EXPLORATION ON THE EMOTIONAL FACTORS OF INHERITANCE OF THE INDIGENOUS TRADITIONAL SKILLS
A CASE STUDY OF THE WEAVING OF THE SEEDIQ

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ABSTRACT

The Seediq is one of Taiwan's 16 indigenous peoples. Weaving is an extremely tradition for the Seediq. Women are good at weaving will climb to the Rainbow Bridge and reunion with ancestors when they die. Thus, the women of the Seediq spend their whole life in weaving and probe into the highest technology of weaving. However, due to the changes in social pattern, the above-mentioned demand is gradually disappearing. According to surveys, only seven women know how to use the traditional ground loom to weave with the highest skill. This study considered non-Seediq who attended courses to learn the traditional weaving skills of the Seediq as its subjects and, for five years, analyzed the emotional factors influencing the learning of such skill against the trend of the times, including learning motivation, operating feeling of weaving patterns, physical load, and loom, instructions by the initiators, and perception and effect after learning, and raised the awareness of the Seediq to the inheritance of the traditional skill.

This study reached the following preliminary conclusions: 1. The learning motivations of non-Seediq include cultural factors like interest in weaving, curiosity of different cultures, and
childhood memory without no ethnic identity. 2. Students were attracted by the ground loom which could produce complicated patterns via simple operations. It challenges the perseverance of students. Students need to operate it by themselves. When they finish their work, they are pleasant and cherish it like a piece of artwork. 3. Indigenous teachings of traditional skills are usually physical language teachings, so, it takes time to bridge the gap between teaching via body language and perception of students. 4. The study of non-Seediq causes the social effect of learning motivation of the Seediq.

**Keywords**: Seediq, Weaving, Emotion factor, Inheritance of traditional skill

1. **RESEARCH MOTIVES**

In the past, women of the Seediq wove due to practical needs in life, honor, and discipline of belief. With the changes in social pattern, such needs and discipline gradually disappear. So do traditional skills. When the government offers subsidy for the teaching of such traditional skills, it has not met the dilemma of the Seediq. Such courses are conducted in urban area and open for non-Seediq. This study regarded 10 students where were non-Seediq and attending such courses for a long time as research subjects. It aimed to explore why non-Seediq were willing to spend five years to learn such skill against the trend of the times and understand their feelings.

2. **RESEARCH PURPOSES**

In general, the traditional weaving skills of the indigenous are mainly passed down to clansmen. In this study, such courses are conducted in urban areas and attended by non-Seediq. This study probed into the emotional factors influencing the study of Seediq weaving, and understood the feelings of learners at different stages, which can serve as a reference for the teachers to inspire clansmen’s willingness to learn and improve teaching methods.

3. **RESEARCH METHOD**

This researcher participated in the learning of ground loom and Seediq weaving, and interviewed other students one by one to learn their feelings (perceptual factors). Then, this study referred to service design and service travel map, classified the learning process of the learners into three stages, that is, before, during, and after study. Based on the audio recordings, it analyzed the learning contents and feelings (emotional factors) of the students at different stages. Lastly, it summarized the emotional factors into a table.
4. SEEDIQ'S TRADITIONAL WEAVING AND INHERITANCE PLAN

4.1. Seediq traditional weaving

The Seediq is one of Taiwan's 16 indigenous peoples. Population was approximately 9,771, mainly distributed in Ren'ai Township, Nantou County. As they respect for Utux†, they have developed rigorous Gaya‡ life and law systems and unique and rich cultures, such as tattooed face, hunting, weaving, music, language, songs, and dance. Weaving is a vital tradition for the Seediq. Women of the Seediq use ground loom to weave clothes and quilts for their families. According to tradition, women must plan, harvest, and scrap ramie, expose ramie under the blazing sun, sort ramie, twist ramie into thread, and dye ramie. Thus, women of the Seediq are always busy. Even when they walking to work in the field, they will twist ramie into thread. They weave in the evening and early morning. In terms of division of labor between male and female in the traditional Seediq society, Gaya restricts men from touching tools like loom, while women are not allowed to touch hunting tools. The women of the Seediq also weave clothes to make their own wedding dress and send to brides as gifts.

The traditional Seediq weaving skills include plain weave, float weave, weft pick, diamond weave, and twill weave. Especially, doriq Puniri is the most difficult skill. If one can master this skill, basically, she can weave with all the other skills. Puniri is featured in picking warps and multiple float diamond patterns. As all the patterns of doriq puniri are completed by picking warps, all the wefts are completely covered by float warps. Weavers need to accurately remember the pattern structure, and use cross-stitch work tools in order patiently and concentratedly. And they shall make no mistake so as to produce correct patterns. Doriq puniri demonstrates excellent skills and diligence and requires good eyesight. The clansmen consider it as the top weaving skill. Senior clansmen said that, clothes with the pattern by doriq puniri were used to make shawl for men. Only the leader of a hunting team could wear such shawl. Women used such clothes to tie their legs to show elegance. A woman who can weave puniri will be considered as a real woman. When she dies, her soul can climb to the Rainbow Bridge and reunion with ancestors. Thus, the women of the Seediq practice the rules of Gaya all the time. On one hand, women of the Seediq weave due to practical needs in life, honor, and discipline of belief. On the other hand, as Mei-hsia Wang pointed out that, the Seediq advocates excellent performance of individuals. The women of the Seediq spend their whole life in weaving and probe into the highest technology of weaving.

† The Seediq deeply believe that soul is immortal. When one dies, he/she will become Utux to care the offspring always. They practice Gaya in their rituals and behaviors and maintain a harmonious relationship with Utux. (Tseng, 2013)

‡ Gaya, literally, means "the words of ancestors". It can be understood as the disciple, habit, laws, precept, standard of behavior, social responsibility, and moral rules. (Wang, 2003)
At present, most of the women who can weave puniri in the tribe learn it from Seta Iban (Zhang, 1919-2008). Since the age of 10, she had started to learn traditional weaving skills, and had woven for over seven decades till she died. According to an investigation in 2013, only seven women could weave with puniri, wherein, six learned it from Seta Iban, including her daughter Bakan Nawi and grand-daughter Seta Bakan. Over half of the seven women are nearly or over 70 years old. Now, there are no demands for traditional weaving in life. The rules of Gaya gradually disappear. Thus, the traditional weaving skills face the risk of failing to be handed down from past generations, especially, the most difficult skill, puniri. Even though Seta Iban endeavored to teach puniri during her later years, many clansmen failed to learn such skill, because it is not as simple as other weaving skills.

4.2. Source of the case: Inheritance plan of the Seediq weaving skills supported by Cultural Assets Law

The government registered Bakan Nawi and Seta Bakan as the inheritors of the intangible cultural asset of puniri of Seediq weaving in 2012. Since 2013, the government has offered subsidy to the Zhang’s to open inheritance courses. During the first year, the Seediq in Nantou were regarded as target students. However, they failed to enroll any student. In contrast, another weaving program in Taichung Metropolitan organized by Bureau of Cultural Heritage quickly fulfilled the quota of enrollment. And the students were all active to learn. Therefore, during the subsequent four years, the inheritance plan was held in Taichung. The course was taught for 80-100 hours a year.
This study focused on the five-year inheritance plan from 2013 to 2017, and analyzed 10 students who continuously attended the plan. In terms of occupation, four of them were retired (three were retired teachers). Three were housewives (one Japanese and one Bunun people). Two students were working and attended the plan by asking for leave. One was a postgraduate student. In terms of region, seven were from Taichung, while one from Yunlin; one, Chiayi; and one, Taipei (This student had the furthest distance from Taichung and spent five hours back and forth to attend the course every day.). All the 10 students were not Seediq people. In 2016, one Seediq people came and was inspired by the course, and attends the course since this year.

In the first year, the content is plain weave. Cause of simple, students are proud of the quantity of work that they can finish. In the second year, the speed of weft pick suddenly becomes slow. But the skills are not difficult. This stage challenges the patience of students. In the third year, the contents are diamond weave and twill weave. Neatening warps at this stage becomes challenging. Students need to slowly twine threads according to rules slowly and patiently. It takes approximately five hours to neaten a portion of thread ready to be woven. However, it is common that students make mistakes in neatening. As long as one thread is wrongly twined, one needs to start all over again.

In the fourth and the fifth years, students began to learn the most difficulty skill, doriq puniri. Puniri requires 25 different ways of lifting heald and replacement layer by layer so as to complete the circulation of four wefts. Cross-stitch work is even more difficult. Therefore, a student needs to weave extremely carefully and prudently. Once they make a mistake, they need to spend a long time to correct it. Different cross-stitch work patterns of puniri have different cultural connotations. Students must learn slowly step by step. During the course of two years, the teacher was busy instructing each student. For two years, they had learned for 170 hours. Even so, the longest clothes woven by the students was only 70cm.

5. EMOTIONAL FACTORS DURING LEARNING

The subjects in this study are not Seediq people. Their learning purposes are not cultural needs of Seediq. The motivation and psychological preparation before learning, problems and challenges during learning, and feelings and effect after learning are analyzed below.

5.1. Before learning

5.1.1. Students’ learning motivation

All the students attended the course because of interest. It is extremely slow to weave clothes with the ground loom, which is not favorable for economic benefits. Thus, the students did not attend the course for profit or livelihood.
5.1.2. Why did you want to learn the ground loom? Why is it attractive to you?

According to the interviews, most of the students thought it rare and unique with aboriginal cultural characteristics. Most students started with the easiest ribbon loom. Then, they learned high loom which was easy and fast to complete a piece of work after threading. However, high loom allows them to have little autonomous control. They feel that, "The better the machine is, the more dependent and sillier they become." When they saw that the simple ground loom can weave complicated patterns, they became curious and interested.

5.1.3. Psychological preparation before learning

At the beginning, most of the students were purely curious about weaving with the ground loom. They were concerned of sitting for a long time to weave and longtime input to the course. In addition to tuition, some students far away from the site needed to spend more time and transportation costs.

5.2. During learning

The contents of the five-year course changed from simple (plain weave, weft pick, diamond weave, and twill weave at the beginning) to difficult (puniri in the 4th and the 5th years). The teacher taught the students in the same way her grand-mother taught her, that is, body language.

5.2.1. Students' feelings of using the ground loom

a. Tired and not free: As the name, ground loom, indicates, a weaver must sit on the ground while weaving for a long time. She must use a belt to fix herself to the loom and cannot move freely. While weaving, she needs to push the weaving box with her feet. While weaving with doriq puniri, she needs to concentrate. It challenges eyesight and physical strength. As the students made special visits to attend the course, they had psychological preparation. No matter how hard, they were willing to learn.

b. Charm of autonomous manipulation: It is easy to use the ground loom. However, the coordination between hands and feet affect the density and uniformity of patterns. They are interested because the simple machine can have multiple weaving skills and produce various patterns. The sounds produced by the weaving boxes sound as sweet as a song.

5.2.2. Feelings of students about the instruction of the teacher: For the students who are accustomed to the instruction by words and teaching materials, teaching by body language is a challenge.

Weaving is a part of "life" for the teacher, while it is a type of "study" for the students. Since childhood, Seta Bakan had watched her grandmother weaving and learned from her. She has experience and background closely related to weaving which becomes a part of her life and memory. For the teacher, weaving is a type of "lifestyle". She was influenced by what one constantly saw and heard since childhood. She has the relevant cultural background. As the
students are non-Seediq, they do not have such childhood experience. Weaving is a type of "deliberate" learning process. Some students were retired teachers, so they adopted their teaching experience to explore, discuss, interpret, and even re-draw the patterns taught by the teacher via body language to make them easier to understand and accelerate understanding and learning.

5.2.3. Adjustment of mentality during learning:

From the first to the third year, the skills learned changed from simple to complicated, like plain and diamond weave. The students competed that who could weave the most. During the fourth and the fifth years, they started to learn puniri which is extremely difficult. They must concentrate on each move and each cross-stitch. Once they make a mistake, they have to start all over again. Hence, during this stage, they competed who could better understand the logic. And they shifted their attention to physical and mental cultivation.

5.2.4. Determination and perseverance to complete. Expectation to meet at each class. Mutual growth during interaction.

5.2.5. Natural transmission of the traditional culture of the Seediq during teaching interaction.

Weaving is life experience for the teacher since childhood. While teaching, she naturally recalled her childhood and told stories about weaving, and the living habits and values of her tribe. For instance, when she was young, she helped to twist thread. Her grandfather adopted natural materials to make dye. In the past, when beam-warping was completed, it took two people to cooperate to take the threads off the shelf so as to keep them neat. Thus, the clansmen believe that "a girl who does not know how to weave has no friends. And she will be looked down upon by others.". In addition, three decades ago, when she got married, many senior members of her family sent her gifts of clothes woven by themselves. Thus, though clothes woven in this way are not used to make clothes, they can serve as precious gifts. The students learned the stories on the culture of the Seediq during the interaction at class. And they are pleasant to understand different cultures.

5.3. After learning

5.3.1. Personal effects
For the students, they had an extremely high sense of accomplishment: They had the sense of accomplishment from the instruction of the teacher, discussion, interpretation, understanding, and completion of work. Especially, when they learned that only seven people in the Seediq tribe could do puniri, they feel that this is a precious and rare opportunity to learn the traditional skills. The learning of weaving is a way for non-Seediq people to understand aboriginal cultures. Especially, when they learned puniri, they better understood the importance of Gaya to traditional Seediq women and the reason why they spend their whole life in weaving and probe into the highest technology of weaving.

The active learning attitude makes the teacher feel the senses of accomplishment and mission and improve her confidence: The teacher, Seta Bakan, learned weaving from her grandmother since childhood. She was a housewife previously without much teaching experience. Several years ago, she was invited to teach the ground loom in her tribe. However, her clansmen had low interest in learning weaving, which made her disappointed. However, in this course, the students were eager to learn and had frequent interaction with her, which made her feel the sense of accomplishment. She said that, during teaching, she had been recalling the time that she spent with her grandmother. She feels that she is the continuation of the life of her grandmother. Hence, she hopes that more clansmen can have the sense of mission.

5.3.2. Social effects

Previously, no clansmen wanted to attend the weaving course held in their hometown. Later, non-Seediq people started to learn weaving by attending a weaving course held in a metropolitan area. Such news spreads to the tribe. Plus report by media, the clansmen begin to stress the important skills belonging to themselves. However, they were puzzled why Seta Bakan would rather teach non-Seediq rather than Seediq. Hence, Seta Bakan is invited to teach weaving at another tribe of the Seediq since October this year. Next year, she will return to her own tribe to teach the weaving culture from planting of ramie in a systematic manner.

Table1: Summary of Emotional factors influencing the learning of traditional Seediq weaving skills.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emotional Scope</th>
<th>Emotional Factors</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Before learning</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation</td>
<td>Interest, particularity, curiosity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charm</td>
<td>Being rare and unique with aboriginal cultural characteristics. Handling complexity by simplicity. Compensation to life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation</td>
<td>Physical strength, long-time and concentrated participation</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>During learning</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feelings of using the machine</td>
<td>Being tired and not free. Autonomous manipulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruction by the teacher</td>
<td>Challenge, inadaptability, exploration, interpretation, slow speed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentality during the learning process</td>
<td>From the satisfaction to quantity to physical and mental cultivation, perseverance of completion, grow via interaction, expectation to meet at each class</td>
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<td>Cultural communication</td>
<td>Being pleasant to understand different cultures</td>
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<td>After learning</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal effects</td>
<td>Students: Sense of accomplishment, confidence, rare opportunity. The teachers: Senses of accomplishment and mission, confidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social effects</td>
<td>The clansmen begin to stress weaving</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCHES

#### 6.1. Conclusion

6.1.1 The subjects in this study are non-Seediq students who learned weaving because of interest without cultural factors like traditional ethnic identity. They learned the culture of the Seediq during learning and recognize the preciousness of the skills and importance to preserve them.

6.1.2 The ground loom can handle complicity by simplicity, attract the students, and challenge their perseverance. The simple ground loom can produce complicated patterns. It is difficult to learn the rudiments, but the students have a high degree of autonomous manipulation, which stimulates them to persist to complete the course. Each work is cherished as a piece of artwork by the students.

6.1.3 Indigenous teachings of traditional skills are usually physical language teachings, so it takes time to bridge the gap between teaching via body language and perception of students. For the teacher, weaving is a type of "lifestyle". She was influenced by what one constantly saw and heard since childhood. She has the relevant cultural background. As the students are non-
Seediq, they do not have such childhood experience. Weaving is a type of "deliberate" learning process.

6.1.4. Social effect that the enthusiasm of non-Seediq in learning weaving arouses the motivation of the clansmen: The learning of the ground loom is tired with low economic benefits. Thus, the clansmen show low willingness to learn it. However, as non-Seediq shows great enthusiasm in learning the skills, the clansmen raise the awareness that their own culture shall be passed down to the people of their tribe.

6.2. Suggestions for future researches

6.2.1 At the present stage, this study adopts qualitative research method and obtains the table of emotional factors of the students. In future studies, the investigation and analysis on attractiveness factors can be adopted. And researchers can classify emotional factors into primitive reasons, abstract reasons, and concrete reasons.

6.2.2 The subjects in this study are not Seediq people living in metropolitan areas and completed the five-year course. Next year, the teacher will return to her own tribe to teach her clansmen. The learning motivation of the clansmen and the differences in feelings between the Seediq and the non-Seediq can be further studied.

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