

摘 要

部落(tribe)是臺灣原住民族最基本的政治單位，前後經過文化解構、融合及重構階段。原住民族政治主體性的發揚，是臺灣本土化運動的極致，主體性的強弱，表現在是否有效掌握並決定在政治、經濟、社會、文化及教育方面發展的權力因素。本文從原住民族傳統部落型態的制度開始，瞭解部落、宗族的治理理念，探討原住民族的政治主體、衝突結構及重構情形，進而建構原住民族自治與現今政府在政治上達到平權、共存與共榮的境界。在方法上主要採取文獻法、訪談法，並輔以歷史研究法及比較分析法，分析問題、提出建議。全文分為八章、凡 28 萬 3,762 字。

第一章緒論，說明研究緣起、目的、方法及架構，定義政治主體及原住民族政治主體。

第二章文獻探討與理論基礎，前者介紹國內專書論著、學位論文及國外專書論文，回顧與本文有關之重要論點，並進行批判；後者以結構功能主義、衝突理論及建構論為理論基礎及分析觀點。

第三章部落政治制度與網絡，探討原住民族傳統政治觀、政治制度、部落政治體系及族際政治關係，並分析國家在原住民族地區從事現代化建設的歷史地位，以及由此而來的發展邏輯。

第四章原住民族政治主體的內涵，說明傳統原住民族制度網絡解體之後，國家與原住民族關係重新建構的內涵，並分析原住民族如何回應外在政治環境變遷及其行動本質，以及由此反應而發展的適應性問題。

第五章部落與國家權力關係的發展，在前一章探討原住民族部落政治解構之後，進一步討論原住民族部落與國家之間的磨合與認同問題，包括：部落定位視野及機制、部落與國家疆界及平等因素、傳統與現代調和等。

第六章原住民族政治主體建構問題與發展，探討當國家意在透過對部落的統治管理以穩固其統治地位，而原住民族追求完全自治，終將面臨什麼樣的難題？以及部落政治哲學面臨的挑戰。

第七章原住民族政治主體建構之可行性評估，嘗試將現階段原住民族政治主體建構理念之基本內涵及定位方向，歸類為分級自治、領

土共管、自治事項共享及權利平等四大類，分析其接受貫徹的可能性。並援引美、加、紐、澳等國家類似制度經驗，提供我國政策制訂參考。

第八章結論，針對本文研究發現做一歸納整理、扼要摘述，說明本文的研究貢獻、研究限制、研究建議及展望，總結本文。

關鍵字：主體性；政治建構；部落制度；原住民族政治；族群認同

Abstract

Tribe is the basic unit of Taiwanese aboriginal politics. Tribal culture has gone through the phases of destruction, integration, and reconstruction. The enhancement of the aboriginal political subjectivity is the extreme expression of Taiwanese localization movements. Political subjectivity is demonstrated in that whether the aborigines have the right to determine their developments in politics, economy, society, culture, and education. This dissertation first reviews the traditional institution of the aboriginal tribes and understands the governmental ideology in tribes and clans, so as to analyze what political subject would be, how their structures conflict with each other, and the condition of restructuring. Afterwards, the study suggests the framework of forming the relationship of equal rights and coexistence between aboriginal autonomy and national governance. The applied research methods include literature method, interview method, historical research, and comparative research. The whole thesis is divided into eight chapters composed of 283,762 words.

The first chapter, “Preface,” illustrates the origin, purpose, method, and framework of this thesis. Both political subject and political subject of aborigines are also defined in this chapter.

The second chapter is “Literature Review and Base Theory.” The literature review introduces and criticizes both domestic and overseas books, writings, and academic theses. The base theory explains the structural-functionalism, conflict theory, constructivism, and the application of these theories to the present project.

The third chapter, “Traditional Institution and Network in Tribal Politics,” probes into aborigines’ traditional viewpoints of political issues, institutions, polity, and inter-tribal relationships, and analyzes the historical importance of the governmental practice of the modernization policies in aboriginal areas, and the logic of development.

The fourth chapter, “The Connotation of Political Subject of the Aborigines,” observes the way the aborigines and the government rebuild their relationship after the destruction of the traditional institution and

network in the aborigines' lives, the way the aborigines react to political transition, the essence of its action, and the questions about accommodation.

After illustrating the destruction of tribal politics in Chapter 4, the fifth chapter, "The Development of Authoritative Relationship Between Tribes and Government," in turn discusses the questions of adaptation and identification between aboriginal tribes and the government, including: tribal position and development, the boundary and the factor of equality between tribes and country, and the reconciliation between tradition and the contemporary.

The sixth chapter, "The Construction Problem and Development of the Subject of the Aboriginal Politics," concerns with the issues of national governance and aboriginal autonomy. That is to say, what problem will happen when the government unilaterally consolidates its power while the aborigines seek for complete autonomy, and what challenge tribal political philosophy will encounter.

The seventh chapter, "The Feasibility Estimate of the Construction of Aboriginal Political Subject," tries to concretize the ideology of political subject into four categories, and separately analyzes the feasibility of its application. The four categories are classified autonomy, land co-management, shared responsibility for autonomy affairs, and equal rights. In addition, this thesis adduces similar experiences of America, Canada, New Zealand and Australia, so as to provide Taiwanese government with references of policy-making.

The last chapter, "Conclusion," induces the research results and summarizes the contributions, limitations, suggestions and expectations of this research.

Key words : subjectivity, political construction, tribal institution, aboriginal politics, ethnic identity