民族主義的 父系家/族譜的繁衍與衰落* 台灣個案的經驗

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本文探討民族主義的父系建構,主要分爲幾個部分:首先,由女性主義的理論視野,對民族主義相關論述提出批判,文中探討多數民族主義的建構過程如何地邊緣化乃至於排除女性,並檢視民族主義所蘊含的不平等的性別關係。其次,本文繼而檢視台灣的經驗,在不對等的性別權力關係下,如何地鋪演出父系中心的國族認同,這樣的父系圖譜包含兩種傳承與擴散路徑,一是在垂直的代間關係中,父親對子女國族認同的影響大於母親;二是在水平的家庭關係中,先生對太太國族認同的單向影響較爲深入。垂直代間的父親認同之所以能夠持續繁衍,往往是建立在水平夫妻關係中丈夫認同的優勢宰制。再者,父系中心的國族認同乃是建立在性別權力的不平等之上,當性別階層化權力關係出現鬆動,女性因社會經濟地位的提升獲得賦權之後,這樣的父系國族認同圖譜也開始出現不穩定。本文利用實證資料一台灣社會變遷基本調查計畫第四期第四次國家認同組,來檢視民族主義在台灣的發展經驗。簡言之,本文試圖論證的,乃是台灣的父系民族主義圖譜的繁衍、再生以及衰落。

關鍵字:女性主義、民族主義、國族認同、性別權力

The Reproduction and Decline of the Patrilineal Genealogy of Nationalism —A Taiwan Case Study

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the patriarchal genealogy of nationalism. It proceeds in three parts: firstly, theoretically, this paper criticizes the nationalism theory from a feminist perspective, exploring how the nationalism discourse marginalizes and excludes women from the nationbuilding process, and how the national imagination represents and reincarnates gender inequality in constructing a male-centered nationalism. Secondly, the author applies the empirical data to examine how nationalism turns into a patriarchal identity in Taiwan based upon asymmetric gender power. It develops through two processes: in terms of the vertical generational relationship, the father is more powerful than the mother in shaping the national identity of second generations. And, in terms of horizontal family relationships, the husband unilaterally affects the wife's national identity more than the other way around. Finally, individual identity is affected and altered by the gender power structure, and, as society's gender power becomes more dynamic, this malecentered genealogy of national identity becomes unstable. In short, this paper attempts to demonstrate how male-centered nationalism is shaped, reinforced, and reduced.

Key Words: feminism, nationalism, national identity, gender power