

99 年人文教育革新中綱計畫

子計畫三 人文領域人才培育國際交流計畫

【海外專題研究】

【馬紹爾當代社會食物商品的消費與流動】

期末成果報告

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一、計畫名稱

馬紹爾當代社會食物商品的消費與流動

二、計畫目標

密克羅尼西亞社會組織是以居住群體為基礎，是由母系所組成的世系群體，而不是母系延伸家庭。普遍而言，密克羅尼西亞母系成員具有共同財產、頭銜，並且是以女方的年長者具有優先權。手足，是親屬和社會組織的基礎。手足，共享的是土地、食物、物質擁有，相同性別的手足，尤其是，姐妹，時常是婚後住在一起。手足通常會一起擁有土地，不只是共同母系的成員，也有可能從父方繼承成為土地共同人。食物是連結親屬和土地最具有象徵意涵的 (Marshall 1983)。

過去馬紹爾人食用在土地上種植的食物，從土地產出的食物，食物再被分配給土地所屬的親屬，食物、親屬和土地三者的關係是緊密的。然而，自現金經濟進入馬紹爾群島之後，加上受到世界市場經濟體系的影響，住在首都馬久羅的馬紹爾人在當代社會高度仰賴使用現金從超市或商店購買食物商品。這現象使得馬紹爾人日常生活所使用的食物與物資高度商品化後，造成食物和土地沒有直接連結關係。

目前馬紹爾社會是高失業率，高人口成長和幾近仰賴進口食物的生活方式。由於馬紹爾於 1986 年以及 2004 年與美國簽訂自由聯盟協定後，在馬紹爾社會流通的現金貨幣，有四分之三是來自美國使用土地的租金及核幅射污染土地的補償金。再加上馬紹爾受到世界市場經濟體系的影響，目前馬紹爾人的民生物資高度仰賴進口，已經不如以往依靠土地賴以維生。這也反映在馬紹爾人舉行的生命儀禮儀式，嬰孩滿歲儀式 *keemen*、婚禮、葬禮以及聖誕節節慶，儀式舉行過程中的食物共食或是物的集中、再分配與交換，已不是以從土地而生的作物為主，取而代之的是以現金購買的物資。

從過去的研究顯示出小型島嶼國家居民的消費，大多投資在必要的文化儀式費用。無論是嬰孩滿歲儀式、婚禮、喪禮、慶祝聖誕節等，島民使用現金投資在進口食物及物資的購買，以達成儀式過程中的食物共享及物資交換 (Peoples 1986:

131-159)。資本主義社會造成物的生產與消費的改變，當人們所消費購買的商品，已不是從自身所熟悉的社會網絡之間生產，人們如何將所購得的商品強化彼此的社會連結，這牽涉著商品與社會意義以及個人認同之間的關係（Carrier 1995）。儘管馬紹爾人日常生活食物物資大多購買自超市或小型雜貨商店。Pollock（1992）指出坡里尼西亞與密克羅尼西亞島民，自從與西方人接觸後，看似西化的日常飲食習慣，其實島民過去使用的澱粉類食物仍然延續使用。作者認為島民使用的食物分類概念、價值，是無法以英語語言完整表達地方所指涉的食物分類概念。從不同島嶼語彙指涉概念的紛歧與多義的角度，會發現隱藏在西化飲食習慣下的地方飲食邏輯。

本計畫主要在於研究當代馬紹爾食物生產型態的改變，食物商品高度取代土地產物成為馬紹爾人社會生活的主要連結媒介時；筆者欲從馬紹爾人舉行嬰孩滿歲儀式以及喪禮等的生命儀禮過程，從馬紹爾人至超市或小型商店從事商品消費的角度，進一步討論不同社會階序者，如何投注生命儀禮的食物商品物資消費、選取食物商品的價值依據、食物商品具有特殊意涵的物質性意義、儀式籌備以及舉行過程期間食物商品物資是如何進行交換、食物商品是如何共食與分配，以探究現金食物商品的消費與流動，對於馬紹爾人當代社會關係再建構過程的影響。

三、執行情形

馬紹爾群島位於太平洋密克羅尼西亞東部海域，陸地面積為 181 平方公里，由 29 個環礁以及 5 個島嶼組成。本研究計畫田野調查地點為馬紹爾群島的首都馬久羅（Majuro），馬久羅人口高度集中、珊瑚礁島耕種土地及食物作物產出的限制，使得馬紹爾群島內部之間其他環礁及島嶼的馬紹爾人會移居至首都馬久羅，加上馬紹爾政府開放外國人至當地從事具有專業性質的工作以及開放外資至當地投資的誘因，這使得其他太平洋島嶼國家的島民，無論是吉里巴斯、斐濟、科斯雷、波納佩、楚克等，以及來自亞洲的中國人、臺灣人、韓國人、菲律賓人等紛紛移入馬久羅，造成首都人口高度集中的現象產生。除此之外，由於馬久羅本身為珊瑚礁島土質貧瘠，水源供應仰賴雨水與地下水，可耕種的土地不僅非常有限，從土地產出的食物數量與種類，都深受珊瑚礁島特殊自然環境條件的影響

而有所限制。日常生活裡馬紹爾人高度仰賴從超市或小型雜貨商店購買進口食物商品，此亦可以反映出大洋洲密克羅尼西亞小型島嶼國家特殊發展現況的縮影。

我自 99 年 7 月 6 日至 9 月 15 日共計二個半月，在馬紹爾群島的首都馬久羅進行田野調查工作。筆者主要是採取參與觀察和深度訪談的田野調查方式進行研究、馬紹爾語語言學習、以及文獻檔案資料蒐集。本計畫的田野調查執行期程如后：

日期	起迄地點	工作內容
7/6	臺北至馬紹爾首都馬久羅 (Majuro)	去程。
7/6-8/15	馬久羅東部地區 (Darrit、Uluga 至 Delap) 為主	馬久羅東部田野調查工作開始。至馬紹爾學院、圖書館、教會、非政府組織、馬紹爾週刊等處，蒐集文獻資料。
8/15-9/15	馬久羅西部地區 (Laura) 為主	馬久羅西部田野調查工作開始。
9/15	馬久羅至臺北	返程。

(一) 參與觀察和深度訪談的田野調查

筆者針對馬紹爾食物商品的批發業者與零售業者進行調查，先探究批發業者如何掌握馬紹爾人日常生活所需的進口食物商品，了解零售業也就是超市以及小型商店之間的消費型態以及空間分布的差異。

從馬紹爾不同社會階序關係，即酋長、土地管理者、平民所舉行的生命儀禮無論是嬰孩滿歲儀式、婚禮或喪禮等儀式進行參與觀察與深度訪談。馬紹爾人舉行的嬰孩滿歲儀式，此儀式是在嬰孩出生滿一歲後舉行，舉行儀式者無論是嬰孩的母方或是父方皆可，儀式參與者以嬰孩父母的親屬朋友為主，舉行儀式者會準備食宴邀請親屬朋友共食享用，受邀者也會準備禮物參與。儀式過程中無論是舉行儀式者或是受邀者所使用的物資大多是以現金購買。

除此之外，筆者從馬紹爾人儀式性消費的角度，進一步討論不同社會階序者投注儀式性消費的目的、儀式性交換商品物的內容為何、儀式舉行對於親屬團體的維持有何重要性。透過儀式性的消費與交換，對於馬紹爾人在社會關係上的投資會產生什麼樣的社會文化再生產。

(二) 馬紹爾語語言學習

語言上，馬紹爾人使用英語和馬紹爾語。筆者曾經寫信詢問過夏威夷大學語言學研究所，專門研究密克羅尼西亞語言的 Ken Rehg 教授，有關馬紹爾語課程一事，方知目前在夏威夷大學未開設馬紹爾語的授課課程。目前夏威夷大學語言所研究生學習馬紹爾語的方式，是每週聚會一次，成員們以朗誦馬紹爾語文本的方式，學習馬紹爾語。又詢問過今年訪臺專門進行馬紹爾研究的 Laurence Carucci 教授，得知夏威夷大學馬諾亞分校（University of Hawaii at Manoa）漢密爾頓圖書館（Hamilton Library）太平洋文獻特藏（Pacific Collection）有收藏馬紹爾語錄音帶及語言學習文本。

筆者經詢問過這二位教授及夏威夷大學語言所研究生後，得知既然目前沒有馬紹爾語語言課程的開設，從日常生活學習馬紹爾語是一途。故筆者此行就在馬久羅當地和馬紹爾人的互動過程中開始學習馬紹爾語，以增加筆者對馬紹爾語的語感，這不僅有助於我進行田野調查工作，也可提高我對於馬紹爾語文的敏感程度。遂在當地開始打聽學習馬紹爾語的方法、尋找適合外國人使用的語言學習文本，開始從日常生活和馬紹爾人的互動過程中學習馬紹爾語，並且和居住在當地超過二十幾年的宣教士，使用語言學習本文 Practical Marshallese 一書學習初階的馬紹爾語。

馬紹爾群島分為日昇島鍊(Ratak Chain)及日落島鍊 (Ralik Chain)，這兩串島鍊的地方語言有所差異。首都馬久羅屬於日昇島鍊的其中一座島嶼，日昇島鍊使用的馬紹爾語為筆者想要學習的地方語言。在當地筆者找到幾種語言教材版本後，此次馬紹爾語學習所選的Practical Marshallese一書內容與拼音系統，為目前所知較適合現階段筆者學習需求的語言教材。這本馬紹爾語語言學習文本 Practical Marshallese一書，總計有一百零二課，第一課至第25課的學習內容安排為馬紹爾語的基礎文法及250個馬紹爾語的單字數量。學習進度自第一課至第50課，馬紹爾語就有500個單字量以及適用於正式場合用語的程度。第一課至第一百零二課的全部單字量達到1500個單字，不僅掌握單字和文法的使用，還可掌握不同議題的討論。學習期間並使用Marshallese-English Dictionary為語言學習工具書。

(三) 文獻檔案資料蒐集

1. 基督新教與天主教教會檔案：基督新教傳入馬紹爾群島，已超過 150 多年的歷史。發展至今馬紹爾群島的基督新教，以美國基督新教教會（Protestant Church）為最早傳入者，也是現今最主要的宗派，即為公理會（United Congregation Church）。後來，美國公理會與福音歸正會合併，亦稱為美國聯合基督教會（United Church of Christ），簡稱為 UCC。基督新教進入馬紹爾群島蓬勃發展了近 40 年之後，天主教傳教工作方為展開，亦即當地天主教教會已具有 100 多年的歷史。故無論是基督新教或是天主教的地方教會記錄，例如傳教士、受洗冊、教會年度活動等資料，都有助於筆者進一步深入掌握高度基督教化的馬紹爾社會文化和歷史脈絡。
2. 圖書館檔案：馬紹爾學院（College of the Marshall Islands）、南太平洋學院（University of the South Pacific）、國家圖書及檔案館（Library and National Archives）的圖書館檔案資料以及學校出版品。
3. 官方檔案：馬紹爾政府不定期出版的公報。內政部掌管 Alele 博物館以及歷史保存中心（Historic Preservation Office, HPO）收錄的藏品物件、歷史文獻檔案、影像。馬紹爾政府經濟政策規劃與統計中心（Economic Policy and Planning and Statistics Office, EPPSO）出版有關馬紹爾群島各島嶼的人口、經濟、社會發展，以及消費指數資料等。
4. 地方出版品：馬紹爾當地最主要的報紙刊物為《馬紹爾周刊》，反映馬紹爾當代社會文化訊息。當地有獨立製片的電影、非政府組織的紀錄片作品以及音樂團體的音樂光碟片等，這些作品都具有地方意識與觀點。
5. 社會組織：馬紹爾歷年都有國際志工組織在當地活動，如美國海外和平工作團（Peace Corps）、日本青年海外協力隊（Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers, JOCV）等，尤其是，日本青年海外協力隊有紀錄馬紹爾人當代日常生活使用物資的調查資料都為具有參考價值的資料。

(四) 比較研究

這次海外田野調查研究工作，關於時間上的安排規劃，首先我居住在首都馬久羅東部的 Rita 兩個月，之後，移居至馬久羅的西部 Arrak 近 Laura 處有半個月的時間。做這樣的安排，是為了掌握首都馬久羅東、西部馬紹爾人的食物生產型態與食物商品消費現象之間的比較差異。因為首都馬久羅西部地區的馬紹爾人現今仍有維持食用土地作物的習慣，而超市與小型商店集中的東部地區，則仰賴現金作物或食物商品。兩相比較之下，可突顯出首都馬久羅東部與西部馬紹爾人當代食物商品消費的轉變。

五、執行成果分析與檢討

本計畫執行成果的分析及檢討，以下就馬久羅西部與東部人口組成變化的歷史背景、馬紹爾人的食物商品消費型態以及生命儀禮中的食物/商品分別說明之。

(一) 馬久羅西部與東部人口組成變化的歷史背景

因為在目前馬久羅西部的 Laura 一帶是早期開發之地，也就是昔日被稱為「馬久羅」的所在地 (Spoehr 1973[1949])。早期首都馬久羅的發展是以西部的 Laura 為要，後來，馬久羅西部的人口以及馬紹爾群島內部的外島島民、其他太平洋島嶼國家及亞洲移民等紛紛移入馬久羅東部後，東部逐漸開始發展。這造成首都人口主要集中在東部地區的 Darrit、Uluga 以及 Delap (請見圖一)。其中，Darrit 也稱為 Rita，馬紹爾人平日習慣稱此處為 Rita。大體而言，Rita 區域主要是馬紹爾人密集居住的地方，Uluga 有遠洋漁船停靠的碼頭，Delap 為行政與經濟中心，住在此區的人，大多是從事生意或是受教育後發跡的人居住，反而比較不是傳統的大地主。儘管，在這六十年間首都的行政與經濟重心從西部轉移至東部，馬紹爾掌握傳統權力以及許多土地財產的酋長與土地管理者仍然居住在西部 Laura 和 Ajtake 一帶。整體而言，人口組成以馬紹爾人為主的區域就是 Rita 和 Laura 這兩處。

(二) 馬紹爾人的食物商品消費型態

馬紹爾社會的階序關係仍然維持著，同時這階序關係也已逐漸轉換成為資本主義社會的階級關係。馬紹爾內部社會組織為階序的關係，即酋長 (*iroij* 男性酋長、*eroij* 女性酋長)、土地管理者 (*alap*) 及平民 (*rijerboal*)，後來，受到資本主義現金經濟的進入而產生改變。由於馬紹爾的社會階序關係，早期馬紹爾群島的島民便會對酋長進貢，馬紹爾語稱為 *ekkan*，這是經由儀式展演將蓆子、新鮮或保存的食物在儀式舉行過程中獻給居住在島上的酋長，或是當酋長來訪巡視環礁之際進貢。十九世紀後期由於德國殖民者在馬紹爾開始進行椰乾貿易，酋長和島民會共享椰乾生產所得的現金利益。土地管理者除了管理土地和在負責管理土地上工作的馬紹爾人之外，土地管理者不僅要將土地上生產的共享食物集中外，還要將椰乾貿易所得現金集中。酋長就會從些現金中獲得部份椰乾生產交易所得

的現金 (Tobin 1952)。由於現在馬紹爾群島酋長所掌握的金錢不是來自於平民，酋長沒有理由再分配金錢，到目前為止酋長和平民之間持續進行的交換關係，已和過去大不相同。殖民時期馬紹爾人便和外來者進行交換關係，目前正大肆擴展著這樣的交換關係。酋長掌握這樣的內外交換關係，平民反而不是進入這樣交換關係的一部份。由於馬紹爾島嶼上的交換關係受到外界的影響，使得酋長成為「資產階級的」酋長，這些酋長和平民最大的不同在於其擁有來自世界經濟體系的金錢財富 (Carucci 1997)。

馬紹爾人手上擁有的資金能力，反映在平日的消費型態上。依據最新的馬紹爾群島的家戶調查資料，住在馬久羅的馬紹爾人平均一個家戶住 7.5 人 (EPPSO 2006)，其中，只有一至二人有薪資，由於當代社會馬紹爾人日常生活高度仰賴進口食物商品，超市提供的進口新鮮蔬果，由於價格高，不僅讓馬紹爾人卻步，也無法供應一般家戶眾多人口以及一日多餐的日常生活食用。儘管，首都馬久羅西部的 Laura 有耕種面積、土質較適合種植園圃作物耕種並且臺灣農技團設於當地，長年輔導馬紹爾人從事蔬果作物的種植，不過，產量並不是穩定供應至超市、地方唯一一處傳統市場或是小型雜貨店販賣。首都馬久羅的蔬果供應來源處，還有鄰近的外島阿諾 Arno 島嶼，平日會經由當日船隻載送地方出產的新鮮蔬果。由於園圃的蔬果產量不多，往往船隻一靠岸，便被馬紹爾人搶購一空。新鮮蔬果的高價位，使得罐頭蔬果或是冷凍蔬果成為馬紹爾人日常生活飲食普遍的選擇。整體而言，馬紹爾人日常生活偏好大量食用米、冷凍雞腿肉以及罐頭食品，罐頭食品的種類，尤其是以 Spam、Corn Beef 以及鮭魚罐頭最常為馬紹爾人食用。

食物商品的批發價格較一般零售低，而且可以滿足多人數的食用，所以馬紹爾人多喜好至批發處，主要購買米、冷凍雞肉、麵粉 (請見表一)。馬紹爾人及美國人聯合經營的食物商品批發就有 Pacific Basin Company 和 Payless，臺灣人經營的批發有 Home Garden、Formosa 和 Cost Price。馬紹爾人日常生活仰賴批發或零售的食物商品購買，這些食物商品貨源來自於 Uliga 的船運進口，馬久羅的國際船運路線是以 Matson 船運為主，此國際船運路線行經中國、關島、密克羅尼西亞、夏威夷以及美國等處。近幾年來，由於馬紹爾的網際網路費用，是以月費計價，不像之前以時間計價，大幅度地降低網路收訊費用。這使得過去仰賴臺灣人批發業者提供食品物資的中國人，一起聯合經營批發，自行上網訂購船運貨

單，遂近來中國人經營的 AA 和 Farewell 批發業興起，並多以降價策略增加競爭力。

在馬久羅的食物商品零售是以超市和小型商店的形式販售，馬紹爾人稱這樣的小型商店為“Mom and Pop Store”。馬久羅當地的超市主要是以馬紹爾人與美國人聯合經營的 Payless 超市與臺灣人開設的 Formosa 超市較大規模，空間上的分布位置也較為廣佈。小型商店的店家主要是馬紹爾人和中國人經營，空間上，很明顯地，在 Rita 和 Laura 這二處都是馬紹人主要居住處，小型商店的擁有者為馬紹爾人，並且多是酋長或是土地管理者家族才有資金能力可以投注小型商店的投資和經營。除了這兩處之外，近幾年來，由於 AA 和 Farewell 批發業的經營，更加速中國人經營的小型商店數量的成長和空間上的廣佈。中國人經營的小型商店無論是低價格或是經營時間長等經營策略，都直接地造成馬紹爾人經營的小店的威脅。

目前在 Delap 現址的 Payless 超市原本是 Gipson 超市，大約是在 2004 或是 2005 年改為現在的 Payless 超市。Payless 超市為美國在關島 Guam 所設的連鎖超市，後來移植到馬紹爾。當時由於 Gipson 超市的生意經營狀況不佳造成營運上的虧本，後來，關島的 Payless 超市就收購馬久羅的 Gipson 超市，在原址重新營業。Payless 超市內的食物商品，主要是以美國食物為主，食物商品無論是新鮮蔬果、罐頭食品、冷凍食品等的進口來源地都是以美國為要。Formosa 超市和 Payless 超市客源的區隔，前者主要傾向亞洲人和馬紹爾人。亞洲人包括臺灣人、中國人居多、日本人、韓國人、菲律賓人等。臺灣人開設的餐廳、臺灣或是大陸圍網漁船會在馬紹爾靠岸補給。Formosa 超市從臺灣進的貨櫃或冷凍櫃次數比較多。亞洲人賣亞洲食品給亞洲人，Formosa 超市對此本身也經營地得心應手，而這也是 Payless 超市比較不會和 Formosa 超市造成消費市場競爭的區塊。就超市經營者的角度來看，馬紹爾人的消費市場很簡單，就是只要賣場有 Corn Beef、Spam、鮪魚等罐頭食品，馬紹爾人就會購買。

馬紹爾人的消費習慣，也會受到空間上的影響，因為大多數的馬紹爾人會以走路的方式購買食物商品。馬紹爾人日常生活的食物商品的主要基本消費米、冷凍雞腿、麵粉仰賴批發之外，其他罐頭食品等則多仰賴小型商店。小店不僅滿足收入不足的馬紹爾人的日常所需，也維持著人際往來彼此之間的社會生活，這狀

況尤其是在以馬紹爾人口組成為主的 Rita 以及 Laura 二處最為明顯。

(三) 生命儀禮中的食物/商品

筆者原本欲從馬紹爾不同社會階序關係，即酋長、土地管理者、平民所舉行的生命儀禮無論是嬰孩滿歲儀式 *keemen*、婚禮或喪禮等儀式進行參與觀察與深度訪談。不過，我在此行田野調查期間並沒有遇到婚禮，主要是參與不同社會階序者的嬰孩滿歲儀式 *keemen*、新居落成慶祝以及喪禮。

馬紹爾人舉行的嬰孩滿歲儀式，此儀式是在嬰孩出生滿一歲後舉行，舉行儀式者無論是嬰孩的母方或是父方皆可，儀式參與者以嬰孩父母的親屬朋友為主，舉行儀式者會準備食宴邀請親屬朋友共食享用，受邀者也會準備禮物參與。甚至家族成員當天還會穿著同樣款式、花色的服裝出席，強調家族團體之間的向心力和歸屬感。儀式過程中無論是舉行儀式者或是受邀者所使用的物資會有以現金購買的。我想從馬紹爾人儀式性消費的角度，進一步討論不同社會階序者投注儀式性消費的目的、儀式性交換商品物的內容為何、儀式舉行對於親屬團體的維持有何重要性。透過儀式性的消費與交換，對於馬紹爾人在社會關係上的投資會產生什麼樣的社會文化再生產。

六、結論與建議

本次海外田野調查研究計畫，筆者認為日後有繼續研究發展的空間，因為以食物為中心，無論是文化、經濟、健康、環境相關的討論都已經受到當代太平洋島嶼國家的關切。同時，在全球化影響之下，商品消費已成為當代蓬勃發展的社會文化議題之一。

馬紹爾人的日常生活食物商品的消費，米，為其中一項重要項目。儘管，馬紹爾人平日會使用叉子或是湯匙進食，但是，依據馬紹爾人所言，以手進食，更能吃出食物的美味。很有意思的是，米本身的黏性與否，會直接影響到馬紹爾人以手抓飯進食的時候，是否可以容易將米粒捏揉成米糰的重要因素。當批發業者進口米時，馬紹爾人對於米的要求，便成為影響進口何種米的因素之一。

在首都馬久羅的批發業者，除了是馬紹爾人與美國人外，臺灣人和中國人也會引進進口食物商品。例如，米的進口來源處，之前主要是從澳洲、美國，後來

澳洲收到全球暖化氣候變遷的影響，稻米產出劇降造成產量不足，近幾年來，這狀況使得中國產出的稻米，順勢進入馬紹爾人的消費市場，甚至取代先前馬紹爾人習慣吃的澳洲米，而成為現今馬久羅最普遍食用的米。在馬久羅的華人，尤其是臺商為重要的食物商品批發業者，由於為了降低進口食物商品成本、抗衡從中國進口的米市場，目前在首都也有從越南進口的米。整體而言，可以發現馬紹爾人所食用的米，已經不單是從澳洲、美國進口，現今從亞洲的中國以及越南進口的米，也進入馬紹爾食物商品的消費市場。

另外，罐頭食品也是馬紹爾人大量消費的商品，其中鮪魚罐頭過去主要是從美國進口，不過，因為華人也掌握了進口食物商品的價格波動，為了降低成本轉取利潤，華人的批發業者亦紛紛從東南亞進口鮪魚罐頭食品進入馬久羅，以供應馬紹爾人日常生活的消費所需。初步發現，儘管馬久羅的食物商品受到跨國市場價格的影響，不過，進口的食物商品也同時受到馬紹爾人飲食文化的影響。

再者，Mom and Pop Store 這樣的小型商店，不僅普遍滿足收入不足、小額消費、商店附近鄰近住家，馬紹爾人的日常所需，也維持著馬紹爾人彼此之間的社會生活，這狀況尤其是在馬紹爾人主要居住的 Rita 以及 Laura 地區的小型商店最為明顯，而這兩個地區也往往是華人不願意入住的區域。相比較馬紹爾人與中國人開設的小型商店，可以發現馬紹爾人的店面，多會設置桌椅等，供當地人坐下來聊天、休息或是吃食。而中國人經營的店面，往往不會有這樣的安排，店家和消費者的互動，往往是僅止於金錢與商品的交易往來，或者，有時候因為語言上的誤會造成衝突。在 Rita 以及 Laura 地區的小型商店的所有者大多是酋長或是土地管理者家族，他們在雇用小店員工時，儼然承襲既有的社會階序關係，位階較低者往往成為受僱為其工作的人。

除此之外，我也發現到馬紹爾人生命儀禮中使用的食物，除了米是購買而來的之外，有大多數從土地生產的食物，會透過世系群的社會網絡，島與島之間流通、交換及集中所需的馬紹爾地方食物。馬紹爾人對於生命儀禮的舉行，無論是嬰孩滿歲儀式、新家落成、喪禮等都非常重視馬紹爾地方食物的使用，從土地產出的麵包果、林投果、椰子、香蕉、芋頭，陸蟹或是從海洋、潟湖取得的魚、蚌等都是馬紹爾人認為在各項生命儀禮中必須準備的食物。由於首都馬久羅珊瑚礁島上的麵包果樹的產出，無法全年供應馬紹爾人的使用，加上近海岸處現有林

種的不足，無法滿足多樣近海魚類的棲息，所以馬紹爾人在近海岸處可獲取得魚，無論是種類或是數量上也逐年降低。為了滿足生命儀禮地方食物的需要，透過社會網絡進行馬紹爾群島之間以親屬團體為基礎的交換關係，仍然是非常活絡而且重要的。馬紹爾人現金消費購買的食物商品是如何被選擇、商品的價值如何被評斷、食物商品在社會關係中如何產生連結與意義，食物商品和馬紹爾人從過去至今仍使用的食物，對於馬紹爾人而言其意義為何，這是筆者應進一步釐清的。

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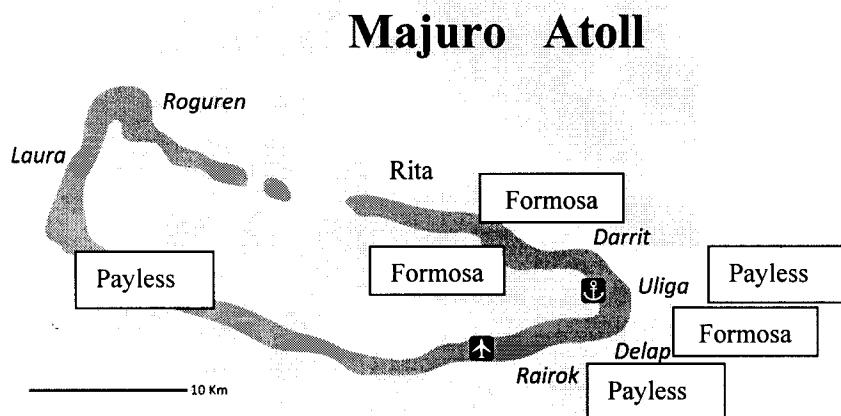
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八、附錄

附錄一 首都馬久羅地名及超市分佈圖



資料來源：呂憶君 2010

附錄二 首都馬久羅食物商品批發一覽表

食物商品批發名稱	批發業者國籍	備註
Pacific Basin Company	馬紹爾人及美國人	
Payless	馬紹爾人及美國人	兼有超市零售
Formosa	臺灣人	兼有超市零售
Home Garden	臺灣人	兼有小型商店零售
Cost Price	臺灣人	兼有超市零售
AA	中國人	
Farewell	中國人	

資料來源：呂憶君 2010

附錄三 首都馬久羅進口米品牌及來源地一覽表

進口米品牌	進口來源處
Pearl Rice	中國
Island Sun Calrose Rice	待確認
California Select Calrose Rice	美國
Guam Rose Calrose Rice	待確認
Tropical Select Calrose Rice	待確認
Paradise Calrose Rice	越南
Era Grant Rice	越南

資料來源：呂憶君 2010

附錄四 國際學術工作坊發表研究成果

Yi-chun LU

2010 "The Consumption of Food Commodities in the Marshall Islands".

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(一) 發表摘要

The Consumption of Food Commodities in the Marshall Islands

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2010/11/12

Abstract

The consumption of food commodities at Majuro, the capital of the Marshall Islands, will be addressed in this paper. It is hard for the Marshallese to enjoy local foods from the land because of the very limited cultivatable land and the high density of population on the land. This is particularly the case as many people from the outer islands and other Pacific island countries come to Majuro to work. This phenomenon mainly results in the Marshallese consuming food commodities from wholesale and retail outlets such as small stores and supermarkets.

Three aspects of this will be discussed, as follows. Firstly, food commodities at Majuro are supplied with few local products from local farmers and the outer lands, meaning that they have to rely on largely import from Asia and America. Secondly, immigrants from Taiwan and China over the past thirty years gradually have great impact on the wholesale market for basic food commodities in the Marshall Islands. In particular, imported food commodities such as the rice, frozen chicken and canned

foods are consumed as daily necessities by the Marshallese. Thirdly, more small retailers, called ‘mom and pa store’ locally, are owned by Chinese immigrants than Marshallese and Marshallese owners of small stores have to compete with the Chinese. Nowadays the consumption of food commodities in the Marshall Islands has been influenced by the Asia and American food markets.

Key words: consumption, food, commodity

(二) 發表報告內容

Good afternoon everyone and I am LU Yichun. I started my fieldwork in the Marshall Islands and spent two and half months there this summer. I will present my paper on “The consumption of food commodities at Majuro” today. Majuro is the capital of the Marshall Islands. It is hard for the Marshallese to enjoy locally-grown foods because of the very limited cultivatable land and the high density of population there. This problem is made worse because many people from the outer islands and other Pacific island countries come to Majuro to work. As a result, the Marshallese primarily consume food commodities purchased from wholesale and retail outlets such as small stores and supermarkets. I will discuss three aspects of this situation. Firstly, very few local products are supplied by local farmers so consumers in Majuro have to rely mainly on imports from Asia and America.

Limited Local Food from Land but Largely Imported from Global Market

The Marshallese originally ate breadfruit and fish as their main dish in the past. Although breadfruit trees are still planted at Majuro, the limited cultivatable land and the high density of population on the land means that breadfruits are not able to meet people’s daily needs. Some species of bread fruits have not been planted for a long time. This results in there not being enough breadfruits for a whole year’s supply. Due to the limited local food from land, Ministry of Resource and Development and

Marshall Islands Conservation Society are promoting the planting of different kinds of breadfruit trees and particular native trees on the coral coast to protect the variety of fish at the inner coast of Majuro. The aim of these projects is to supply sufficient fresh local food for the Marshallese.

Local foods are more produced on the eastern than the western part of Majuro. The limited cultivatable land includes the area from Ajetake, Wajo to Laura in the eastern part of Majuro (see Majuro Map1). Especially, the range of cultivatable land at Laura is larger than the other areas. If local people have local food such as breadfruit, pandanus, coconut, banana, taro or giant clam, they eat these local products or sell them on the road in these areas or the small stores in the eastern part of Majuro. Compared with other different kinds of local foods, the output of taro is low. Local people sometimes sell fresh or roasted breadfruit from earth ovens, dry fish, fresh pandanus, fresh coconut, and marinated clam preserved in small glass jar. The Marshallese put the local product on stands along the road. Selling these local products to the small mom and pop stores in the eastern part of Majuro is also another way to gain cash.

Rice has already become a staple dish for the Marshallese because of limited output of breadfruit. Eating by hands is more comfortable than using a fork or spoon to eat although the Marshallese used to eat their rice with forks or spoons. The Marshallese told me that eating with their hands is tastier than by fork or spoon! This is why the Marshallese prefers to choose the rice with a sticky characteristic, so they can make rice balls in their hands and easily eat it by hand. The wholesalers import the kind of rice that meets the needs of the Marshallese.

The wholesalers at Majuro include Marshallese and Americans, Taiwanese and Chinese as well (see Table). Most of the food commodities are imported from American and Asia. The Marshallese eat a lot of rice. In the past, rice was mainly imported from Australia and America. Recently, the output of rice in Australia has been greatly declined because of the impact of global warming and climate change. This phenomenon has resulted in an insufficient supply of the rice from Australia to

Majuro. Under this situation, rice from the south part of China has become the most popular type of rice at Majuro and the Marshallese has gotten used to eating rice from China rather than from Australia.

The Marshallese also eat a lot of canned foods for daily needs such as canned tuna, Spam and Corned Beef canned foods. These canned foods were imported from America before. Taiwanese have also influenced the price fluctuations of imported food. In order to reduce costs and take profits, Taiwanese wholesalers have imported canned tuna from Southeast Asia into Majuro. The imports of the food commodities are not only highly influenced by the price of the international markets but also are based on the types of rice and canned tuna which are preferred among Marshallese.

Secondly, immigrants from Taiwan and China over the past thirty years gradually have had a great impact on the wholesale market for basic food commodities in the Marshall Islands. In particular, imported food commodities such as the rice, frozen chicken and canned foods are consumed as daily necessities by the Marshallese.

Historic Background of Population Change at Majuro

The area called 'Laura ' is located at the western part of Majuro. Laura was called "Majuro" in 1949. Laura is the area which developed earlier. In sixty years, people from the western part of Majuro, the outer islands and the other pacific islanders have gradually immigrated into the eastern part of Majuro. After the eastern part of Majuro developed, population concentrated on Darrit , Uliga and Delap at the eastern part of Majuro. Local people also refer to Darrit as Rita. (see Map) The Marshallese commonly call this area Rita. In principle, in the eastern part of Majuro, lots of the Marshallese are living at Rita. Uliga is an ocean fishing boat dock. Delap is the administrative and economic area. Most of people who live at Delap are educated or doing businesses. Compared with the population at Laura, the chiefs or land managers who own traditional powers still live at Laura. Rita in the eastern part and Laura in the western part of Majuro are two areas where the Marshallese mainly live.

Marshallese Consumption Pattern of the Food Commodities

According to the latest community survey of the Marshall Islands in 2006, each household in Majuro has 7.5 persons, but only one or two persons provide money to each household. However, the Marshallese highly rely on imported food commodities. In general, the Marshallese do not buy fresh vegetables or fruits from the supermarket because each household is not afford the high prices and satisfy the daily needs for the many household numbers and meals. Due to the high price of fresh vegetables and fruits, the Marshallese eat a lot of rice, frozen chicken legs and canned foods including Spam, Corn Beef and Tuna.

The average prices of food commodities at wholesalers are lower than at retailers. Locals also can purchase at one time what they need to provide for many persons' needs. Most Marshallese prefer to buy rice, frozen chicken legs and flour from wholesalers (see Table Wholesale and Retail of Food Commodities at Majuro). The owners of the two wholesales, 'Pacific Basin Company' and 'Payless', are the Marshallese and the American. The owners of the 'Home Garden', 'Formosa' and 'Cost Price' are Taiwanese. 'Payless' and 'Formosa' are the two wholesalers who also mainly manage supermarkets. The Map 2 shows 'Spatial distribution of the supermarkets at Majuro'.

The original location of the 'Payless' supermarket at Delap was 'Gipson' supermarket. Due to poor business, 'Gipson' has been replaced by the 'Payless' supermarket at the same location. 'Payless' supermarket is the branch of supermarket in Guam which originally belonged to the Americans. The food commodities at the 'Payless' supermarkets are largely imported from America. There are differences between the target consumers of 'Payless' and 'Payless' supermarket. The consumers of 'Formosa' are mainly Marshallese and Asians including Taiwanese, Chinese, Japanese and Koreans. The Taiwanese who manage restaurants at Majuro, Taiwanese fishermen or Chinese seiners on the ocean fishing boat dock at Uliga, regularly get food commodities from Asia through the 'Formosa' supermarket. The owner of

'Formosa' supermarket is good at importing food commodities from Asia to sell to Asians at Majuro. For the owner of this supermarket, the daily food need for the Marshallese is canned foods.

The food commodities at Majuro are imported from the dock at Uliga. The international cargo shipping line called 'Matson' is the dominant shipping company with stopovers at China, Guam, Hawaii, America and so on. Obviously, the internet policy has greatly changed the structure of the wholesale and retail industries this year. Internet fees were originally charged the minute but are currently charged by the month. This phenomenon allows the Chinese to order food commodities from the internet of their own. Chinese do not need to rely on the Taiwanese wholesalers. Some Chinese who are the owners of small stores cooperate and invest in wholesalers such as 'AA' and 'Farewell'. Chinese have set up a chain of food commodities from the wholesaler to the small stores belonged to Chinese. Chinese increase competitiveness with lower prices and their strategy of working long and hard to manage the small stores. Recently, Chinese small stores are growing fast and spreading out. This directly threatens Marshallese small stores.

Thirdly, more small retailers, called 'mom and pop store' locally, are owned by Chinese immigrants than Marshallese and Marshallese owners of small stores have to compete with the Chinese. Nowadays the consumption of food commodities in the Marshall Islands has been influenced by the Asia and American food markets.

Retailers at Majuro are supermarkets or small stores. The Marshallese call small stores 'Mom and Pop Store'. The two main supermarkets at Majuro are 'Payless' which is managed by the Marshallese and American, and 'Formosa' which is managed by the Taiwanese. Besides supermarkets, most Marshallese consume at small stores. The owners of the small stores are mainly Chinese and Marshallese. Spatially, it is very clear that small stores managed by the Marshallese are located at Rita and Laura where Marshallese live. These Marshallese who have the economic ability and power of land use to have small stores are the family's of the chief or land managers 'alap'. Even they hire their workers who live on their land. The relationship

between the owner and worker of small stores also follow the traditional hierarchy. The consumption habits of the Marshallese are influenced by their living space. Most Marshallese walk to buy food commodities except for necessities like rice, frozen chicken legs, and flour, from small stores. These Marshallese small stores not only provide the daily needs but also maintain social connections among the Marshallese. This situation clearly happens at Rita and Laura. Compared with Chinese small stores, Marshallese small stores provide tables and chairs. Marshallese can sit down, have a chat, take a rest and so on. At Chinese small stores, the interaction between the owner of small store and consumer is only paying money and handing over goods. Sometimes conflict happens because of the language barrier.

Finally, I find that Marshallese purchase rice or frozen leg for life rituals such as Keemen (child one-year birthday party), house warming party, funeral and so on. Most of foods produced from the land are exchanged among atolls or outer islands. The circulation and concentration of local foods are followed by the kinship system. Preparing for local foods in life rituals is important and necessary for the Marshallese. These local foods include breadfruit, pandanus, coconut, banana, taro from land and fish, crab and giant clam from lagoon or ocean. The production of breadfruit can not afford to satisfy the Marshallese's needs at Majuro. Fewer kinds and quantities of fishes live on off shore because of lack of multi-plants.

(三) 簡報檔案

The Consumption of Food Commodities in the Marshall Islands

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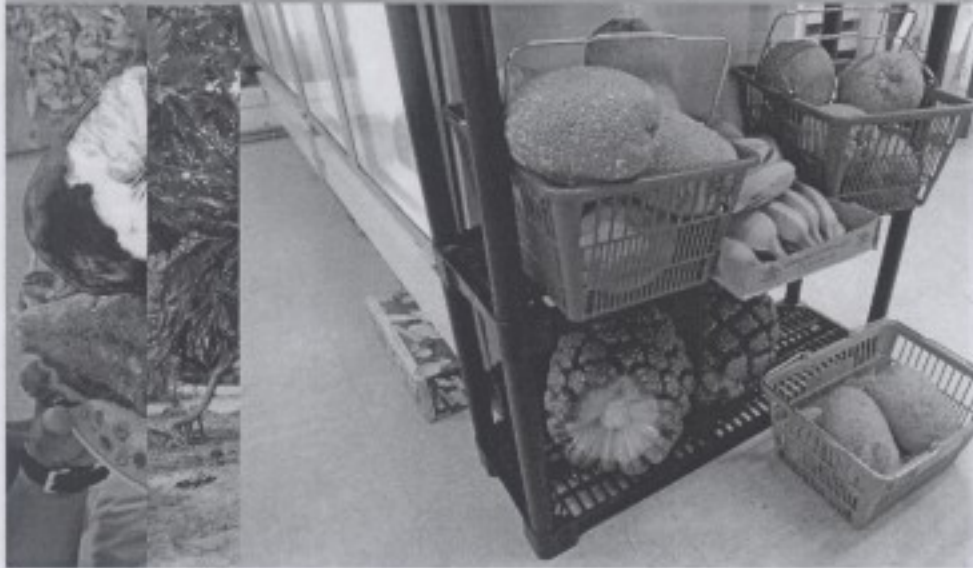


Outline

- Limited Local Foods/ Imported Food Commodities
- Wholesale and Retail of Food Commodities
- Historic Background of Population Change
- Marshallese Consumption Pattern of Food Commodities
- Mom and Pop Store / Social Life/ Traditional Hierarchy
- Life Rituals / Circulation and Concentration of Local Foods



Limited Local Foods/ Imported Food
Commodities



Limited Local Foods/ Imported Food
Commodities



Limited Local Foods/ Imported Food Commodities

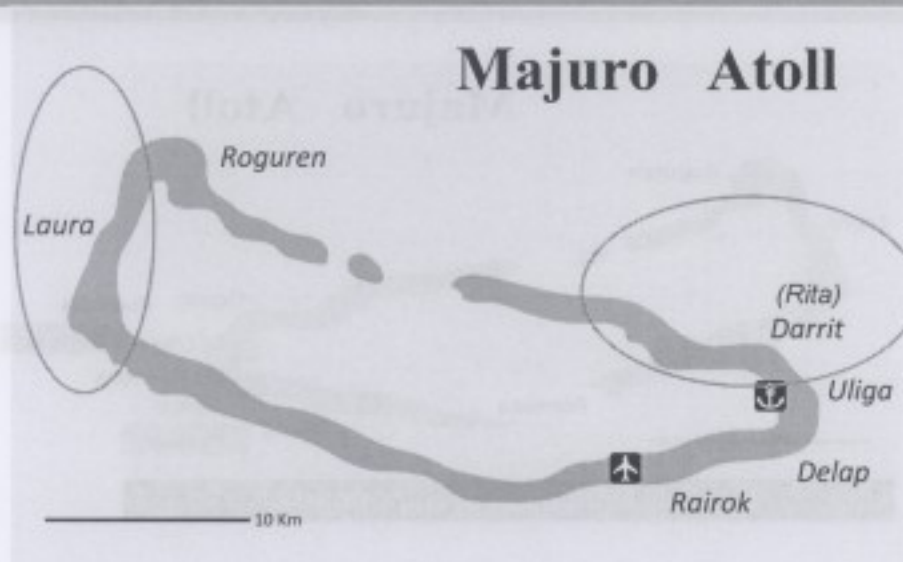


Wholesale and Retail of Food Commodities

Name	Owner	Pattern
Pacific Basin Company	Marshallese and American	Wholesale
Payless	Marshallese and American	Wholesale/ Retail (Supermarket)
Formosa	Taiwanese	Wholesale/Retail (Supermarket)
Home Garden	Taiwanese	Wholesale/Retail (Small Store)
Cost Price	Taiwanese	Wholesale/Retail (Supermarket)
AA	Chinese	Wholesale/Retail (Small Store)
Farewell	Chinese	Wholesale/Retail (Small Store)



Historic Background of Population Change

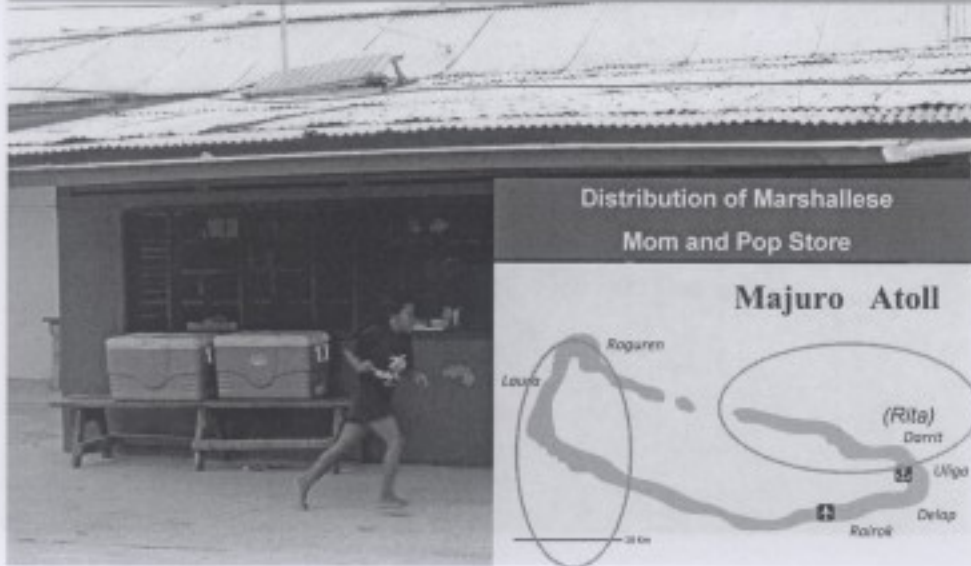


Marshallese Consumption Pattern of Food Commodities

Wholesale and Retail of Food Commodities

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AA	Chinese	Wholesale/Retail (Small Store)
Farewell	Chinese	Wholesale/Retail (Small Store)

Mom and Pop Store / Social Life/ Traditional Hierarchy



Life Rituals / Circulation and Concentration of Local foods





附錄五 蒐集之部分資料

在當地學習馬紹爾語言所使用的 Practical Marshallese 語言文本

Practical Marshallese.pdf - Adobe Reader

Lesson 2: Hello, How are you, Thank you (Beginning Phrases)

This lesson introduces some common phrases in Marshallese. They are not only useful for conversation, but also for practicing reading and pronouncing Marshallese. Practice pronouncing these phrases with a Marshallese person if you can.

Between each phrase and its English meaning, you will see words in smaller print. This is an intermediate translation step between the Marshallese and the English. It tells you what each word in the Marshallese phrase means. A '·' shows the break between two words. For instance, in 'lōlōwe aolōp' ('hello everyone'), 'lōlōwe' means 'love' and 'aolōp' means 'all,' so the small print says 'love all' to tell you what each word means. A '-' indicates the break between two parts of a word. For instance, in 'ōlōkkōun aōppan' ('I'm doing great'), the 'ōlōkkōun' is made up of 'ō' ('it') plus 'lōkkōun' ('really'), so the small print says 'it-really' to tell you what each part of 'ōlōkkōun' means.

- Hello and goodbye

lōlōwe	=	love	=	Hello or Goodbye
lōlōwe lōlōwe	=	love-love	=	Hello
lōlōwe aok	=	love-you(singular)	=	Hello or Goodbye (to one person only)
lōlōwe kom	=	love-you(plural)	=	Hello or Goodbye (to more than one person)
lōlōwe aolōp	=	love-all	=	Hello everyone or Goodbye everyone
Bar lo aok	=	again-see-you(singular)	=	See you later (to one person only)
Bar lo kom	=	again-see-you(plural)	=	See you later (to more than one person)

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Chapter_13_AGRFD.pdf - Adobe Reader

Chapter 13 - Agriculture, Fisheries and Rural Development

Table 13.1 Copra Production (5-Tons) by Atoll/Islands in RMI: 2001-2006

Atoll/Island	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Ailinglaplap	664	496	523	653	698	657
Aiok	66	52	54	45	64	70
Arad	675	648	887	712	676	825
Aw	267	123	270	344	344	256
Ebon	458	528	410	373	396	474
Enewetak	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jabat	71	44	22	39	58	61
Jabat	274	668	179	266	277	195
Kā	0	0	0	3	2	0
Korop	9	9	12	24	27	26
Lae	84	28	34	42	68	50
Lā	81	34	41	36	47	35
Likiep	72	9	17	34	60	58
Majuro	79	36	23	80	96	86
Makwōp	323	163	303	138	257	228
Mōjt	153	32	143	117	92	123
Mā	600	272	473	632	566	511
Nanuk	375	118	344	320	405	369
Nanō	345	263	385	380	380	275
Rongelap	0	0	0	0	0	0

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馬紹爾群島首都馬久羅日常生活消費指數檔案

2009 REVISED_CPLC4503101.xlsx - Microsoft Excel

		CH	CI	CJ	CK	CL	CM	CN	CO	CP	CQ	CR	CS
1	CALCULATION PAGE												
2	Year Group and Item Name	2004 QTR4	2005 QTR1	2005 QTR2	2005 QTR3	2005 QTR4	2006 QTR1	2006 QTR2	2006 QTR3	2006 QTR4	2007 QTR1	2007 QTR2	2007 QTR3
3		P20A0	P20A1	P20A2	P20A3	P20A4	P20A5	P20A6	P20A7	P20A8	P20A9	P20A10	P20A11
4	FOOD GROUP												
5	1 Cereals (breakfast cereal, etc.)	6.94	1.03	0.52	0.41	0.57	0.50	6.30	8.98	0.50	0.02	0.04	0.4
6	2 Rice	13.87	0.82	10.00	10.91	8.84	6.43	11.41	1.05	8.81	10.42	0.91	8.0
7	3 Flour	16.31	0.87	2.41	13.75	8.98	3.17	14.94	1.00	2.21	12.21	0.98	2.1
8	4 Ramen and other instant noodles	0.72	1.05	1.38	0.83	0.87	1.19	0.86	1.02	1.21	0.62	0.27	1.1
9	5 Bread	1.48	1.20	0.88	1.49	1.03	0.81	1.80	1.07	0.98	1.82	1.01	0.9
10	6 Donuts, pastries, etc.	1.25	1.80	0.89	1.21	0.97	0.87	1.99	1.31	1.14	1.38	0.87	0.8
11	7 Steak/beef (all types)	4.20	1.80	0.85	4.45	1.04	0.89	4.34	0.98	0.86	4.11	0.96	0.8
12	8 Carved corned beef	3.42	1.80	3.32	0.30	0.97	3.21	3.40	1.03	3.30	3.31	0.87	3.2
13	9 Carved luncheon meat (Hormel Spams)	3.35	1.80	1.51	3.21	0.96	1.45	3.47	1.06	1.94	3.41	1.02	1.6
14	10 Whole chicken (frying chicken, etc.)	1.59	1.80	2.38	2.31	1.48	3.36	2.31	1.96	3.35	1.80	0.91	2.7
15	11 Turkey and turkey parts	1.32	1.83	1.58	1.40	1.06	1.69	1.82	1.16	1.96	1.89	1.04	2.0
16	12 Chicken legs	1.52	1.89	4.18	1.41	0.93	0.93	1.52	1.08	4.09	1.25	0.52	3.1
17	13 Chicken breasts and all other parts	0.44	1.20	0.12	2.07	4.73	0.59	2.10	1.01	0.59	2.90	1.38	0.6
18	14 Carved macaroni	1.80	1.20	0.89	1.71	1.07	1.05	1.98	0.98	1.04	1.83	1.09	1.1
19	15 Carved kani	1.31	0.86	3.79	1.91	0.93	2.59	1.22	1.91	2.60	1.29	0.98	2.5
20	16 Fresh deep-sea fish (tuna, mackerel, walrus, etc.)	2.84	1.19	0.50	2.00	1.01	0.50	3.15	1.53	0.77	3.08	0.98	0.7

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11: Majuro Final Oct06.pdf - Adobe Reader

編輯(F) 檢視(V) 文件(O) 工具(T) 視窗(W) 幫助(H)

44 / 77 100%

HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN 2005	Total	Majuro	Ebeve	Eniburr	Wotje	Jeluk	Arno	Ailuk
Households	1,205	544	357	90	43	57	80	84
Less than \$2500	177	53	35	8	12	14	17	28
\$2500 to \$4999	90	32	15	4	6	6	14	13
\$5000 to \$9999	231	109	46	15	16	17	18	10
\$10000 to \$14999	189	92	63	8	4	8	20	1
\$15000 to \$24999	237	132	70	12	5	11	5	2
\$25000 to \$34999	131	59	60	9	-	-	4	-
\$35000 to \$49999	83	49	38	4	-	1	1	-
\$50000 to \$74999	45	22	22	-	-	-	1	-
\$75000 or more	15	7	8	-	-	-	-	-
Median (dollars)	12,603	14,737	17,321	11,500	6,167	7,625	7,200	1,881
Mean (dollars)	17,482	19,080	22,483	14,854	6,767	8,803	9,521	3,463

6. Family Income in 2005

Family income characteristics (family income only takes into consideration households with related persons) show similar results, with Ebeve the highest followed by Majuro then Eniburr.

FAMILY INCOME IN 2005	Total	Majuro	Ebeve	Eniburr	Wotje	Jeluk	Arno	Ailuk
Families	1,171	628	355	58	38	53	80	61
Less than \$2500	167	50	35	7	9	14	17	28
\$2500 to \$4999	84	29	15	4	5	4	14	13
\$5000 to \$9999	234	105	45	14	15	17	18	10

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Combined Key Findings Doc.pdf - Adobe Reader

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9 / 24 100%

Key Findings: MAJURO ATOLL

Basic Demographics

- Majuro is home to nearly half of the entire Marshall Islands, continues to see rapid growth (with a seven-fold increase in its population from 1958 to 1999) and a 2006 population estimate of some 28,000
- The central to western areas of the main island of Majuro have seen rapid residential development in recent years
- Since the last census, in addition to domestic migrants from other atolls, Majuro has also seen a significant influx of at least several hundred Asian migrants
- Median age on Majuro has increased from 19 to around 21 from 1999 to 2006
- Majuro has a steadily aging population structure, but still has nearly 40 percent of its population below the age of 15
- Majuro is the highest receiving area of both domestic and international migrants, with some 6,200 persons in the 1999 census having resided elsewhere (in FSM and abroad) before coming to Majuro
- Majuro also serves as a large sending area for international migrants to the US
- Majuro's dependency ratio of .54 was the lowest among the surveyed areas

Household Characteristics

- Majuro's household size of 7.3 persons was lower than Ebeve's and Eniburr's but higher than the other surveyed areas
- Delap had the most crowded households, averaging 5.6 persons
- Majuro's home ownership rate was 87 percent, similar to the overall rate for all areas surveyed
- The majority of households made no payments on their residence buildings, while 17 percent made mortgage payments

附錄六 田野調查影像資料



進口米成為馬紹爾人的主食



馬紹爾人大量食用燒烤進口雞腿肉



馬紹爾當地重要的食物商品臺灣批發商



供應馬紹爾人日常生活所需的小型商店



進口罐頭食物商品廣受馬紹爾人喜愛



便當為外食者的主要選擇



珊瑚礁島產出之作物販售於小店



珊瑚礁島的園圃作物生產



進口罐頭及米為馬紹爾人
給基督教教會神職人員的奉獻



基督教教會主日崇拜後
教友手持日常生活用品奉獻並跳舞



喪禮儀式所需的各樣傳統馬紹爾食物



親屬團體分工互助準備

喪禮儀式所需食物



土地管理者 *alap* 家族的嬰孩滿歲儀式

keemen



大量食物集中與再分配的嬰孩滿歲儀式

keemen



嬰孩滿歲儀式 *keemen* 的會場佈置



首都馬久羅街道上的熟食販售



馬紹爾人烤熟麵包果的方法



馬紹爾人使用電鍋煮米