

出國報告（出國類別：出席國際學術會議）

參加第十五屆世界比較教育學會會議 並發表論文之心得

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摘要

媒體素養教育是培養新世紀公民重要的一環，而具批判性別意識的媒體素養更是建構公平正義社會的基石。藉由世界比較教育會議的學術交流，不僅讓其他各國與會學者瞭解台灣媒體推動性別平等的成就與困境，也學習各國媒體處理性別與多元家庭議題的特色和再現策略。特別是新傳播科技對既有家庭模式的衝擊，模糊公私領域劃分，對現實與理想的家庭教養方式產生影響變化，引起熱烈討論。媒體有關數位家庭再現的變與不變，以及背後鑲嵌的社會結構與文化，透過不同國家經驗的比較，更能凸顯當下台灣資本主義與父權體制競爭與合作的媒體痕跡。

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目的

當代的家庭湧入越來越多的數位科技媒體，不管是因為娛樂或傳播目的，我們對這些新媒體在家庭關係與生活中扮演何種角色、發揮什麼影響，卻仍然所知不多。幾年前有學者以 ComAbstracts 電子資料庫搜尋，發現只有 20 篇家庭與電腦的論文與 12 篇家庭與網路的研究 (Jennings & Wartella, 2004)。而且，這些少數研究也是相當選擇性的：對電腦與電視的研究遠比手機或 DVD 播錄器的探索多得多，其中，研究的焦點又多集中於家庭近用媒體的狀況、家長對小孩媒體近用的管制、針對媒體與環境媒體的家庭互動等三領域 (Wartella & Jennings, 2001)。甚少研究注意到眾多數位媒體如何影響整體家庭生活？如何維持與改變人們對家庭的定義與感知？又如何在訊息的交換進出裡重畫公/私、全球/在地、我群/他人的關係？

數位家庭的說法在晚近媒體報導中越來越頻繁出現，而產官學界對數位家庭的鼓吹也逐漸加溫，視之為數位商機的最後決戰場。這些論調大多從資本積累、全球競爭、科技決定的立場談數位家庭，忽略不同家庭與成員的能力與需求，卻企圖透過論述、技術、與制度的規訓建構新的家庭認同與新的家庭成員主體性。

社會學者 Lynn Spigel (1992) 曾發現 1950 年代電視開始成為家庭生活的重心的同時，建築設計師將電視機的空間考量納入家屋結構規畫的一環，家庭雜誌也諄諄告誡家庭主婦切莫分心看電視而耽誤家務，電視情境喜劇的內容更將白人中產階級的家庭生活理想化、視為理所當然。如今家庭科技數位化後，家庭的空間與生活安排是否又將改變？不少人認為家內的電腦擺置地方是個人工作區，而電視等視聽設備佔據的空間則是家人聚會的溫馨場所 (Morrison & Krugman, 2001)。但是連家庭休閒娛樂也越來越個人私密化，青少年多在自己房內單獨使用電腦、上網、打電玩 (Pew Internet and American Life Project, 2001)，有研究者因而擔心數位科技普遍家用化的結果可能導致家庭凝聚力的崩解，家人一起觀賞電視的情景難再，家庭共同使用媒體的時間銳減，家長也越來越難掌控與分享小孩使用媒體的狀況與經驗 (Iannotta, 2001)。

商業媒體的運作一向以家庭閱聽為基礎，也一直倚賴所謂的「正常家庭」論述 (van Zoonen, 1994)。分析法國電視產業發展時，Mazdon (2001) 甚至直指透過電視建構的「全國性家庭」(a national family) 是聯繫國家與個別閱聽人的關鍵橋樑。景氣低迷時，家庭是提供「補足明天氣力」的再生產機制，是失業緩衝的社會福利替代網，也是刺激消費的主要戰場，在新世紀伊始，更是令人眼花撩亂的無數新娛樂資訊科技所許下的美好未來。

數位科技進入家庭引起的可能改變當然不只是消費新商機，工業革命以來所建構的工作/家庭對立與男性/女性工作角色差別的概念遭到挑戰，女性、殘障者、發展中國家人民接觸工作機會的管道增加，重新結合生產與消費的「電子個體戶」(tele-cottage) 家庭型態也應運而生，同時全球彈性生產下的分工剥削更將於近在咫尺的家庭中上演。什麼是家庭越來越決定於成員們做什麼，而不是成員們是什麼 (Silva & Smart, 1999)：不同成員在不同

的數位環境中不同地使用或不使用某些數位科技，在日常生活重複實踐中不同地定義了各自的家庭，也賦予數位科技不同的意義。因此，數位家庭不適合以單一的、水平的公私領域劃分來定義，取而代之的是多元的、重疊交錯的階級、種族、性別等層次區隔 (layering) (Little, 2000)。而很顯然的，主流論述極少對這些版本的數位家庭投以青睞，也對數位家庭想像所要縫合的家庭衝突、勞資矛盾、性別歧視、中心/邊陲空間不平等沈默不言。政府主要以國家競爭力的角度估量數位家庭的價值，而傾向使用者付費的數位家庭想像還可能剝奪傳統家庭無阻礙接觸公共資訊與無線電波訊息的權利，為鬆綁後卸責的國家提供冠冕堂皇的擋箭牌。

有鑑於此，我在今年年初開始蒐集資料，針對 1990 以來 (1990-2012)《聯合報》與《中國時報》中與數位家庭相關的報導為對象進行內容分析，探討當代台灣媒體中「實際與理想的數位家庭」論述為何？過去二十三年是否以及有何變化？呈現何等的性別關係？本研究嘗試實證地檢驗「數位家庭商品化」、「公私領域界限模糊化」、「親職性別殊異化」、「階級與性別刻板印象」、「數位家庭溝通優越性」、與「數位家庭整體形象」等問題，探討媒體報導親職工作、提供提聽人實踐親職的認同模範時，如何因應時、地、人、事的不同而選擇性地呈現與不呈現某些親職分工樣貌，或策略性地強調與不強調某些價值與意識型態。研究目的在於透視當代台灣社會「實際與理想數位家庭」的論述變化，了解歷年來成為夫妻與父母者能從大眾媒體獲得的論述資源與限制，並進一步思索媒體數位家庭論述如何強化或挑戰既有的性別關係。

從本研究發現可知，數位家庭的想像目前多半是歌頌新科技，或是描摹新商機，忽略當前台灣不同家庭的需求與困境，企圖透過權力/知識的策略部署，建立數位家庭的標準常態，掩蓋數位科技家用化 (domestication) 過程可能衍生的各種意義詮釋、關係改變、認同重組。雖然業者宣稱「台灣的消費者對新科技的產品接受力特別強」，但是業者還是得傾全力，「把消費者拉進這個世界裡」。原來，數位家庭成員的主體性還是要被當成待形塑的客體，在一套自給自足的論述體系內，強力又細緻地經營。不過，數位家庭的想像必然是暫時、不穩定、不完整的，隨時會受到身處結構矛盾差異中的家庭與其成員質疑、挪用、挑戰。

本研究之內容分析顯示，媒體報導強調數位科技模糊了公私領域的界線劃分，目的卻是把消費主義與科技崇拜帶進家庭內，忽略公私界線模糊後可能的性別關係調整、勞資關係再結構、世代互動模式轉型、與家國內外認同焦慮。數位家庭內親職工作理想執行者的選擇性呈現更凸顯晚近的數位家庭報導越趨保守、越私有化、重回男主外女主內的刻板形象，數位科技不僅未取代母職、減輕母親負擔、或促進平等的親職分工，反而更強化女人照顧家庭的義務、增加母職工作負擔、甚至逼使女人淪落為數位監視下被規訓的身體。

三個時期相比較，經歷網路泡沫化的第二時期報導反倒較謙卑平實，傳遞階級與性別意識形態的報導最少，重視數位家庭內的溝通品質，會注意數位家庭內的親職分工實務、夫妻親子關係、工作與家庭雙重壓力等議題，也認真反省數位科技設計的局限、家庭生活

空間與時間安排的改變、新家庭溝通形態的不適應、與數位家庭政策盲點等問題。第二時期的報導雖然有助於呈現負面的數位家庭整體形象，這些報導卻不致於將數位家庭全然窄化為商品化、私人消費選擇，也不視數位家庭內的照顧工作為女人的事情，多數報導仍宣稱數位家庭中父母共親職是最理想的親職分工方式。數位家庭的科技鑲嵌於家庭性別關係與社會權力結構中，不同的家庭有不同的數位科技「家用化」模式，數位家庭的媒體再現當然也該是多元、異質的，而另一方面，數位家庭的想像也應是有助於性別、階級、與族群平等的改革藍圖。未來研究可以進一步探討第二時期有利於性別平等與多元家庭報導的性別關係與社會權力結構為何？又為何晚近第三時期的數位家庭報導未持續深化性別與階級的改革，反而更形保守退步？

身處數位科技往家庭轉進與家庭型態往多元異質離心的交叉點，數位家庭的論述批判是刻不容緩的學術介入。雖然許多家庭數位科技尚未到位，整合平台規格未定，數位市場的「殺手級應用」還未出現，數位家庭的結構傾向卻是相當明確的。本研究關心的不是未來家庭中哪些數位科技被採用，哪些廠商獨領風騷，而是數位家庭想像背後的主力作手——資本主義、國族主義、與父權體制——將如何透過論述、組織、技術改變我們的生活與認同，媒體報導又如何呈現家庭中數位科技使用、建構家庭成員的自我展演腳本、親密關係與社會角色。

簡言之，本研究欲達成的效益有四項：

第一、不把數位家庭的論述權力拱手讓與社會既得利益者，在科技決定論與國家、產業競爭力的主流論述之外進行數位家庭的另類想像，有益於社會重要資源分配與再分配時的民主規劃；

第二、在數位科技上進行人文思考與批判，反思科技、社會、主體互相形塑的過程，具體瞭解在台灣脈絡中，數位科技設計研發、生產、行銷、購買、使用各環節的知識權力關係，落實科技來自於人性，也能改善提升人性的需求；

第三、描繪台灣家庭的轉變軌跡，透過家庭與數位科技發展的瞭解，分析媒體的數位家庭再現，批判媒體傳遞的性別、階級、與族群意識形態，避免消極感嘆家庭價值消逝，積極尋求媒體多元形象呈現、與更友善的社會、科技支持體系，幫助家庭與其成員成長；

第四、在媒體繫綁、商業化、數位化、全球化之際，強調媒體產業的文化角色，思索要求使用者付費、監控閱聽人資料並整合入產銷過程的跨國數位媒體到底為誰服務？數位家庭對身份認同、媒體近用的文化權、自由民主參與社會運作的公民權又可能有何影響？

本研究拒絕視數位家庭、數位傳播科技、或家庭為理所當然的既定事實，呼籲更多研究與行動對這三者間的知識權力關係進行批判介入。本研究相信社會結構、家庭權力關係、與媒體科技三者密不可分（Elasmr, Hasegawa, and Brain, 1999），因此數位家庭的論述既是特定社會結構的（structured）產物，也是形成新結構的（structuring）動力。台灣的家庭正面臨經濟不景氣、社福再度私化、新婚姻觀、與多元文化的衝擊，數位家庭的論述批判是一個絕佳的研究切入點，足以具體展現資本主義、父權體制、國族中心觀點與抗拒勢

力的拉扯較勁，並探索另類數位家庭論述的構連策略與物質基礎。

研究甫將完成之際，得知比較教育學會世界總會（World Council of Comparative Education Societies, WCCES）正徵求論文於年會中發表，會議主題：新時代、新聲音（New Times, New Voices）與本研究關聯的新傳播科技、新家庭模式、新再現觀點甚為相稱，該會議非常歡迎傳統教育研究之外的媒體識讀教育與批判的性別教育，因此試著投稿，很榮幸經審查後通過，並確定於6月24日發表。

過程

我於2013年六月底前往阿根廷的布宜諾斯艾利斯參加由比較教育學會世界總會（World Council of Comparative Education Societies, WCCES）舉辦的第十五屆世界比較教育會議（XV Comparative Education World Congress），從6月24日到28日，為期五天。這是個人首度的南美洲之行，對於能夠出席這樣的研討會，感到十分珍惜，也帶回來許多收穫。

該學術會議頗具規模，一共有284場論文口頭報告（oral communication）與170場小組討論（panel discussion），來自80個國家的近千名學者共襄盛舉。環繞在會議主題：新時代、新聲音（New Times, New Voices），每一場論文口頭報告或小組討論都聚焦在一個教育變遷的主題，企圖透過這樣的主題團體（thematic group, TG）交流，讓研究興趣相同的研究者交換想法、甚至建立合作關係。

本屆會議最具特色處在於為南半球第三世界國家的新時代發聲，以往參與的歐美學術會議，多半忽略邊陲區域與國家的處境和問題，不像此次會議頻繁討論新自由主義全球化下南北方國家關係，腦力激盪試圖摸索更新、更有創意、更批判性的南方因應策略。與會學者55%來自中南美洲、15%來自亞洲與大洋洲、只有不到30%是歐美學者。雖然南腔北調，加上不熟諳西班牙語，造不少理解與討論上的障礙，但是不同的觀點與邊陲的思考卻非常值得國際處境困難的台灣學習。

對我而言，很多論文發表與小組討論都非常有趣，但是礙於時間上的衝突，往往只能選擇其中若干主題。與我的研究計畫最有關係的包括TG5-OC3（Neo-liberalism, liberalism, the role of the state-public partnerships in the non-profit sector）、TG3-OC6（Globalization and higher education in Asia）、和TG1-P3（Alternative approaches to the global/local nexus）。此外我也參與了第一天開幕的會議（Opening conference: Development and education for new time）與第五天的Sondra Hale 專題演講（Post-colonialism, social movements and gender in a new world）。只要參與，都會參與討論，一方面與發表人對話，一方面也可以讓國際學者注意到有台灣的學者出席。通常會在會後與發表人交換名片，以利後續的聯繫與學術合作。

我在會議第一天的下午15:15-16:45於TG12-DC13發表論文，主要報告台灣媒體自1990年以來數位家庭的再現模式與隱含意識型態的變遷。新傳播科技對既有家庭模式的

衝擊表現於媒體報導中，有關數位家庭模糊公私領域劃分，對現實與理想的家庭教養方式產生影響變化，引起熱烈討論。媒體有關數位家庭再現的變與不變，以及背後鑲嵌的社會結構與文化，透過不同國家經驗的比較，更能凸顯當下台灣資本主義與父權體制競爭與合作的媒體痕跡。參與討論者提供中南美洲、英國、日本、與以色列的數位家庭發展實例，也探討新傳播科技對性別教育的挑戰與契機，身為發表者收穫甚豐。

不過。會議進行也發生一些意外插曲，原本的主持人因故無法出席，代理人到了現場才發覺本場次是以英語發表，她只能以西語溝通，因此耽誤數分鐘協調，主辦單位一時也無法再尋覓新適合主持人，因此在與會者一致同意下，本場次無主持人，由各發表人自行控制流程。雖然這是會議行政缺失，不過卻因無主持人發言而增長了發表後回饋討論時間，反而增加不少收穫。

心得與建議

出席此次國際學術會議，最主要的心得有二：首先是深刻感受到英語並非萬用的國際語言，即使在 WCCES 這樣一個大型重要國際會議，在研討會上規定以英語或西語發表、交談、討論，不少學者仍對英語交流敬謝不敏，更不用提在阿根廷這幾天日常生活溝通所遭遇的問題，連布宜諾斯艾利斯如此的大都市，一般居民大都無法以英語交談。其次是長久以來，我所參考的國外文獻大多限於英語系國家的學者所發表的著作，對於非英語系的學者與研究相對而言比較陌生。本次會議從南半球發聲的文化震撼，與布宜諾斯艾利斯街頭無數書店與書報攤卻無法閱讀的困窘，激發我反省台灣所謂全球化的偏狹。如果真要達到國際交流的目的，不能再從英語系國家的眼光看世界，多出席歐美以外的國際會議也許是一個好的開始。

整體來說，出席國際學術會議有助於掌握最近的研究趨勢與發展，藉此拓展研究關注的面向，激盪問題意識的形成。附加價值就是對於舉辦會議的國家之理解，例如此次由布宜諾斯艾利斯大學主辦，因此得以瞭解該大學的概況，加上由於地利之便，不少主題都有中南美的學者發表研究成果，因此得以瞭解中南美洲目前的發展與所面臨的問題。即使南半球學者提供許多迥異於已開發國家的理論觀點（如：依賴理論），台灣學界卻相對地忽略他/她們的聲音，南半球學者也對台灣學術發展感到陌生。一趟阿根廷論文發表之旅令我大開眼界，感謝國科會經費的補助，本論文已經著手再改寫以投稿國際期刊，希望國際學術會議的交流是好的開始，南北學者未來可以一起合作摸索因應未來的世界新挑戰。

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附錄

A Comparative Study of the Practical and Ideal E-Home Discourses in the Taiwanese Media

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ABSTRACT

Using the e-home-related coverage of the Taiwanese media in the past twenty three years as data, this study conducts a content analysis to examine: What is the “practical and ideal e-home” discourse in contemporary Taiwanese media? Do they vary with time and how? What kind of gender relations is presented? This study also tries to empirically test hypotheses of “the blurred line between public and private domains,” “the gender differentiation of parenting,” and “the emphasis on family communication.” Seeing the media as the sites of symbolic struggle, the study investigates how the media have selectively represented e-home in varies of time, and how they have strategically emphasized or not emphasized certain value and ideology. The purpose is, by examining the changing discourse of e-home in contemporary Taiwan, to understand what resources the being-parents and educators can obtain from digitalized home, with what kind of limitation. In the conclusion we go further to discuss how the media discourse of e-home could strengthen feminist education and challenge the existing gender relations.

Keywords: e-home, digital technology, feminism, gender relations, media coverage

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Introduction

With the powerful propaganda from the cooperation of the industry, the government, and the academy, the idea that the new digital communication technology brings about ‘family revolution’ has been wide-spreading in the mainstream media (Guan, 2003), which keeps reminding the audience of which digital products to buy, where to put, when to use, and even what kind of family life and relations is desirable and ought to pursue. At the same time when e-home gets promoted, the configuration of Taiwanese families has been undergoing dramatic changes as well; the family structure in Taiwan ‘deforms, shrinks, hardens, and weakens’ (Yang, 2004). Does the e-home serve to resume the withering traditional family, to open up the door to the commercialized residential service, or to make it possible for families of all kinds to produce, consume, and communicate?

The potential changes arising from introducing the digital technology to the family certainly are not limited only to new businesses. The concept of the work/family divide and the role difference between men and women constructed since the industrial revolution has also been challenged, as the access to work opportunities for women, the disabled, and people in developing countries has increased. The family type of tele-cottage occurs concomitantly, which re-combines production and consumption, and in the meantime, the exploitation of division of labor under the global system of flexible production will take place right at home. The definition of family depends more and more on what family members do but not on what they are (Silva & Smart, 1999); the repetitive practice in daily life defines one’s own family, in which different family members use or do not use some digital technologies in different digital environments, which itself gives different meanings to digital technologies. Thus digital families cannot be defined by a single and horizontal division between the public and the private, but instead, they should be layering with class, race, gender, and so on in multiple and intertwining ways (Little, 2000). However, the dominant discourse rarely pays attention to digital families of such versions and also silences familial conflict, capital-labor relations, gender discrimination, and spatial inequity between the center and the peripheral. As the government assesses the value of digital families on the basis of national competitiveness, the tendency to imagine the users-pay-it digital families might deprive traditional families of their rights to public and wireless information, which functions as an ostentatious excuse for irresponsible nations after deregulation.

Using the e-home-related coverage of two Taiwanese media, *United Daily* and *China Times*, in the past twenty three years (1990-2012) as data, this study conducts a content analysis to examine: What is the “practical and ideal e-home” discourse in contemporary Taiwanese media? Do they vary with time and how? What kind of gender relations is presented? This study tries to empirically discuss such problems as “commercialization of e-home,” “boundary blurring between the public and the private sphere,” “the gender differentiation of parenting,” “class and gender stereotype,” “the emphasis on family communication,” and “the general image of e-home.” It investigates how the

media, while covering parenting work and providing the audience with a role model, have selectively represented or not represented e-home in various periods, places, persons, and matters, and how they have strategically emphasized or not emphasized certain value and ideology. The purpose is, by examining the changing discourse of e-home in contemporary Taiwan, to understand which resources the being-couples and parents can obtain from the media, with which limitations. In the end, we will go further to discuss how the media discourse of e-home could reinforce or challenge the existing gender relations.

Review of Literature

As the birth rate declines and the number of children in family decreases, the parent-child relation and the content of parenting has been influenced as well. What is noteworthy is the way of communication and upbringing in contemporary families has been affected more and more by the media and “expert opinion”. Through a content analysis of publications targeting parents, especially the middle-class ones, many studies outside Taiwan show that in every time period, experts will identify different child-rearing goals and, no matter what the goals are, parents will be warned that they can hardly achieve without professional assistance of some kind. Even though expert opinions do not necessarily reflect family practices, some parents do take advices from such media as parenting guides and books, magazines, and newspapers with respect to household management and parent-child communication (Knaak, 2005; Quirke, 2006; Wrigley, 1989). Quirke (2006) maintains that, while the family represented in newspapers and magazines does not directly reflect the reality, these coverage and “expert opinions” do highlight the interest of the public to some extent and approximate to the family recognized by the mainstream. For this reason analyzing the content of media coverage related to the family is conducive to understanding how the idea and practice of family varies with time and what kind of power relations are implied wherein (Smith, 1987).

Inside Taiwan few studies dealt with family coverage. More than thirty years ago Tang's (1979) master thesis examines the change of societal value by analyzing the content of family section in Taiwanese newspapers. Many years later similar studies started to be seen again. They look at how the content and the form in the family section of newspapers have been changing, including an emphasis on the leisure function of family, a highlight of individual life styles, an effect of classification of consumers on the coverage of family sections, a rise of women's issues and consciousness, and so forth. Nonetheless, what has been missing is how the newspaper covers the technology, communication and parenting in family and how the content is presented besides such sections as family, life, and women. Not to mention recording and analyzing systematically the gender relations and technological utilization in family-related coverage.

Scrutinizing the research relevant to communication technology and family in Taiwanese communication academic community, one can see the research focus varies with time. Before the 1970s, when televisions just entered Taiwanese families, researchers were interested in understanding the perception of families and housewives toward television watching and programs, which resulted in mostly descriptive papers. In the 1970s, the media began to promote family planning and its effect became a hot topic. The media thus served as a delegate of the public sector in the private sphere, even penetrating into the couple's bodies and constructing the societal family identity. In addition to applying the model of effect analysis, these researchers generally accepted the theoretical framework of modernization. Starting with the mid-1980s, the analytical framework shifted to McLeod and Chaffee's family communication model, and theories such as socialization and identity were adopted as well, which stress that the media effect will be moderated by the communication pattern in family. In the 1990s the interrelationship between television watching, other activities and interpersonal relationship in family gradually received researchers' attention. Morley's (2000) ethnographic study on family audience has also been taken to discuss the power relations and interpretive strategies within Taiwanese families. Earlier studies relied mainly on positivist and quantitative methods, and later ones have tended to use qualitative research methods. But such contextualized research approaches were not taken often in the new century, new digital media studies. Usually we can see large scale surveys, conducted regularly by both public and private organizations, to be published, indicating the number, feature, habit and preference of individual users. What has been ignored is under what circumstances they work or live and how the digital technology is interpreted differently or appropriated creatively in specific environment.

Only a few papers published in the past years of the media representation with respect to family technology in Taiwan. For instance, Lee (2004) analyzes women's image in the advertisement of PC home magazine. Qin (2011) historically reviews how the newspaper advertisement from 1945 to 1970 portrays the contour of "electronic happy family." Liu (2013) inducts the modern mothering discourse constructed by the magazine, *Women's Friends*, in the 1960s. Via the data base of Taiwanese degree theses, there exist 200 studies in total pointing directly to digital family up to the end of 2010, and the majority of them are concerned with such issues as technological application, industrial development, and management and marketing strategies. Only two master theses discuss the concept of digital family and product users, and the representation of digital family in the media receives no attention.

The division of between the public sphere and the private one is socio-historically constructed and varied. Since the industrialization in the west men have been attracted to work collectively in the factory, and the family has thus been treated as a consumptive private sphere led by women

(Corrigan, 1997). And technical products in family have also been transformed into non-productive objects ever since (Forty, 1986). Criticizing the so-called myth of technique innovation of family commodities, Cowan (1983) points out that the introduction of family technology and the emphasis on “family bacteria” have inadvertently raised the household standard and expanded the household scope for mothers. In other words, they are expected not only to clean up, give birth, rear and feed children, like before. Now housewives also are expected to be smart consumers and learn about nutrition, hygiene, disease prevention, communicative interaction, and the function and utilization of new products. Taiwanese scholar Liu (2013) also find that, the knowledge of family technology and home economics was introduced by the magazine, *Women's Friend*, in the 1960s, as “new/western/progressive”, which shapes a brand-new pattern of household labor and parent-child communication but reinforces the existing image of gender division of labor. The so-called modern mothering, in fact, contradictorily combines traditional patriarchy, nationalism, consumption desire, and new technology and knowledge. The “Happy Family Movement” implemented by the government then basically is a mixed discourse of the orient and the west, the traditional and the modern. What remains constant is, however, the image of good wife and mother, who always sacrifices themselves and takes good care of family. Likewise, Qin (2011) thinks that the advertisement of electronic household facilities in 1945-1970 advocated the modernity of rational efficiency on the one hand and propagated the tradition of patriarchal thought on the other. In sum, the new technology does not reduce women's burden. Rather, they become even busier as they have to manage both inside and outside, dealing both with the public and the private realm. They've tried very hard to hook up with the globalized modernity, to labor flexibly, and to learn the standardized/scientific way of housekeeping. The housework is no longer limited to the mundane matter in the private sphere but has become global domesticity (Walsh, 2004).

In contemporary Taiwan the family is a stage where the forces of class, gender and race combat with each other, and the digital family represented by the media serves both as the means and the effect of the interplay between knowledge and power. Berg (1994) indicates that the usage of the technology at home is indeed a gendering process in which certain products related to housekeeping or family leisure often are viewed as simple equipments for housewives. Following up with the evolution of the idea of “media family” in the past fifty years in the US, Spigel (2001) observes that, from the family theater, the mobile family to the smart family of the computer age, what research shows is not simply about a conceptual change co-occurring with technological shifts, but also about an appealing drama of how the middle-class family ideology in different times dances to the tune of communication technology utilization. Lee (2004) recognizes a change in the gendered computer at the turn of the new century. The women represented in the computer commercials shift from being sexy, beautiful, meticulous, and afraid of computer to being intelligent, independent, tasteful and good at working. The boundary between men and women gets blurred. The rise of gender consciousness and the performance of women at work shake the traditional

family structure. The use of digital technology in family does not necessarily lead to a perpetuation of the patriarchal system but, instead, might make it more convenient for women to work at home and facilitate the formation and identification of multiple family fabrications.

Based on the aforementioned literature and problem, this study will conduct a content analysis of the following dimensions: the commodification of digital family, the blurring between the public/private divide, the gender differentiation of parenting, class and gender stereotype, communication superiority of digital family, and the entire image of digital family. Most of the existing studies in Taiwan lack for systematic data gathering and analysis and for a representative sample drawn locally, randomly and longitudinally. A direct focus on the content, implementation and imagination of digital family coverage is needed desperately. This study aims to address these deficits by empirically analyzing the newspaper content with a macro-level mindset without being superficial and trivial. The digital family is a stage where the power of class, gender, race, and so on encounters, and the media coverage functions as the means and effect of knowledge and power operation. It is therefore necessary to include the development of the digital family in the past two decades in Taiwan in our research for us to be able to empathize with the normative pressure or symbolic resource of the family life of the ordinary people and to, hopefully, tell the story of the quotidian life rarely known.

Research Design and Method

This study selects the print media as the research object due to two considerations: one is that it's difficult to accumulate long and have an access to the content of visual and audio media, and the other is that the internet information has been rich only for the past ten years. Among the print media magazines cannot be compared with newspapers in terms of their publication time and amount. As for books, their sales and populations are hard to confirm. We decide to perform a content analysis on newspapers. In the beginning of data gathering, the statistics shown in *《General Media Survey》*, issued by *AC Nielsen* in the third quarter (July-September) of year 2010, is used. Four most circulated newspapers include *Liberty Times*, *Apple Daily*, *United Daily*, and *China Times*. The history of *Apple Daily* does not cover the period at which this study aims, and *Liberty Times* has no complete electronic data base for news. Therefore the electronic data bases of both *United Daily* and *China Times* for the past 23 years serve as the population for sampling, using “digital family” and its likeness as key words for search. The samples include news reports, features, special reports, investigative reports, in-depth reports, editorials, columns, interviews, letters or articles from readers, and editors' special projects, and the total is 1553. A systemic sampling is then performed and 518 articles are chosen, at intervals of 3. Out of 518, 453 pieces of report, comment or article remain in the end, after deleting those of repetition and irrelevance

We glance over the content of the samples and review the relevant literature first, and a draft of the coding table develops. Three research assistants assume coders, and reliability matches the demand of content analysis, among which the individual category reliability is not lower than 0.90 and the entire reliability is higher than 0.90 as well. The main categories for coding include time period, major theme, the public/private sphere orientation, the ideal performer for parenting, class and gender stereotype, the emphasis on family communication, and the e-home image in media representation. In terms of statistical analysis, chi-square(χ^2) and one-way ANOVA are performed to examine such research questions as the commodification of digital family, the blurring between the public/private divide, the gender differentiation of parenting, class and gender stereotype, communication superiority of digital family, and the entire image of digital family.

Research Findings

This study divides the sample of 23 years into three periods. The first period, 1990-1996, is a warm-up stage before the concept of digital family was proposed; it was 1996 when the sale of household computers outnumbered that of business computers for the first time in Taiwan, three laws promoting the liberation of market were formulated, and the symbolic magazine, *PC home* first published. Then came the fluctuation between the ebb and the flow of the internet industry at the turn of the century, when the digital technology industry tried to recuperate by combining web 2.0 with mobile communication technologies and is seen as the second period, 1997-2005. In 2006, the Executive Yuan decided to implement the project of digitalization, claiming to construct Taiwan as “Ubiquitous Network Society,” and to carry out “The Second Stage Strengthening Digital Content Industry Implementation Project,” which would last from 2007 to 2011. It was at this juncture that the industry proposed, once again, digital family as their goal, aiming to satisfy the

Table 1 : Major theme, the public/private sphere orientation, and the ideal performer for parenting in the e-home coverage of three time periods (%)

	Time period Sample #	1990 – 1996 N = 50	1997 – 2005 N = 110	2006– 2012 N = 293	1990 – 2012 N = 453
Major theme	Promoting technologies	44.0	13.5	27.0	25.6
	Introducing new business	26.0	13.0	36.0	29.4
	Parenting in the e-home	12.0	48.0	10.1	20.3
	Problems of e-home	8.0	18.5	23.2	19.5
	Others	10.0	7.0	3.7	5.2

	總計	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
* $\chi^2=68.243, df=8, p < .001$					
The public/private sphere orientation	Public sphere orientation	2.0	13.1	3.8	5.8
	Blurred line between the public and the private sphere	80.0	85.5	81.1	82.0
	Private sphere orientation	18.0	1.4	15.1	12.2
	總計	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
* $\chi^2=38.122, df=4, p < .001$					
Ideal performer for parenting	father	1.0	5.0	7.5	6.2
	mother	23.0	14.9	55.5	42.0
	Co-parents	34.0	62.4	15.5	29.0
	Individuals or groups in the public sphere	20.0	13.6	10.4	12.9
	Digital technologies	22.0	4.1	11.1	9.9
	總計	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
* $\chi^2=21.613, df=8, p < .001$					

demands of consumers such as family safety, care, learning, and entertainment. Thus the third, 2006-2012, is classified as the new age of digital family. The basic descriptive statistics show that, while the later the period is, the more the coverage of digital family is; in the first period the coverage of parenting is of the least amount, 50, more than twice of that occur in the second period, 110, and the third period reaches 293.

Table 1 includes three chi-square analyses by using time period as an independent valuable whereas major theme, public/private sphere orientation, and ideal performer for parenting in the digital family as dependent valuables

As data show, the major theme in the first time period (1990-1996) is *promoting technologies* (44%). Struggling through the dot.com bubble of year 2000, the major them of the second time period (1997-2005) has shifted toward *parenting in e-home* (48%). Almost half of the e-home coverage during that time focus upon parenting practices, parents-kids relationship, division of labor in household works, and double burdens from the family as well as the workplace. The *problems of*

e-home (18.5%) have also been pinpointed to reevaluate the limitation of digital technology design, the reshuffle of time and space arrangement in family life, and the adjustment to new communication patterns at home. With highest amount of *e-home* coverage, the third time period (2006-2012) tended to highlight those articles *introducing new business* (36%), describing industrial maneuvers into family life with the help of audio-video entertainment facilities. The difference among the *e-home* coverage of three time periods is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 68.243$, $df = 8$, $p < .001$). Except the second time period, promoting technologies and introducing new business have outnumbered parenting in *e-home* and problems of *e-home* in press coverage. Others themes such as *e-home* policies, digital divides, social transformation, and alternative families account for only 10.0%, 7.0%, 3.7% in three time periods respectively.

As to the public/private sphere orientation in *e-home* coverage in Table 1, the difference among three time periods is also statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 38.122$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$). Homes were likely to be regarded as parts of the private sphere in tradition. It is not the case in *e-home* coverage, which proclaims the blurred line between the public sphere and the private one due to the digital technologies used at home. However, the percentages of *e-home* coverage with the private sphere orientation in the first and the third time periods are still above 15%, comparing to less than 4% of public-sphere-oriented coverage in the same two time periods.

Overall speaking, as in the traditional families, mothers (42%) are deemed by newspapers as ideal performers for parenting in *e-home*. Bringing digital technologies home does not seriously challenge sexual division of labor and gender stereotypes. Only in the first period of time, next to co-parents and moms, digital technologies are considered as appropriate candidates for the works of parenting (22%). Such an optimistic view that digital technologies will replace parents to take care of whole families has died down in the following two time periods. Co-parents (62.4%) dominate the news coverage in the second time period, while moms (55.5%) are return to stereotypic role as caregivers in *e-home* in the third time period. Fathers are least regarded as ideal performers for parenting all the way, although the percentage has increased in dribs and drabs. It seems that *e-home* coverage in Taiwan has become more politically conservative, commercially oriented, and socially biased.

To further exam the initial findings, one-way ANOVA analyses with post hoc scheffe tests are used to detect both class and gender stereotypes in the *e-home* coverage of three time periods. Both class and gender stereotypes are coded from low (-1) to high (1), with 0 standing for medium. In spite of several differences, the *e-home* coverage of three time periods is identical in certain ways: Almost all of them are regarding the heterosexual Taiwanese families, lack of non-white examples. Nor are they alternative to the nuclear family. Nevertheless, the *e-home* coverage of three time periods differs from each other in terms of both class and gender stereotypes.

Table 2 : Class and gender stereotypes in the e-home coverage of three time periods

	N	Mean	S.D.
Class stereotype			
1990-1996 (1)	50	0.31	0.526
1997-2005 (2)	110	0.07	0.539
2006-2012 (3)	293	0.26	0.467
總和	453	0.22	0.499
* $F(2, 433) = 12.944, p < .001$			
Post hoc Scheffe test : (1,2)*** (2,3)***			
Gender stereotype			
1990-1996 (1)	50	0.14	0.724
1997-2005 (2)	110	0.01	0.432
2006-2012 (3)	293	0.53	0.689
總和	453	0.17	0.596
* $F(2, 433) = 35.510, p < .001$			
Post hoc Scheffe test : (1,3)*** (2,3)***			

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

According to Table 2, the level of class stereotype in the e-home coverage is highest in the first time period and lowest in the second time period. The difference among the coverage of three time periods has reached statistical significance ($F(2, 433) = 12.944, p < .001$). In the post hoc scheffe tests, class stereotype in the second time period is significantly different from those in the first and third time periods, while the difference between the latter two is not statistically significant. As for the media content, the e-home coverage before 1996 tends to represent the image of bourgeois family entertainment. After the dot.com bubble of the year 2000, the media have readjusted their ways of covering e-home issues to change the focus from high-end bourgeois families to more or less mundane ones. Therefore, the coverage in the second time period has begun to pay attention to the needs of ordinary people and decrease the level of class-biased stereotype in its e-home representation. The trend does not last too long. During the third time period, the income gap between rich families and poor ones keeps growing wide, whereas digital communication technologies turn out to be more individualized and commercialized. Media coverage follows suit. The representation of e-home is back to well-off families who live with new digital technologies happily ever after.

Table 3 : Emphasis on family communication and e-home image positively portrayed in the media coverage of three time periods

	N	Mean	S. D.
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Emphasis on family communication			
1990-1996 (1)	50	0.05	0.330
1997-2005 (2)	110	0.21	0.449
2006-2012 (3)	293	0.20	0.420
總和	453	0.18	0.421
* $F(2, 904) = 5.824, p < .005$			
Post hoc Scheffé test : (1,2)*(1,3)*			
E-home image positively portrayed			
1990-1996 (1)	50	0.36	0.526
1997-2005 (2)	110	-0.10	0.539
2006-2012 (3)	293	0.17	0.467
總和	453	0.13	0.499
* $F(2, 904) = 13.878, p < .001$			
Post hoc Scheffé test : (1,2)*** (1,3)*(2,3)*			

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

The coverage of the second time period has least gender-related stereotype as well. In contrast, the highest level of sexual discrimination in media coverage comes out of the third time period. The difference among the coverage of three time periods has also reached statistical significance ($F(2, 433) = 35.510, p < .001$). Responding to the awakening calls of the feminist movements in the 1990s, the media seem to be more sympathetic to gender equity within and without families. However, both feminist movements and the media have weathered through some kind of backlash in the new century. It appears that economic hardship, particularly after 2008, has forced women to go back to kitchens and changing tables, if not terminating their careers at all. To compete for limited advertising money, the media choose to side with affluent families and wealthy target audiences, instead of speaking for grudging household wives. E-home representation of this time period has contradictorily mixed the possibility that new technologies might lessen household chores with the stereotype of born motherhood. Fathers are again absent from parenting jobs and household works. It is likely to say that e-home is men's castle but women's confinement.

Table 3 demonstrates two one-way ANOVA analyses regarding the emphasis upon family communication and the e-home image portrayed in the media coverage of three time periods. Both the emphasis upon family communication and the e-home image positively portrayed are coded from low (-1) to high (1), with 0 standing for medium.

Looking into Table 3, we can see the significant change over the emphasis on family communication since 1990 ($F(2, 904) = 5.824, p < .005$), but the progress in the last two time

periods is not obvious. And what is worse is that the mean scores in three time periods tend to be low. That means that the media do not concern if bringing digital technologies home can improve family communication. Media representation prefers new business opportunities and technology fetishism to family revolution.

With the most positive image in the first time period and the least positive image in the second one, the general media images about e-home in three time periods are significantly different from each other ($F(2, 904) = 13.878, p < .001$). Before the dot.com bubble, e-home in media portray is a brave new world with an apparent optimistic touch. It comes under fire at the turn of the century when the bubble of the digital industry has burst up. The image of e-home is tarnished and gradually getting back its splendor in the recent years.

Discussion and Conclusion

The aforementioned findings indicate that, while the current imagination of digital family tends either to compliment the new technology or to depict the new opportunity for profit, the needs and difficulties of different families in the contemporary Taiwan are ignored. By means of a strategic deployment of power/knowledge, the standard norm of digital family is erected, which obscures various interpretation of meaning, changing relations, and reconstruction of identity, resulting from the domestication of digital technology.

Even if the industry states that “Taiwanese consumers welcome new technology products wholeheartedly and easily,” it still makes every effort to “draw consumers into this world.” (Guan, 2003) Eventually, the subjectivity of digital family members needs to be treated as objects to be shaped in a self-contained discourse system with powerful and delicate management. The imagination of digital family must, however, be temporary, unstable, and incomplete, constantly being questioned, appropriated, and challenged by families and their members positioned within structural contradictions and differences.

The accessibility of new communication technologies and restructuring of capitalism make more and more families to be directly included into the system of global economic division of labor and consumption. The family positions itself at the end of international flow of goods and information, serves as the decisive battleground of consumptive electronic products, and is also a place of tug of war between the local government and the extra-local force, between the center and the peripheral (Little, 2000). In Taiwan, the blocs across the fields of media, finance, and communication have penetrated into the family life of all ages, whose influence is not only on cultivating their consumptive habits but also on shaping the audience’s identity. As the Executive Yuan announced in 2002 the project of “Challenge 2008”, a six-year plan of development

importance, which claims to build Taiwan as “the most digitalized country in Asia”, the Government Information Office also pledged to digitalize all television sets. The government would encourage the digital technology industry by funding, financing, tax exemption, and so on. How on earth will the digital family, a slogan over the years, appear?

As the findings demonstrate, the media coverage of e-home does give some credit to digital technologies for blurring the line between the public and the private spheres. Instead of helping to redress the balance between the personal and the political, the temporal and spatial flexibility in family life turn out to be a gateway for bringing consumerism and technophilia to the family hearth. E-home coverage in general, and the one in the third time period in particular, tends to downplay the possibilities of improving gender relationship, changing existing labor-capital structure, transforming generational inequity, and reshaping identities. The selected representation of the ideal performer for parenting in the e-home has further revealed the conservative tendency of the media in Taiwan. In media coverage, e-home and new digital technologies are for men. It does not call for the change over the sexual division of labor within home. The dream of e-home is not women’s salvation and digital technologies are not the replacement for motherhood either. To the contrary, women and mothers could be increasingly docile bodies under constant surveillance in the digital future.

Comparatively speaking, rather than singing a happy tune, the e-home coverage in the second time period has come back to earth by addressing practical issues. It conveys less class and gender ideology, but more emphasis upon family communication, co-parenting, and the balance between the family and the workplace. It takes a close look into the blind spots in technical designs, temporal and spatial restructuring within family life, as well as policy-making at the national and international levels. Few rosy images about e-home are portrayed. The media heed the capability and disability that digital technologies could perform in different families. If families are indeed plural and heterogeneous, we are entitled to ask the media for alternative ways of e-home imagination. If the e-home coverage both reflects and shapes the power configurations of class, race, and gender, media reforms are as important and urgent as other social changes.

Situated at the intersection of new technologies and new families, critical discourses of e-home are seriously wanted. Capitalistic imperatives are driving the digital future to accommodate the interests of the powers that be. The engagement of critical discourses and collective actions in the power/knowledge plays of capitalism, nationalism, and patriarchy might lead to the realization of a more democratic family life and a more responsible media role. Seeing social structures, family power relations and media technologies as interwoven (Elasmr, Hasegawa, and Brain, 1999), this research treats e-home discursive struggles as structuring forces as well as structured products. The content analysis of the e-home coverage in the past two decades is simply the first step to grasp the structuration of new digital technologies, and to prepare for the confrontation against class

exploitation, ethnic domination, and sexual discrimination in the future e-home in Taiwan.

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行政院國家科學委員會補助國內專家學者出席國際學術會議報告

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發表 論文 題目	(中文) 台灣媒體報導中的實際與理想數位家庭論述比較 (英文) A Comparative Study of the Practical and Ideal E-Home Discourses in the Taiwanese Media		