



Journal of Current Chinese Affairs

China aktuell

Chuang, Yin C. (2011),
Divorcing China: The Swing from the Patrilineal Genealogy of China to the
Matrilineal Genealogy of Taiwan in Taiwan's National Imagination, in: *Journal of
Current Chinese Affairs*, 40, 1, 159-185.

ISSN: 1868-4874 (online), ISSN: 1868-1026 (print)

The online version of this and the other articles can be found at:

www.CurrentChineseAffairs.org

Published by

GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Institute of Asian Studies
in cooperation with the National Institute of Chinese Studies, White Rose East Asia
Centre at the Universities of Leeds and Sheffield and Hamburg University Press.

The *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* is an Open Access publication.
It may be read, copied and distributed free of charge according to the conditions of the
Creative Commons Attribution-No Derivative Works 3.0 License.

To subscribe to the print edition: <ias@giga-hamburg.de>

For an e-mail alert please register at: <www.CurrentChineseAffairs.org>

The *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* is part of the GIGA Journal Family which includes:
Africa Spectrum • Journal of Current Chinese Affairs • Journal of Current Southeast
Asian Affairs • Journal of Politics in Latin America • <www.giga-journal-family.org>



This Taiwan special edition has been published and edited in cooperation with the European
Research Center on Contemporary Taiwan (ERCCT) at Eberhard Karls University of Tuebingen.

Divorcing China: The Swing from the Patrilineal Genealogy of China to the Matrilineal Genealogy of Taiwan in Taiwan's National Imagination

Yin C. CHUANG

Abstract: This paper explores the popular concept of the relationship between Taiwan and China as a feminine/ masculine dichotomy which has been constructed within Taiwan's national imagination. First, I will focus on how this dichotomy has been created within the process of identity-shifting in Taiwan since the 1990s as manifested in Taiwanese pop songs. Second, I will demonstrate how it has been appropriated within the process of nation-building. Two primary questions will be addressed: How is the national imagination of Taiwan in Taiwanese pop songs constructed through maternal and feminine images? How is the matrilineal genealogy in Taiwanese pop songs appropriated by the opposition camp, namely the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), to mobilize voters? I will investigate, from a cultural studies perspective, how cultural imagination has come to serve as the vehicle to formulate resistance, mobilize voters, gain power and, most importantly, reconstruct Taiwanese nationalism within Taiwan's political limbo for decades. Furthermore, Margaret Somers' discussion (1993, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c; Somers and Gibson 1994) of narrative identity is adopted as the framework for this paper in order to look at how identities are constructed within and across multiple realms. My research methods consist of conducting in-depth interviews and analysing texts.

■ Manuscript received 16 June 2010; accepted 7 April 2011

Keywords: Taiwan, national identity, narratives, popular songs, elections

Yin C. Chuang is an assistant professor at the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Culture, Languages and Literature at Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan, and has a Ph.D. in Sociology from Lancaster University, UK. Her research interests are nationalism and national identities, democratization, everyday practices and popular culture.

E-mail: <laalaapiano@ntnu.edu.tw>

Introduction

Starting in the late 1970s, Taiwan transformed itself from an agricultural to an industrial society, then from a manufacturing-oriented industrial society to a market-oriented consumer society. As consumer society had rapidly formed, Taiwanese democratization, which originated from a dictatorship-organized semi-democracy, went out of the state's control. Within a relatively short period (30 years), Taiwanese society underwent its biggest social transition – the rapid formation of consumer society accompanied by an equally speedy democratization. Taiwan thus experienced a sequence of noticeable steps toward democracy, which, as many critics have argued (Rubinstein 1994; Wachman 1994a, 1994b), cannot be accounted for by conventional political theories about democratization.

Taiwanese identities, emerging from everyday practices of democracy and consumption (Chuang 2006), have significantly undermined Chinese nationalism in Taiwanese society (Damm 2007). People have since challenged the label of “Chineseness” imposed upon them (Rubinstein 1994; Wachman 1994a, 1994b; Tien 1995; Hsiao 2000). This is particularly challenging because firstly, the majority of Taiwanese people are not only ethnically of Chinese descent but also from the same Han Chinese culture, and secondly, Taiwanese society had been under the tight control of the Kuomintang's (KMT, Guomindang) ideological and repressive state apparatuses and its discipline of Chinese nationalism. Despite the predominance of Chinese nationalism, the split between Chinese nationalism and the Taiwanese people nevertheless occurred. As the challenging nationalism arising from opposition movements (later incorporated by the DPP), current theories of Taiwanese nationalism stress the 400-year Taiwanese history, and the shared cultural characteristics and common interests among Taiwanese people (Shi 1980; Wu 1992, 1993, 1996; Hsu 1995; Wu 1997; Shih 1998; Corcuff 2002).

As Robinson, Buck, and Cuthbert (1991) have aptly argued, music is “political in nature”, and “either supports or disrupts the dominant ideology and status quo expectations” (Robinson, Buck, and Cuthbert 1991: 26-27). Theorists have long considered music political practice (see Gramsci 1971; Marcuse 1978; Attali 1985) with particular emphasis on popular music's power of resistance and evasion (Fiske 1989). Hence, different from previous literatures on Taiwanese identities, this paper focuses on how Taiwanese identities are constructed within Taiwanese pop songs. To that end, I concentrate particularly on the dialogue be-

tween Taiwan and its most significant “Other”, China. This seemingly oversimplified dichotomy between Taiwan and China does not necessarily indicate my ignorance of the multiple dialogues between Taiwan and its other significant reference points, such as Japan and the US, or the complex nature of the underlying social, economic, political, historical and cultural conditions. On the contrary, my focus on this dichotomy paradoxically highlights the irony of the prevailing mindset of Taiwanese people. It is only through such dichotomy that Taiwanese people are capable of dealing with the political (un)reality in an impossible limbo.

Coming from a cultural studies perspective, I adopt in-depth interviews and text analysis as my research methods, along with Margaret Somers’ discussion (1993, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c; Somers and Gibson 1994) of narrative identity as the framework. Margaret Somers argues that identities are constructed through a narrative structure that combines individuals’ ontological narratives, public narratives of larger cultural or institutional formation, and presuppositional epistemology as meta-narrativity. In this context, “narratives are constellations of *relationships* (connected parts) embedded in *time and space*, constituted by *causal emplotment*” (Somers 1994: 616; emphasis in original). “Narrative location endows social actors with identities [...], [they] adjust stories to fit their own identities, and conversely, they will tailor ‘reality’ to fit their stories” (Somers 1994: 618).

Following Somers’ discussion of how narrative identities are written within and across multiple realms, I argue that the identity-shifting process of Taiwanese people and the construction of Taiwanese identities should be considered constructed and rewritten between state narratives (e.g. textbooks), public narratives (e.g. popular songs, films and literature) and individual narratives (e.g. individual practices). Therefore, the split between Taiwanese people and Chinese nationalism is possible because the KMT’s combined state and public narratives could no longer penetrate Taiwanese people’s everyday lives. The failure of Chinese nationalism to resonate with Taiwanese people prompts the Taiwanese to object to as well as split away from it. This split consequently causes Taiwanese identities to shift from being the undercurrent to becoming the prevailing mainstream, spreading into public narratives and influencing national narratives (Chuang 2007).

The following discussion will concentrate on public narratives, especially popular songs, since public narratives play an important role as the mediator between state narratives and narratives in the process of

identity construction. I will explore how the national imagination of Taiwan is constructed through utilizing maternal and feminine images in Taiwanese pop songs. I will also investigate how the feminine/ masculine dichotomy between Taiwan and China is reinforced in Taiwanese pop songs and then appropriated by the opposition camp (the DPP) to mobilize voters. I would like to compare, in particular, the KMT's state-controlled Chinese nationalism and the bottom-up Taiwanese nationalism that has been employed by the opposition camp in Taiwanese society since the 1980s. In the next section, I will analyse some songs and texts that demonstrate how the KMT tried to impose Chinese nationalism. In the third section, I will discuss how the national imagination of Taiwan in Taiwanese pop songs is constructed by mobilizing the maternal image. By reviewing these popular songs, I examine how the maternal and feminine images are utilized to represent Taiwan in Taiwanese pop songs. This paper concludes that the difference between the matrilineal genealogy of Taiwan and the patrilineal genealogy of China is then appropriated by the opposition camp (the DPP) in order to mobilize voters, gain power and draw a line between Taiwan and China.

My purpose in this article is to identify what ideologies were privileged under the KMT's state power, and what values have been formulated to challenge, disrupt, and transform this dominance in recent years. Namely, the focus is on the transforming process in which the opposition camp used strategies to "empower their own perspective or to develop legitimacy for the knowledge and discourse that are available to them" (Foss 1996: 205). Thus, the selected songs and texts are considered not only narratives, but also rhetorical artefacts. They have been selected for two reasons: First, politically, they can best answer the research question (Foss 1996: 14-16; Foss, Griffin, and Foss 1997: 130-133). It is important to address how public narratives are employed by the KMT as a means of operating and maintaining oppression, and how the action can be overthrown. Second, these songs are often mentioned in the interviews I conducted with 31 informants during my fieldwork (2004-2007) about what Chineseness/ Chinese nationalism and Taiwanese-ness/ Taiwanese nationalism are. My informants are males and females, come from various backgrounds, and their ages range from 17 to 75. Informants' shared perspective of Chinese nationalism and Taiwanese nationalism, and their imagination of the Taiwan-China dichotomy, show the prevailing mindset of Taiwanese people when dealing with the political (un)reality in an impossible limbo. Therefore, the analysis of this

paper is committed to describing how the oppression can be challenged and resisted in order to suggest that the relationship of dominance can be eradicated.

The Patrilineal Genealogy of China in the KMT's Political Indoctrination of Chinese Nationalism

In 1949, at the end of the Chinese civil war, the KMT was exiled to Taiwan where it built a “settler state” (Weitzer 1990). Rootless, angry, frustrated and alienated, the KMT's diaspora transformed the KMT from victim into dictator in Taiwan – ironically, in the name of democracy and the legitimate China. Through its control of state power, the KMT regime dominated the process of defining the nation. Taiwan, an ever-insignificant province for the ROC, recently handed over from Japan to the ROC in 1945, was self-proclaimed by the KMT as the “legitimate China” and the “democratic bastion” as opposed to the “illegitimate” communist China whose usurped territory should be returned to its rightful owner. Radical changes were made throughout Taiwan in the name of orthodoxy and purity for the “legitimate China”. Decrees and regulations were transplanted from China to Taiwan. The main streets of Taipei were re-named after cities in China. Japanese, the official language of the previous colonial regime, was replaced with Mandarin in order to Sinicize Taiwanese society. In order to contend with the CCP's simplified Chinese writing system, the KMT legislated to make traditional Chinese the official writing system. Although its sovereignty over the ROC was only over Taiwan, the KMT still claimed to be the sole legitimate government of all China. Li (2001) describes how these abrupt changes caused perplexity:

After the Republic of China established in 1912 came to an end in 1949, its erstwhile governors, Chiang Kai-shek's [Jiang Jieshi] ruling group, brought the name of that erstwhile country with them into exile in Taiwan which had not taken part in the establishment of the ROC in order to keep alive their claim to power. Taiwan's national status following the end of 1949 thus became an anomalous one, which had hardly ever been seen in the world. Its national flag, national anthem and constitution were all transplants from a country which had expired (Li 2001: no page number).

The KMT's endeavours to revive Chinese society in Taiwan involved a “settler state” based on a mainland Chinese diaspora that was seemingly

at home but away from home, living in one place but identifying more with somewhere else. James Clifford describes diaspora as follows: “The empowering paradox of diaspora is that dwelling *here* assumes a solidarity and connection *there*” (Clifford 1997: 269; emphasis in original). This description explains why the KMT, on arrival in Taiwan, prioritized re-creating China over interacting with local Taiwanese society. Robin Cohen describes this diaspora as “a collective trauma, a banishment, where one dreamed of home but lived in exile” (Cohen 1997: 28). As the KMT’s role was not only as a migrant but also as a ruler in Taiwan, its Chinese diaspora was empowered by the state apparatus to establish the hegemony of Chinese nationalism over Taiwanese society.

Chineseness and Chinese nationalism thus became the umbilical cord between China and the KMT diaspora in Taiwan. They also served to differentiate the KMT’s China (the ROC) in Taiwan from the CCP’s China (the PRC) in China. So the KMT started to implant these conceptions into Taiwanese society via both ideological and repressive state apparatuses. However, given that the CCP regime of the PRC also proclaimed itself to be the “legitimate China”, how did the KMT justify its claim to this title? What kinds of Chineseness and Chinese nationalism did the KMT try to implant in the name of the ROC?

David Wu (1994) argues that two sentiments identify those people who see themselves as “Chinese”. “On the one hand, [...] they feel a connectedness with the fate of China as a nation” (Wu 1994: 149). On the other hand, “the Chinese also see themselves as being members of [...] ‘the Chinese race’ or ‘the Chinese people’” (Wu 1994: 149). Ang (2001: 48) reviews Wu’s illustration and identifies differences between the “feeling of connectedness with the fate of China as a nation, a patriotism” and the sentiment of “being members of [...] the ‘Chinese people’”. The comments of Wu and Ang suggest what the KMT wanted to implant into Taiwanese society: Chinese nationalism and Chineseness. Under the control of the KMT’s state power, Taiwanese people must learn to carry the patriotism and nationalism of China and try to feel connected to the fate of China as a nation. Moreover, after identifying themselves as Japanese under Japanese rule for the past 50 years, the Taiwanese had to revert to seeing themselves as members of the Chinese race. The KMT sought to manipulate the identity of Taiwanese society both on a political/ national level as Chinese citizens and on a cultural/ racial level as Chinese people.

In his book, *Learning to Be Chinese: The Political Socialization of Children in Taiwan*, Richard Wilson (1970) expounds on how the KMT's educational system trained Taiwanese children to invest loyalty in and identify with the state (the ROC), the ruling party (the KMT) and the president (Chiang Kai-shek). By reviewing Taiwanese children's "specific" political learning (Wilson 1970: 9), Wilson finds that loyalty to Chiang Kai-shek, patriotism to the ROC, and hostility toward the PRC are heavily emphasized in children's everyday routines. He writes:

Educational authorities seek to create a powerful loyalty to Chinese society and, specifically, to the state as exemplified by the government of the Republic of China (the Kuomintang government). Political training and the rudiments of group discipline begin in kindergarten with flag-raising ceremonies quite formally carried out. There are also, during the term, simple references by the teacher to the Republic of China and the president [...]. The society itself is the object of considerable glorification. In kindergarten, children begin to hear "We are Chinese and we all love China. Our China's national territory is the largest, the population is the greatest, and our products the most abundant." In fourth grade, there is a poem the children chant, each of the three stanzas starting with "China, China, lovable China, there is no other country in all the world greater than you" [...]. Above all, the goal of education is national recovery and the destruction of the communist regime (Wilson 1970: 46-48).

Wilson indicates three main areas in the KMT's political indoctrination of Chineseness and Chinese nationalism: loyalty to Chinese society and the ROC, obedience to President Chiang and the KMT, and hostility to the PRC. These three entwined themes constituted the core of the KMT's political indoctrination in Taiwan. Indeed, although Wilson's study was undertaken before 1970, his description of the KMT's political indoctrination is not a distant memory for most Taiwanese today (myself included). The KMT's patriotic education began to loosen only in the late 1990s. Until then, Taiwanese students had to learn how to be both Chinese and ROC citizens.

Regarding loyalty to Chinese society and the ROC, Wilson describes some of the formal rituals (such as flag-raising ceremonies) that were deployed. These included fostering Taiwanese children's loyalty to China by disciplining them to repeat slogans such as "We are Chinese and we all love China", and to recite doctrines about the huge physical size and population of China. A very representative song that, even today, everybody over the age of 20 can remember, typifies how the KMT enforced

loyalty to Chinese society and the ROC amongst Taiwan. “Ode to the Republic of China” (中華民國頌, *Zhonghua minguo song*) proclaims:

Vast pastures of Qinghai (青海) stretch farther than the eye can see.
Mountains of Himalayas elongate in the sky. Ancient sages built the
fatherland stood tall through strenuous tests for five thousand years.
Republic of China, Republic of China, it will withstand all trials. As
long as the waters of the Yellow River (黃河) and the Yangzi River
(長江, Changjiang) never run dry. Republic of China, Republic of
China, throughout the ages, forever and ever! (Liu 1980) (“Ode to the
Republic of China”; author’s translation).

This song is a typical example of how Chineseness and Chinese nationalism manifested themselves in the memories of my informants. Interestingly, all of them could sing the song the whole way through, after being reminded of a few lines. A cynical attitude came through in their singing, especially among those who could also remember and perform the corresponding dance moves that they were taught by their primary school teachers. I was surprised to realize that I also had this memory and could complete singing this song.

This song starts with Qinghai, the province in western China where the Yellow River and Yangzi River both originate. It was composed by Liu Chia-chang (Liu Jiachang) and released in 1980 with the support of the KMT, just nine years after the ROC withdrew from the UN (1971) and just one year after the US broke off diplomatic relations with the ROC in favour of the PRC (1979). As consolation for the ROC’s international difficulties at that time, this song describes how “the Republic of China will withstand trials forever as long as the waters of the Yellow River and the Yangzi River never run dry” because this nation built by “ancient sages” has “stood tall through strenuous tests for five thousand years”, and will go “throughout the ages forever and ever”. To rationalize the ROC’s questionable legitimacy in international society and its dubious orthodoxy of representing legitimate China, the KMT euphemizes the cruel reality of its isolated situation as “trials”.

Tu Wei-ming believes that “the rise of Chinese cultural consciousness was occasioned by primordial ties defined in ethnic, territorial, linguistic and ethnical-religious terms” (Tu 1995: 3). He notes that “the cultured and civilized Chinese, as the myth goes, claim a common ancestry” (Tu 1995: 3). Tu uses “children of the Yellow Emperor” (炎黃子孫, *Yanhuang zisun*), one of those customary idioms implying the common ancestry of Taiwanese and Chinese. Other terms, such as “descendants

of the dragon” (龍的傳人, *long de chuanren*), also retrieve Chinese people into the common origin – the kingly dragon. This is what Anne McClintock calls the “family trope” of nationalism, where the family is used as a metaphor for national communities, and any difference between regions is shaped into a single historical genesis narrative (McClintock 1995: 357). The imagined common origin of national communities is naturalized as the father or mother, and the citizens are metaphorized as children. Particularly, in the family trope of Chinese nationalism, the common ancestry often refers to a masculine figure (e.g. the Yellow Emperor, the kingly dragon). Chinese people and citizens are incorporated into the patrilineal genealogy of China (children of the Yellow Emperor, descendants of the dragon).

This patrilineal genealogy of China was appropriated by the KMT in the above song. The common ancestry is referred to via the ancient sages who built the fatherland, which stood tall through strenuous tests for five thousand years. By linking the ROC to the “five-thousand-year” history, the lyrics put the ROC into what Bhabha calls, “the ‘timeless’ discourse of irrationality” (Bhabha 1990: 294). Recalling the glorious China of the past, which consolidates confidence into hopes for the China of the future, is presented in an anachronistic space. Chineseness and Chinese nationalism were inscribed into archaic ambivalence. Taiwanese people, although missing from the lyrics, were grudgingly incorporated into the holism of the Chinese community and the cohesion of the ROC through having to learn this song.

The national landscape of China, including “the vast pastures of Qinghai”, “the mountains of the Himalayas”, “the Yellow River” and “the Yangzi River”, serve as metonyms for a magnificent nation. As Qinghai is the source of both the Yellow River and the Yangzi River, it is used to re-emphasize the imagined common origin. The interplay of national landscape and family trope gave form to the KMT’s Chinese nationalist state narratives. Specifically, the magnificence of the Chinese national landscape is interwoven with the masculinity of the common ancestry in Chinese patrilineal genealogy. The national mountains and rivers constitute the greatness of the Republic of China, which is more immense “than the eye can see” and sublime “in the sky”; they also invoke a sense of pride for the common origins of Chinese society. Drawing on the imaginary magnificence of the Chinese national landscape and the masculinity of the common ancestry in Chinese patrilineal genealogy were popular tactics in the KMT’s Chinese nationalist state narratives.

The national landscape, compressed history and “myth of consanguinity” (Chow 1993: 24) are all combined to construct the image of the nation, China.

However, although the KMT used both ideological and repressive state apparatuses to implant Chineseness and Chinese nationalism, this song did not resonate with Taiwanese people’s real life experiences. Its narrative is just a rhetorical figure. In failing to mention any familiar landscape in Taiwan, such as the Jade Mountains (玉山, *Yushan*), Ali Mountain (阿里山, *Alishan*), the Zhuoshui River (濁水溪) or the Danshui River (淡水河), the song also failed to embrace Taiwanese people. The alienation that the KMT’s state and public narratives provoked among Taiwanese people is seen clearly in informants’ descriptions of their experiences (Chuang 2006).

The second main area of the KMT’s political indoctrination identified by Wilson is obedience to President Chiang and the KMT. The “Lord President Chiang Memorial Song” (先總統蔣公紀念歌, *Xian zong-tong Jiang Gong jinian ge*), composed by Li Chong-he (Li Zhong-he) and released in 1979, is a good illustration. It demonstrates how the KMT constructed the majesty of Chiang, the leader of the KMT and the president of the ROC.

Lord President Chiang, you are the saviour of the nation; you are the giant of the world. Lord President Chiang, you are the lighthouse of freedom; you are the Great Wall of democracy. Eradicating warlords, resisting enemies, opposing communism for justice, trying to revive all the Chinese; Lord President Chiang, Lord President Chiang, your immortal spirit will lead us forever to succeed in defeating communists and in building our nation! (Li 1979; “Lord President Jiang Memorial Song”; author’s translation).

Note here how the song’s lyrics mask the hopelessness of the KMT and Chiang following military defeat and political exile and only worship Chiang’s sublimity. The song, written in memoriam of Chiang Kai-shek, conveys quite toadyish messages. “Gong” (公) is a word from classical Mandarin used to respectfully designate an elder sage. Chiang, the KMT leader who forfeited the regime in China, is not judged on losing the whole of China, but rather idolized as “the saviour of the nation” and “the giant of the world”. A series of defeats and miseries are embellished as “eradicating warlords” (for the KMT), “resisting enemies” (for the ROC), “opposing communism for justice” and “trying to revive all the Chinese”. In order to contend with the CCP’s communist regime,

Chiang is represented as “the lighthouse of freedom” and “the Great Wall of democracy”. Through analogy, the icon of Chiang is depicted as embodying “freedom” and “democracy”; reversely, Chiang is divinized as an epic Chinese hero.

Like the narrative of “Ode to the Republic of China”, in which the family trope of Chinese nationalism places citizens under a masculinized common ancestry, this song represents Chiang as the common father. In the former song, the ROC will last “throughout the ages forever and ever”; in the latter, Chiang’s “immortal spirit” will lead the ROC “forever to succeed in defeating communists”. The timeless myth of national history and the domestic myth of consanguinity are further compressed into the narrative. Chiang is moulded as a contemporary common father of China, an omnipotent giant of the ROC. Going further, the song gives Chiang almighty power: as the KMT’s leader, the ROC’s president, the saviour of Chinese people, and the symbol of freedom and democracy. Chiang equates with the KMT, the KMT equates with the ROC, the ROC equates with freedom and democracy, and freedom and democracy equates with Chiang.

The third main area of the KMT’s political indoctrination is hostility to the PRC. As soon as the KMT took control of Taiwan, slogans such as “opposing communism for justice” appeared everywhere – from public buildings, hospitals and schools to children’s textbooks. These slogans coexisted with other slogans such as “respecting the leader” and “reviving China” and mutually reinforced the three main areas of the KMT’s political indoctrination.

A story in the ROC’s primary school Mandarin textbook in 1987, *A Place without the Sun* (沒有太陽的地方, *Meiyou taiyang de difang*) (National Institute for Compilation and Translation 1987), is exemplary of how these three main areas were mixed to constitute the core of the KMT’s political indoctrination. This pseudo-historical story implicitly gives a message which combines the three main themes – to love China, to respect Chiang and to hate the CCP regime of the PRC. The first paragraph of the text reads:

It has been more than 30 years since communist bandits occupied mainland China in 1949. Our compatriots in mainland China have been living in misery and poverty for the past 30 years. They are living in a dark world, unable to see the sunshine and to expect the future. People who have been to mainland China always say, “that is a place without the sun”.

The last paragraph reads:

Though we are living happily in this free land, we shouldn't forget there are still 10 hundred million compatriots living in a place without the sun. Our common responsibility is to save them from suffering in extreme misery (National Institute for Compilation and Translation 1987) (*A Place without the Sun*; both segments author's translation).

In this text, the civil war between the KMT and the CCP is depicted as “communist bandits occupying mainland China”. The CCP's regime in China is described as “a dark world” in which “compatriots in mainland China have been living in misery and poverty for the past 30 years”. With the picture of a skeletally thin man sitting alongside a heap of skulls as proof (Figure 1), the text seems persuasive and irrefutable for children reading the story. The KMT combined a terrible picture with authoritative text, writing that “communist bandits occupied mainland China” and that “our common responsibility is to save [our Chinese compatriots] from suffering in extreme misery”. The text conveys a dual message of “hostility to the PRC” and “loyalty to Chinese society” to Taiwanese children.

This very paradoxical message lies at the core of the KMT's political indoctrination, in its three interfused but contradictory areas. In each case, namely, loyalty to Chinese society and the ROC, obedience to President Chiang and the KMT, and hostility to the PRC, the KMT urged Taiwanese people to love China, to be Chinese, *and* to hate the PRC and be loyal only to the ROC. Complicated identities of Chineseness (loving China and Chinese people) and Chinese nationalism (loving the ROC and hating the PRC) are packed together.

The KMT's state-cum-public narratives conveyed a contradictory message to Taiwanese people. “China” is a paradoxical concept. Culturally, “China” refers to the ancient China of the past, which is the essentialist and mythic origin of Chineseness. Politically, “China” mixes two irreconcilable political entities of the present: the real/ good/ democratic China in Taiwan (the ROC regime of the KMT), and the false/ bad/ communist China in China (the CCP regime of the PRC). The message paradoxically represents two incompatible cultural and political territories and a dual temporality – the past and the present.

Figure 1: *A Place without the Sun*, The ROC's Primary School Mandarin Textbook



Source: National Institute for Compilation and Translation 1987: Lesson 21, Volume 6.

A similar contradiction between identities of Chineseness and Chinese nationalism appears in President Chiang Kai-shek's speeches. In four inaugural addresses he gave between 1954 and 1972, Chiang referred to the ROC in a way that culturally included China, but politically excluded China. Taiwan was rarely mentioned in his inaugural addresses. Where he did mention it – for instance, in his third inaugural address in 1960 – he described Taiwan as a “base” for winning back mainland China (Benda 2001). The KMT's state narratives accepted Chinese people as comrades and the landscape of China as part of the ROC's territory. However, at the same time, the KMT's narratives claimed that the ROC in Taiwan was the legitimate China and refused to recognize the regime in China since it was controlled by “communist bandits”.

The Matrilineal Genealogy of Taiwan in the Opposition Camp's Public Narratives

Despite the predominance of Chinese nationalism, Taiwanese identities, which have emerged from people's everyday practices, still occurred and have gradually impacted what Somers calls public narratives. Originating with the experiences of individuals, a wave of localized concern with the historical and cultural distinctiveness of Taiwan has affected all public narratives, particularly in literature and films – for example, the discussion of *Xiangtu* (鄉土) literature (also known as the “Nativist Literature Debates”) in the 1970s (Hsiao 2000) and the development of the Taiwanese New Wave Cinema, which began in the 1980s. Taiwanese writers and artists have brought their personal life stories into their public writings, and these narratives have constructed and reformulated the individual's notion of personal identity in return.

After the lifting of martial law in 1987, the large number of opposition movements and the changing social milieu caused the KMT to adopt a localization policy. The popularity of local songs telling stories about songwriters' everyday experiences (and how they loved their country) began to grow. (As the lyrics of these songs are written in Taiwanese mother tongues – namely, Hoklo, Hakka and aboriginal languages – the pinyin of these song titles in this paper are hereafter accordingly adjusted to reflect this.) The following two songs reflect the popular movement towards democratization and localization.

“The Mother's Name is Taiwan” (母親的名叫台灣, *Bu chhin ê mia bo-choh Tai-oan*), composed by a trucker, Wang Wen-te (Wang Wen-de) in 1989, was “originally a song sung by a caller to a live phone-in radio show called ‘Taiwan Seeds’, anchored by Wu Nien-chen [Wu Nianzhen] and Tsai Chen-nan [Cai Zhennan]. Afterwards, the song became an underground hit because it touched many Taiwanese people's hearts.” (Chen et al. 1996: 136)

The mother is the mountain, the mother is the ocean, the mother is the river; the mother's name is Taiwan. The mother is conscience, the mother is justice; the mother is our spring.

Twenty million yam seeds do not dare speak out their mother's name. Is the name of Taiwan so shabby? The acquiescence makes me shiver.

...

Twenty million yam seeds should not be silent, without any voice. Bravely speak out your mother's name. Taiwan ah, Taiwan ah, is the

name of the mother (Chen et al. 1996: 136) (“The Mother’s Name is Taiwan”; author’s translation).

In order to examine the song, I reconsider McClintock’s view (1995) that the imagination of a nation is constructed through gender representation. In her discussion of the family trope in constructions of nationalism, McClintock discusses the fact that nations are frequently imagined as embodying a familial and domestic space. She argues that “all nations depend on powerful constructions of gender” (McClintock 1995: 353). The representation of nationalistic power is on the basis of “the prior construction of *gender* difference” (McClintock 1995: 353; emphasis in original). Social relationships, especially marriage between men and women, are used to build the national imagination:

Because the subordination of woman to man and child to adult was deemed a natural fact, hierarchies within the nation could be depicted in familial terms to guarantee social difference as a category of nature. (McClintock 1995: 91)

McClintock points out that women’s subordination to men through marriage allows women to be subsumed within the national body politics. A woman’s body is represented as the nation’s boundary. A woman’s figure is used as the typical signifier and symbolic bearer of the nation (McClintock 1995: 352-360).

Using maternal and feminine images to describe Taiwan in Taiwanese pop songs has its own history, such as the song “A Flower in the Rainy Night” (Nagoshi 1996; Lee 2008). Also, a mother figure is often used to represent Taiwan in Taiwanese nationalist narratives (Cheng 2003: 160). In the family trope of Taiwanese nationalism, the body and the figure of the mother are employed to refer to the collective identification with land and country. I call this the matrilineal genealogy of Taiwan in order to contrast it with the patrilineal genealogy of China.

In the lyrics of “The Mother’s Name is Taiwan”, we see the metaphorical figure of the mother as child-bearer. The signified mother, Taiwan, is given dignified qualities and inscribed onto the national landscape. Taiwan is not only personified as the mother, but also objectified as the yam because of its yam-like shape. According to this matrilineal genealogy, 20 million Taiwanese people are the children of the mother, Taiwan; at the same time, the children are metaphorically legitimized as “yam seeds” borne by the fruitful yam, Taiwan.

Taiwan’s traumatic national history is also implied in this song, where “twenty million yam seeds” (the children) “do not dare speak out

their mother's name". The metaphor of a mother who has suffered a miserable history is used to symbolize the fact that Taiwan has borne its own national traumas. Taiwan's paradox, carrying the ROC's heavy burden of the legitimate China and suffering the humiliation of its colonial past, is also insinuated. Contrary to Chinese patrilineal genealogy, the family of Taiwan is structured in the name of the mother, through the maternal metaphor. The feminine writing usurps the masculine writing. Compared with China's dominant masculine image, Taiwan is a silent, traumatized, tender and tenacious mother without a name.

The maternal of Taiwanese matrilineal genealogy represents resistance to the paternal of Chinese patrilineal genealogy. It is the return of what has been trampled upon and repressed in Taiwanese society. China, the common father of patrilineal succession of China, is hereby eliminated.

Kristeva argues that the process of subjection is through establishing the "abjection" of the maternal body (Kristeva 1982). She argues that abjection is the fundamental challenge to order in framing self and other. The abject is neither object nor subject; rather, it is "the in-between ambiguous, [and] the composite" (Kristeva 1982: 4) – meaning, that which causes continuous distinction between self and other. However, in this song, the maternal body symbolizes that to which Taiwanese people should return; it is *not* abject. By asking whether "the name of Taiwan [is] so shabby", the song questions why people "do not dare speak out their mother's name". At the end of the song, people are urged to "bravely speak out [their] mother's name", because "Taiwan [...] is the name of the mother". This song creates an enclosed maternal space – an enclosed womb, or *chora* (Kristeva 1982) – to encourage Taiwanese people to return to a mother-infant union between Taiwan and themselves.

The dyad of the mother and the children, Taiwan and its people, casts aside the father. The father, according to Chinese patrilineal genealogy, is China. Kristeva's emphasis on the "abjection" of the maternal body does not seem apparent in Taiwanese nationalist narratives. More accurately, Taiwanese society has undergone a very long process of forced disassociation from the maternal body during the long-term suppression of Taiwanese-ness by the KMT's Chinese patrilineal genealogy. The return to the maternal body, to the pure materiality of existence, thus becomes a way of accessing Taiwanese identities.

The lyrics of another song, "Don't Despise Taiwan" (嚙通嫌台灣, *M-thang hiam Tai-oan*) (Hsiao et al. 1989), composed by the well-known

Taiwanese musician Hsiao Tai-jan (Xiao Tairan) and poet Lin Iong-bin (Lin Yongbin) resonate with those of “The Mother’s Name is Taiwan”:

If we cherish our ancestry, please don’t despise Taiwan. The land may be a little constricted; fathers’ sweat, mothers’ blood help harvests flourish everywhere.

If we cherish our posterity, please don’t despise Taiwan. There is enough farmland and mountains; the sweetness of the fruit, the smell of the grain keeps our descendants living prosperously.

If we cherish Taiwan, please don’t despise Taiwan. Though earning a living is not effortless; working hard, looking forward help us win our happiness (Hsiao et al. 1989) (“Don’t Despise Taiwan”; author’s translation).

By cataloguing Taiwanese ancestry and posterity, a new genealogy of Taiwan is built in this song. The blood ties that link the people reaffirm the trope of the family. Along with “the iconography of familial and domestic space” (McClintock 1995: 357), the universal value of the family is transformed into a metonymic imperative for cherishing Taiwan. The farmland and mountains are described in order to evoke the familiar ambience of Taiwan, which runs counter to the awe-inspiring landscapes of China. The maternal body appears when the name Taiwan is inscribed onto the landscape of the island. The slogan “don’t despise Taiwan” runs throughout the lyrics, resonating with the lyrics of the song “The Mother’s Name is Taiwan”. And this song also conveys a message of returning to the maternal space and acts as an antidote to the abjection of the maternal body.

Moreover, the grand landscapes of China, along with the patriarchal structures of the KMT’s Chinese hegemony, are omitted. As Herzfeld says, “social relations on the ground disrupt [...] timeless fictions – or eternal images – of national culture” (Herzfeld 1997: 28). The perceived eternity of patriarchy is disrupted by Taiwanese matrilineal genealogy, which is derived from and grounded in people’s everyday practices. Instead, a new timeless history of Taiwan is established in this song by way of matrilineal genealogy. By bringing together the hard times of the past with hopes for the future, a discourse on national history is written. The image of parents, who strove hard in the past and now look forward to the future, forms an eternal image of Taiwanese history.

This is a good example of how Taiwanese identities have been consolidated. By differentiating between the histories of Taiwan and China,

the song establishes a boundary between them and makes Taiwan the new site on which Taiwanese people can project their identities.

The DPP's Appropriation of the Maternal and Feminine Images in Taiwanese Pop Songs

I have reviewed some popular songs and discussed how the national imagination of Taiwan in public narratives is constructed by mobilizing the maternal image. In this section, I want to discuss a famous Taiwanese pop song "She Is Our Baby" (伊是咱的寶貝, *I si lan ê pō-poe*) (Chen 1993/ 2004), which provides a good example of how the maternal and feminine images are further appropriated by the opposition camp (the DPP) to represent the image of Taiwan in Taiwanese nationalist narratives in order to distinguish Taiwan from China.

As discussed earlier, a new Taiwanese genealogy is built in some popular Taiwanese songs by cataloguing Taiwanese ancestry and posterity and by reaffirming the trope of the family. In contrary to Chinese patrilineal genealogy, the family of Taiwan is structured in the name of the mother through the maternal metaphor and feminine figure. In comparison to China's dominant masculine image, Taiwan is a silent, traumatized, tender and tenacious mother without a name. The dyad of the mother and the children – Taiwan and its people – casts aside the father, China. Here, the feminine writing usurps the patriarchal writing. The maternal of Taiwanese matrilineal genealogy represents resistance to the paternal of Chinese patrilineal genealogy. In the national imagination of Taiwanese people, China, the common father, China, is hereby abandoned.

Between the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections, the DPP rendered its advertising more and more elaborate in order to firm up its state narratives. The advertising moved from suggesting a DPP-KMT dichotomy in 2000 to expressing a Taiwan-China dichotomy in 2004. By amplifying the differences between Taiwan and China, this Taiwan-China dichotomy was gradually established. During this time, the selection of certain cultural components and the reproduction of particular cultural meanings were fundamental to establishing difference and formulating the notion of opposition. In this way, the DPP successfully retold its new version of Taiwanese history, redefined Taiwanese, and organized Taiwanese identities into Taiwanese nationalism (Chuang 2004, 2007).

The DPP's new version of Taiwanese history was constructed not just on the basis of images, language and music, but also, more importantly, on the basis of a set of shared meanings that lay behind these cultural elements. These meanings were adopted from the material of a shared social world comprising people's common experiences and memories (Hall 1997: 18). More specifically, by borrowing from, rearranging and organizing fragments of these shared experiences, the DPP made use of a set of cultural meanings that were already familiar to the people in order to make their own narrative meaningful. As the first opposition party in Taiwanese politics, the DPP was in the privileged position of being the first to interpret Taiwanese identity by selecting their preferred materials from the set of predetermined cultural elements shared by the people. The conjunction of images, language and music in the DPP's advertising thus became the primary anchor of Taiwanese nationalism.

The selected components of Taiwanese nationalism in the DPP's advertising were "the idea of the son of Taiwan", "the femininity of Taiwan", "the conflict between Taiwan and China", and "the value of democracy" (see Chuang 2007); each one was emphasized in a different TV advertisement, sometimes alone and sometimes in combination with one or two of the other components. They were interlinked and thus reinforced each other. The DPP's appropriation of Taiwanese pop song "She Is Our Baby" is a good example:

A flower bud was born to the earth, with Papa and Mama's dear love.
If the wind blows, remember to cover her with a quilt and not to let
her fall into darkness.

The premature blossom needs our concern; we must offer her a land
in which to grow. Hand in hand, heart to heart, let's stand together,
because she is our baby (Chen 1993/ 2004) ("She Is Our Baby"; au-
thor's translation).

This song was written by Chen Ming-chang (Chen Mingzhang), and a recording of it sung by a children's choir was made in 1993. It was composed originally to aid charities that rescue adolescent prostitutes, but it was later marketed as a commercial pop song. Just like Chen's other works, this song was composed in Taiwanese Hoklo. As a musician who had often performed on-stage in support of opposition movements, Chen's musical works had been heavily relied upon by the DPP. His music is based on a combination of materials drawn from his own experiences and from other Taiwanese folk songs, and he sings in a trade-

mark husky voice with a genuine Hoklo accent. Thus his music is commonly recognized as a representation of the heart of Taiwan (Kuo 2005). Chen has explained why he writes songs in Hoklo instead of Mandarin, saying

I feel a great sense of life when writing in Hoklo; this feeling doesn't exist when writing in Mandarin. I knew I could not write in Mandarin, because I've never lived in China, and I don't know how to write Chinese songs (Kuo 2005).

The DPP's 2000 TV advertisement "Cherish Our Democracy" (寶貝我們的民主, *Baobei women de minzhu*) promoted the significance of Taiwanese democratization. The song "She Is Our Baby" provides the background music for the advertisement, which encourages people to protect "the femininity of Taiwan" and to cherish Taiwanese democracy.

The association of Chen's music with Taiwanese-ness, and the femininity inherent in this song, were both appropriated by the DPP and encapsulated as follows:

Despite all the difficult tests we have faced, we've strived for so many years to choose our own president. This is the invaluable baby of our democracy. Let's vote, and decide on our own president and cherish our invaluable baby of democracy! (Democratic Progressive Party 2000; caption for "Cherish Our Democracy"; author's translation).

This caption accompanies several shots, including panoramic views of rice fields and farms in the countryside, clips showing people's daily life, and news clips of huge crowds of supporters at the DPP's evening rallies. These images and this music appeal to people's shared experiences – of living in the same society, watching the same TV advertisements, and listening to the same music. This familiarity enhances the persuasiveness of the caption.

This sequence also contains a historical review of the DPP. The "difficult tests" is a reference to the sacrifices that the DPP's politicians made for Taiwanese democratization (e.g. being jailed or executed by the KMT). From the early opposition movements of the 1980s to the competitive elections of the 1990s, the DPP, as the opposition party fighting for democratization, achieved its goal of developing Taiwan's democracy. The KMT and the DPP are thus distinct from one another: One suppresses democracy; the other fights for it.

Similarly, the DPP distinguishes China and Taiwan as two separate nations, one which suppresses democracy and the other which cherishes

democracy. This advertisement was released just a few days before the vote in the 2000 elections in response to the speech of the prime minister of China at the time, Zhu Rongji, in which he threatened Taiwan. Zhu's warning to Taiwanese citizens not to vote for the DPP candidate, Chen Shui-bian (Chen Shuibian) and his threat of military force further increased people's animosity towards China. This advertisement takes advantage of the shared anger of the people and emphasizes that democracy is the most valuable political commodity in Taiwan. It conveys a polysemic message by combining the caption about democracy, the song "She Is Our Baby", and the stirring images of Taiwan. The message effectively combines "the value of democracy" with "the femininity of Taiwan" and reinforces the current conflict between Taiwan and China. In this advertisement, "the value of democracy" is feminized, represented by a baby girl growing up amidst "the conflict between Taiwan and China". "The femininity of Taiwan" is repeated again, in parallel with the man-woman gender binary – Zhu's military threat is depicted as an attack made by a fiendish, middle-aged male, whereas Taiwanese democracy is depicted as a vulnerable baby girl in need of protection.

The family trope and metaphor were not invented by the DPP, but borrowed from Taiwanese matrilineal genealogy, as discussed in the last section: It was a prevalent narrative found in many public texts (e.g. novels, popular songs, etc.). In contrast to Chinese patrilineal genealogy, the family trope in Taiwanese matrilineal genealogy tends to employ the mother figure to refer to the collective identity of Taiwan. This man-woman gender binary was appropriated by the DPP as part of the natural order without any questioning. In the DPP's advertising, Taiwan tends to be represented with a woman's – and especially a mother's – voice, figure and features. This is emphasized as denoting "the effeminacy of Taiwan" and stands in opposition to the paternal figure of Chinese patrilineal genealogy.

"The femininity of Taiwan" is often engaged with the issue of "the conflict between Taiwan and China" in the DPP's advertising. The coaction between these two represents what Enloe (1989) describes as not only a sexualized but also a specially heterosexualized embodiment of the nation. McClintock (1995) also points to the power stereotype in the gender relationship.

The opposition between Taiwanese matrilineal genealogy and Chinese patrilineal genealogy, in which Taiwan is imagined as a mother or a woman and China is imagined as a father or a man, was often used to

refer to the power relationship between Taiwan and China. By the appropriation of this heterosexualized dichotomy, the DPP's advertising depicted Taiwan as a suffering female figure that needs to be cherished and protected, and China as an aggressive male figure that attacks. This expression conforms to the typical binary structures between man and woman – masculine and feminine, potent and delicate, and aggressive and passive. The man-woman dichotomy between China and Taiwan facilitates the imagining of the conflict between the two to be the attack of a man and the self-defense of a woman. In particular, the military threat from China, and the possible war between Taiwan and China, was magnified in terms of male abuse of a woman. The defense of Taiwan on a national level has been justified, and the line between Taiwan and China has been drawn.

Conclusion: The Swing from China to Taiwan

In this paper, I have discussed how the national imagination of Taiwan in public narratives is constructed by mobilizing the maternal image, and how this matrilineal genealogy is appropriated by the DPP to mobilize voters, gain power, and draw a line between Taiwan and China.

A new genealogy of Taiwan is built in popular Taiwanese songs by cataloguing Taiwanese ancestry and posterity, and by reaffirming the trope of the family. However, in contrast to Chinese patrilineal genealogy, the family of Taiwan is structured in the name of the mother through the maternal metaphor. In comparison to China's dominant masculine image, Taiwan is a silent, traumatized, tender and tenacious mother without a name. The dyad of the mother and the children, Taiwan and its people, has banished the father, China. Here, the feminine writing usurps the patriarchal writing, and further facilitates the opposition camp to gain power. The maternal of Taiwanese matrilineal genealogy represents resistance to the paternal of Chinese patrilineal genealogy. In the national imagination of Taiwanese people, China, the common father, is hereby divorced.

With growing interactions between China and Taiwan due to the implementation of pro-China policies by the Ma administration since 2008 (including the signing of ECFA), there has been a question as to whether or not this marriage will be restored. Yet, as far as the recent surveys are concerned, they do not seem to support the optimistic view of a remarriage (see, for example, Global Views Survey Research Center

2008; Su 2008). It seems as if the Taiwanese people have figured out that it is better to live with a single mother than with a roguish father.

References

- Ang, Ien (2001), *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living between Asia and the West*, New York: Routledge.
- Attali, Jacques (1985), *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Benda, Jonathan (2001), *Naming Taiwan: Nationalist and Post-Nationalist Rhetoric in the Inaugural Addresses of Chiang Kai-shek and Chen Shui-bian*, 8 May, online: <http://web.syr.edu/~jpbenda/naming.html#_ftn4> (3 March 2005).
- Bhabha, Homi (ed.) (1990), *Nation and Narration*, London: Routledge.
- Chen, Ming-chang (陳明章, Chen Mingzhang) (1993/ 2004), 伊是咱的寶貝 (I si lan ê po-poe, She Is Our Baby), in: *She Is Our Baby*, Taipei: Chen Ming-chang Music.
- Chen, Yu-Siou et al. (Chen Yuxiu) (1996), 音樂台灣 (*Yinyue Taiwan, Music Taiwan*), Taipei: Egret Foundation.
- Cheng, Fei-Wen (2003), *The Wounded Nation: Trauma, Memory and National Identity in Contemporary Taiwanese Society*, Diss. Lancaster University.
- Chow, Rey (1993), *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Chuang, Yin C. (莊佳穎, Zhuang Jiaying) (2007), *Political Consumerism in Contemporary Taiwan – Customizing a Nation*, Diss. University of Lancaster.
- Chuang, Yin C. (莊佳穎, Zhuang Jiaying) (2006), 國族主義的再寫 – 崛起於每日實踐生活現場的台灣 (人) 國族主義? (Guozu zhuyi de zaixie – jueqi yu meiri shijian shenghuo xianchang de Taiwan (ren) guozu zhuyi? Rewriting the Nationalism of Taiwan – How does Taiwanese nationalism emerge from Everyday Practices?), in: *Taiwan International Studies Quarterly*, 2, 4, 109-202.
- Chuang, Yin C. (莊佳穎, Zhuang Jiaying) (2004), 阿扁的異想世界 (*Abian de yixiang shijie, A-Bian's Extravaganza*), Taipei: Avanguard.
- Clifford, James (1997), *Routes: Travel and Translations in the Late Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cohen, Robin (1997), *Global Diasporas*, London: University College London Press.

- Corcuff, Stéphane (2002), Taiwan's "Mainlanders," New Taiwanese?, in: Stéphane Corcuff (ed.), *Memories of the Future: National Identity Issues and the Search for a New Taiwan*, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 163-195.
- Damm, Jens (2007), "Overseas Chinese" and Taiwan: Unresolved Questions of Identity and Belonging, in: Jens Damm and Gunter Schubert (eds.), *Taiwanese Identity in a Regional and Global Perspective*, Hamburg: Lit, 79-100.
- Democratic Progress Party (2000), 寶貝我們的民主 (*Baobei women de minzhu, Cherish Our Democracy*), Taipei: Democratic Progress Party Presidential TV Advertisement.
- Enloe, Cynthia (1989), *Bananas, Beeches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fiske, John (1989), *Understanding Popular Culture*, London: Routledge.
- Foss, Sonja K. (1996), *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration and Practice*, Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland.
- Foss, Sonja K., Cindy L. Griffin, and Karen A. Foss (1997), Transforming Rhetoric Through Feminist Reconstruction: A Response to the Gender Diversity Perspective, in: *Women's Studies in Communication*, 20, 117-135.
- Global Views Survey Research Center (2008), 對簽定經濟合作協定看法民眾終極統獨觀、馬總統滿意度民調 (*Dui qianding jingji hezuo xieding kanfa minzhong zhongji tongdu guan Ma zongtong manyi du mindiao, Survey on Cross-Strait Economic Cooperation Agreement and President Ma Ying-jeou's Approval Rating*), GLOBAL VIEWS Taiwan Public Mood Index, online: <www.gvm.com.tw/gvsrc/201003_GVSRC_others.pdf> (24 April 2009).
- Gramsci, Antonio (1971), *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, in: Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (eds. and trans.), New York: International Publishers.
- Hall, Stuart (ed.) (1997), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practice*, London: Sage.
- Herzfeld, Michael (1997), *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State*, New York, London: Routledge.
- Hsiao, Tai-jan (Xiao Tairan) et al. 蕭泰然等 (1989), 嘸通嫌台灣 (M-thang hiam Tai-oan, Don't Despise Taiwan), in: *Don't Despise Taiwan*, Taipei: Quan mei Music.
- Hsiao, A-Chin (2000), *Contemporary Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism*, London: Routledge.

- Hsu, Hsin-Liang (許信良, Xu Xinliang) (1995), *新興民族 (Xinxing minzu, A New Rising Nation)*, Taipei: Yuan-Liou.
- Kristeva, Julia (1982), *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, New York: Columbia University.
- Kuo, Li-Chuean (郭麗娟, Guo Lijuan) (2005), 唱咱的歌陳明章心曲風 (Chang zan de ge Chen Mingzhang xin qufeng, Singing Our Own Song-Chen Ming-chang's Music Style from Heart), in: *New Taiwan Weekly*, online: <www.newtaiwan.com.tw/periodview.jsp?period=468> (11 October 2005).
- Lee, Pei-Ling (2008), *The Re-construction of the Taiwanese Identity in the Process of Decolonization: The Taiwanese Political Songs Analyses*, Diss. Bowling Green State University.
- Li, Chong-he (李中和, Li Zhonghe) (1979), 先總統蔣公紀念歌 (*Xian zongtong Jiang Gong jinian ge, Lord President Chiang Memorial Song*), Taipei: Ministry of Education, Republic of China.
- Li, Hsiao-Feng (2001), *Exile of the Chiang Kai-shek Regime to Taiwan*, 10 December, online: <www.twhistory.org.tw/20011210.htm> (9 April 2005).
- Liu, Chia-chang (劉家昌, Liu Jiachang) (1980), 中華民國頌 (Zhonghua minguo song, Ode to the Republic of China), in: *Zhonghua minguo*, Taipei: Hai shan Music.
- Marcuse, Herbert (1978), *The Aesthetic Dimension: toward a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics*, Boston: Beacon.
- McClintock, Anne (1995), *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, London: Routledge.
- Nagoshi, Futaranosuke (名越二荒之助) (1996), 台湾と日本・交流祕話 (*Interaction between Taiwan and Japan*), Tokyo: Tendensha.
- National Institute for Compilation and Translation (1987), 沒有太陽的地方 (*Meiyou taiyang de defang, A Place without the Sun*), Taipei: National Institute for Compilation and Translation, Republic of China.
- Robinson, Deanna Campbell, Elizabeth B. Buck, and Marlene Cuthbert (1991), *Music at the Margins: Popular Music and Global Culture Diversity*, London: Sage.
- Rubinstein, Murray A. (ed.) (1994), *The Other Taiwan, 1945 to the Present*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Shi, Ming (史明) (1980), 台灣人四百年史 (*Taiwanren sibainian shi, Taiwan's 400 Year History*), San Jose, CA: Pong Dao.
- Shih, Cheng-Feng (施正鋒, Shi Zhengfeng) (1998), 族群與民族主義 (*Zuqun yu minzu zhuyi, Ethnic and Nationalism*), Taipei: Avanguard.

- Somers, Margaret (1995a), What's Political or Cultural about the Political Culture Concept? Toward an Historical Sociology of Concept Formation, in: *Sociological Theory*, 13, 2, 113-144.
- Somers, Margaret (1995b), Narrating and Naturalizing Civil Society and Citizenship Theory: The Place of Political Culture and the Public Sphere, in: *Sociological Theory*, 13, 3, 229-274.
- Somers, Margaret (1995c), What's in a Name? Sociological Explanation and the Problem of Place, in: *American Sociological Review*, 60, 5, 797-804.
- Somers, Margaret (1994), The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach, in: *Theory and Society*, 23, 5, 605-650.
- Somers, Margaret (1993), Citizenship and the Place of the Public Sphere: Law, Community, and Political Culture in the Transition to Democracy, in: *American Sociological Review*, 58, 5, 587-620.
- Somers, Margaret and Gloria Gibson (1994), Reclaiming the Epistemological "Other": Narrative and the Social Constitution of Identity, in: *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*, 23, 5, 605-650.
- Su, Yong-Yao (蘇永耀, Su Yongyao) (2008), 陸委會民調 / 53% 民眾：北京對我不友善, (Luweihui mindiao/ 53% minzhong: Beijing dui wo bu youshan, Poll Conducted by the Mainland Affairs Council, Over 53 Per cent Citizens Consider Beijing Unfriendly to Taiwan), in: *The Liberty Times*, 29 August, <www.libertytimes.com.tw/2008/new/aug/29/today-fo3.htm> (29 December 2010).
- Tien, Hung-Mao (ed) (1995), *Taiwan's Electoral Politics and Democratic Transition: Riding the Third Wave*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Tu, Wei-Ming (1995), *The Living Tree: the Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Wachman, Alan M. (1994a), *Taiwan: National Identity and Democratization*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Wachman, Alan M. (1994b), Competing Identities in Taiwan, in: Murray A Rubinstein (ed.), *The Other Taiwan, 1945 to the Present*, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 17-79.
- Wang Wen-te (王文德, Wang Wende) (1995), 母親的名叫台灣 (Bu chhin ê mia ho-choh Tai-oan, The Mother's Name is Taiwan), in: *The Sun of Life*, Taipei: Warner Music.
- Weitzer, Ronald (1990), *Transforming Settler States: Communal Conflict and Internal Security in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wilson, Richard W. (1970), *Learning to Be Chinese: The Political Socialization of Children in Taiwan*, Cambridge: M. I. T. Press.

- Wu, David Yen-Ho (1994), The Construction of Chinese and Non-Chinese Identities, in: Wei-Ming Tu (ed.), *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 148-167.
- Wu, Nai-te (吳乃德, Wu Naide) (1996), 自由主義和族群認同：搜尋台灣民族主義的意識形態基礎, (Ziyou zhuyi he zuqun rentong: souxun Taiwan minzu zhuyi de yishi xingtai jichu, Liberalism and Ethnic Identity), in: *Taiwan Political Science Review*, The Initial Issue, 5-39.
- Wu, Nai-te (吳乃德, Wu Naide) (1993), 省籍意識、政治支持和國家認同 - 台灣族群政治理論的初探 (Shengji yishi, zhengzhi zhichi he guojia rentong - Taiwan zuqun zhengzhi lilun de chutan, Ethnic Consciousness, Political Support, and National Identity), in: Mau-Kuei Chang (ed.), *Ethnic Relationship and National Identity*, Taipei: Yeh-Chiang, 27-51.
- Wu, Nai-te (吳乃德, Wu Naide) (1992), 國家認同和政黨支持：台灣政黨競爭的社會基礎 (Guojia rentong he zhengdang zhichi: Taiwan zhengdang jingzheng de shehui jichu, National Identity and Party Support), in: *Journal of Academia Sinica, Institute of Ethnology*, 74, 33-61.
- Wu, Rwei-Ren (吳叡人, Wu Reiren) (1997), 民主政治的吊詭與兩難？對於台灣民族主義的再思考 (Minzhu zhengzhi de diaogui yu liangnan? Duiyu Taiwan minzu zhuyi de zai sikao, The Dilemma of Taiwanese Nationalism), in: You Ying-Lung (ed), *The Consolidation or Collapse of Democracy*, Taipei: Yue Dan.

Contents

Introduction

- Yoshihisa AMAE and Jens DAMM
 “Whither Taiwanization?” State, Society and Cultural
 Production in the New Era 3

Research Articles

- Yoshihisa AMAE
 Pro-colonial or Postcolonial? Appropriation of Japanese
 Colonial Heritage in Present-day Taiwan 19
- Lutgard LAMS and Xavier Li-wen LIAO
 Tracing “Taiwanization” Processes in Taiwanese Presidential
 Statements in Times of Cross-Strait Rapprochement 63
- Jens DAMM
 Taiwan’s Ethnicities and their Representation on the Internet 99
- Tanguy LE PESANT
 Generational Change and Ethnicity among 1980s-born
 Taiwanese 133
- **Yin C. CHUANG**
Divorcing China: The Swing from the Patrilineal
Genealogy of China to the Matrilineal Genealogy of
Taiwan in Taiwan’s National Imagination 159
- Jacqueline ELFICK
 Class Formation and Consumption among Middle-Class
 Professionals in Shenzhen 187

Contributors 213

Article Index 2010 215