

Identity, Gender and Settlement: Ritual Studies of Changing Kavalan

認同、性別與聚落：噶瑪蘭人變遷中的儀式研究. Pi-chen Liu 劉璧榛. Taipei 臺北; Nantou 南投: Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan 行政院原住民族委員會; Taiwan Historica 國史館臺灣文獻館, 2008. 379pp.

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Since the 1990s, simultaneous trends in Taiwan toward globalization and localization have contributed to people's construction of ethnic identity and local solidarity. Such rewriting of Taiwanese consciousness has relied heavily on a "rediscovery" of cultural traditions, especially ritual performances, corresponding to P'ingpu identity, i.e., the identity of being plains aborigines. P'ingpu identity is then debated as an indigenous or a mestizo identity and used to claim that Taiwan is not Chinese. Pi-chen Liu's *Identity, Gender and Settlement: Ritual Studies of Changing Kavalan* studies the relationships among ethnic identity, gender and ritual performance(s) of the Kavalan people (one of the P'ingpu peoples) who live along the eastern coast of Taiwan.

In the book, Liu explores the relationship between Kavalan identity and various ritual performances. She also pays attention to the gendered exchanges in the ritual processes. "*Paspaw*", literally "to do ritual", is very important in Kavalan society. Liu points out that *paspaw* is the key to understanding the relationships among ecology, production/reproduction and social relationships in Kavalan society. Ritual performance is seen as a mechanism for the empowerment of Kavalan culture that rewrites and enhances people's Kavalan identity and solidarity.

Yet, ritual performance in Kavalan society contrasts female and male and has different meanings for men and women. Women establish an inherited relationship with the supernatural. "*Subli*", a ritual of divination, is always performed by a woman called a "*mtiu*." The "*mtiu*" does the rituals related to goddess worship, rice cultivation and settlement solidarity.

The "*mtiu*" have their own "*kisaiz*" (rites of passage) and "*pakelabi*" (annual celebration). The "*mtiu*" also performs the "*patoRqan*", a ritual calling for the dead to return. More importantly, the "*mtiu*" performs the "*palilin*", the ritual of worshipping the ances-

tors. There are many “*prisin*” (taboo) during the “*palilin*” process. Kavalan people believe that the dead continue to eat after yiru die. Family members must feed their own ancestors. Otherwise, the ancestors will feel hungry and pass misfortunes onto their descendants.

Among all the “*prisin*” during the “*palilin*” process, the most important one is to kill the “*tuku*” (cock) without bleeding. It is very symbolic and political. The “*tuku*” symbolizes manhood. Killing the “*tuku*” without blood symbolizes the female’s power over the male. The female is the center of the family. She controls “bleeding” or “not bleeding” of the “*tuku*.” The female reclaims power over her “*napawan*” (husband) and consolidates the gender relationship within the family.

Do men perform ritual? Yes. They do. Liu thinks that rituals for men, unlike those for women, symbolize fair, equal status within the public sphere. It is the field where men compete, demonstrate and actualize themselves.

Men perform “*qataban*” and “*spaw do razing*.” “*Qataban*” means headhunting. It is historical now, though some elders still remember it. The story from a hundred years ago revealed that the “*qataban*” used to be a ritual for distinguishing enemy, self and friend. And it was a ritual of manhood. Nevertheless, “*qataban*” is being revitalized nowadays in a postmodern form. Kavalan people transform “*qataban*” by erasing religion, taboo, ritual, and manhood from its meaning. Presently, “*qataban*” has become a symbol of unity and solidarity. There are many forms of “*qataban*” now, such as: the Christian church’s “*qataban*,” tribal “*qataban*,” celebratory “*qataban*”...etc..

As for “*spaw do razing*,” it is a ritual for worshipping the sea. It symbolizes the exchange between the mountains and the sea. In the old days, during “*spaw do razing*” people kill “pigs” to exchange for “fishes.” The pig is the link between man and the sea. Now, people just worship the sea. People with different religious beliefs perform their worship differently. What is important here is that people revitalize their ethnic identity through invented tradition.

Why does ethnic identity feature in ritual performances? As mentioned at the beginning, since the 1990s people have used P’ingpu identity to rewrite Taiwanese consciousness. Ritual performances turn out to be the key to acting out the so-called P’ingpu identity. And Liu’s *Identity, Gender and Settlement: Ritual Studies of Changing Kavalan* is the best example.

In sum, Liu’s *Identity, Gender and Settlement: Ritual Studies of Changing Kavalan* describes not only the ritual performances in detail but also presents Kavalan society as a gender-inflected society with multi-faceted identities. Moreover, the Kavalan were the first P’ingpu people to gain official recognition and become one of the fourteen indigenous peoples in Taiwan today. Many factors contributed to their success in reclaim-

ing their ethnic name, but the performative nature and dramatic action of the rituals are among the main reasons. The ritual performances are actually dramatic forms of collective action.

The Kavalan, who are considered to be the least sinicized “P’ingpu” people, began searching for their Austronesian roots in the late 1980s. They started with a search for their “relatives” who migrated along the northeastern and eastern coast, and then tried to revive their “indigenous” language and cultural activities. They appropriated their “language” from the memory of the elderly people who could still speak the Kavalan language, and then organized a language curriculum to be taught in elementary schools. They held a “Searching for Our Past” event in 1991 in order to gather the Kavalan together and to link their identity with the past. They extended the range of the Fengnian Festival in 1993 in order to get more people involved. They also dug into the memory of the elders and reconstructed many traditional rituals that are the aggregations of the traditions of the Kavalan and contiguous indigenous peoples. In 1994, in P’ingtung county in southern Taiwan, they urged President Lee to recognize their existence as an indigenous people. This meeting was the first organized by the indigenous peoples themselves. The Kavalan have continued their struggle for ethnic identity, in the sense of collective action. Pi-chen Liu’s *Identity, Gender and Settlement: Ritual Studies of Changing Kavalan* tells the story.

Finally, I would like to recommend this book for those who are interested in ritual studies, the revitalization movement of P’ingpu identity, the topic of gender, the formation of Taiwanese consciousness, etc.. *Identity, Gender and Settlement: Ritual Studies of Changing Kavalan* provides excellent, detailed data and inspiring arguments. It is ethnographic as well as anthropological.

Performing Kinship: Narratives, Gender, and the Intimacies of Power in the Andes. Krista E. Van Vleet. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. 273pp.

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這本民族誌以南美玻利維亞安地斯高地的 Sullk'ata 人為對象，探討在新自由主義體制日益削減社會安全支出，地下經濟（種植古柯鹼）蔓延，以及因工作與教育而移居城市等社會條件下，當地人如何藉不同世代的敘說（narrative）與實踐來建構親屬、性別與權力階序。本書延續美國女性主義的人類學家對親屬、性別與權力的關注，分析交換與在地宇宙觀間異體同形（homology）的關係，探討親屬關係中的親密性、情感表意與權力階序的來源，及其如何與人在親屬關係中的位置性（positionality）彼此糾結、相互作用與協商，由此構成「親屬的對話式生產」（dialogical production of relatedness）。

作者將本書分為兩個部分：前三章論及 Sullk'ata 親屬涉及之宇宙觀與交換脈絡以為其理論建構之基礎，後五章討論當地人如何建構社會與階序關係的敘事與實踐。作者指出，Sullk'ata 的親屬係建立在 *ayni* 觀念做為支配邏輯的所有社會交換之上。*ayni* 原則最顯著的特性為：給予者對收受者的回報確實懷有希望或預期，但不認為收受者有回報的義務，從而不同於（一般意義下的）互惠交換。首先，親子關係是 Sullk'ata 親屬關係的核心，亦為表達聚落內更廣泛的社會關係之文化慣語。親屬關係的親近性是建立在食物、勞力與空間的分享上。在家內，血被視為親屬的象徵實質，親子間因為食物餵養而產生親密性；相較而言，兄弟間的親密關係則因雙方沒有任何食物餵養的關係，缺乏清楚的階序與權威，而財產繼承問題造成雙方彼此嫉妒與緊張關係，被妒者甚至招來對方的巫術陷害。甚至，妯娌與夫妻間，因彼此並未共享任何親屬實質，自身（或其小孩）利益就成了雙方互動的出發點。此外，女兒出嫁與親人亡逝意味著家內親屬間以 *ayni* 主導的交換將無法再實現，而關係的斷裂與無法延續帶來悲傷的情緒。在此，作者以交換來解釋親屬間的情感表意的立場，突顯了 Sullk'ata 親屬關係內在的脆弱。

猶有進之，作者指出傳統的家庭價值與性別建構，會因為年輕一代的子女外出工作、接受教育、上教會與移居城市等經驗，採取符合其想像的「進步」與「現代化」的婚姻實踐，摒棄傳統婚姻實踐蘊含的「落後」意涵，突顯其對婚姻安排的能動（agency）。另一方面，作者強調老一輩的女人以充滿神話隱喻的敘說與特有風格展現其能動，挑戰一般認為安地斯山區傳統印地安女人只是婚姻中受害者的印象。特別是，1980年以後，當地天主教會要求 Sullk'ata 人必須參加婚前教育課程，傳遞夫妻關係乃是以愛、憐憫與照顧等情緒為基礎，夫妻各有尊嚴且彼此平等，強烈反對酗酒與家暴等觀念。教會提倡的家庭觀念與親屬倫理介入並重構了當地人的婚姻與親屬，反而帶來新的家內緊張關係。

本書最重要的貢獻與發現，係將家暴加以問題意識化，指出暴力成為構成安地斯山區印地安人親屬關係的重要面向。相對於玻利維亞政府將家暴界定為男人對女人的暴行並加以規範，作者指出 Sullk'ata 人視丈夫的暴力為性愛隱喻與愛的表達，並強調姻親關係才是家庭暴力的結構性因素與根源。一方面，同為女性姻親（婆媳與妯娌）間的互動係由一連串不對等交換所構成，如婆媳間家庭勞務的不對等交換，與妯娌間因土地繼承而生的緊張。另一方面，不同於親子間以食物流動與餵養建立了清楚的權力階序，姻親間進行的不對等交換使得雙方經常處於競爭的狀態。在當代，年輕的媳婦接受國家主張的性別平等的論述，或者訴諸警察與法官，來反抗傳統對婚後住居的安排以避免女性姻親的施暴。

筆者以為本書的貢獻有三：首先，作者以 *ayni* 此一支配性的交換原則來探討親屬關係同時具有親密與衝突的二元性，並透過宇宙觀做為親屬建構的異體同形來勾勒其社會整體圖像，成功地整合了人類學對安地斯山印地安社會的研究成果。其次，作者將地方社會的親屬建構與外在更廣大的政治經濟條件的變動、國家意識形態與教會介入等層面加以勾連，以探討親屬關係的重構與轉變，係當代親屬研究的趨勢之一。再者，作者指出情緒與權力階序做為 Sullk'ata 親屬建構的重要面向，為親屬與性別研究開啟新的可能性。

作者一方面強調生物連帶與性的繁衍是不等同於在地親屬的建構，另一方面指出對關係的「自然化」係在地親屬建構中重要的面向。然而，作者對民族誌材料的分析，有時忽略了材料具有的另類解釋空間，特別是對（作者所區辨的）「日常親屬」（everyday kinship）與「真正親屬」（true kinship）間相互關係

的定性。以姻親與權力階序為例，作者認為姻親間不進行以生育關係為基礎的「真正親屬」間食物流動的交換，故不易建立真正的親密，使權力不對稱為成姻親關係的基調。這隱含了生育關係被象徵化為在地親屬關係的核心，與道德性及親密性彼此結合，而被建構為「自然」。換言之，當作者挑戰親屬關係的「自然性」(naturalness)之預設時，完全忽略在地文化對「自然」的建構這個面向。此一立場充分反映作者仍保有西方啟蒙運動以來假定自然與文化彼此對立的科學觀，阻礙其進一步探究以下問題：「自然」或「生物關聯」在Sullk'ata人的親屬建構中，究竟扮演什麼角色？「自然」是如何被「文化」所建構的？

其次，作者藉敘說分析以探討Sullk'ata女人之「位置中的主體性」(positioned subjectivities)，並賦予敘說一獨特理論的位置：一方面敘說做為個人主體性建構的表現形式，另一方面做為當地人接受國家論述象徵的「現代性」之各種觀念，用以重新建構地方社會的親屬關係與性別角色的中介形式。就前一層次而言，作者自認其敘說分析側重於將敘說內容脈絡化以掌握其意義，超越了一般語言人類學的分析視角。特別是，作者分析女人在敘說中使用的特定話語風格與神話隱喻，指出女人在看似沒有明確抵抗行動中的能動，或精確地說，被動的能動(passive agency)。在此意義下，作者呈現的是「經敘說而建立的主體性」(subjectivities through narratives)。就後一層次而言，作者對國家論述如何與個人經驗與觀念勾連並成為個人的想法的解釋，通常訴諸居民移居城市工作的經驗，使讀者不清楚國家如何以具體作為來推展與深化「進步」的論述，而國家(或跨國)論述淪為一般性的陳述。特別是作者強調女人主體性的建構方式之一係徵引國家論述中的意識形態而為之，然而，在作者無法提供個人如何經驗國家具體作為之民族誌的情況下，讀者無法判斷，所謂主體性的建構，究竟是Foucault意義下的「論述」具有建構主體性之權力所彰顯的結果？或是個人對國家意識形態的誤現(misrepresentation)，從而繁衍了統治者的意識形態？

再次之，就情緒的表意而言，作者提出以敘說為情緒之表現形式的論點，卻未能回答以下問題：敘說是否為當地人表達情感與親密關係的關鍵美學形式？敘說如何掌握與再現當地人那些無法言說與無以名狀的情緒？另外，作者宣稱情緒是親屬建構的關鍵構成，然其對情緒作用機制的勾繪卻不清楚。作者強調Sullk'ata人的情緒是關係性的(relational)，親密關係會出現在互動雙方完

成立基於 ayni 原則的交換時，反之則帶來衝突與暴力。在此意義下，情緒乃是結構性關係之表現與社會交換的結果，不同於西方文化普遍假定情緒乃是個人內在狀態的論點。然而，作者視情緒為結構關係之表現的立場，不但無法突顯行動者與他者的情緒互動如何動態地構成親屬關係，反而削弱了以情緒切入探討親屬性質的取徑可能為人類學帶來知識上突破的潛力。

本書以宇宙觀的交換原則做為再現在地親屬與性別建構中的情緒與權力階序的基底原則，同時藉敘說與實踐共同呈現 Sullk'ata 親屬在國家治理與教會介入等社會變動中如何重構與轉變過程，提供一幅結合個人、聚落與國家等層次之動態社會生活圖像。筆者願意推薦此書給有興趣於親屬建構與國家治理、性別與權力關係、以及敘說分析等議題之研究者。