行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫 成果報告

從不一致遺產觀點探討利益關係人對博物館原住民文物之真實性知覺：兼論文化再現
研究成果報告(精簡版)

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Dissonant heritage and cultural representation: authenticity of aboriginal heritage tourism

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Abstract

In response to various perception of authenticity among stakeholders, dissonance theory and cultural representation theories were adopted in this research. As the qualitative outcome of a large research project, this research aims to explore the relationship among stakeholders' perceptions of authenticity of stone pillars on Taiwan's east coast. A total of 20 stakeholders were interviewed. The study found that perceived authenticity among stakeholders are different. Likewise, incongruences of authenticity are common.

Keywords: aboriginal tourism; dissonant heritage; authenticity perception; tourist characteristics

Introduction

For the past few years, indigenous culture tourism has been actively promoted since indigenous cultures are highly regarded throughout the world and their unique features attract a wide array of visitors (Chang, Wall, & Lai, 2005). Heritage, as one of the key components of the 4H's of aboriginal tourism, can not only assist people in learning from the past but also provide templates for future

decisions (Smith, 2005). The UNWTO World Tourism Organisation supported the development of historical, natural, and cultural heritage sites and estimated 37% of contents of all types of travels will include cultural heritages (2009). Kim, Wong and Cho (2007) discussed the value of World Cultural Heritage sites in Korea and found that the economic value of World Cultural Heritage sites is less than their cultural value. Koreans are willing to visit World Cultural Heritage sites even if they need to pay double the price of other types of travels for doing so.

While tourists enjoy visiting heritage sites and partaking in cultural experiences, one of the vital motivations of cultural tourism is the search for authenticity (Apostolakis, 2003; Prentice, 2001). Authenticity, oftentimes, is not only related to histories of many sites but also enables people to understand themselves through the history (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006). Authenticity is a key component of cultural heritage tourism; however, very little research has explored tourists' perception of authenticity of aboriginal cultural heritages (Fischer, 1999, as cited in Chhabra, Healy, & Sills, 2003). Authenticity, influencing the purchase decisions of tourists, is a deciding factor in their appraisal of the quality of travel products such as travel experiences. Due to tourists' desire to acquire authentic experiences, products, and events, travel experiences focusing on the essence

of authenticity in Australia, Canada or even China have gradually been promoted (Yeoman, Brass & McMahon-Beattie, 2007).

The concept of dissonant heritage has been launched since the past decade among stakeholders. From the stakeholders' perspective, Yang and Wall (2009) studied social and cultural issues of ethnic tourism in Yunnan, China and concluded that the majority of tourists are satisfied with staged authenticity. However, they are likely to judge authenticity based on their original stereotyped impression since tourists in large part lack knowledge about authenticity. Furthermore, contents of ads, media, or secondary data are used to reflect authenticity since the perception of authenticity is ambiguous. Waitt (2000) believed travel brochures and guide books are indeed useful tools for introducing destinations or attractions and providing guidance for tourists about how to experience local culture and customs. Therefore, travel brochures are viewed as directly related to tourists' increased appreciation of authenticity.

The major research objective of this study is to explore the perceived authenticity among stakeholders. The research context is confined to aboriginal stone pillars at the archeological site in Taiwan's east coast: Moon-shaped stone

pillars at the Peinan site of National Museum of Prehistory in Taitung. It is considered as aboriginal heritage and are part of Peinan pre-historical cultures, tracing back to the ancient time of Amis, one of the 14 aboriginal tribes in Taiwan. In response to various perception of authenticity among stakeholders, dissonance theory and cultural representation theories were adopted in this research. Nevertheless, since this report is merely the starting point in the whole project relating to the National Science Council research grant, this research is, therefore, confined to the qualitative perspective in stakeholders' viewpoints.

Literature review

Dissonant heritage and heritage tourism

Heritage, by definition, is a product or possession of the present, purposefully developed in response to current needs or demands; and it is shaped by those requirements (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). The contents of heritage are determined by the legatee. Heritage tourism, relating to artifacts of the past, is recognized as an indispensable part of cultural tourism (Richards, 2001).

Dissonant heritage has been identified a decade ago since its inception (Tunbridge, 1984). Dissonant refers to discrepancy and incongruity. In other words, Dissonance in heritage involves discordance or a lack of agreement and consistency. However, a question, therefore, inevitably is raised: "Between what elements of factors does dissonance occur?" Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) concluded that it is basically the various perceptions in heritage among stakeholders contribute to the discrepancy of dissonance. In fact, the most significant consequence of heritage dissonance is its capacity to destabilize national, regional, and political units. Therefore, the disaffection of stakeholders of existing political opposition which is often related to dissonance has become national focus in particular towards the political stability issue. As a result, it is often hoped that people will adjust their patterns of behaviors so as to reduce dissonance and move towards consonance or congruity. Furthermore, it is unequivocal that the resolution of heritage dissonances is fundamental to both cultural and political harmony in the long run.

Heritage tourism is seen as part of sustainable tourism wherein tourists visit cultural and natural heritages (Aplin, 2002). Yale (1991) noted that the concept of heritage tourism is centered on the fact that tourists concentrate on tourism

activities e.g., historical buildings, art works, and beautiful scenery at heritage districts. The conservation and enhancement of historical buildings can not only sustain identities of communities including natural landscapes and man-made environments but also attract investments, thus encouraging sustainable development, and linking the community tightly with the past (Smith, 1998). Hence, heritage tourism has become important, economically and politically; heritage needs to be sustainable conserved and maintained (Garrod & Fyall, 2000). In fact, heritage is seen as a vital and fast-growing factor for tourism development, in particular for many developed countries (Alzue, O'Leary, & Morrison, 1998; Herbert, 2001).

One of the paramount attribute of heritage tourism is authenticity or the perception of authenticity (Boniface & Fowler, 1993; Taylor, 2001; Waitt, 2000) - authenticity is regarded as a motivational factor for heritage tourism as well as a perception after visiting attractions or destinations (Apostolakis, 2003). Cohen (1988) pinpointed that authenticity is a negotiable concept and thus enables stakeholders to invigorate heritage tourism (Clapp, 1999; Cohen, 1988). The concept of authenticity is highly related to tourists and attractions; as such, authenticity plays as an important role in heritage tourism (Apostolakis, 2003).

Boyd (2002) mentioned that the presentation of a destination's history has given rise to a travel concept in which the quality of authenticity, the essence of what heritage tourism strives to guarantee, is the very core ingredient of the product.

Waitt (2000) examined tourists' perception of historical authenticity toward the Rocks in Australia and explained what most tourists perceived to be authentic. He further explained that heritage, by and large, will enable stage authenticity in order to satisfy the *tourist gaze*. Apart from this, a so-called *tourist space* is established herein and the space is separated from local communities so as to lessen the interruption of visitors on residents and thus to protect way of lives of local people. In this regards, the travel experience of authenticity on cultural heritage is gradually disappearing. Nevertheless, the manifestation of heritage facilitates the growth of tourism by making the tourists' perception of authenticity easier to attain.

In summary, heritage tourism is getting more and more attention throughout the world. The essence of heritage tourism refers to any tourism activities in which tourists visit historical, artistic, or other objects of inheritance within a destination.

Furthermore, heritage, including both intangible and tangible assets, is highly associated with the past, present, and the future of our lives. Authenticity, in this sense, plays an important role in deciding the quality of travel products and satisfaction for heritage tourists or other stakeholders despite the protective measures that must be taken to prevent residents from being disturbed by visitors. Since authenticity, like beauty, lies in the eyes of beholders, the disagreement or incongruities perception of authenticity are likely to become a paramount issue to be discussed in the context of aboriginal heritage.

The exploration of perceived authenticity and tourists

The connotation of authenticity, including the concept of both front- and back-regions, was initially proposed by Goffman (1959, as cited in Waller & Lea, 1998). Based on this classification, McCannell (1973, as cited in Waller & Lea, 1998) further divide authenticity into both front- and back-stages. In 1999, McCannell delineated that tourists are unsatisfied by merely finding out authenticity in the back stages. As such, local residents tend to incorporate with tourism industry people so as to set up a front stage to display some staged authenticity, which

makes tourists' experiences seem more real and authentic. Cohen (1988) believed the best description of authenticity is the primitive concept- the contents need to reflect local cultures and life styles of people. In this way, a so-called "emergent authenticity" was presented in order to showcase the evolution of authenticity.

For the purpose of searching for authenticity, tourists are inclined to pay attention to the craftsmanship, uniqueness, originality, wholeness in association with history, aesthetics, and functions of products (Littrell, Anderson, & Brown, 1993) in an attempt to conform to the requirements of the facts. Li (2000) noted that authenticity is unnecessarily hinged upon ethnicity and originality. Rather, authenticity can be obtained through exposure to a specific life style in the destination. Wang (1999, 2000) defined three types of authenticity: objective authenticity, constructional authenticity, and existing authenticity. The first two types are objects- or viewpoints- related concepts to tourism, which provide the limitation for tourist experiences. However, existing authenticity is activity-related and it can explain the broader context for tourist experiences. As such, this type of authenticity is also called experiential authenticity, which is a personal and subjective experience, including both physical and psychological feelings (Hall &

Lew, 2009).

From the aforementioned description, authenticity indicates the traditional culture and original style of living from the past. Thus, authenticity is an essential element of heritage tourism. Furthermore, authenticity can strengthen the development of heritage tourism and is susceptible to vicissitudes depending on the objects or people being studied.

Different tourists have different perception of authenticity (Cohen, 1979). Using tourists to The Rocks, Australia as an example, Waitt (2000) studied the perceived authenticity of tourists and found out age, place of residency, and previous experiences are likely to influence one's perception of authenticity. For example, tourists of the age group of 18-34 years old (mean score= 22.8) perceived higher authenticity than groups of 35-54 years old (mean score= 20.6) and 55 years old and up (mean score= 20.1). International tourists (mean score= 23.7) perceived higher authenticity of The Rocks than Australians (mean score= 20). Revilla and Dodd (2003) used tourists who traveled to Talavera, Mexico as a case study to understand the perceived authenticity of pottery products and

manufactories. The results indicated that a positive relationship exists between the perceived authenticity of ceramic works and purchase intentions. Gorazd and Tanja (2008) noted that authenticity is a discerning factor in the decision-making behaviors of a beach resort's clientele. The findings of their study showed that age also influences the perceived authenticity; the age group of 65 years old and up perceived higher authenticity than the 24 and under group. Further, individual tourists perceived higher authenticity than group tourists in particular for those who have received outdoor camping training. In other words, inconsistencies of perceived authenticity exist among various tourists (Gorazd & Tanja, 2008).

Research method

The entire project of NSC includes both qualitative part and quantitative part. The former refers to the interview with various stakeholders (i.e., governmental officers, local residents, tourism entrepreneurs, and tourists). The latter indicates the survey part focusing on tourists. Due the specific requirement by NSC, it is the interview result part that is presented here. The quantitative part in

association with interview results will be presented in the later stage afterwards.

In total, 20 stakeholders were interviewed. The unit of analysis includes stakeholders of tourists, governmental officers, tourism entrepreneurs, and residents. In average, 30-40 minutes were consumed by adopting the in-depth interview technique. Key questions such as perception of heritage, perceived authenticity, factors affect the authenticity and understanding of prehistoric stone pillars was stated. Prior to the interviews, tourism scholars who are experts in aboriginal tourism were invited to discuss questions in an effort to meet the requirements of validity. All the interviews were recorded and transformed into transcripts by the research teams. Of course, member checking was implemented by forwarding all the transcripts to the respondents (interviewees) for the proofread and clarification for the accuracy.

Afterwards, themed categories were induced by using the inductive approach. Therefore, the major findings of the interviews will be presented accordingly.

Results

The Background of the respondents (stakeholders) and understanding of Aborigines

In total, in terms of the background of stakeholders, 68.8% were visitors or tourists, and 31.2% were for the public sector (civil servants). While 36.3% of tourists and 33.3% of civil servants think that the indigenous people (aboriginals)in the study heritage site was for the habitat of Puyuma, 18% of visitors and 3% of civil servants believed it was for Ami and Bunun, 4.5% of tourists perceived that aboriginals here was the Paiwan, Rukai, or Tao. However, 13.6% of tourists and the public sector expressed the confusion of telling whether or not the habitant was indigenous people during the pre-historic period.

Perception of heritage

Different people perceived various perceptions in heritage. Most people believe that the ancient heritage of the things was left behind. Some suggested that heritage is the history of things that have ever existed, meaningful and valuable. Others stated that heritage should be things which should be authenticated by reputable and accountable agents or institutes. Furthermore, heritage should be preserved and should be attached with educational values. Also, it represents artifacts for historical value, symbolic or representative of something, such as architecture, customs, events, etc.

Perception of authenticity

For the perception of authenticity, most people commented that 'seeing is believing'. Others think that it is something that should be followed with scientific evidences, researched by experts, had not been destroyed, processed, or copy things. Some stakeholders considered that it is related to history and literature. However, some suggested that one did not know the definition of authenticity, or that the essence of the contents of authenticity is very abstract. While most people believe that totem is the best thing to represent authenticity, some still hold the perception followed by one's own personal feeling or intuition. Few respondents, however, expressed that the representation of authenticity is somewhat unclear.

Factors affect the perception of the authenticity

Facing the authenticity issue, the most influential effect to the respondents was from the media and cultural experts. It was believed to be highly related to the family background and upbringing experiences. The emergent reproduction also affected the viewpoints of perceived authenticity. Approximately, 80% of respondents agreed that authenticity is important to them. There is also an interesting connotation argued that "museum collections can be reproduction, but the heritage site must be authentic!"

The perception of prehistoric stone history

In terms of the history of prehistoric stone pillars, up to 89.5% of the respondents were uncertain or do not know its history. As for the understanding of authenticity of the prehistoric stone, 63.2% of respondents concluded that prehistoric stone pillars are real.

Tourists Experiences

For tourists, the majority of the travel experiences were with such emphasis on personal feelings, therefore, their perceptions were rarely referred to any further understanding toward the aboriginal culture; let along perspectives concerning indigenous and local contacts (e.g. face to face communication, interactive activities, participation). As for the experience in visiting the prehistoric stone pillars, 50% of tourists considered that it is important because afterwards, they in fact learn more about local culture. Nevertheless, 33% of tourists thought that visiting the prehistoric stone caused little impact on their tourism experiences. 17% of people even stated that there is no effect at all. In other words, experiencing the local culture for many tourists do not appeal to be particularly attractive. Perhaps it indicates the neglect of the implementation of cultural marketing.

In addition, Puyuma cultural activities organized by the park, 58% of the

visitors consider that experiences in participating the Puyuma cultural activities is important because it helps them to understand the local aboriginal culture, and also attract more tourists. While 33% of visitors believe that attend this event had piecemeal impact on visitor experiences, 9% of people believe that it has no effect, indicating no interests or would rather attend other activities (e.g. harvest festivals for aborigines).

Reasons for visiting prehistoric stone

Respondents visiting prehistoric stone are likely to be varied. For instance, 58% of the respondents were motivated by word of mouth through the introduction of friends and relatives, or through local media and magazine. 34% of them visiting prehistoric stone were the reason of curiosity. Only 8% of respondents were interested in the prehistoric culture, so come and check it out. The religious significance and mythical stories of the prehistoric stone for 91% of respondents were unfamiliar. 9% have heard about their fairy tales, but do not know its religious meanings. In addition, 69.2% of respondents believed it is important that the prehistoric stone heritage can enable us understanding the past. Up to 84.6% of respondents noted that prehistoric stone should not be touched. By appropriately preserving this heritage, not only for the benefits of future generations but also help for people who have never have sufficient

understanding of that specific culture. To sum up, the majority of respondents considered that the prehistoric heritage site should be open to all visitors due to the heritage nature of being public inheritance. However, there should be some official standards enacted so as to protect this sort of heritage.

Discussion and implications

Slight differences in perceived authenticity exist among stakeholders. For instance, some tourists believe authenticity is important in exploring the aboriginal heritage site. However, others don't really care about authenticity as long as having a good time during their trips. Consistent with the existential authenticity proposed by Wang (1999), as long as tourists had positive experience, it is in fact a personal and subjective authenticity which lies at the interface among people, places, and tourism (Hall & Lew, 2009). As for governmental officers or tourism entrepreneurs, they are likely to possess better understanding toward heritage sites. As for residents, they seem to possess better knowledge in heritage sites and aboriginal knowledge. As such, the aforementioned findings support the dissonant theory that people who have various interests of cultural tourism are likely to reflect incongruities in their

perception of authenticity

From the results, with reference to perceived authenticity, tourists put more emphasis on descriptions such as "has value", "is existing", and "representing the past". Therefore, relevant governmental agencies should revitalize the value of aboriginal stone pillars by stressing their cultural and historical meanings and displaying the relics in conjunction with efforts offered by both formal educational institutes and informal continuing learning centers. In this way, tourists can understand the background and stories of the stone pillars; in turn, the authenticity and value of the stone pillars can be well-received. Chhabra (2008) also depicted that relics can assist people in learning from the past, linking the past with the present, and influencing factors such as localities, districts or countries. As such, tourists who are engaging in aboriginal heritage tourism can not only gain leisure benefits, but also have a better understanding about the background and the future of these heritages. Furthermore, tourists can understand the concept of cultural conservation of heritage and positive travel experiences are likely to follow.

This research extends our understanding in heritage tourism by encompassing cultural representation and heritage dissonant theories into authenticity. To date, little research has explored authenticity of heritage tourism from stakeholders' perspectives. As such, the findings of this research could enrich the knowledge of perceived authenticity of cultural tourism in an aboriginal heritage setting.

Research limitations and suggestions for further studies

Several research limitations are identified in this study: First, the qualitative outcome of interviews of other stakeholders was included from this research report since the deadline of submitting 2010 NSC research project is approaching so merely the qualitative results were presented here. Second, the study site is an aboriginal attraction of stone pillars within a cultural museum in peripheral areas so the accessibility is inconvenient compared to that of non-aboriginal sites. Second, data collection took more time to finish and thus the valid sample size is limited. In summary, aboriginal tourism heritage studies of perceived authenticity have been scant, so replication of the scale of authenticity of this study is encouraged for further quantitative studies so as to

reinforce the stability of the model of authenticity.

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國科會補助計畫衍生研發成果推廣資料表

國科會補助計畫	計畫名稱: 從不一致遺產觀點探討利益關係人對博物館原住民文物之真實性知覺：兼論文化再現
	計畫主持人: 掌慶琳
	計畫編號: 99-2410-H-034-054-　　　　學門領域: 休閒遊憩

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無研發成果推廣資料

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99 年度專題研究計畫研究成果彙整表

計畫主持人：掌慶琳　　計畫編號：99-2410-H-034-054-

計畫名稱：從不一致遺產觀點探討利益關係人對博物館原住民文物之真實性知覺：兼論文化再現

成果項目			量化			單位	備註（質化說明：如數個計畫共同成果、成果列為該期刊之封面故事...等）
			實際已達成數（被接受或已發表）	預期總達成數(含實際已達成數)	本計畫實際貢獻百分比		
國內	論文著作	期刊論文	0	0	100%	篇	
		研究報告/技術報告	1	0	100%		
		研討會論文	1	0	100%		
		專書	0	0	100%		
	專利	申請中件數	0	0	100%	件	
		已獲得件數	0	0	100%		
	技術移轉	件數	0	0	100%	件	
		權利金	0	0	100%	千元	
	參與計畫人力（本國籍）	碩士生	2	0	50%	人次	
		博士生	0	0	100%		
		博士後研究員	0	0	100%		
		專任助理	0	0	100%		
國外	論文著作	期刊論文	0	0	100%	篇	
		研究報告/技術報告	1	0	100%		
		研討會論文	1	0	100%		
		專書	0	0	100%	章/本	
	專利	申請中件數	0	0	100%	件	
		已獲得件數	0	0	100%		
	技術移轉	件數	0	0	100%	件	
		權利金	0	0	100%	千元	
	參與計畫人力（外國籍）	碩士生	0	0	100%	人次	
		博士生	0	0	100%		
		博士後研究員	0	0	100%		
		專任助理	0	0	100%		

	其他成果 (無法以量化表達之成果如辦理學術活動、獲得獎項、重要國際合作、研究成果國際影響力及其他協助產業技術發展之具體效益事項等,請以文字敘述填列。)	無	

	成果項目	量化	名稱或內容性質簡述
科教處計畫加填項目	測驗工具(含質性與量性)	0	
	課程/模組	0	
	電腦及網路系統或工具	0	
	教材	0	
	舉辦之活動/競賽	0	
	研討會/工作坊	0	
	電子報、網站	0	
	計畫成果推廣之參與（閱聽）人數	0	

國科會補助專題研究計畫成果報告自評表

請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況、研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）、是否適合在學術期刊發表或申請專利、主要發現或其他有關價值等，作一綜合評估。

1. 請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況作一綜合評估 ■達成目標 □未達成目標（請說明，以 100 字為限） 　　□實驗失敗 　　□因故實驗中斷 　　□其他原因 　說明：
2. 研究成果在學術期刊發表或申請專利等情形： 論文：□已發表 □未發表之文稿 ■撰寫中 □無 專利：□已獲得 □申請中 ■無 技轉：□已技轉 □洽談中 ■無 其他：（以 100 字為限）
3. 請依學術成就、技術創新、社會影響等方面，評估研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）（以 500 字為限） This research extends our understanding in heritage tourism by encompassing cultural representation and heritage dissonant theories into authenticity. To date, little research has explored authenticity of heritage tourism from stakeholders' perspectives. As such, the findings of this research could enrich the knowledge of perceived authenticity of cultural tourism in an aboriginal heritage setting.