the monster has suggested in the beginning of the first tale.

In this tale, a king is left with “only one heir, his infant grandson” (*A Monster Calls* 63). Later the king remarries a young queen who becomes the prince’s step-grandmother. Soon after the king dies, the queen attempts to steal the kingdom from the coming-of-age prince by marrying him. In retaliation, the prince secretly kills his own lover and accuses the queen of the crime, which consequently stirs outrage and prompts calls to overthrow the queen. In the end, the monster explains that the queen was removed from the kingdom and taken “to a village by the sea ... to live in peace” (*A Monster Calls* 68). This peaceful conclusion angers Conor, who gets “to his feet, his voice rising in disbelief” (*A Monster Calls* 68). He asks, “How is that supposed to save me from her [the grandmother]?” to which the monster replies, “It is not *her* you need saving from” (*A Monster Calls* 75). Thus, the monster implies that Connor should be like the prince who feels no guilt for sacrificing his lover in defense of his right to the kingdom. The parable suggests that Conor should release himself from the guilt he feels at letting his mother die, because neither Conor nor the prince are guilty for their crimes.

The critic Nathan Carlin argues that the monster’s story of the prince reflects Conor’s wish: he “*wants to be forgiven* for wanting his mother to die” (770; emphasis added). I argue that Conor is not ready for forgiveness at this stage, because he is still struggling with emotional complexity. He feels it is right to be punished for letting his

mother die, which is why he feels “aghast” (*A Monster Calls* 73) when he learns that the prince murders someone he loves and does not get punished. Dissatisfied with the first story's ending, Conor combines the guilt he feels about his mother-killing intention with the anger towards his grandmother. This conceptual blending leads to the monster's second tale.

The Monster's Second Tale: Self-Punishment and Maternal Loss

The monster introduces the second tale as a story “about a man who thought only of himself” and who “gets punished very, very badly indeed” (*A Monster Calls* 108). Conor, still “irritated” by the surprise ending of the first story (*A Monster Calls* 76), is tempted to listen to this second story, though, because “he thought about his father” (*A Monster Calls* 108). The selfish man in the monster's tale reminds Conor of his father, who divorced his mother, remarried, started another family, and moved away to the United States. Although Conor does not want to live with his grandmother after his mother dies, he wants to live with his father. However, his father decides against it, saying that it is better for Conor to live with his grandmother, who is richer and has a spacious house (*A Monster Calls* 99). Conor views this

as selfishness on his father's part, and it angers him. In Connor's mind, people guilty of selfishness should be punished.

In the second tale, a bad-tempered chemist, the Apothecary, cures diseases using an herbal remedy for which he greedily charges "more than the patient could afford" (*A Monster Calls* 114). Another man in the village, the parson, dislikes the Apothecary's "superstition and witchery," and he "preached against the Apothecary's use of the old ways" (*A Monster Calls* 116). When an infection sickens many people, including the parson's two daughters, he seeks help from the Apothecary as a last resort. The Apothecary refuses to help, and both daughters died. The monster then explains how he punished the parson that same night, tearing "the parson's home from its very foundation" (*A Monster Calls* 117). As in the first tale, the second tale's ending surprises Connor. He argues that the Apothecary "is the bad guy!" (*A Monster Calls* 118). The monster counters, explaining that the parson is "a man who lived on belief, but who sacrificed it at the first challenge, right when he needed it most. He believed selfishly and fearfully. And it took the lives of his daughters" (*A Monster Calls* 119).

The monster's actions and interpretations challenge Connor's wish to punish the Apothecary, whom he sees as his father. The story's ending aptly provokes Connor's empathy with the parson. When he hears that the parson's daughters die, Connor is surprised. "What?" he asks, taken aback, and his physiological reaction is "the nightmare feeling

taking hold of his guts" (*A Monster Calls* 117). This nightmare feeling surfaces every time Conor is reminded of his mother's death and his willingness to let go of her in his horrifying dream (*A Monster Calls*, 104, 128, 133, 173). Like the parson, Conor wishes that his loved one could survive a life-threatening illness. Also like the parson, he forsakes his belief in his mother's survival.

After cleverly implicating Conor as the parson, the monster watches with Conor the scene in which it destroyed the parson's house long time ago: "The parson's house was still before them, and Conor saw the yew tree next to it awaken into the monster and set ferociously on the parsonage" (*A Monster Calls* 118). When the monster "stepped forward, joining its second self" (*A Monster Calls* 120), it invites Conor to join it in destroying the parson's house, telling Conor that the destruction is "most satisfying" (*A Monster Calls* 120). Conor's acceptance of participating in the destruction indicates that his rage toward his irresponsible father coincides with his anger towards the grandmother. Conor is knocking down the house with the monster. "He was yelling as he did it, so loud he couldn't hear himself think, disappearing into the frenzy of destruction" (*A Monster Calls* 121). After the destruction, Conor "stood in shock" (*A Monster Calls* 124). He sees that it is his grandmother's sitting room, in real life, that he has dismantled. When his grandmother first sees the destruction, Conor "kept a hand up to protect himself, expecting blows to land any

moment” (*A Monster Calls* 128). Yet, she does not punish Conor. It comes clear that Conor’s feeling of satisfaction in destroying the parson’s (grandmother’s) house thus indicates a masochistic tendency to punish himself forsaking his mother.

The grandmother’s sitting room embodies the maternal legacy: Conor’s mother is the daughter of his grandmother (*A Monster Calls* 210). In a profound way, the monster is preparing Conor for the mental break from his mother. By dismantling the grandmother’s sitting room, Conor destroys the object of his pain. The destruction of this maternal space also indicates Conor’s concerns about the future, about living with his grandmother. The anticipation is further embodied in Conor’s fear that the monster will destroy his grandmother’s office. He is worried when he sees that the monster “placed its entire great weight on top of his grandma’s office” (*A Monster Calls* 147). He wonders, “If he destroyed her office, too, there’s no telling what she’d do to him” (*A Monster Calls* 147; original emphasis). This sentence conveys Conor’s internal focalization of the monster. Interestingly, Conor uses the third-person pronoun “he,” rather than the neutral “it,” to refer to the office-sitting monster. The displacement of pronouns is self-reflexive. That is, Conor identifies with the monster, which helps him come to terms with a future life *without* his mother.

In Kristeva’s theory, “the ‘primary identification’ with the ‘father in individual prehistory’ would be the means, the link that might enable

one to become reconciled with the loss of the Thing" (*Black Sun* 13). In this way, the monster transforms Conor's hatred of his grandmother's house, which previously represented maternal physical death, into love and caring for a house that now symbolizes his embrace of maternal death. Conor's identification with the monster operates within psychological transference. As Kristeva notes, "primary identification appears to be a transference to (from) the imaginary father, correlative to the establishment of the mother as 'ab-jetted'" (*Tales of Love* 41-42).

Conor's identification with the monster cultivates a connection between the grandmother's devastated house and maternal loss, the very abjection. Indeed, Conor's mother even encourages this maternal abjection. After Conor learns that there is no more treatment for his mother, he feels baffled and angry. His mother assures him that is right to be "angry at" her (*A Monster Calls* 177). This mounting anger takes on different people as intentional objects (e.g., the grandmother, the father), but its essence is his ambivalence toward his mother. He loves his mother so much that he hates her for dying. He hates her suffering so much that he wishes for her to die quickly. Conor affixes all of his emotions about his mother to some form of anger. Consequently, he is estranged from reality. Releasing this anger is necessary in the process of abjection. This process is resolved in the monster's third tale.

The Monster's Third Tale:

Releasing Anger to Address Estrangement

In the monster's third tale, an invisible man wants to be seen. The man is not "actually invisible ... It was that people had become used to not seeing him" (*A Monster Calls* 156). Conor identifies with this man, who "one day decided ... I will *make* them see me" (*A Monster Calls* 157; original emphasis). The man's situation echoes what happens to Conor at home and at school, where he feels visible only in relation to his dying mother, not himself. At home, people ignore Conor's destruction of his grandmother's sitting room. His father suggests, "We're going to pretend like it never happened ... because other things are going on right now" (*A Monster Calls* 134). At school, Conor is "not himself," and the schoolteachers' kindness toward him is, in Conor's eyes, "only slightly less scary than full-on shouting" (*A Monster Calls* 82). Again, Conor is defined only in relation to his mother.

In this invisible state, Conor is strangely visible to Harry, Sully, and Anton, the school bullies. The bullying starts the day after Conor has the terrifying dream in which he let his mother to die (*A Monster Calls* 29). That is, bullying mysteriously coincides with the emergence

of Conor's belief that he deserves punishment. Conor even encourages them to bully him, seeing it as a punishment he deserves (*A Monster Calls* 136). However, Harry seems to understand this desire of Conor to punish himself, saying, "I think I know what it is you're asking for" (*A Monster Calls* 154). Harry then decides not to give Conor what he wants; instead, he says, "I no longer see you" (*A Monster Calls* 155). Curiously, Harry's refusal to see Conor only incites Conor further. Conor attacks Harry when the latter taunts, "Conor O' Malley ... who everyone's sorry for because of his mum. Who swans around school acting like he's so different, like no one knows his suffering" (*A Monster Calls* 161). In response, Conor draws on the monster's strength, crying over and over again, "Never invisible again" (*A Monster Calls* 164) while attacking.

Upon close analysis, Conor's goal of beating Harry in rage is dual. On the one hand, in the symbolic act of breaking from the mother, Conor intends to end Harry's perception of him as "invisible" in relation to his mother. On the other hand, Conor wants to satisfy his desire to be punished. This venting of anger can be perceived as another way that the monster connects Conor to reality, similar to helping Conor tear down the grandmother's house. This act of rage is symbolic preparation for his mother's death, although his sense of guilt remains unresolved. Conor remains imbued with the experience of an abject. Indeed, after his ferocious public attack on Harry, "Conor was

no longer invisible. They all saw him now. But he was further away than ever” (*A Monster Calls* 168). The monster helps Conor deal with his sense of guilt in the fourth tale.

The Monster’s Fourth Tale: Admitting Guilt to Resolve Emotional Havocs

Throughout the monster’s first three tales, Conor still hopes to heal his mother, who is his main intentional object. Conor’s emotions also are directed toward other people, such as his grandmother and father. In the fourth tale, the monster gradually leads Conor toward himself. In this tale, the main character is Conor himself. The monster takes him to revisit a nightmarish scene, in which Conor promises his mother that he will continue to hold onto her. It appears that she slips from his hands and into the void, but in fact, it is Conor who lets her go. Conor has never spoken these sentiments aloud. Again, as in the first three tales, Conor’s sense of guilt is sustained by his efforts to dismiss feelings about his unacknowledged desire to kill his mother.

This nightmarish scene in the fourth tale is how the monster coaxes Conor into speaking his intention. The monster wants Conor to say, out loud, that he is surrendering his mother to death, warning him to “speak the truth or stay here forever” (*A Monster Calls* 195). The

monster's phrase "stay here" means to stay in the nightmare, but it also means that Conor will remain estranged as an abject if he does not admit his guilt. In other words, Conor's refusal to admit his abjection of his mother, or his unwillingness to undertake matricide, will result in a horrible loss of the self. As Kristeva explains, "to protect mother I kill myself while knowing—phantasmatic and protective knowledge—that it comes from her, the death-bearing" maternal figure (*Black Sun* 28). At last, the monster prods the hesitating Conor forward by instructing him: "You let her go" (*A Monster Calls* 195). Conor then admits, "I can't *stand* it anymore! ... I can't stand knowing that she'll go! I just want it to be over! I want it to be *finished!*" (*A Monster Calls* 198; original emphasis).

As Conor finishes the fourth tale, he finds that he survives the nightmare, though he inconsolably blames himself for wishing his mother to die. "I didn't mean it," he says (*A Monster Calls* 201). According to the monster, these contradictory thoughts (wanting and not wanting his mother to die) both are true. The monster says to Conor: "You wanted her to go at the same time you were desperate for me to save her. Your mind will believe comforting lies while also knowing the painful truths that make those lies necessary. And your mind will punish you for believing both" (*A Monster Calls* 201). The monster shrewdly points out Conor's mental state, which recalls Kristeva's definition of an abject person as one who "never stops

demarcating his universe whose fluid confines—for they are constitutes of a non-object, the abject—constantly question his solidity and impel him to start afresh” (*Power of Horror* 8). Only by accepting his conflicting state of mind as the truth can Conor free himself from emotional havoc. At the end of the novel, Conor “held tightly onto his mother” (*A Monster Calls* 215). He says to her again, “I don’t want you to die,” (*A Monster Calls* 214) though it is “by doing so” that “he could finally let her go” (*A Monster Calls* 215).

Conclusion

My reading of *A Monster Calls* has shown that the resolutions of the first and second tales, as told by the monster, challenge Conor’s expectations. As such, they provoke negative emotional responses from him. Together, the tales connect his anger and guilt. He is angry at everyone, his grandmother for assuming his mother would die, his father for abandoning him, his classmates for not seeing him, and his teachers for seeing him only as a soon-to-be motherless boy. He feels deep guilt about his desire for his mother to die: he cannot heal her, so her death is the only way to stop his unbearable anguish at losing her gradually.

The monster’s tales help Conor to build different perceptions of

himself. The monster further helps Conor to process his emotions in the third and fourth tales which mirror Conor's personal situation. His volatile emotions are wrought with feelings of abjection, the emotional conflicts elicited by the inevitable death of his terminally ill mother. The monster helps Conor to resolve these feelings by aiding his conceptual blending of his real-life episodes with the story events. This process allows Conor, finally, to begin to heal. To conclude, *A Monster Calls* exemplifies the therapeutic power of storytelling in resolving emotional issues.

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Sketch-to-Stretch: A Fun and Interactive Art Activity That Helps Engage Students in the Reading Process

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Abstract

Rosenblatt's transactional theory has been acknowledged and applied extensively in classroom settings of either literacy or literature programs. Similarly, Gardner's theory of "multiple intelligence" (MI) challenged the traditional notion and made significant influence in the

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field of education. With the influence of these two theorists, the concept of sign systems has been further developed and utilized in designing teaching activities involving various signs to help children elicit responses to stories. Sketch-to-stretch strategy is an example generated on the basis of these two theories.

This article explored the potential of applying sketch-to-stretch strategy in curriculum and illustrated an example of doing reading aloud and sketch-to-stretch strategy in two language classes. Readers of this article may draw some ideas and thoughts and come up with their own ways of using sketch-to-stretch strategy in their own classrooms.

Key words : sketch-to-stretch strategy, children's responses to literature, language teaching and learning, in-class teaching activity

「畫圖延伸思考」的閱讀策略：可 以吸引學生參與的一個好玩 又具互動性的美術活動

劉文雲*

摘要

Rosenblatt的「閱讀交互作用」主張一直以來都被認可與推崇，也被廣泛應用於閱讀教學和文學教授相關課程中。另一位具有重要地位學者Gardner，其提出的「多元智能理論」雖然對傳統教育觀念多有挑戰，但也在教育界造成極大的影響。以此兩大學說理論為基礎的多元符號系統概念也順應被發展成各種教學活動，以運用不同類型符號來幫助兒童作閱讀回應。「畫圖延伸思考」就是一種以多元符號系統概念為主所設計出來的活動。

本文宗旨在探討「畫圖延伸思考」策略在課程上的應用。也在美國的兩個中文學校班級為例，將此一活動在這兩個班上實施的

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實際狀況書寫描述於文中給讀者們做參考。老師們可從閱讀本文當中激發出一些想法，決定如何在自己的班上使用此一活動。

關鍵字：畫圖延伸思考策略、兒童閱讀回應、語言教學與學習、課堂教學活動

Introduction

Bringing in children's literature into classrooms is not anymore a new concept in language and literacy education nowadays. Teachers and educators have no doubts about the strong influence that reading of children's literature brings to the language development of young learners (Dickinson & Tabors, 2001; Macwhinney, 1999). Generally speaking, it has been practiced for some time in many countries that children's literature is included and incorporated as parts of lessons or textbooks in curriculum. In many American classrooms, it is commonly seen that teachers read aloud picture books in classes of various subjects, and interactive activities are designed and carried out to go along with reading aloud.

However, the descriptions accounted above are not usually seen in school education settings in Taiwan. There is still much room for development, when the educational aspect of using children's literature in classrooms is concerned. The Curriculum Guidelines of 12-year Basic Education has recently announced and issued by the Ministry of Education (MOE), and in English learning area, the implementation of picture storybooks has been included and suggested as a part of teaching instructions and recommended as an evaluation method used to assess students' learning performance. Many teachers are still

hesitated to teach content areas with children's literature or have questions about how to use children's literature within the limited class time, or what activities are suitable and eligible to be applied for functions as supporting learning, encouraging students' involvement, engaging students in active learning or creating dynamic learning environment and opportunities.

This article explored the potential of applying sketch-to-stretch strategy in curriculum and illustrated an example of doing reading aloud and sketch-to-stretch strategy in two Chinese language classes. Readers of this article may draw some ideas and thoughts and come up with their own ways of using sketch-to-stretch strategy in their own classrooms.

Review of Literature

Rosenblatt (1994) believed that literature should be read aesthetically, and readers are encouraged and invited to undergo "live-through" reading experiences. She proposed that there is an active relationship between readers and texts. According to Rosenblatt, readers play an active role in the reading process—they actively interact with texts and make meanings. Readers seek interpretations by making associations and eliciting ideas that the words evoke in them. She also

stated,

“The reader brings to the work of personality traits, memories of past events, present needs and preoccupation, a particular mood of the moment, and a particular physical condition. These and many other elements in a never-to-be duplicated combination determine his response to the peculiar contribution of the text.”
(1995, p. 31)

Rosenblatt’s transactional theory has been acknowledged and applied extensively in classroom settings of either literacy or literature programs. Children, like adults, are individuals with their own needs, interests, and abilities. Therefore, there are significant needs to encourage children to respond to and understand their responses to the literature that they read. “In order to have a successful literature program, teachers and librarians must know books well, but that is only half the task. It is also necessary to understand children and the changing patterns of their responses to literature” (Huck, Hepler & Hickman, 1993, p.54).

However, in real classrooms, teachers usually play the role of knowledge givers and students are passive receivers. The major reason that teachers are still in control of students’ learning is that teachers ask confidence in students. Spiegel (1996) discussed the importance of

teacher sharing power with children by changing teachers' role for "the" leaders and controllers to facilitators and assistants to children. In the recent decade, learner-centered teaching and learning pedagogy has been highlighted among educational theorists and practitioners (e.g., Bailey & Colley, 2015; Özpolat, 2013; Schweisfurth, 2014). For instance, Barraket (2005) argued that learners construct knowledge for themselves, and Schweisfurth (2014) strongly believed learner-centered approach has a potential to form quality education. In order to achieve a success in collaborative learning, it is important to stress necessity of creating a friendly sharing community where children feel that their responses are appreciated or respected by their teachers and peers (Evans, 2009; Gabriel, 2016).

Influenced by semiotic theory, scholars considered art as one of the components of sign systems, which are treated as "potential tools for thinking and exploring new ideas for communication" (Short, Kauffman & Kahn, 1999, p.16). Sign systems can provide new ways of thinking and shape new perspectives. Leland and Harste (1994) further commented that readers should be flexible of using different systems through which they express responses to the texts.

However, art has been ignored by most of teachers and parents when it comes to talk about cognitive learning. Many writers have shared a common experience of searching for inspirations from scenes in the real world and then stretching and mapping those scenes into

mental associations or pictures. Drawing has served a similar function as pictures do: to give readers concrete images and enable them to build a better understanding of meaning. Drawings can be used to communicate concepts and help comprehend concepts (Laurence, 2011; Musgrove & Musgrove, 2015).

Gardner (1980), the founder of the theory of multiple intelligence (MI), explored the vital links between children's art and their emotional, social, and cognitive development and regarded art education as the education of a process of thought. The experiences of making drawings inspire children to think and even take one step further to help them make thoughtful and productive responses. It was suggested that young children with limited language ability and restricted spoken skills can use drawings to show their understanding about the world and also as a tool for problem solving (Heath & Wolf, 2005; Hubbard, 1987; Roam, 2013). Harste (2014) emphasized the importance to include art in curriculum because he believes, "Art allows us to explore who we are, how we are different, what makes us unique, what contributions we might make to the ongoing conversation" (p.97).

Sketch-to-stretch, defined as sketching what the story means (Short & Harste, 1996), is a strategy that can be applied during reading-aloud session to help elicit reading responses. It serves a function that "expand opportunities for responses beyond talking and writing" (Short

& Harste, 1996, p.160). Whitin (1994) explained the strategy as “creating a visual representation of colors, lines, symbols, and shapes to convey one’s understanding of conflict, characters, theme or feelings in a piece of literature” (p.101).

When a child makes a decision to present his/her response through sketches, he/she has to make choices on how to make their sketches alive (Hubbard,1987). They express their feelings and thoughts freely and make personal intertextual connections while drawing their responses. As Arantes, Hess, Gonçalves, & Rodrigues (2017) pointed out, “Drawings can represent our interior images and perceptions of how the things are and how they are connected.” (p. 5).

Asking children to respond to literature through sketches and to share their sketches with teachers and the whole class is one of ways to let them show what they know and have learned through reading. When sharing responses, discoveries and questions with the teacher and their classmates and receiving responses from them, children get a chance to hear how others think. This will help each individual child learn from each other and make learning a collaborative process (Baloche, 2014; Steward, Hebert, & Cheek, 2007).

Research Questions

This pilot study was designed as an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What kinds of responses do the young children in this study make in sketches?
2. Do children engage aesthetic reading experiences when making sketches?

Method

Research Design

For this study, three visits were paid to two classes at a local Chinese School in Arizona State in the United States. The approach I took was participant observation, where my role in this study was both a participant and observer. I read one picture storybook to the classes during each visit. The books selected to be read aloud were all originally written in English by American authors. I translated the stories from English into Chinese, wrote the translation on index cards and attached each index card to the corresponding page. During the read-aloud, each story was read in Mandarin only.

The three book titles included, *Come With Me* (Wolff, 1996); *Harriet, You'll Drive Me Wild* (Fox, 2003); and *Night Visitors* (Young, 1995). The former two books were selected because they had themes that young children would easily associate with and make connections to. *Come With Me* talks about a sense of love for animals, and most children readers must have gone through the similar experiences and conflicts as Harriet has in the story of *Harriet, You'll Drive Me Wild*. *Night Visitors* was written and adapted based on an ancient Chinese folktale. The students in the class where I read aloud this book were older kids from the upper grades. I think it was appropriate to introduce a story that incorporates elements of language and cultural ideas.

After finishing reading a story, I asked children to try a “sketch to stretch” activity. Then the next chunk of class time was dedicated to get the children to share their sketches with the whole class. During the sharing time, I asked questions to make them explain or clarify their sketches or their feelings and thoughts about the stories they had listened to. I also encouraged the rest of the class to respond to each sketch. In this session, both Mandarin and English were used interchangeably. English was used when children had difficulties making themselves understood when giving explanations and sharing ideas and thoughts about their drawings. Nevertheless, it had to be noticed and stated that nearly 90 percent of the speaking was done in Mandarin.

In addition to conduct class observations, I also did a face-to-face interview with two teachers after the activities. By acting as a participant observer and co-teacher, I facilitated interactions with the children that I observed. By working with the children in class activities, I not only observed what happened when class activities were taking place but also had opportunities to talk to individual child and ask specific questions about the sketches made by certain child. Also, since I was a part of the class community, children became more willing to share their responses with me.

Setting

The local Chinese School where the study was conducted at offered two-hour Mandarin language courses followed by one-hour cultural courses. Three kinds of Chinese languages are taught in the school: Mandarin used in Taiwan, Simplified Mandarin used in Mainland China, and Cantonese used in Hong Kong. The language classes focus on teaching speaking and listening only. Word recognition might be taught along with the teaching content, but the written language is not formally taught in class. Classes for adults are offered as well, although the main targeted learners are children. The basic criterion of grouping students was based on the language preference,

and the decisive factors for class classification were language ability and proficiency of each individual learner, not the age. The majority of the students are Chinese American children; however, quite a few children of Anglo-American and Hispanic-American ethnic backgrounds also attend the school.

Participants

Two teachers, Ms. Y and Ms. W, and the children from their classes were involved in this project. Ms. Y taught basic Simplified Mandarin class. Her class was composed of eight children, five girls and three boys who ranged in ages from four to eight by the time when the study was initiated and conducted. Ms. W taught high-intermediate Traditional Mandarin class. There were only four children in her class, two girls and two boys who ranged in age from nine to fourteen. All the children in these two classes were born, raised and educated in America.

The parents of the children in Ms. Y's class were originally from Mainland China, and all of the children in this class are fluent Mandarin speakers. The parents of three children in Ms. W's class were originally from Hong Kong. English is considered to be their native language, Cantonese is maintained as their heritage language that is

used with family members and relatives in the households, and they learned Mandarin in Chinese School during their childhood and teenage years. I had been told and had observed that although most children speak Mandarin quite well, they spoke English only when conversing with each other in the class.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data collected for analysis included the children's sketches, their oral responses, and two face-to-face interviews conducted in Mandarin with Ms. Y and Ms. W. When I analyzed and interpreted the children's sketches, their own explanations and descriptions displayed in sharing time were taken into consideration. The first reason is that I wanted to be sure whether children's sketches really reflect their responses to and their thinking process/understanding of the stories. The other reason is that I hoped to detect the usefulness of using "sketch to stretch" as a strategy to help readers elicit responses. That is why I think there is a need to examine each individual sketch in-depth and link each sketch to the oral responses that each child gave. In addition, my analysis and interpretations were also drawn from my responses to the sketches and my assumptions about the unspoken silent messages that were indicated by other features such as their reactions

and body languages observed in the class sessions.

In discussion part, all the children will be addressed by their real names. There is no need to use pseudonyms when children are referred because they all signed their names on their sketches. It will likewise be viewed as a move to recognize their role of being authors of their original creations and to show appreciation to their art works.

Findings and Discussions

Types of Responses

The outcomes of the analysis of children's sketches showed that their responses can be classified as follows:

1. Particular images or ideas from the story: Children picked up certain images or ideas from the story and then worked on those images to create new drawings. For example, one girl drew a sketch of a big ant after listening to my reading of *Night Visitors*.
2. Reproductions of pictures in the book: In sketches, children copied certain images or parts of illustrations appeared in the stories.
3. Storyline: The children made sketches that summarized the plot or presented a short version of the stories.
4. Memories of experiences: Sketches reflected real life experiences

that children shared with the characters in the stories.

5. Personal connections: The contents of the sketches presented personal feelings, thoughts, or associations that children developed with the stories.
6. Longing: Children hoped that they could have or experience something similar to characters in the stories.
7. New story or imagination: Children picked up ideas or images from the stories and created new stories or texts of their own.
8. Irrelevant responses: The contents of the sketches showed no relationship to the stories.

Complex and Creative Designs Discovered in the Sketches

The categories listed above can only give a rough and superficial description of the sketches made by the children of the study. Actually, they are far from capturing the aesthetic characteristics of the sketches or hardly reflect the complexity and creativity that children exerted in their art works. I was amazed by the children's oral and visual responses when I did a close analysis.

The results of my analysis proved that most children in this study

had gained aesthetic reading experiences and had given deep thoughts about the stories, even though they might not completely understand the story plots due to language limitation. Also, it was found that each individual sketch showed different layers of understandings and unique reader perspective interpretations of the same stories.



Figure 1



Figure 2

Qian (see Figure 1) drew himself and a little dog playing together on the ground. He explained, “The puppy is so small that I can put it on my head.” (in translation) At my first glance of his sketch, I thought he had copied a scene from the book, but he told us that he really had similar happy experiences. When he heard my instruction of making a sketch, the first image that came to Qian’s mind was that scene. He drew a lamp in the picture too, which indicated that the event took place inside a room. This little detail not only played a significance in making a difference between his own picture and the picture in the book, but also corresponded with his words of having similar expe-

periences to the character in the story.

When Maria showed her picture to the class, the other children, the teacher and I immediately realized that she had put herself in the sketch (see Figure 2). Her dress and the way she did her hair that day was the same as the girl she drew. She had a Dalmatian, so she put one in the sketch. She explained that blue is her favorite color, so she painted clouds with blue.



Figure 1



Figure 2

The sketch that Emma (age 5) painted is a little hard to understand without her explaining it (see Figure 3). The pattern decorated with pointed triangle shapes and circles was actually a rainbow. One of the children proposed a question to the artist and asked why the pattern was not painted with seven different colors. She replied that it was in only one color because “it is in the night and you cannot see that many colors in the night.” (in translation) Thus, we recognized that the image

that looked like the sun was in fact the moon, and the gray triangles were mountains. The blue represented a river, and the green represented the grass. Seeing her drawing, I realized that she used colors as symbols to represent objects that she wanted to draw.

Angela, who was six, drew a cat (see Figure 4). She explained that she didn't have a dog and liked cat the most. The brown round ball in the girl's hand was a yo-yo, a toy people usually use to play with cats. There was a house painted in the background. She used red to indicate where her room was located because red was her favorite color. She wanted to show the gate with a bright color. The color of orange was selected because orange looked pretty bright in her sense.

Connie's sketch was an interesting one of which combined two worlds (see Figure 5). The day that we did the activity happened to be her birthday. Because she was much preoccupied with what had happened at her birthday party in that morning before the class was held, she drew a picture that was totally irrelevant to the story being read. The large and tall half-figure in the middle was her grandmother. The girl explained that she drew her grandmother as a tall image to show the trait that she was of old age. The image of grandmother looked like a vertical line that visually divided the picture into two parts. Other than that, the image of a girl on the left side of the picture was also a self-portrait.



Figure 5

At the moment, we were curious about why she decided to draw a picture with two worlds in it. The answer surprised all of us. Although she physically sat in the classroom, her attention and thoughts drifted between what had happened in the class and what had happened in the party. The situation she was in made her feel that she simultaneously stayed in the two worlds. Moreover, since the two events (the class and birthday party) happened in different periods of time, in order to make a clear distinguish between them, to draw a picture that contained two worlds seemed to be a natural thing to do to her.

Since her sketch showed nothing related to the story, I purposefully asked her some comprehension questions about the story, and she could answer them. When I asked her why she didn't respond to the story, she told us she was aware that she had to draw a picture that had something to do with the story, but she could not stop

recalling those happy memories that was stuck in her mind. Once she held a color pen in her hand, she immediately felt a strong impulse to draw the scenes that she had in mind. From this experience, I learned that we teachers need to constantly adjust our requirements for students and allow surprises to happen. If I stuck strictly to my original intention and demanded her to respond only to the story, I would have missed out on seeing the lively and interesting sketch.



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8

Several of the children drew fairly similar sketches of a dog playing in grass (see Figures 6, 7 & 8). One of the children said that she couldn't draw a dog, so she only drew flowers. After looking at those sketches and talking to the children, I found that they relied heavily on life experiences and visual memories when they responded to reading. The finding is in consistence with Hubbard's theory (1996) that when children respond to materials they read, they have tendency to draw images from their memories.

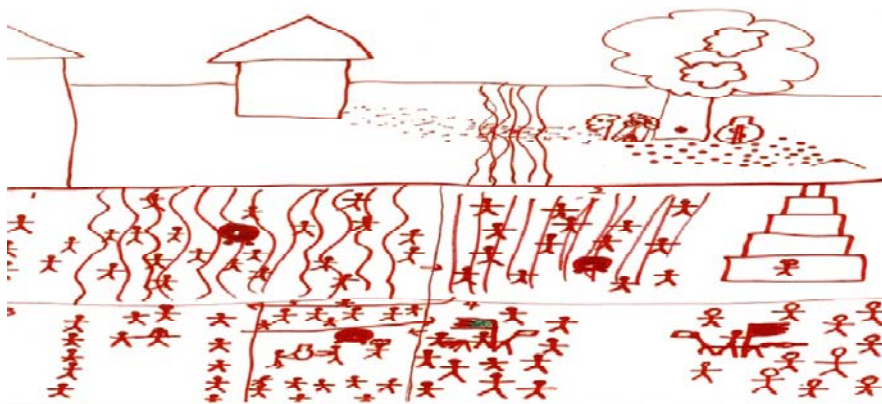


Figure 9

Kevin summarized the plot of the story in his sketch (See Figure 9). His sketch revealed to us (the teacher and I) some information about his Chinese comprehension ability. Kevin, in the eyes of the class teacher, was regarded as a basic learner with poor speaking ability and little listening comprehension ability. He acted as a reluctant learner and refused to practice or speak any Chinses in the class. The story I read aloud on that day was *Night visitors* (Young, 1995), whose storyline was adapted from 「南柯一夢」, a Chinese idiom story. Kevin's sketch demonstrated that he completely understood the story. The teacher was shocked to realize that she might have underestimated his Chinese ability.

Kevin composed the bottom half of his sketch in the way like a comic strip. He nicely labeled each frame with a number and a sign of

arrow to indicate the reading sequence. He also included some car images in the pictures so that the viewers could clearly tell where Ho Kaun (the protagonist in *Night Visitors*) is. In frame 3, the viewers could tell that the two figures in the middle are Ho Kaun and his wife because they are presented in the center, and the figure with long hair shows the gender. The arrangements of the elements that he composed in his sketch gave a strong hint to us that he had build a sense of spatial. In frame 4, he drew black ants and red ants with different characteristics, making it easier for the viewer to distinguish these two groups. Frame 5 showed two people holding a jar, but we could still easily distinguish Ho Kaun from the soldier because of the way the artist presented the two characters: the image on the left has his knees on the ground.

It was amazing to see how he used his imagination and skills to reproduce the story in one page. The sketch is simple, but the idea behind the sketch and the thinking process that he went through are very complex. I was impressed to see that an eleven years old boy could demonstrate such creative, complicated and logical thinking.

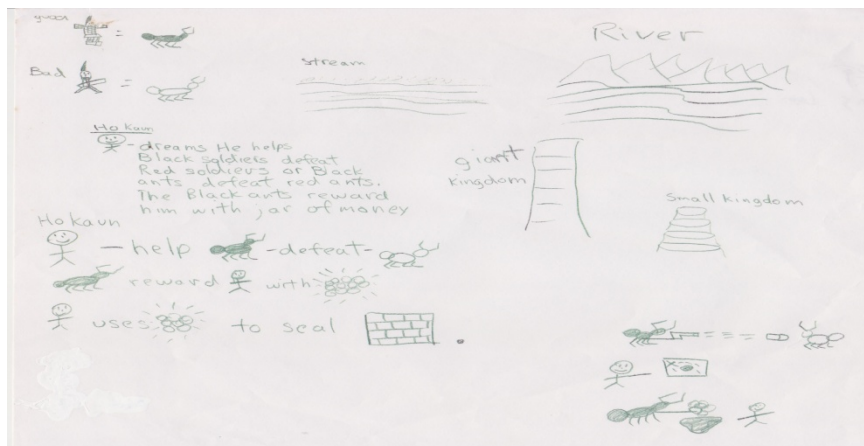


Figure 10

In contrast to Kevin's sketch, Ervin (age 10) used totally different techniques in his sketch (see Figure 10). He combined words and drawings to represent the plot of the story. Reading Ervin's picture is like doing a mathematical equation. He first gave definitions to each symbol and then interwove the summary with those symbols. Thus, every time when a symbol is detected, the viewers need to translate them and interpret the symbols with their corresponding meanings. Moreover, at the bottom of the right side, there is a short but concise version of summary.

From the examples included in this paper, it is clear that children in this study do have the abilities to do complex thinking. Their sketches indeed reflect their responses, thinking processes and understanding of the stories as well.

Other Findings

Besides a high level of complexity and creativity that children presented in their sketches, there were three other interesting aspects to be examined. First, many of the children in this study drew themselves in the sketches. Age might be a crucial factor to be taken into account in making such distinction. While it was found there was a high tendency that young children included self-portraits in their sketches, none of the older children (over age 9) enrolled in the study did this. It was quite a contrast when a comparison was made between younger children and older children subjects.

The second interesting finding was that older children were more likely to combine words and pictures together in their sketches than younger children and used various forms of symbols to represent their feelings and thoughts. The reactions may be attributed to the factor that older children have learned more words, have more experiences with print and have more writing experiences. It may be more difficult for younger children to express their thoughts and feelings in written words because they have a limited vocabulary. Thus, younger children heavily rely on using pictures to express what they want to say.

Finally, almost all of the children in this study expressed that they preferred to draw than write. They liked to draw because images and

ideas came to them frequently and easily. They agreed among themselves that drawing is much easier because they have confidence that they are capable to show what they want to express. The only thing that they need to do with drawing is to get images from their heads to papers. When they write, they think hard to find vocabulary, use correct grammar and construct ways to express what they want to convey. This process is much harder than drawing and takes much more time as well. Furthermore, as Maria stated, “drawing is fun, and I love to color images to make my picture pretty.” Many heads nodded in agreement when Maria composed her sentence.

However, one boy and one girl said they couldn’t draw and preferred to respond orally or in written form. I noticed these two children were the ones that kept asking me, “what do we draw?” It indicated to me that drawing was a difficult task for them, and they did not feel comfortable when others were having fun working on their sketches. The way I dealt with this situation and solved the problem was to tell them to find an illustration on the page that interested them or they enjoyed the most and then drew a copy of the illustration. The other option I provided was to copy different images found in the book and then put those images together to create a sketch of their own design.

Regina’s case served as another kind of example. Regina (age 9) at first wanted to draw a wolf, but after she started drawing, she found the

appearance of the wolf she drew resembled much more like a horse. So, she changed her mind and decided to draw a horse instead. Later when she shared her picture with the class, she told us to pretend it was a wolf. Two boys immediately complained that there was no way to think of a horse as a wolf. I asked her what the wolf looked like in her mind, and then she started to naming adjectives to us. While she was naming those adjectives, she began to draw an outline on the back of the paper. Suddenly, she voiced out loudly “I know how to draw a wolf, and I will show you a scary wolf.” Here is her before and after sketch (see Figure 11).



Figure 11 (first try/second try)

It had been discussed that visual response helps children to generate topics and ideas for writing because they learn to “read” and “examine” images carefully (Hubbard, Winterbourne & Ostrow, 1996;

Olshansky, 1994). In Regina's case, she thought of an image in her head, but she needed to transform the image into words and used word to help her draw. This case reminds me that we can go back and forth between words and images when our thinking gets stuck. Regina apparently used this strategy to help her accomplish her response.

Moreover, Regina revised her sketch because two boys challenged her. When two boys placed pressure on her, she fought back and generated motivation to do revision. Whitin (1996) described that her students became careful and aware of what they drew in their sketches and prepared to explain and defend for their drawings and their reasons and meanings behind sketches they made, because they knew their classmates would ask them questions about their sketches. There is a similar connection between the cases Whitin discovered and the case of Regina in my study.

Possible Problems for Consideration

While we were trying sketch-to-stretch with the child participants, two problems occurred: copying and quarrelling.

Children who sat near to each other may pick up the same idea to draw in their sketches. In Ms. Y's class, two girls and a boy sat in a group and talked to each other when working on their drawings. Their

sketches all contained the same theme of a dog playing on the grass. The only difference was that each child presented the theme in different ways. The same situation happened in Ms. W's class. Two girls who sat in the same row picked exactly the same idea to put on their sketches. Their sketches were nearly identical, and I knew one girl copied the other girl's work because she glanced at the other girl's sketch many times while she was drawing her own.

Occasionally, after a child shared his or her sketch, some other children picked something from the previous oral presentations and added newly formed ideas to their own sketches. For example, a boy complained that two other children copied his idea because he finished the sketch first, and the other two boys repeatedly asked to see it. So, he wrote "ORIGINAL COPY" on his sketch. However, another older boy disagreed and strongly protested that he had the idea first and told the other two what he was drawing. He wrote "original before original copy by (the boy's name)" on his sketch. They debated for several minutes until the teacher stopped them.

Seeing from another point of view, it may be a positive sign showing they learned from each other, deepened their thinking about the idea, expanded perspective on the issue concerned them and increased knowledge and understanding of the texts, which can be referred as objectives that collaborative learning aims to achieve.

Censorship is another issue that teachers may need to deal with. In

this class, it was about violent content. Two boys centered on the idea of killing in their both oral and picture responses. Ms. Y told me that she didn't think it was an appropriate response to be shared with others in the class, and she expressed her concerns about this issue. Later when I interviewed her, I asked her what she would do the next time when she sees students draw something that she believes is inappropriate or problematic. She replied, "I'll ask the student to make another sketch." (in translation) I then proposed my second question to her about what she would do if there was not sufficient time for a new one. She stated, "I will let them share with other students but will tell the whole class that I don't like the idea and considers it to be wrong." (in translation)

Ms. W who was asked the same question replied that she would first try to understand why the student drew a violent scene. "If the student is just joking and feel it was funny, I will let him/her share." (in translation) However, she would also remind the student that he/she may get in trouble by showing a violent sketch to people that don't know him/her well.

What actions to be taken and how to deal with problems are what teachers need to think of ahead of time when they decide to use sketch-to-stretch strategy in their classes. It is suggested to take advice from Whitin (2002). He prosed to establish norms for collaborative work and rules for children to follow in order to "build a feeling of acceptance

and community” (p. 449).

That sketch-to-stretch strategy is effective in encouraging children to practice speaking in class was an unanticipated benefit discovered in this study. When it came to sharing time, all the children were eager to talk. This scene surprised Ms. Y and Ms. W greatly, and they had never seen children behave in such a way during a lesson. In my conversation with the two teachers, Ms. Y commented,

“These children usually are quiet and passive in the class, especially when I asked them to read sentences and texts on the textbooks. Most of them are forced by their parents to come to the Chinese school. They have little intention to learn Chinese. They can speak Chinese and comprehend Chinese, but they just don’t want to say it. Even though I asked them to use Chinese when we’re having a lesson, they spoke a few sentences and then switched back to English. They talked to each other in English. I seldom heard them speaking Chinese to each other. Today was the first time I heard them speaking so much Chinese... and talking so happily.” (in translation)

Teachers of English in Taiwan can take a consideration to try sketch-to-stretch with their students in English class. The sketches themselves provide food for talk and generate a meaningful purpose for

communication. On one hand, it helps increase motivation for students to practice English speaking. On the other hand, in the process of making a sketch and thinking of what to tell in sharing time, language learners are given more time to construct their speaking content in a foreign language, which may raise the possibilities of becoming more willing to speak English in front of other students in class and feeling more comfortable to practice English speaking.

Conclusion

Spoken and written languages are what have conventionally been considered as the main tools for communication until Howard Gardner's theory of "multiple intelligence" (MI) challenged the traditional notion and made significant influence in the field of education. The reason that various sign systems are acknowledged is that each sign system works differently and has its own strength and power that any other sign system cannot compete. It is important to let children understand that sign system is not limited to talented people, and their choices should not be limited either. In order to become familiar with those sign systems and feel comfortable and natural to use different signs or intelligences, children should be provided with more opportunities and time to practice and play with different sign systems

or intelligences.

This research experience taught me a great deal about children's responses and the possibility of applying art activity in class to help children engage learning and express themselves. I learned to open my mind, listen carefully to children, ask questions, share my own responses with them and learn from them. I am also convinced that children do have the ability to understand stories and things that we thought they don't understand.

Besides, it is really important that teachers give children opportunities to express their responses verbally after they have finished their sketches. Some teachers just ask children to make sketches but don't provide a chance for them to share their sketches or thoughts with others. In this way, teachers miss the chance to notice the meaningful details that children include in their sketches and may interpret children's response in a mistaken way.

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《臺東大學人文學報》撰稿格式

一、分節標題方式

- (一) 中文標題以「壹、一、(一) 1. (1) a. (a)」為序。
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二、引語用例

- (一) 直接引語，用冒號（：）時
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- (三) 直接引語，但另起一段
【格式】不用引號，字體改為標楷體，左右縮排
- (四) 引語中復有引語，或特殊引用時
【格式】中文加單引號「」在外，雙引號『』在內，英文加雙引號“ ”在外，單引號‘ ’在內

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【格式】括弧、小寫、正體

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【格式】括弧、首字大寫、正體

四、注釋用例

(一) 文中註明出處的註釋

【格式】(作者、年代：頁數)

(二) 文中已有作者姓名時

【格式】(作者、年代：頁數)

(三) 若有必要以附註說明行文涵義時，請用腳註

【格式】於標點符號後，以插入註腳方式自動產生於右上角

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(二) 配合正文加以編號，如「圖 1」、「圖 2」……，並將編號分別至於圖版下方。

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七、參考資料

(一) 在正文撰述過程所徵引的所有參考文獻資料，均需一一

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(三) 引用之參考文獻格式如下例：

1. 專書

(1) 葉石濤，《臺灣文學史綱》（高雄：文學界雜誌社，1996.02）。

(2) 下村作次郎，邱振瑞譯，《從文學讀臺灣》（臺北：前衛出版社，1999.01）。

2. 論文

(1) 期刊論文

邱貴芬，〈「發現臺灣」：建構臺灣後殖民論述〉，《中外文學》21 卷 2 期（1992.02）。

(2) 學位論文

柳書琴，〈戰爭與文壇——日據末期臺灣的文學活動（1937.7-1945.8）〉（臺北：臺灣大學歷史研究所碩士論文，1994）。

(3) 研討會論文

陳芳明，〈臺灣現代文學與五〇年代自由主義傳統的關係：以《文學雜誌》為中心〉，政治大學「現代主義與臺灣文學學術研討會」論文，2001.06。

3. 報紙文章

丁樹南，〈歐坦生不是藍明谷－讀范泉遺作〈哭臺灣作家藍明谷〉〉，《聯合報》，2000.06.13，第 10 版。

4. 電子媒體

呂美親，〈「多音交響」與「族群共榮」的實踐〉，

（來源：

<http://ws.twl.ncku.edu.tw/hak-chia/l/li-bi-chhin/to-im-sit-chian.htm>.2004.10.31）

八、附錄

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- （二）一作者有多項參考文獻時，請依年代先後順序排列。
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