THE MODERN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN TAIWAN:

THE CHANGING ROLE OF TAIWANESE WOMEN IN A CONSCIOUS AND COLLECTIVE STRUGGLE TOWARD EQUALITY

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ABSTRACT

Traditionally, Taiwanese women were seen to be inferior to Taiwanese men and were not seen as fully being persons as men were. For centuries, Taiwanese women were kept in the home, and they were not allowed to access formal education, to work outside their home, or to participate in the public sphere. However, this bad situation for Taiwanese women has been changing ever since the beginning of the twentieth century. Gradually, Taiwanese women have gained a right to education, marriage, work, and political expression, and thus the role of Taiwanese women today seems to be very different from what it was a hundred years ago. In particular, the increasing educational opportunities at all levels have helped make Taiwanese women more aware of their subordinate status and how to ameliorate their situation. In fact, the modern women's movement in Taiwan, which started in the early 1970s, was the consequence of Taiwanese women having their conscious and collective voices towards equality transformed into action by organizing themselves to struggle for change. The three stages of Taiwan's modern women's movement marked its growth and the changing social environment. This thesis addresses the development of the modern women's movement in Taiwan during the last two decades, and uses the Gender and Development (GAD) approach, an alternative approach that tends to be more transformative in nature, to examine the agenda of the modern women's movement in Taiwan in three different stages in order to determine whether or not the GAD approach will serve as an effective tool for future use by the modern women's movement in Taiwan.

Pei–jung Lee
September 1997

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the women of Taiwan, particularly to those women who have worked so hard in an effort to achieve gender equality for Taiwanese women.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author of this thesis would like to express her deepest thanks to her supervisor, Professor Gerald Cameron, whose understanding, guidance and patience has provided the encouragement to complete the work for this thesis. The authors also extends thanks to readers Dr. Charles Beaupré and Dr. Andrea Doucet and is grateful for their willingness to read the early drafts on short notice. A great deal of gratitude is extended to the author's best friend, Shih-jie Wang, for his assistance in collecting data and offering cheerful support. Finally, the author wishes to extend her deepest appreciation to her family and Mr. Richard Yang in Taiwan; their constant support and encouragement throughout the long years of university study has contributed so much to this work that the author wishes to share her degree with them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism
EPZs	Export Processing Zones
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
IFBPW	International Federation of Business and Professional Women
KMT	Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party)
NGOs	Non–Governmental Organizations
NT$	New Taiwan Dollars
NTU	National Taiwan University
PRC	People's Republic of China
PGNs	Practical Gender Needs
ROC	Republic of China
SGNs	Strategic Gender Needs
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Economic Social and Cultural Organization
US	United States
US$	American Dollars
WAD	Women and Development
WID	Women in Development

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

1.1. RATIONALE

Historically, the very essence of Taiwanese society has evolved under the influence of Confucian patriarchy, a system which operates to sustain male domination over women in both a private and public spheres.[1] The emphasis of Confucianism on harmony and social order hindered any possible development of the notion of human rights (equal rights) and individualism. The traditional Confucian model of social order was based on several social bonds, and the submission of women to men is one of them. Thus, traditionally, in Taiwan women were regarded as dependants of men, and they were often treated as subordinate human beings.

For centuries, Taiwanese women were not allowed to access formal education, to work outside their home, or to participate in the public sphere. The only proper realm for Taiwanese women to participate was their home. They were expected to get married, to give birth and to take care of their children in addition to caring for their parents–in–law. As a consequence, Taiwanese "women's intelligence, feelings, and energy could find no outlet for expression except within the confinement of

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[1] Tsun–Yin Luo, "Sexual Harassment in the Chinese Workplace: Attitudes toward and Experiences of Sexual Harassment Among Workers in Taiwan," *Violence Against Women*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (September 1996), p. 284.

their own homes, and their voices and activities were largely absent from the great tradition."[2] However, the Western imperialistic invasion starting from the late nineteenth century had a tremendous impact on both Taiwan and Taiwanese women – Taiwan became a Japanese colony, and Taiwanese women were finally permitted to acquire education in the public school system, which eventually qualified them to become employed outside their home. This change for Taiwanese women was strengthened after the Republic of China (ROC), which was established by the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) in 1912 after overthrowing Imperial China, regained its sovereignty in Taiwan after the Second World War. The KMT government (ROC), with an ideology consisting of a peculiar blend of Western liberal and classical Chinese ideas, started to offer more opportunities for Taiwanese women (e.g., education, employment) and guaranteed legal equality in both the constitution and laws while also maintaining the view that women should retain a supportive and subservient role both at home and within society. Nevertheless, even though the status of Taiwanese women has improved significantly during the past four decades, the real equality of both sexes still remains a goal to strive for.

However, more and more Taiwanese women have gradually become aware of their subordinate status after receiving greater education (including study in the West), and they started to recognize that it is their right to fight for equality. As a result, the modern women's movement (*New Feminism*) in Taiwan emerged in the

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[2] Yenlin Ku, "The Changing Status of Women in Taiwan: A Conscious and Collective Struggle Toward Equality," *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1988), p. 179.

early 1970s when a graduate of the University of Illinois and Harvard University, Lu Hsiu–Lin, returned to Taiwan with ideas derived from Western feminism and became leader of the women's movement in Taiwan. Within thirty years, the women's movement in Taiwan has developed from a one–woman movement into the mass movement of today, a movement that has continued to play an important role in assisting and organizing Taiwanese women in their struggle for equality.

The changing role of Taiwanese women in the past century, particularly the development of Taiwan's modern women's movement during the last two decades, is the focus of this thesis. There are two purposes for writing this thesis on this topic. The first is that, as a well–educated Taiwanese female, the author did not really think about the issues regarding the status of Taiwanese women until beginning work in the International Development Studies program at Saint Mary's University, Halifax, NS. Perhaps the author may consider herself lucky to come from a family that raised her in manner no different from the way her only brother was raised, and thus concepts of "equality," "subordination," or even "women's movement" were not meaningful for the author, although they were terms that one heard used from time to time. To study abroad is quite an unusual experience for the author, resulting in a need to confront not only a different language and culture, but also differing ideologies, which compelled the author to reconsider previously held views – most especially concerning the status of women in the author's home country, Taiwan. Through the author's Master's degree program, she had been developing an idea for a thesis on the subject of Taiwanese women. The author finally deciding to focus on the Taiwanese modern women's movement

because there were not many analyses in existence concerning this topic[3] and consequently more research appeared to be needed. Secondly, most of the feminist theories found in Taiwan originated in the West and many of them tended to be liberal in their viewpoint, which is more closed–minded with respect to the present Taiwanese government, but not that of Taiwan's modern women's movement. Thus, this thesis emphasizes the GAD approach, an alternative approach that tends to be more transformative in nature, in order to examine the agenda of the modern women's movement in Taiwan in an attempt to serve as a useful tool for women in Taiwan to use in the future should anyone be interested to do so.

1.2. OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

The introductory chapter presents the purpose of writing this thesis, and briefly outlines the content of each chapter. The second chapter will present an overview of the changing role of Taiwanese women in the twentieth century. It includes a brief introduction to Taiwan, a discussion of the traditional role of Taiwanese women as it relates to the Confucian tradition, and an analysis of the current role of Taiwanese women, which will establish the background to the discussion of the main theme of the thesis in Chapter 3, the Taiwanese modern

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[3] Before 1986, it was debated whether there was or had ever been a women's movement at all in Taiwan, since Taiwanese women, even many of those who actually participated in the activities of the women's movement, did not (or do not) want the notions of "feminism" and "women's movement" to be associated with them since a feminist woman could easily be criticized for being confrontation and unwomanly, and therefore unacceptable. For more information, see Ku Yen–lin, "The Feminist Movement in Taiwan, 1972–87," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (January–March 1989), pp. 12–14.

women's movement. Chapter 3 will discuss the development of Taiwan's modern women's movement beginning in the 1970s using the GAD approach to analyze the agenda of the movement in three different stages in order to determine whether or not the GAD approach will serve as a good tool for future use by Taiwan's modern women's movement. The final chapter will provide a summation of the thesis and predictions for the future of the modern women's movement in Taiwan.

CHAPTER TWO:

WOMEN IN TAIWAN

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter establishes a historical context for understanding the changing role of Taiwanese women in the twentieth century. There are three main sections in this chapter as outlined below. The first section introduces Taiwan generally, which is an essential part for the thesis for the following reasons. First, it is necessary to examine the country's cultural and historical circumstances in order to better acquire an understanding of the background to this study of the lives of the women of Taiwan. Second, Taiwan is not well known in the West and therefore it is important to gain a general understanding of the country in order to better grasp the rest of this essay's thesis. The next two sections focus specifically on women in Taiwan. The second section investigates the traditional role of Taiwanese women and how the Confucian tradition affected Taiwanese women's lives, while the third section provides an overview of the changing role of Taiwanese women in the twentieth century and examines some aspects of their current status, ranging from education, work, family, marriage and political role. This chapter will form the background to the discussion of the main theme of the thesis, the modern women's movement in Taiwan, in Chapter 3.

2.2. WOMEN IN TAIWAN

2.2.1. An Introduction to Taiwan

Taiwan, a small island lying 160 km southeast of continental China, has a total area of nearly 36,000 sq km (about the size of Switzerland). Approximately 394 km long and 144 km broad at its widest point, Taiwan is roughly shaped like a tobacco leaf. With the Tropic of Cancer traversing Taiwan just below the centre, the climate is subtropical in the north and tropical in the south. Except for mountain areas, the average monthly temperature is about 16°C in the winter, and ranges between 24°C and 30°C the rest of the year.[4]

The population of Taiwan was over 21.4 million in 1996, which was one of the most densely populated nations in the world (590 persons per sq km). Taipei City (in northern Taiwan) and Kashsiung City (in southern Taiwan) are the most crowded urban areas in Taiwan, with 9,600 persons per sq km and 9,200 persons per sq km respectively.[5] By ethnic group, Taiwan's population is made up of aboriginals (2%), two groups of Taiwanese (84%) – Fukien Chinese (70%) and Hakkas (10–15%) – and Mainlander Chinese (14%).[6] There are presently nine major aboriginal peoples in Taiwan, many of whom live in mountainous regions that cannot be sold to non–aboriginals. The majority of Taiwanese inhabitants are

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[4] *The Republic of China Yearbook 1997* (Taipei, ROC: The Government Information Office, 1997), p. 6.

[5] The data for the preceding paragraph is derived from household registration figures released in 1996 by the Ministry of the Interior, Taiwan, ROC.

[6] Dean Collinwood, ed., *Global Studies – Japan and the Pacific Rim* (Connecticut: The Pushkin Publishing Group, 1991), p. 85.

descendants of Chinese who migrated from the coast of China several hundred years ago; they are the so–called "Taiwanese" of today. Although the first Chinese arrivals to Taiwan were the Hakkas, who came form Kwangtung Province around A.D. 1000, much larger numbers of Chinese from Fukien Province migrated to Taiwan in the 17th century and subsequently became the majority. In 1949, after the defeat in the civil war in Mainland China, the KMT (Nationalist) government moved to Taiwan and brought over two million immigrants from all parts of the Mainland to Taiwan. They were known as Mainlanders.

Although the official language of Taiwan is Mandarin Chinese, which is the language of instruction in the school system after 1949, most of Taiwanese also speak a variation of the dialect of southern Fukien called Taiwanese, except two counties, Hsinchu, Miaoli, in which the Hakka dialect is spoken.[7] Many aboriginal tongues, however, now face extinction due to the lack of written language.[8]

With respect to religion, Taiwan's belief system is an amalgam of many different practices, with Confucianism serving as a code of ethics and propriety, Buddhism providing a framework for incorporating other religious ideas, Taoism existing as a philosophical base, as well as folk religion. Thus, most people are unaware of the different origins of their religious beliefs and do not see conflicts

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[7] A significant number of people also speak this dialect in Pingtung and Hualien counties.

[8] Some aboriginals are writing using the Western alphabet as a result of missionary effort.

between or among them.[9] On the other hand, Christianity is more popular among aboriginal groups because of intensive missionary efforts among the aboriginals.

Although the first inhabitants of Taiwan have left no written records of their origins, it is known for certain that many people from the Mainland China and many groups of aboriginal peoples were already living in Taiwan when the Europeans first came upon the island of Taiwan in 1590.[10] During this early period of its history, Taiwan was constantly buffeted by the covetous colonial powers: beginning in the early 17th century, the Spanish first occupied northern Taiwan, only to be driven out when the Dutch landed in the southern part of Taiwan and advanced to the north. This period of colonial rule ended in 1660 when Cheng Cheng–kung (also known as Koxinga) defected to the Dutch, which formally brought Taiwan into the Chinese sphere for the first time.[11] Taiwan was ceded to Japan after the defeat of China in the Sino–Japanese War in 1895, and this forced Taiwan to become a Japanese colony for 51 years. At the conclusion of World War II, Taiwan was liberated and once again returned to China (KMT government was in power at that time), and in 1949, the KMT government, which

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[9] John F. Copper, *Taiwan: Nation–State or Province?* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990), pp. 41–42.

[10] When the Portuguese navigators arrived off the coast of Taiwan, they were touched by the beauty of its verdant mountains and sparkling water and so the Portuguese navigators named the island *Ilha Formosa*, meaning "beautiful island," and under this name Taiwan was introduced to the people of the world. See *The Republic of China Yearbook 1997*, p. 59.

[11] *Great Taiwan – Land of Prosperity, Affluence, and Contentment* (Taichung, Taiwan, ROC: Department of Information, Taiwan Provincial Government, ROC, 1995), p. 10.

failed in the civil war on the mainland, fled to and finally settled in Taiwan (as mentioned earlier). Since then, Taiwan was under the so–called soft–authoritarian regime and martial law was announced because of the threat of Communist China. However, the political liberalization began in 1986 following the economic development: martial law was lifted in 1987, opposition political parties were legalized in 1989, and most significantly last year's president was elected by a popular vote (for the first time in Chinese history). Therefore, Taiwan is now on a path toward greater democratization. Today Taiwan's government system is a multi–party democracy that is actually intended to be a presidential regime.

Taiwan has a dynamic capitalist economy with considerable government ownership of some large banks and industrial firms. It has steady industrialization and ranked as the 14th largest trading country in the world in 1994. According to the data available from *Republic of China Yearbook 1997*, Taiwan's gross domestic product grew by a respectable 6.06 percent in 1995. Of the US$260.8 billion GDP, agriculture accounted for 3.5 percent, while industry accounted 36.3 percent. The service sector topped 60.2 percent of GDP in the same year. The per capita GNP reached US$12,439 ($17,415 Can.)[12] in 1995, whereas the per capita GNP was only US$45 ($63 Can.) at the end of World War II (Taiwanese government statistics). In general, Taiwan's traditional labour–intensive industries are steadily being replaced with more capital– and technology–intensive industries and the

[12] US$1 = $1.40 Can. at present rate of exchange.

tightening of labour markets has also led to an influx of foreign workers, both legal and illegal at present days.[13]

2.2.2. Traditional Role of Taiwanese Women

Having similar root to Mainland China, traditionally Taiwanese women were seen to be inferior to Taiwanese men and were not seen as fully autonomous as men, and it is believed that Confucianism has been notorious for this view of women.[14] Under Confucian tradition, Taiwanese women were kept in the home, and they did not have the right to speak out for themselves or to choose the life they wanted. All they could do was to endure everything that was put upon them. The following section will firstly discuss what Confucianism is and its main principles, and secondly how it affected women's status in Taiwan.

2.2.2.1. What is Confucianism?

Confucianism is the most important school of Chinese philosophy and it has dominant status in Chinese society.

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[13] The data presented in the preceding paragraph has been derived from *Republic of China Yearbook 1997, passim.*

[14] Chenyang Li, "The Confucian Concept of Jen and the Feminist Ethics of Care: A Comparative Study," *Hypatia*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Winter 1994), p. 81.

A. The Beginning of Confucianism

Confucianism is named after Confucius (551–479 B.C.) who was the first and most popular philosopher in China. He travelled throughout China to persuade various feudal lords to accept his thinking in order to attempt to rebuild a more harmonious feudal society. Unfortunately, his philosophy was not accepted by those feudal lords, so Confucius turned his attention to education at about age fifty and devoted himself completely to teaching until his death in 479 B.C. Therefore, he is now still regarded as the "Greatest Teacher" of China.

Although he had many students, Confucius did not leave any original works. Thus, his disciples followed most of his principles, but over time they focused on specific aspects of them with their own interpretation. Consequently, Confucian thought was succeeded and preserved by his followers and gradually came to be known as Confucianism.

B. The Development of Confucianism

After Confucius' death, his followers handed down his philosophy. Some focused on "Yi" (righteousness), others on "Jen" (benevolence), etc. The various aspects the succeeding generations emphasized (with their own perception) all played important roles in succeeding dynasties, which made Confucianism have different aspects and contents in different periods of times. In fact, since the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–220 A.D.), Confucianism had become the predominant philosophical thought in China.

C. General Principles of Confucianism[15]

Confucianism focused on "Jen" (affection; virtue; benevolence; humanity; etc.),[16] "Zhong" (loyalty), morality and "Hsiao" (filial piety). The concept of Jen occupies a central place in the Confucian philosophy since it was seen as the key concept to guide human relations. Confucianism is, therefore, called "the philosophy of Jen." In Confucianism, a person practicing Jen should start from one's parents and siblings and then extend to other people; filial piety and brotherly respect are the root of Jen.[17]

Filial piety (respecting and obeying one's parents, especially one's father) is absolute under Confucian principle. This obliged children to repay parents for nurturing them and ensured old-age security for the elders, and it required children to honor the strategic knowledge and skill of their elders with deference, respect, and compliance.[18] Worshipping ancestors is also seen as a proper virtue of filial piety.

Confucianism viewed the society as a large family where the ruler's relation to the subjects was like that of a father to his children; the philosophy of managing a

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[15] The information presented in the following paragraph has been derived from (among others) the following sources: Judith Stacey, "When Patriarchy Kowtows: The Significance of the Chinese Family Revolution for Feminist Theory," *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 2, Nos. 2–3 (1975), pp. 65–67; Li, pp. 70–81; Ku, "The Feminist Movement," pp. 13–14; Rita S. Gallin, "The Intersection of Class and Age: Mother-in-Law/Daughter-in-Law Relations in Rural Taiwan," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (April 1994), p. 129.

[16] "Jen" was never formally defined by Confucius.

[17] Li, p. 79.

[18] Gallin, p. 129.

good family and that of managing a good society are basically the same.[19] Therefore, family is considered to play the most important role in Chinese society since it forms the basis of social organization. It was a matter of Confucian principle that the needs and interests of the individual be subordinated to that of the family,[20] and this idea is well known as Confucian familism today. In fact, the concepts of human rights and individualism do not exist in Confucian morality. Morality means fulfilling one's proper role in the society, as a son, a brother, a father, a subject, or a ruler; hence, every person has to stand where he is and to maintain his duties and role. This had given a Chinese emperor the pretext to ask his people to maintain the role they played in society and fulfill their obligation and duties.[21]

The tradition of Confucianism is based on a harmonious feudal society with an emphasis on social order; that is, everyone had to play and maintain his/her own role properly in family, society, and state. The ideal world defined by Confucianism is one of great harmony between superiors and inferiors, and it has often been the women, the younger people, or people in lower positions (e.g., subjects) who have to sacrifice their dignity and material well–being in order to preserve a harmonious relationship. A harmonious Confucian social order is based on the three bonds that subordinate minister to ruler, son to father, and wife to

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[19] Li, p. 71.

[20] Stacey, p. 66.

[21] In Confucianism, there are many duties for a person, including filial piety to parents and loyalty to the ruler.

husband.[22] Besides rites between a feudal ruler and subjects, the order between the young and old, the trust between friends, etc., were also important principles of Confucian ethics to maintain a harmonious society.

In short, "Jen," "Zhong," morality, filial piety, and harmony are the general principles of Confucianism. Although a large number of rules have been developed in Confucian tradition over the past 2000 years, they are neither general principles, nor an essential characteristic of Confucian morality. For example, "a man would have to accept the marriage his parents arranged."[23] This was certainly not the general principle but has been a rule of Confucianism in the past. In fact, over the years many rules have changed, some have disappeared, but the general principles of Confucianism, such as "Jen," "Zhong," filial piety, etc. have always been there.

D. Confucianism in Contemporary Taiwan

In the 1890s, the Confucian system of Chinese society faced severe criticism by the reformist intellectuals due to the weakness and incompetence of the late Ching dynasty (1644–1911 A.D.).[24] A brief Hundred Days Reform[25] (1898 A.D.)

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[22] Ku, "The Feminist Movement," pp. 13–14.

[23] Li, p. 76.

[24] The British victories in the mid–19th century Opium Wars (1939–42 A.D.) were the start of the repeated defeats that China suffered at the hands of foreign powers; Hong Kong was ceded to England under the Treaty of Naking. Another example is that the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed after the defeat of China in the Sino–Japanese War, ceding the Liaotung Peninsula, Taiwan, and the Pescadores to Japan.

was the beginning and later transformed into a radical indictment of the entire Confucian order in the May Fourth New Cultural Movement in 1919.[26] Even the Nationalist Party launched the New Life Movement in 1934 to resurrect the traditional Confucian virtues could not afford to ignore the insistent demand for further reform.[27]

During the same period, Taiwan was under the occupation of colonial Japan and so it did not experience such critique of Confucianism. After Taiwan returned to China, and most importantly after the Republican China (KMT government) moved to Taiwan, the Chinese religious and philosophical tradition once again flourished on Taiwan. The KMT government promotes Confucian values through

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[25] The Hundred Days Reform, led by Kang Yu–wei and Liang Chi–chao, was a reform movement in the response to the weakness of the Ching court and the urge of the success of the Meiji Reformation in Japan. Although this movement has been supported by the Kuang Ksu Emperor, it came to an inglorious end after only one hundred days because of the strong opposition from the Empress Dowager Tzu–hsi (the aunt of Kuang Ksu Emperor) and other conservatives within the court.

[26] The New Cultural Movement, initiated on May 4, 1919, was led by a new generation of intellectuals who scrutinized nearly all aspects of Chinese traditions and Confucian ethics. "This new intelligentsia emerged in China after the traditional civil service examination system was suspended in 1905 and the education reform enabled thousands of young people to study science, engineering, medicine, law, economics, education, and military science in Japan, Europe, and the United States. The overseas students returned to modernize China and, through their writings and lectures, exercised a powerful influence on the next generation of students. Guided by concepts of individual liberty and equality, a scientific spirit of inquiry, and a pragmatic approach to the nation's problems, the new intellectuals sought a more profound reform of China's institutions than what was accomplished by the self–strengthening movement of the late Ching dynasty or the republican revolution (1911)." See *The Republic of China Yearbook 1997*, p. 53.

[27] Stacey, p. 6.

its educational system and conducts an elabourate ceremony to commemorate Confucius' birthday every September 28th. The People's Republic of China (Communist China), on the other hand, succeeded in all but eliminating Chinese popular religion during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1969 A.D.).[28]

The rapid industrialization of Taiwan has weakened some Confucian tradition considerably, and the accompanying Western values have started its uneven competition with Confucianism. However, many Confucian ethics are still seen as the cultural ideal to varying degrees throughout Taiwan. Thus, even though Confucianism is gradually transforming, it is believed a modern form of Confucianism will continue to be influential in Taiwan's future.

2.2.2.2. Taiwanese Women in Confucian Tradition

A. Confucianism and Women

Basically, Confucius, the founder of Confucianism, did not talk much about women and never suggested men dominate or oppress women, and so he should not be considered to be the one who is responsible for the oppression of women, although he had said that only young women and small men were difficult to rear, which seems today to be a laughable saying. According to the study by Chengyang Li, "Here Confucius offered an observation of young women rather than a theory about women in general. It probably reflects a social prejudice that already existed in his time. Given Confucius's later illustrious status in China, this short comment

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[28] Barbara Reed, "Women and Chinese Religion in Contemporary Taiwan," in Arvind Sharma, ed. *Today's Women in World Religions* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), p. 225.

on (young) women may have considerably influenced people's views of women in general and probably reinforced people's prejudice against women. However, there is no reason for one to think that this view is an inherent or essential part of Confucius's thought or an inevitable consequence of his general philosophy."[29]

In fact, some of his disciples had turned Confucius's thoughts, with their own ideas, into the inferiority of women in Chinese society, and this belief has been maintained and strengthened ever since. Nevertheless, Chinese women were seen to be inferior to men and were not fully regarded as being persons as Chinese men were in later Confucianism. In fact, the philosopher most responsible for blending the yin–yang doctrine into Confucianism and resulting in women's oppression is Tung Chung–shu (179–104 BC). "Tung said, 'the relationship between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, are all derived from the principles of the yin and yang. The ruler is yang, the subject yin; the father is yang, the son yin; the husband is yang, the wife yin.' ... Thus, among the human relationships discussed by Confucius, Tung singled out three."[30] Because yang is the superior and dominant principle whereas yin is the inferior and subservient or subordinate principle, a Chinese woman was prevented from doing things she wanted to do and was required to listen and obey her father before marriage, her husband after marriage, and her elder son if her husband died. Under Confucian patriarchy tradition, the life for a Chinese woman was certainly out of her control, and a woman's role was defined as a filial daughter, dedicated mother, and obedient wife.

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[29] Li, p. 83.

[30] Li, pp. 83–84.

B. The Traditional Role of Taiwanese Women in Confucian Tradition

Like other Chinese women, Taiwanese women's inferior status started and strengthened with Confucian tradition, and was represented in family and society. During her lifetime, a Taiwanese woman lived in two distinctly different families of her natal and marital homes. However, the woman was never in her lifetime fully a member of any family. Her name was never recorded in her father's genealogy, and after she died only her family surname was entered in the genealogical charts of her husband's family. Even then her remains had to await the death of her husband before they could be granted their final resting place.[31]

In traditional Taiwanese society, the family was the most important concern for everyone, and women were assumed to be the ones who maintained the family structure. Thus, a traditional Taiwanese woman's role was confined to the home. According to the virtue of filial piety, a Taiwanese girl's duties was to respect her parents, especially her father. After marriage, she had to respect her husband and parents–in–law, and to dedicate herself to raising her children. This was because the ideal Taiwanese woman was considered to be an "obedient daughter, wife and mother."[32] As a result, Taiwanese women were not allowed to have a social life outside their home, and thus they had no access to education, work or participate in

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[31] Stacey, p. 67.

[32] Yu–wen Ying, "The Relationship of Masculinity, Femininity and Well–being in Taiwan College Graduates," *Social Indicators Research*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (May 1992), p. 245.

politics. Particularly, *footbinding*[33] (a standard of femine beauty since the 13th century) was one of the traditions that confined Taiwanese women to the home: if the woman had 3–4–inch feet, it would be difficult for them to walk long distances and so they would prefer to stay at home. In fact, traditionally, Taiwanese women, like other Chinese women, were forced to have their feet bound when they were around the age of six. This process of footbinding was to wrap tightly around each foot in order to make the toes, except the large toe, curl under against the sole. After several years, the toes were finally pulled back against the heel.[34] The bandaged feet were to be a maximum of five inches in length and they were called, in Chinese terms, "tiny feet" or "Lotus feet" (the feet looked like the lotus). The process of footbinding was very painful because the blood and pus would drip from the bound feet and the process of time was very long. Girls in both rich and poor families were required to bind their feet as small as possible. The girls with smaller feet would be considered perfect. Therefore, even though the mothers had suffered the same situation before, they would insist their daughters participate in the footbinding because "tiny feet" were related to being a "better woman."

In addition, Taiwanese families preferred sons, particularly the first son, because they believed that only sons could carry the family name. Therefore, Taiwanese girls were seen as being less important than boys and so "*female*

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[33] This tradition is against nature and human rights, even some Chinese men have suggested that footbinding should be given up. Fortunately, this tradition was lifted by law in the early 20th century. Today, Taiwan women can walk properly as men do.

[34] Howard Levy, *Chinese Footbinding* (New York: Walton Rawls, 1966), pp. 23–34.

infanticide was by no means uncommon."[35] More frequently, Taiwanese girls were sold or adopted as child brides by their future in–laws. This tradition of *purchase of child brides* – where parents would sell their little daughter to another family as a child bride but would buy a little girl to be their daughter–in–law – was common in the traditional Chinese society because the parents thought that if they did so, they would save money; they felt that the money they received for the sale of their daughter would offset the money they paid for the child bride (future daughter–in–law), and they did not need to incur the expense of their children's marriage in the future. Since the child bride would finally be their son's wife after she grew up, while their own daughter would belong to another family if she got married,[36] Taiwanese parents would rather buy a child bride instead of their own daughter.

In another aspect of Taiwanese tradition, Taiwanese girls were often sold in the marketplace when their impoverished parents did not have money to bury their grandparents. This was because in traditional Chinese society, if the parents of poor families died, their children had to do their best to bury their parents properly, even though the cost of burying was always difficult for poor people to afford. This was seen as "filial piety," which was the most important principle of Confucianism. Nevertheless, if the burying cost was too high for them to afford, they would sell their children in order to cover the burial expenses. Because boys

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[35] Stacey, p. 68.

[36] Traditionally, a married Taiwanese woman would be called "spilt water," meaning no longer belonging to her natal family.

were always seen as the succeeding generation of their families, girls would always be the ones to be sold in markets. In short, this practice of *girl purchase* presented the fact of girls being sold just because she was a girl, and this meant that the Taiwanese girls had no basic rights to ensure their survival in the old days.

Under Chinese tradition, Taiwanese women's marriages were always arranged by their parents. In the practice of *arranged marriage*, the young bride (typically fifteen to seventeen years of age) had to confront a sudden sexual adjustment for which she was unprepared, and to move as a stranger to live in the home of her husband, where she found almost everyone had rights to her subservience. She also faced great pressure to contribute male heirs to continue her husband's family line. Moreover, she was under the immediate authority of her mother–in–law, a woman whose only opportunity in life to exercise dominance was concentrated in this legendary tyrannical relationship.[37] In fact, "the mother–in–law had also once come as a stranger to her husband's family and the birth of sons had improved her status within it and ensured her security in old age. She had spent years nurturing her relationship with her sons and tying him firmly to her. A young bride was seen as a competitor to her claims on her son. If the bride could not be 'broken,' she might deprive a mother of her son's loyalty and support. ... but the daughter–in–law, although accepting their low status as dictated by the way in which family life was traditionally organized, could look to the day when the sons they bore would grow up and bring them daughters–in–law who would defer to

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[37] Stacey, p. 68.

them and provide for their comfort."[38] Nevertheless, it was always very difficult for a Taiwanese newlywed woman to confront the pressures described above, and so the stories of female suicide were not surprising in the past.

According to Chinese tradition, there are three things which are unfilial, and the greatest of them is having no offspring (male progeny), which indicates the dominating importance of *continuing the male family line*: male descendants were seen to be the only ones who could carry on the family name and the ancestral sacrifices, and "without male descendants and their ritual offsprings, the ancestors' spirits would be doomed to pathetic existences as hungry ghosts."[39] Thus, to produce male progeny that the systems of ancestor worship and patrilineal descent exerted was undoubtedly the enormous pressure for almost every Taiwanese family, particularly for women.

The practice of *polygyny* was also partly the response to the great pressure of bearing male heirs – if his wife could not bear a baby or only had girls but not boys, a Taiwanese man could have a secondary wife or concubine bear a son for him. The legitimate male privilege of polygyny resulted in many rich men having as many wives as he felt he needed because they could afford to indulge in it. However, female adultery was viewed as deeply sinful and was punishable by death since *chastity* was the primary moral virtue for a Taiwanese woman under Confucian tradition. Thus *divorce* was also rare in traditional Taiwanese society not only because a man would still keep his original wife even if he married

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[38] Gallin, p. 129.

[39] Reed, p. 228.

another woman, but also because a woman would be considered bad if she sought a divorce, and therefore would not readily seek a second marriage. As well, because ideal women were to marry only one husband in their entire lives, if a husband died, the wife was expected never to marry again. Instead, she would stay and raise her children. However, the life for a *widow* was always one of suffering, especially if she did not have a son (no hope) or she did not want to continue living with her husband's family; she could not make decisions for herself. The widow who did not remarry would be considered as a chaste widow and the people of her village finally would build her a *chaste arch* which was the greatest honor for a widow. However, the "chaste arch" was only the yoke of Confucianism put on widowed women in order to keep these widows from remarrying. "Honor" was merely a "beautiful trap," and this made it difficult for widowed women to breath.[40]

The Chinese had a saying: "If women have no talent, they have virtue." This means that women do not require too much knowledge or talent. The only thing that they had to know was how to devote themselves to their family. There was also another Chinese saying: "Men dominate outside; women manage inside," which refers to the ideal of dividing men's and women's lives into *separate spheres inside and outside the home*. Thus, an ideal Taiwanese woman was not to speak of outside matters or to participate in any outside activities, while her husband was

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[40] Emperor Wen–ti (581–604 A.D.) of the Sui dynasty prohibited the widows of upper–class family to remarry. By the Sung dynasty (960–1127 A.D.) the non–remarriage of widows was glorified into the highest ideal for women. The government of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644 A.D.) honored chaste widows with memorial arches, thus increasing the social pressure to remain chaste. Even engaged girls whose fiancés died were supposed to remain chaste and not ever marry. See Reed, p. 231.

unwilling to help with household chores since doing housework was considered to be the woman's responsibility.

2.2.2.3. Conclusion

The inferior role of Taiwanese women under Confucian tradition, as discussed above, persisted for a very long time: women were not allowed to receive an education, to socialize or to make decisions for themselves, and the only proper sphere of activity for a Taiwanese woman was the home. However, the bad situation for Taiwanese women has been changing ever since the onset of the twentieth century. Gradually, women have gained a right to education, marriage, work and, most importantly, political expression. "Equality" of women and men is supported in the law, which is a major step for traditional Taiwanese women. Hence, the role of Taiwanese women seems to be very different from what it was 100 years ago. The following section will discuss how the role of Taiwanese women has been changing and what is the current role of contemporary Taiwanese women.

2.2.3. Taiwanese Women in the Twentieth Century[41]

2.2.3.1. Taiwanese Women During the Japanese Occupation (1895–1945)

In the late 19th century, there were very few Taiwanese women in school because Chinese tradition placed little value on classical or formal education for women.[42] Taiwan became a Japanese colony in 1895. In order to support the policies of colonization, namely making Taiwanese unquestionably loyal to Japan, Japanese rulers established a modern education system[43] to replace traditional Chinese Confucian schools. The focus of this modern educational system was to popularize education, mainly elementary schools, for Taiwanese people including

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[41] It is important to note here that the development of the role of Taiwanese women in the 20th century is unique. Although the traditional roles of Taiwanese women and mainland Chinese women were alike due to Taiwan's traditional social structure and cultural patterns closely resembling those of the mainland, Taiwanese women established their own pace for development apart from their mainland counterparts when Taiwan fell into the hands of colonial Japan in 1895. Due to the Japanese occupation (1895–1945), Taiwan was excluded from the Revolution (1911) and the May Fourth Movement (1919), which brought about enormous changes in the traditional Confucian society and for Chinese women in mainland China. This split in women's development between mainland China and Taiwan was further divided after the KMT government moved its seat of power to Taiwan (which was returned to China in 1945 after 51 years of colonial rule by Japan) and took a different approach from Communist China to liberate women from traditional bondage. Thus, Taiwan provides an unusual empirical opportunity for many social theorists to compare the cultural consequences of capitalist and socialist development.

[42] Albert I. Hermalin, Judith A. Seltzer, and Ching-hsiang Lin, "Transitions in the Effect of Family Size on Female Educational Attainment: The Case of Taiwan," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 26, No. 2, (June 1982), p. 257.

[43] The Japanese system of education was modelled on that of the European countries during the 1867 Meiji Reform.

Taiwanese girls[44] because "Japanese colonists saw schools as avenues to generalize acceptance of new lifestyles and expected elementary schools to forge a unified and loyal nation out of a population."[45] In short, even though the goal of popularizing elementary education for the Taiwanese people was to extend the reach of Japanization, it did have the effect of opening the door to education for Taiwanese women. For example, in 1920, less than 10 percent of the female Taiwanese elementary-aged population attended school, as compared to 39 percent for males. By 1944, 60.2 percent of Taiwanese girls were attending schools and 80.7 percent of boys.[46]

On the other hand, since people with higher levels of education would be likely to form the political opposition, the Japanese severely limited the supply of post-elementary education to the Taiwanese people.[47] In spite of this, some (but not many) Taiwanese people did have the opportunity to study post-elementary education and even more advanced education[48] although they were restricted to

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[44] In 1943, the first six years of school were made compulsory. See Hermalin et al., p. 256.

[45] E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 10.

[46] Jennie Hay Woo, "Education and Economic Growth in Taiwan: A Case of Successful Planning," *World Development*, Vol. 19, No. 8 (August 1991), p. 1030.

[47] There were only four technical colleges and one university on the island before 1945. See Daniel Metraux, *Taiwan's Political and Economic Growth in the Late Twentieth Century* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), p. 55.

[48] Taiwanese entries into the higher school's university preparatory course were always kept well below the number of Japanese admitted. See Tsurumi, p. 120.

study the fields like agriculture, engineering, and medicine.[49] Since all Japanese girls and a good many Taiwanese girls learned the same elementary school lessons as their brothers did, it is not surprising that Taiwanese girls, like Taiwanese boys, developed a taste for further study. Also, for well–brought–up Japanese females, a proper higher education could be an asset in marriage: higher girls' school graduates were considered to be able to assist sons with at least their education, and so the sons were thought to be more intelligent than others. Under Japanese rule, some Taiwanese families began to see similar values in higher schooling for their daughters.[50] Thus, there were few Taiwanese females starting to attend post–elementary education.

Increased schooling for Taiwanese girls was closely related to other new directions for women. An end to footbinding and entrance into the workforce were two importance changes. The colonial government encouraged the Taiwanese to give up the custom of footbinding by concentrating on supporting native efforts since this reform would be most effective if initiated by the Taiwanese themselves. A "natural foot" society, supported by the colonial government, was organized by a traditional medical practitioner named Huang Yu–chieh in 1900. Another anti–footbinding society was formed by Lin Hsien–tang's influential family in Taichu in 1914. Both societies had successfully persuaded hundreds of women to let out their bindings. On April 15, 1915, an official order of prohibition was

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[49] The Japanese discouraged Taiwanese students from studying law or social science out of fear that they might gain knowledge and skills that could be used in anti–colonial political activity. See Metraux, p. 56.

[50] Tsurumi, p. 121.

issued because the authorities decided that such action could be made mandatory. More and more Taiwanese complied because of the strict government prohibition, and finally the custom disappeared.[51]

Taiwanese women, with unbound feet, worked in the factories and offices were beginning to appear. According to the available data collected by E. Patricia Tsurumi in her book *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895–1945*, in 1914, there were only 21,859 factory workers in Taiwan but about 28 percent of these were female. In 1941, roughly 40 percent of factory workers were women. Employers preferred factory workers – females as well as males – who had been to school. In fact, schooling was even more important for Taiwanese women to work in offices or shops; thus, by 1943, 93 percent of the females employed in offices and shops had been to schools.[52]

Higher education, as Japanese colonizers feared, sent Taiwanese men as well as women into politics, in spite of the disapproval of authorities. Many Taiwanese women were active in both conservative and radical wings of the anti–colonial movement. Although they achieved central leadership roles only in leftist circles, a women's rights movement was an integral part of the moderates' campaign[53] (which will be described in Chapter 3).

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[51] Tsurumi, pp. 220–221.

[52] The data for the preceding paragraph has been derived from Tsurumi, *passim*.

[53] Tsurumi, p. 223.

Generally speaking, the initial purpose of many Japanese colonial policies was, in fact, not to change the role of Taiwanese women but rather was intended to support Taiwan's colonization. However, it is undeniable that these colonial policies did serve to help Taiwanese women enter into professional and public life.

2.2.3.2. The Current Role of Taiwanese Women (1945–present)

A. Education

At the end of the Second World War, the Japanese abruptly left Taiwan, and the Republic of China (KMT government) regained sovereignty over Taiwan. Thus, the Japanese education system was replaced by that of the Republic of China, which, after the 1922 educational reform, followed the American prototype. As well, the Taiwanese people (including women) started to enjoy full access to the opportunities of education, as provided by the Chinese constitution.[54] After the failure of the civil war with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in Mainland China in 1949, the Nationalist (KMT) government evacuated to Taiwan and began to expand the system of formal education there, which offered Taiwanese women greater educational opportunities at every level, since equal access to education for women and men supported in the law was gradually enforced by the Taiwanese (KMT) government. Moreover, the economic take–off since the 1960s has helped

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[54] The Constitution of the Republic of China defines the rights of people (both men and women) by law, e.g., to be elected to public office, to obtain a free public education, to have access to all types of work, and to receive equal pay for equal work.

to speed up the expansion of education,[55] especially in the area of increasing opportunities for Taiwanese women to access higher education. In fact, some Taiwanese women started to go to the West to further their studies in the late 1960s due to improved household finances (parents could afford to send them to study abroad), and the decline of the childbirth rate (fewer children per family lead to greater education opportunities per child, regardless of whether the child is male or female).[56] Therefore, it is true that during the past four decades, female participation in the education process has been increasing at all levels, most markedly at the post–secondary level. According to the data available from the study of Shu–Ling Tsai, Hill Gates and Hei–Yan Chiu, the enrollment rate for Taiwanese girls aged six to eleven rose from 68.8 percent in 1951 to 99.9 percent in 1989, when it reached the same level as the enrollment rate for boys. The increase in the net enrollment rates for females in secondary education is also significant, in the academic year 1988–89, the enrollment rate for females aged 12–17 was 84.6 percent, whereas that for males of the same age was 81.7

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[55] In Taiwan, the extension of compulsory education from six to nine years, started at the beginning of the 1968 academic year, increased the average level of schooling for Taiwanese people. As well, in the early 1970s, Taiwan reached the level of mass higher education. (The mass higher education threshold is defined as the point at which 15 percent of the age cohort enter some form of higher education.) See Ruth Hayhoe, "An Asian Multiversity: Comparative Reflection on the Transition to Mass Higher Education in East Asia," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (August 1995), p. 300.

[56] Hermalin et al., p. 262.

percent.[57] Although the female participation in university education was only 43 percent of total enrollment in 1989, the rate had a substantial jump when compared to the rate in 1960 (see Table 1) and the rate was higher than other Asian countries like Japan (42 percent) and South Korea (32 percent).[58] In fact, a recent United Nations (UN) survey ranked Taiwan first in Asia and twelfth in the world in the number and percentage of women with undergraduate and graduate degrees.[59]

TABLE 1
HIGHER EDUCATION IN TAIWAN

Year	Total Enrollment	% Female
1960	34,623	21
1965	84,353	29
1970	201,178	39
1980	336,222	46
1990	515,515	43

Source: Ministry of Education, *Educational Statistics of Republic of China*, 1990 (Taipei, 1990).

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[57] Shu-Ling Tsai, Hill Gates and Hei-Yuan Chiu, "Schooling Taiwan's Women: Education Attainment in the Mid-20th Century," *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 67, No. 4 (October 1994), p. 244.

[58] Hayhoe, p. 301.

[59] Christine Genzberg, *Taiwan Business: The Portable Encyclopedia for Doing Business with Taiwan* (San Rafael, CA: World Trade Press, 1994), p. 171.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the gap between Taiwanese women and Taiwanese men for accessing education at all levels has been decreasing steadily, except at the university level, where there is still a major gap that Taiwanese women must struggle to bridge. The following are some difficulties that Taiwanese women face when accessing university education.

I) SOCIAL PREFERENCE OF EDUCATING SONS. Some Taiwanese families are still likely to educate their sons rather than their daughters if they could not afford to educate all their children, and this situation is even more obvious in higher education since the public universities are limited and the tuition for private universities is too expensive.

II) MARRIAGE MARKET. Many Taiwanese families still retain traditional expectations: The ideal woman should first and foremost enter into marriage, and women ideally should be less well educated than the men they will marry. This may create pressure on some Taiwanese women to avoid pursuing higher education since women were expected to marry, but highly educated women have a limited marriage market in which to find husbands whose education levels are higher.

III) CONFINED FIELDS OF STUDY IN HIGHER EDUCATION.[60] There prevails a strong tendency for Taiwanese women to participate in certain areas of study, such as nursing, teaching and commerce. This is not because females themselves tend to prefer these fields, but because they are often encouraged or guided by their parents to choose these traditional fields that will increase women's eligibility for marriage or which tend to be those most available to women in the labour market.

B. Work

Traditionally, Taiwanese women were supposed to stay home and not go out to work, but during the colonial period (1895–1945), some Taiwanese women started to work in the factories, shops and offices. Over the past forty years, with increased education and with increasing demands of the labour force, it has now become socially acceptable for women to work outside their home, although they were often expected to "withdraw from the labour market after marriage or after childbirth."[61] However, with nuclear families becoming more and more common

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[60] According to the analysis of UNESCO, as some countries have narrowed the gender gap of accessing education at different levels of formal education gradually, it is evident that the significant differences in the types of education received by the two sexes occur at the secondary level and become more pronounced in higher education. Thus, the attention to the gender inequality in higher education should be drawn not only in the "participation" of education but also the "process" (nature and content) of education. The study from UNESCO also pointed out that culture and tradition, which created respective roles of men and women, are the main subjects for the differences in the fields of study by the two sexes. For more information, see UNESCO, *World Education Report 1995* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1995).

[61] Kuang-Hua Hsieh and Robert L. Burgess, "Marital Role Attitudes and Expected Role Behaviors of College Youth in Mainland China and Taiwan," *Journal of Family Issues*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (September 1994), p. 407.

in Taiwan, husbands now need their wives to work as well in order to afford the expense of their home. Therefore, more and more Taiwanese women are now keeping their jobs after they are married or temporarily exiting the workplace in order to concentrate on childbearing. As Table 2 indicates, Taiwanese women's participation rates in the labour force increased among all age groups, except for the group aged 15–19 from 1965 to 1993 (which is possibly the contribution of the educational expansion of the Taiwanese government since the 1960s). The large increase for married women from 17.15 percent in 1967 to 43.74 percent in 1987 has been especially significant (see Table 3).

TABLE 2
GENDER DIFFERENCES IN LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE BY AGE (%)

	Male		Female		Male/Female Ratio	
Age	1965	1993	1965	1993	1965	1993
Total	82.59	72.4	33.11	44.7	40.09	61.7
15–19	61.73	17.9	56.48	18.6	91.49	103.9
20–24	80.77	65.3	43.49	61.0	53.84	93.4
25–29	96.62	93.5	30.00	60.4	31.05	64.6
30–34	98.35	97.0	29.67	55.8	30.17	57.5
35–39	97.42	97.8	37.10	58.7	38.08	60.0
40–44	95.38	97.3	32.51	58.6	34.08	60.2
45–54	90.58	92.7	28.09	46.4	31.97	50.1
55–64	61.59	70.3	10.19	26.6	15.88	37.8
65 +	21.62	14.0	2.15	4.2	9.94	30

Sources: Charng Kao, Solomon W. Polocheck and Phamindra V. Wunnava, "Male–Female Wage Differentials in Taiwan: A Human Capital Approach," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (January 1994), Table 3; and Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, *Monthly Bulletin of Labour Statistics* (Taipei: Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, 1994).

TABLE 3

RATE OF FEMALES PARTICIPATING IN THE LABOUR FORCE BY MARITAL STATUS (%)

Marital Status	Total	Single, never been married	Married, spouse present	Other, once married (separated, divorced and widowed)
1967	33.72	57.33	27.15	18.86
1987	45.79	56.40	43.74	26.23

Source: Charng Kao, Solomon W. Polocheck and Phamindra V. Wunnava, "Male–Female Wage Differentials in Taiwan: A Human Capital Approach," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (January 1994), Table 2.

In fact, the state guarantees equal rights for women to work in Taiwan, and Taiwan's *Labour Standards Law* gives women protection against gender discrimination and pay equal to that of men. However, Taiwanese women still face different degrees of discrimination in the workplace. First, women's wages are always much lower than men's when both work at the same position. For example, Taiwanese men's average monthly salary was 55.5 percent and 56.5 percent higher than Taiwanese women's in 1978 and 1989, respectively. Thus, the gender gap is

not only large but also persistent, despite the rapid economic growth and the big surge in labour demand in Taiwan over the period.[62] Second, the professional and higher technology industries, which is the state's present economic plan's focus, have hired relatively few women until recently, whereas a large number of Taiwanese female workers were employed in the export industries of textiles and electronics with lower wages, terrible working conditions and no health insurance.[63] Third, women are seldom promoted into higher positions in almost every profession, even in some areas that traditionally employed women. For example, as discussed earlier, education is one of the fields that Taiwanese female enrollments tend to be clustered in when pursuing higher education, and so teaching is indeed one of the areas that traditionally hires more women. However, even though the numbers of female teachers are higher than that of males in kindergartens, elementary schools and secondary education, there are far fewer female teachers than male teachers in university education (see Table 4). In fact, the rate of female teachers in all levels of education creates a pyramid situation,

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[62] Tony Tam, "Reducing the Gender Gap in an Asian Economy: How Important is Women's Increasing Work Experience?" *World Development*, Vol. 24, No. 5 (1996), p. 832.

[63] After the Taiwanese government began to adopt export–oriented industrialization during the 1960s, especially focused on labor–intensive industries, most young women between the ages of 16 and 25 were expected to work in factories. The norma was for these young women to give most of their earnings to their families to cover their expenses, including tuition for their brothers, and to leave the workforce upon marriage. Most manufacturing firms, both local and foreign, preferred "docile and dexterous" young women who could be exploited very cheaply. Even in the present day, one is apt to see many young women doing mundane assembly line work when one visits a modern Taiwanese factory of any size (see Metraux, p. 61).

with the lower level of education employing most female teachers, the secondary level of education employing more than half female teachers, and the higher level of education employing only a few female teachers. This pyramid is even more significant when compared with the hierarchy of teachers in university education (see Table 5): in 1993, females accounted for only 10.3 percent of total professors, 21 percent of total associate professors, 43.3 percent of female lecturers, and 58.7 percent of teacher assistants. Moreover, there were fewer female principals in all levels of education (see Table 6).

TABLE 4
TEACHER RATIOS (IN %) IN EVERY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Leve of Education	Number of Males	Number of Females	% Females
Kindergarten	182	15,158	98.8
Elementary School	32,024	52,175	62.0
Jr. High School	21,688	32,934	60.3
Sr. High School	9,834	10,009	50.4
Sr. Vocational School	10,692	8,460	44.2
University, College and Jr. College	21,190	8,324	28.2

Source: Minister of Education, *Educational Statistics of Republic of China, 1995* (Taipei, 1995).

TABLE 5
GENDER DIFFERENCES IN FULL–TIME TEACHERS IN UNIVERSITIES

Occupation	Number of Males	Number of Female	% Female
Professors	3,848	443	10.3
Associate Professors	5,707	1,513	21.0
Lecturers	2,342	1,785	43.3
Teacher Assistants	1,268	1,800	58.7
Others	48	31	39.2
Total	13,213	5,572	29.7

Source: Ministry of Education, *Educational Statistics of Republic of China, 1994* (Taipei, 1994).

TABLE 6
NUMBERS OF SCHOOLS AND FEMALE PRINCIPALS IN ALL LEVELS OF EDUCATION

Level of Education	Number of Schools	Number of Female Principals	Percentage Female
Elementary School	2,528	209	8.3
Jr. High School	724	44	6.1
Sr. High School	195	35	17.9[64]
Sr. Vocational School	206	19	9.2
Jr. College	72	4	5.6
University and College	58	5	8.6

Source: Source: Ministry of Education, *Educational Statistics of Republic of China, 1995* (Taipei, 1995).

[64] There are more female principals in senior high schools than in others because Taiwan has some all–girls senior high schools which employ female principals only.

Fourth, some companies (e.g., airlines) have an informal policy of mandatory retirement of married or pregnant female employees. Fifth, many women workers face the problem of sexual harassment from their bosses.[65] Sixth, women members in the trade unions are still oppressed by men, and so very few women can attain high positions in the union to affect the policymaking. Seventh, female workers are far more vulnerable to market fluctuations than male workers;[66] that is, when the economy is in recession, more female workers are likely to lose their jobs since "patriarchal values can affect behaviour not only on the supply side but on the demand side, as well, with policymakers, employers, and fellow employees making investments, hiring, training, and mentoring decisions that favor males over females."[67] Despite this kind of discrimination, Taiwanese women, even those of high social status who embark on professional careers, are expected to bear the major burden of childrearing and care of the home,[68] since household chores are often considered to be "women's work."

Fortunately, some women's unions, such as the Grassroots Women Workers, have recently been established, and these organizations are helping women to "take

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[65] Sexual harassment in the workplace in Taiwan has been naturalized, trivialized, and even unrecognized until recently. For more information, see Luo, p. 284.

[66] *Fu Nu Zheng Ce Bai Pi Shu* (White Paper on Gender Aware Policies), (Taipei: Kuomintang Central Women's Working Association, 1995), p. 103.

[67] Mary C. Brinton, Yean-ju Lee and William L. Parish, "Married Women's Employment in Rapidly Industrializing Societies: Examples from East Asia," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 100, No. 5 (1995), p. 1101.

[68] Marc J. Cohen, *Taiwan at the Crossroads* (Washington, DC: Asia Resource Center, 1988), pp. 107–108.

control of their own lives at work and in society at large,"[69] and to act against the discrimination in their workplace. This is because when women have more education and work experience, they are more aware of their differential treatment in their workplace, and they are more capable of fighting for "equality" by forming their own unions. On the other hand, entry into the labour market has indeed increased the financial independence of Taiwanese women. An increasing number of young women, who work in export industries with low pay, save the money they earn to continue schooling, since they recognize that the more education they have, the greater their prospects of improving their lives. Also, more and more Taiwanese women, mainly well–educated, remain single and devote themselves to their jobs because they are aware of having other options other than marriage and they are often more independent economically. These single women are always very successful in their jobs, and have very high positions in their companies. In sum, although kept at a disadvantage, Taiwanese women still make good use of resources (e.g., education) for upward mobility and for occupying desirable positions in the labour market, and the measure of economic independence has indeed increased the status and autonomy of Taiwanese women.

C. Marriage

Many Taiwanese traditions that ignored women's rights, including purchase of child brides and polygyny, were abandoned after the Second World War. Today,

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[69] Women Working Worldwide, ed., *Common Women Organizing in Interests of Global Electronics* (London: Women Working Worldwide, 1991), p. 94.

Taiwanese men are allowed to have only one wife at one time by law, and women can now choose to keep their family name upon marriage and can choose husbands on their own or have a second marriage (or more) following divorce or death of the previous husband. This is more obvious among the group of highly educated young generation of women because the higher levels of female education led to greater autonomy for women in general as well as the new ideas and knowledge received from schooling.[70] Even though the arranged marriage still exists in Taiwan today, the form of traditional arranged marriage is changing: some people may still get to know a member of the opposite sex through a matchmaker and their families, but they can decide if they wish to be a couple or not by themselves. Indeed, the situation of "two people meet at work, like each other, and ask their parents for consent to marry"[71] becomes more popular among the younger generation.

There is nothing better than the issue of divorce to illustrate the ongoing re–evaluation of women's role in Taiwan. A few decades ago, divorce was a relatively rare occurrences, but during the 1980s, an increasing number of Taiwanese women started to earn their own paychecks. The experiences of women working outside their home have allowed them greater access to information and ideas about alternative lifestyles. Therefore, their growing independence gives them more freedom to reject dysfunctional marriage. In fact, the divorce rate is growing higher in Taiwan because more women are asking for divorce. According to the

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[70] Jui–shan Chang, "What Do Education and Work Mean? Education nonfamilial Work/Living Experiences and Premarital Sex for Women in Taiwan," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Spring 1996), p. 18.

[71] Gallin, p. 135.

data available from the Department of Population under the Ministry of Interior, the divorce rate in Taiwan has more than quadrupled in the last 25 years, while the marriage rate has only undergone a barely discernible increase. The divorce rate stood at 1.57 per couple per 1,000 people in 1995, compared to 0.37 in 1970 and 0.76 in 1980, and in 1995 divorced people accounted for 2.96 percent of the 15–and–over population, compared to 0.89 percent in 1970 and 1.07 percent in 1980.[72] Besides, since more education leads uniformly to a higher probability of employment, the delay of marriage and childbearing of Taiwanese well–educated women is also expected; and, as mentioned earlier, more women, especially the new generations, who have a high level of education, are remaining single because they feel that they have many other things to do besides attending to the duties of marriage. As well, they often see marriage and married life as risky, unnecessary, or simply not worth the trouble.[73]

On the other hand, traditional Taiwanese husbands thought that doing housework was a wife's responsibility, and so they were never willing to help with these chores. However, there is evidence that "the educational level of wives has a greater effect on the husbands sharing of domestic chores; that is, a woman's high education is associated with more household tasks being done by the husband."[74] Thus, it is not surprising that an increasing number of young Taiwanese men have

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[72] *The Republic of China Yearbook 1997*, p. 331.

[73] Brinton et al., p. 1105.

[74] Esther Lee Yao, "Variables for Household Division of Labour as Revealed by Chinese Women in Taiwan," *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spring 1987), p. 79.

begun to help with housework regularly when their wives are also working outside of the home. In addition, some young married Taiwanese women have started to arrange for daycare if they wish to keep their jobs after they have had their children.

However, Taiwanese women are now still facing some difficulties with regard to marriage. In general, this includes that Taiwanese society still demonstrates little sympathy for divorced women, and the right of child custody upon divorce belongs to the father, according to the *Civil Code*. Also, physical domestic violence against women, especially wife beating, is a serious problem in Taiwan. According to the survey by the Taiwan Provincial Social Affairs Department in 1994, 17.8 percent of married women had been beaten by their husbands. Another statistic available from the DPP[75] Women's Development Committee shows that about 35 percent of married women were victims of spouse abuse. The difference in percentages in these two statistics may be due to the strong social pressure which discourages some abused women from reporting incidents to the public in order to avoid disgracing their families.[76]

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[75] The full name for DPP is Democratic Progressive Party, an opposition party that was formed on September 28, 1986, and was legalized after the renunciation of martial law in 1987. For more information, see *Republic of China Yearbook 1997*; Cohen; and John F. Copper, "The Role of Minor Political Parties in Taiwan," *World Affairs*, Vol. 155, No. 3 (Winter 1993), pp. 95- 108.

[76] "Women and Human Rights," *Women's International Network News*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Spring 1996), p. 17.

D. Family

The rapid industrialization of the Taiwanese economy over the past forty years has had a great impact on family life as well as on women's status. More nuclear families have replaced expanded families because many young couples leave home and move to the cities in order to become wage–labourers, and so women have been forced to work as well in order to afford the basic household expenses, including rent. This suggests that the rate of childbirth within these families has decreased, since they cannot afford to have too many children and they do not need many children to help with farming as their parents and forefathers did. Therefore, these families will generally not have more than three children, and some of them even have only one child no matter whether the child is male or female. This change has helped Taiwanese girls gradually to be seen as being as important as boys — some families even prefer having a daughter to having a son because women can now expect to participate in the care of aged parents[77] by earning income outside the home; moreover, daughters tend to have a somewhat closer relationship with their parents than sons. Thus, there is no doubt that, in general, Taiwanese women have increasingly gained respect within their families, and some traditional values regarding Taiwanese women have been shifted to a certain degree across cohorts. In fact, daughters now can inherit parents' assets, whereas before only sons (especially the first son) were considered suitable heirs.

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[77] Chilla Bulbeck, "Sexual Dangers: Chinese Women's Experiences in Three Chinese Cultures — Beijing, Taipei and Hong Kong," *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (January–February, 1994), p. 97.

However, some Taiwanese families still retain traditional expectations for men and women, and the most significant is that sons are the only succeeding generation of their families and the ones who can look after aged parents. This view has resulted from an imbalance between the numbers of boys and girls. In 1995, there were 108.9 boys to every 100 baby girls in Taiwan, according to the Taiwan Provincial Family Planning Institute. This was because many young Taiwanese newlyweds planned to have only one child for economic and lifestyle reasons, but traditional requirements of a male descendent made parents prefer that this only child be a boy; therefore, private and small hospitals in Taiwan were ignoring the ban on using chorionic villus sampling as a means of determining fetus gender and were performing abortions on women who did not prefer the gender of their unborn child.[78] According to 1994 figures, among families having more than one child, the male–to–female ratio was 108 to 100 for the firstborn, 107 to 100 for the second born, 113 to 100 for the third, and 120 to 100 for the fourth, which seems to indicate an artificial manipulation to affect the gender of newborns.[79] (Generally, by the time families are having their third child, they may have an increasing tendency to use methods for controlling gender in order to ensure that their offspring will be male, where they have already given birth to one or two girls previously.) The thought of preferring sons suggests that some Taiwanese families will still be likely to invest in their sons rather than their

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[78] The 1985 promulgation of the *Genetic Health Law* allows abortion 24 weeks into pregnancy if the fetus is found to have a congenital defect. See *Republic of China Yearbook 1997*, p. 16.

[79] *Republic of China Yearbook 1997*, p. 16.

daughters. For instance, if the families cannot afford to educate all their children, the priority will be given to sons.

In addition, "while prostitution is undoubtedly as old in Taiwan (mainly Taipei and Kaohsiung) as it is elsewhere, in the 1970s and 1980s, the island developed an extensive 'sex industry' catering to foreign tourists (especially from Japan),[80] as well as to newly affluent local men. This industry procures girls from poor families, and has provided its 'entrepreneurs,' who often come from organized crime groups, with substantial profits."[81] This situation is particularly obvious among aboriginal families because the overall educational and income level of Taiwan's aboriginals still lag behind those of the Taiwanese, and so indigenous girls often suffer more from their poor family's economic situation, with the result that they often dropped out of school at an early age and were sold into adolescent prostitution (as young as age thirteen). In fact, those organized crime groups always go to aboriginal villages to encourage or sometimes force impoverished parents to sell their daughters into prostitution by providing them with what amounts to quite a large sum of money for these families. Fortunately, the young prostitutes might sometimes escape from the control of the criminals; however, after the girls return home, their parents are forced to sell them again into the same situation because they cannot repay their "debt" to the criminals. Moreover, because many prostitutes have not received enough education, they may be likely

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[80] Asia's sex tours started in Japan in the 1960s and 1970s. Japanese men flocked in organized sex tours to South Korea and Taiwan, and now to other countries, such as the Philippines and Thailand.

[81] Cohen, p. 109.

to reduce their daughters' access to education in the future and sell daughters into prostitution as their parents did before them. As a result, these miserable conditions keep occurring within the lives of aboriginal girls.

E. Political Role

Women were not allowed to participate in political affairs in traditional Taiwanese society, but they have gradually demanded their political rights after the Constitution of the Republic of China, which guarantees legal equality of sexes, including equality of "political rights" (e.g., to elect public officials), was enforced in Taiwan at the end of the Second World War. In the current (1997) constitution, Taiwanese women have a certain number of guaranteed seats in congress and local councils. This reserved seat system ensures women 10–25 percent of the seats from the local to the national levels.[82] Also, the Central Women's Department was restored by the government after the war (it was first established in China in 1924), and more Taiwanese women became civil servants (by passing the government examinations) in recent years. In 1993, there were 203,755 female civil servants, which accounted for 35.1 percent of total civil servants (see Table 7).

[82] Bullbeck, p. 96.

TABLE 7
FEMALE CIVIL SERVANTS IN TAIWAN

Year	Total Number of Civil Servants	Total Number of Female Civil Servants	Percentage of Female Civil Sevants
1989	539,940	178,805	33.12
1990	552,786	187,400	33.90
1991	562,983	193,169	34.31
1992	572,119	199,847	34.93
1993	580,099	203,755	35.12

Source: Ministry of Civil Service, Examination Yuan, ROC, 1994.

However, the reality for Taiwanese women is not as positive as the preceeding description seems to portray, because women are still the minority in both congress and council (see Tables 8 and 9), and there were no women in the cabinet until recently, and so women's opinions have only little influence on policymaking. Also, the Women's Department did not help Taiwanese women much because it "has given a more women–centred twist to this profile by promoting their [women's] morality and their knowledge, providing service to the community as well as the welfare of women and community."[83] Moreover, there is only one female mayor and one female magistrate out of sixteen counties and five provincial municipalities at present in Taiwan.[84]

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[83] Bullbeck, p. 96.

[84] Mayors of provincial municipalities and magistrates of counties are popularly elected for up to two four–year terms. To date, only six Taiwanese women have ever won an election as a county magistrate or city mayor. For more information, see *The Republic of China Yearbook 1997.*

TABLE 8
WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE BODIES

Year	Candidates			Seats			
	Total	Women	% Women	Total	Reserved for Women	Women	% Women
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY							
1969	29	2	6.9	15	2	2	13.3
1972	78	10	12.8	53	5	8	15.1
1980	185	17	9.2	76	7	12	15.8
1986	169	25	14.8	84	8	16	19.0
1991	467	61	13.1	225	19	31	13.8
LEGISLATIVE YUAN							
1969	25	4	16.0	11	0	1	9.1
1972	55	6	10.9	36	3	4	11.1
1975	61	4	6.6	37	3	4	10.8
1980	218	17	7.8	70	5	7	10.0
1983	171	22	12.9	71	5	8	11.3
1986	137	12	8.8	100	6	8	8.0
1989	302	26	8.7	101	7	13	12.9
1992	348	36	10.3	125	10	12	9.6

Source: Chou Bih–er, Cal Clark and Janet Clark, *Women in Taiwan Politics* (Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1990), Table 5.1; Central Election Commission, Executive Yuan, ROC, 1993.

TABLE 9
WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN PROVINCIAL–LEVEL LEGISLATIVE BODIES

Year	Candidates			Seats			
	Total	Women	% Women	Total	Reserved for Women	Women	% Women
PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY							
1951	140	12	8.6	55	5	5	9.0
1954	110	18	16.4	57	6	6	10.5
1957	118	22	18.6	66	9	9	13.6
1960	126	18	14.3	73	9	10	13.7
1963	137	14	10.2	74	9	10	13.5
1968	129	19	14.7	71	10	11	15.5
1972	121	21	17.4	73	10	12	16.4
1977	125	23	18.4	77	10	13	16.9
1981	199	34	17.1	77	9	10	13.0
1985	158	28	17.7	77	9	13	16.9
1989	157	30	19.1	77	9	14	18.2
1994	176	32	18.0	79	9	16	20.3
TAIPEI CITY COUNCIL							
1969	77	8	10.4	48	4	7	14.6
1973	63	8	12.7	49	4	7	14.3
1977	61	8	13.1	51	5	8	15.7
1981	83	11	13.3	51	5	7	13.7
1985	74	10	13.5	51	5	9	17.6
1989	100	24	24.0	51	6	10	19.6
1994	145	29	20.0	52	5	12	23.1
KAOHSIUNG CITY COUNCIL							
1981	81	15	18.5	42	5	6	14.3
1985	71	13	18.3	42	5	6	14.3
1989	94	14	14.9	43	5	6	14.0
1994	129	16	12.4	44	5	6	13.6

Source: Chou Bih–er, Cal Clark and Janet Clark, *Women in Taiwan Politics* (Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1990), Table 5.2; Central Election Commission, Executive Yuan, ROC, 1995.

This situation has started to improve recently due to women's increased occupational status and the greater education that Taiwanese women have achieved, which has helped them to become more capable of participating in the struggle for equal political rights. In fact, "political changes occur primarily among those women who are highly educated and employed in professional or managerial jobs."[85] For example, "the first woman was named to the cabinet in 1988, Finance Minister Shirley Kuo, who also is the only woman currently sitting on the KMT Central Standing Committee,"[86] and another woman, Chang Po–ya, were appointed director–general of the Department of Health in 1990; both women are highly educated (with doctoral degrees) and possess a record of outstanding performance in their occupations. This is a great step in the political role of Taiwanese women, and it is hoped that more women will enter into the top decision–making positions within the political life of Taiwan.

2.2.3.3. Conclusion

Over the past forty years, new definitions of women's roles have been formed as more Taiwanese women have received higher education, have joined the workforce, have become financially independent, and have begun to compete with Taiwanese men. As well, Taiwanese women have been legally granted equal rights and the country's laws prohibit sex discrimination. However, Taiwanese women

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[85] Chou Bih–er, Cal Clark and Janet Clark, *Women in Taiwan Politics* (Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1990), p. 74.

[86] Cohen, p. 116.

still remain subordinate to men to various degrees in aspects ranging from marriage, work, family, political participation, and education, because the patriarchal ideology and traditional anti–women values still exist to some extent in present Taiwanese society. In particular, the opportunities for Taiwanese women remain restricted and the government's legal guarantees have had little to do with the reality of women's lives (e.g., labour laws provide for maternity leave, but employers do not always grant it). Moreover, while the status of traditional Taiwanese women has been improving, they now face a number of new problems, such as the the increasing numbers of rapes (the issue of women's personal security), divorced women and elderly women[87] (the issue of social welfare), and violence against women (a public health issue). Clearly, there is still much for Taiwanese women to struggle for because they have not yet achieved "real equal status" with men. On the positive side, the increasing educational opportunities at all levels have helped Taiwanese women to acquire the ablity and knowledge to organize and ameliorate their situation,[88] and so a quiet but increasingly radical "modern" women's movement actually began to take root in Taiwan in the 1970s and expanded in the late 1980s. These women's movements have played a significant role and continue to play a growing role in achieving increased rights

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[87] As the average life expectancy rises in Taiwan – to 77.74 and 71.85 years in 1995 for women and men, respectively – living conditions for elderly women is becoming an increasingly serious issue that needs to be paid greater attention.

[88] Cohen, p. 108.

and opportunities for women in Taiwan, the next chapter will further analyze the development of modern women's movements in Taiwan.

2.3. CONCLUSION

This chapter has established a better understanding of the changing role of Taiwanese women in this century; that is, over the past hundred years, the gender gap in socioeconomic and political status has been narrowed considerably, and many traditional values that went against women were abandoned in Taiwan. However, due to the still existing patriarchal ideology and the poor enforcement of current laws (which promise Taiwanese women equal rights), Taiwanese women are still discriminated against. Fortunately, Taiwanese women have acquired the knowledge of how to transform their conscious and collective voices for equality into action by organizing themselves to struggle to change the situation for women in Taiwan.

This background will lead to a clearer understanding of the development of modern women's movements in Taiwan in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN TAIWAN, 1971–PRESENT

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter examined the changing role of Taiwanese women in the twentieth century from a general perspective. This chapter will focus on a more radical strand that has been developed since the 1970s – the Taiwanese modern women's movement, the main theme of the thesis. Three sections are included in this chapter. Section one looks at the historical background of the modern women's movement in Taiwan, including a brief overview of the history of the pre–modern Taiwanese women's movement, prior to the 1970s, and a discussion of the crucial influences on the emergence of the modern women's movement in Taiwan, such as education, the influence of the Western world, and industrialization. Section two analyzes three different stages of the modern Taiwanese women's movement from 1971 to present and their accomplishments. Section three specifically addresses the different agendas of Taiwan's modern women's movement in three stages as it relates to the perspectives of Gender and Development (GAD). This third section begins with a brief discussion of the evolution of development thought and process as it relates to women, subsequently focusing on the GAD issue to further analyze the agenda of the modern Taiwanese women's movement, and then finally

concluding with an analysis of whether or not the GAD approach can be successfully applied to the modern Taiwanese women's movement.

3.2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE MODERN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN TAIWAN

3.2.1. The History of the Pre–modern Women's Movement in Taiwan, Prior to the 1970s[89]

3.2.1.1. The Colonial Period (1895–1945)

The Taiwanese women's movement can be traced back to the early 1900s when Taiwan was under Japanese colonial rule.[90] As mentioned in Chapter 2, this period of the women's movement was an integral part of the anti–colonial movement. Female activists were involved in either conservative or radical wings of the anti–colonial movement, and they were also very active in women's movement activities that were under the anti–colonial movement. In fact, conservative platforms always included support for women's rights, but it was from radical (Communist Party) ranks that women significantly emerged as power holders. For example, Hsieh Hsueh–hung, "the parent of the Taiwan Communist

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[89] The "modern" women's movement in Taiwan, beginning in 1971, and referred to as "the *New Feminism*" by Lu Hsiu–lien, the movement's key early leader, is distinguished from the Taiwanese women's movement prior to the 1970s, which will be referred to as the "pre–modern" women's movement throughout this thesis.

[90] In Taiwan, no women's history was taught in school, not even the short–lived and strongly suppressed women's movement under Japanese occupation. Accordingly, information available on this period of the women's movement is scant and imprecise. Thus, the discussion in the following paragraph will be based on some sundry scattered sources as follows: Tsurumi, p. 209 and 223; and Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 13.

Party"[91] and the activist within the women's movement, was not the only prominent figure within Taiwanese Communist Party who was female. Out of the eight or nine individuals who occupied the most important positions at the centre of the party, at least two others were women.[92]

In general, this group of female anti–colonial activists consisted mostly of intellectuals since, "conservative or radical, Taiwanese anticolonialism was a product of Japanese education. Modern Japan no longer held mysteries. . . . Educated Taiwanese soon discovered that they, who in competition had proved themselves capable of first–class performance, were treated as second–class citizens. This discovery turned many intellectuals into anticolonialists. . . . Thus, conservative or radical Taiwanese anticolonialism was largely a movement of intellectuals."[93] Except for a few outstanding self–schooled women (e.g., Hsieh Hsueh–hung), most women in both conservative and radical wings were highly educated Japanese–trained Taiwanese. Nevertheless, it is clear that this period of

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[91] In some ways the Taiwan Communist Party appears as a distinct segment of Taiwan's radical anti–colonial stream. Hsieh played a central role in the founding of the Taiwan Communist Party in 1928, and was one of the most influential Communists in Taiwan's peasant movement, labour movement, and women's movement activities until her arrest in 1931, the year in which massive police round–ups put an end to Communist activities within the colony. She was released in 1939 because of her serious illness. Upon her release, she continued to work underground even though the party had been destroyed by the massive arrests in 1931. Despite her illness, she outlived the colonial government, surviving to play an important role in political events that occurred immediately after Japanese rule ended. In 1949, she went to Beijing. For more information, see Tsurumi.

[92] Tsurumi, p. 209.

[93] Tsurumi, p. 211.

the Taiwanese women's movement was strongly linked to "education" and "anti–colonialism"; however, these educated, vigorous women only represented a very small portion of Taiwanese women who were still suppressed by traditional value systems, and their efforts to achieve women's rights have been heavily overshadowed by the anti–colonial movement and thus largely overlooked.

3.2.1.2. The Post–war Period (1945–1971)

The KMT government moved to Taiwan in 1949 after it was defeated by the Communist Party in the civil war, and it determined to preserve patriarchal and Confucian tradition within a tightly controlled society as one means to counter the drastic social and political changes occurring within Communist China.[94] Thus, the government's policy with regard to women followed the KMT's directive of subordinating women's movements and women's organizations to national or party interest since the 1920s;[95] that is, women have been encouraged to play

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[94] Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 13.

[95] It was not until the late nineteenth century when the European powers defeated the self–complacent Ching dynasty with warships and manufactured goods that reformers like Kang Yu–wei and Liang Chi–chao (the leader of the Hundred Days Reform) began to think of combatting the European invasion by exploiting and mobilizing the country's undeveloped female resources. Many reformers, in particular Liang, advocated female education as a means to revive the ailing Chinese nation. Accordingly, Chinese women were given educational opportunities for the purpose of improving the quality of the "mother educator" and increasing national productivity. In fact, the curricula for women's education were different form men's due to the thought that modern education should prepare women to better play their traditional roles. In return, many Chinese women responded passionately to the call of patriotism and participated in revolutionary activities against the Ching dynasty prior to the birth of the Republic (KMT government). After the Republic was founded, female

supportive and subservient roles both at home and within society. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Central Women's Department was restored in 1953, propagating the maternal image of women and attempting to preserve "feminine virtues" through formal education, media and policies regarding women. In fact, the value systems and virtues of sexual division and patriarchy were important in the curricula of elementary and secondary education. For example, the ideal woman was portrayed in the textbooks as an obedient daughter, and the "normal" family was described as consisting of a father who worked and a mother who stayed home to take care of the family. Besides, there was no women's history (e.g., the Taiwanese women's movement under Japanese rule, the cultural heritage of Chinese women's suffrage

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leaders demanded further legal protection for their rights. For example, the suffrage movement in 1912 was the first organized and collective expression of feminism in Chinese history. The May Fourth Movement, the reaction of Chinese intellectuals to the political turmoil at home and the threat of Japanese militarism from abroad in the years 1915–23, was the cultural renaissance of modern China. Intellectuals anxiously turned to Western Civilization to seek new solutions to old problems that they believed were embedded in the Confucian tradition. "Women's problems" were also an important issue in the general humanitarian concern of these intellectuals; therefore, women's equal rights to education and participation in the public sphere were advocated. In 1924, the KMT government (after incorporating the emerging Communist Party) established the Central Women's Development and passed resolutions that declared equal rights for men and women in law, in economic opportunities, in education and in society. Nevertheless, the role of Chinese women had a drastic change within twenty years since the birth of the Republic. However, women's voices were often subdued or ignored in the face of pragmatic political considerations. After the split with the Communist Party, the KMT government took a more cautious stance toward the women's movement. Under KMT rule, the call for a sense of responsibility to and service for the country on the part of women set the direction for women's organizations and the women's movement. See Ku, "The Changing Status," pp. 179–181; Weili Ye, "NU LIUXUESHENG" (The Story of American–Educated Chinese Women, 1880s–1920s), *Modern China*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (July 1994); and Yao, pp. 67- 71.

movement, etc.) being taught in school. On the other hand, each year model mothers (who met the criteria of having a large number of children, and whose children have achieved success because of maternal care and self–sacrifice) were selected and praised in public on Mother's Day. Even the media directed women's interests toward child care and homemaking, and no serious women's issues were raised.[96] Nevertheless, Taiwanese women were less inspired for actual participation in all phases of their lives although they were protected by legal codes. Without any mandatory involvement by the government, Taiwanese women were content with what the laws granted them and had little ambition for further struggle for status, either political or social.[97] The traditional role of Taiwanese women in a patriarchal society was rarely questioned until the 1970s.

3.2.2. The Influences on the Emergence of the Modern Women's Movement in Taiwan

It is believed that "education," "Western influence" and "industrialization" have provided the most important impetus for the emergence of the modern women's movement in Taiwan beginning in the early 1970s. In fact, these three factors have interacted and become interwoven within the process of inducing the emergence of the modern women's movement in Taiwan. This interrelated and interdependent nature makes it difficult to deal with these factors separately.

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[96] Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 13.

[97] Yao, p. 71.

Accordingly, the following will draw them together in order to discuss their relationship with the modern Taiwanese women's movement.

It is believed that "education has long been one of the most decisive life chances, a determinant of social status, and mechanism for social mobility."[98] However, traditionally Taiwanese women were not allowed to attain the same level of formal education as men.[99] Some high–class women might have had the chance to be tutored within their own homes. However, the material presented here was intended to make women concerned about the virtues and duties they should maintain in order to become an ideal woman: filial daughter, dedicated mother, and obedient wife. Without educational opportunities, and especially lacking a proper education, Taiwanese women accepted their inferior status and endured their miserable lives for many centuries, with very few ever questioning the status quo.

"With the start of trade with the West, Western civilization, lifestyle and values have also been introduced."[100] In fact, the word "rights" was only introduced into the Chinese language in the late nineteenth century when many Western missionaries and imperialistic invaders came to the East and brought the

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[98] Tsai *et al.*, p. 243.

[99] Two of the characteristics of Chinese Confucianism were the emphasis on education and the suppression of women; hence the examination system was developed very well, and the people (men only) would study in the old–style private schools for many years in order to pass the examinations and to become an official. However, women would be prevented from accessing the examination system and schools so that there was no female official under Confucian tradition.

[100] Rosina C. Chia, Jamie L. Moore, Ka–Nei Lam, C. J. Chuang, and B. S. Cheng, "Cultural Differences in Gender Role Attitudes between Chinese and American Students," *Sex Roles*, Vol. 31, Nos. 1–2 (July 1994), p. 24.

idea of "rights" with them. However, at that time, Taiwanese women were not aware of their unequal treatment and even believed these traditions (i.e., obey men, stay home, etc.) were right largely due to their lack of education. While Chinese women were finally allowed to be educated within the public school system, as a result of the influence of Western culture and Western values making reformers of the late Ching dynasty aware of the importance of the role played by women in building a strong modern nation,[101] Taiwan subsequently fell into hands of colonial Japan. For the purpose of fulfilling the policy of assimilation (Japanization), Japanese rulers began to offer the opportunity for Taiwanese women to access formal education. After gaining a right to education, Taiwanese women have begun to acquire social contacts with the world outside their home and have gradually become aware of their historic subordinate status. In fact, as described earlier, some female intellectuals began to become very active in movements for women's rights during the colonial period. However, this period of the women's movement was short–lived and did not gain as much attention as the anti–colonial movement since the latter was the more important concern at that time.

During the post–war period, Taiwan's economy has experienced rapid industrialization, which in turn has created a tremendous impact on women. Firstly, there was an increasing demand for labour, especially in Export Processing Zones (EPZs; free–trade zones). Thus, more young women were able to find jobs – even married women would maintain their jobs or return to work after their children were grown up, which not only promoted women's financial independence but also

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[101] Yao, p. 67.

encouraged women's intellectual development through greater contact with the outside world. Secondly, the Taiwanese government recognized that for a limited resource country like Taiwan, investment in education is the key to successful economic growth; thus, popularizing education at elementary and lower–secondary levels was an important aspect of government policy during the two decades following 1949 (compulsory basic education was raised from six to nine years in 1968), and since the early 1960s efforts have been made to expand education at the above the basic lower–secondary level in order to meet the demand of industrialization. Consequently, more and more Taiwanese people, including women, experienced increasing opportunities to access higher education. Thirdly, as discussed in Chapter 2, The impact of Taiwan's rapid industrialization on the growth of the nuclear family, a declining birth rate and improved household finances contributed to Taiwanese women gaining greater opportunities for education. Also, due to the nature of Taiwan's rapid "westernized" industrialization, Taiwan has encouraged and has increasingly sent many students to the West, mainly the United States (Taiwan's main trading partner) for advanced study. Moreover, when the students returned, they could expect to obtain well–paying jobs. Therefore, it is not surprising that some Taiwanese women began to travel abroad to further their studies after obtaining a baccalaureate degree at home[102] (see Table 10).

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[102] Until 1987, the Taiwanese authorities forbade foreign undergraduate study. See Cohen, p. 178.

TABLE 10
NUMBER OF FOREIGN–EDUCATED STUDENTS RETURNING TO TAIWAN[103]

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE
1950–51	15	2
1955–56	55	12
1960–61	41	11
1965–66	109	27
1970–71	275	87
1975–76	559	163
1980–81	604	333
1985–86	1,046	537
1990–91	1,956	1,308
1992–93	3,519	2,653

Source: Ministry of Education, *Educational Statistics of Republic of China, 1994* (Taipei, 1994).

In fact, many returned students, with their various advanced degrees, brought back ideas acquired from living abroad, and since Taiwanese people usually thought highly of the returned students, many of them did gain the

[103] "Over the past 40 years, nearly a quarter of a million students from Taiwan have travelled abroad to study. Although the exact numbers are not certain (except for government–funded students, the government no longer keeps statistics on the number travelling abroad each year since special permission to do so is no longer required), it is clear that at any given time there are well over 10,000 Taiwanese students studying abroad." See *The Republic of China Yearbook 1997*, p. 300. As a result, Table 10 is derived from returning foreign–educated students who have registered with the government.

opportunity to exert influence.[104] Thus, after some Taiwanese female students – who were sent to the West for advanced study by their parents in the late 1960s and were shaped by Western–style feminism while studying abroad – returned to Taiwan with Western feminist ideals, and began to organize themselves to struggle to change women's situation, the modern women's movement in Taiwan has been slow in coming in the 1970s.

In sum, before gaining access to education, Taiwanese women were unaware of their inferior role and so there was no women's movement and no feminist ideas in existence within traditional Taiwanese society. After gaining the right to education and coming into contact with Western culture, Taiwanese women began to recognize their historical mistreatment, but they did not dare to question it, except for a few female elite who became very active within the so–called "pre–modern" women's movement activities that were an integral part of the anti–colonial movement during the period of Japanese rule. The increasing educational opportunities at all levels after the economic upsurge in the 1960s helped Taiwanese women to gradually develop the ability and knowledge to fight for equality because they knew what they were struggling for – women's rights – and how to go about it. However, the radical strand of the modern women's movement was still hidden, although there was a growing women's force taking root in Taiwan. The latent large force finally evolved into the modern women's movement in Taiwan after the first group of Taiwanese women who had studied in

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[104] Wen–hsing Wu, Shun–fun Chen and Chen–tsou Wu, "The Development of Higher Education in Taiwan," *Higher Education*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1989), p. 133.

the West in the late 1960s returned home and became leaders of the women's movement in the early 1970s. From the above, it is clear that education, interconnected with Western influence and industrialization, played an important role in encouraging the rise of the modern women's movement in Taiwan; that is, these three factors provided the impetus for Taiwanese women to have their collective voices transformed into action – into the women's movement – and also led to the emergence of leaders to drive the efforts of women in their question for equal rights with men. Hence, it may demonstrate that *without education, Western influence and industrialization, the modern women's movement in Taiwan may not have occurred, at least would not emerge as early as in the 1970s.*

3.2.3. Conclusion

Although the status of Taiwanese women has improved significantly over the last century, especially over the past four decades, equal partnership for women and men in all aspects of social life remains a goal to strive for.[105] In fact, before the 1970s, Taiwanese women were satisfied with the slow–pace of improvements occurring in their lives since the government was not enthusiastic about assisting and encourage women to develop their potential but stressed the unity of the family which demanded that women maintain their traditional roles at home.[106] However, with education and industrialization as prime pursuits of the Taiwanese government, in combination with Western influence, this has indeed resulted in

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[105] Ku, "The Changing Status," p. 179.

[106] Yao, p. 72.

women re–evaluating their values and worth to society, and finally it has generated an unexpected consequence (at least, for the Taiwanese government) of Taiwanese women transforming their learning into an organized collective action in an effort to ameliorate their situation – the "modern" Taiwanese women's movement of the 1970s.

3.3. THE STAGES OF THE MODERN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN TAIWAN, 1971- PRESENT

"According to the succession of leadership and the change of social environment,"[107] the modern Taiwanese women's movement can be divided into three stages: the pioneering period (1971–82), the *Awakening* period (1982–87), and the post–martial–law period (1987–present).

3.3.1. Pioneering Period (1971–82)

Like all social change movements, the modern women's movement in Taiwan was "from the beginning produced by larger forces than any one individual, but as is often the case, one person, Lu Hsiu–Lian, played a catalytic role."[108] Lu Hsiu–Lien, known as Annette Lu in the West, is in fact the pioneer of the modern women's movement in Taiwan, commonly known as the "mother" of the modern women's movement in Taiwan. As the leader of the first–wave of the modern women's movement in Taiwan, Lu is an important activist and writer whose

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[107] Ku, "The Changing Status," p. 186.

[108] Cohen, p. 109.

so–called new–feminist ideology has exerted great influence and resulted in considerable turmoil within the social, political, and literary scene of her time.[109]

Lu was born in Taoyuan County in 1944, the youngest of four children, and the third daughter of her parents. Her birth was in fact a great disappointment to her family that still retained the traditional preference for sons. Thus, her parents never ceased to regret that she was not a boy, in spite of the fact that her academic performance was always at the top of her class.[110] Upon receiving her Bachelor's degree in Law from the National Taiwan University (NTU) in 1969, she left for the United States where she received a Master's degree in Comparative Law from the University of Illinois in 1971. She returned to Taiwan in the same year and started her civil service career as a section chief of the Commission on Law and Regulation in the Executive Yuan.[111]

While Lu was studying in the United States, she was in fact impressed by the heated debate over the emerging women's movement in that country. She returned to Taiwan just as two fervently discussed topics dominating the media happened to concern women: the protection of men against competition from women in the joint college entrance examination; and the pardoning of a man who

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[109] Ying–ying Chien, "From Utopian to Dystopian World: Two Faces of Feminism in Contemporary Taiwanese Women's Fiction," *World Literature Today*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (Winter 1994), pp. 35–36

[110] Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 15.

[111] In fact, Lu abandoned her plans to pursue Ph.D. work at the University of Washington in Seattle and instead returned to Taiwan at her widowed mother's pleading. See Cohen, p. 110.

killed his wife suspected of adultery.[112] Lu wrote several articles on these topics but from a humanitarian and feminist perspective to defend fair competition in the examination and to demand an unbiased trial for the accused, which brought her a great deal of public attention, both applauding and condemning her opinions.[113] Thereafter, Lu became a popular writer and public speaker, openly challenging patriarchal hegemony and paving the way for feminism in Taiwan.[114] In her 1974 groundbreaking theoretical book on feminism, *New Feminism*, Lu introduced Western feminist thought and provided the defining characteristics of her "new feminism" and "new woman"[115] to her Taiwanese readers, and also critiqued the

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[112] The joint college entrance examination, which every high school graduate is required to pass in order to study in university (or college), is held annually in Taiwan. Admission is dependent upon grade and the order of preference one specifies on the application form. Since women's scores were improving every year, there was a fear that women would eventually outnumber men attending university (or college). Some even recommended setting up a quota system that would maintain a male majority attending university (or college). On the other hand, traditionally, if a Taiwanese husband committed adultery, it was not regarded as an offence; however, if a Taiwanese wife was suspected to be an adulterer, the husband could kill his wife with impunity. See Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 16.

[113] She was the only writer who sympathized with the murdered wife, which in fact attacked the patriarchal tradition and inspired a vigourous defence.

[114] Chien, p. 36.

[115] The characteristics of Lu's new feminism includes: first, it emphasizes women as human beings and the importance of their independence and equality; second, it stresses cooperation between the sexes and the birth of "new men" as essential to the emergence of "new women"; and third, it encourages women to develop their intelligence fully and to realize their talent. See Chien, p. 36.

Confucian tradition from a feminist perspective.[116] However, this book was accused of advocating sexual emancipation and of using alien Western ideas to undermine social harmony,[117] and it was banned shortly after its first publication. Because of misperception by the alarmed government for the author's seemingly militant stance, Lu came under increasing hostility from the government.[118] In fact, Lu's writings in the 1970s were quite moderate in tone and generally did not challenge such institutions as marriage, monogamy, and heterosexuality. (However, Lu took a more radical and critical view of these social conventions in the 1980s.) She rejected the total reception of so–called "Western feminism"; instead, "she sought common ground with the traditional society by praising traditional feminine attributes such as being tender, sweet, graceful, and loving, while injecting the ideal of equal access to education, employment and political participation,"[119] and advocating the need for daycare, family planning, and an equitable division of household responsibilities. She also stressed that people ought to have the freedom to develop all of their talents as human beings without limitations based on gender.

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[116] Lu identifies some traditional Chinese views dealing with the fate of women – continue the family line, the child's carrying the father's surname, three submissions and four virtues, men outside/women inside, one–sided chastity, etc. – and viewed that these traditions indeed are the root of contemporary women's low position and lack of self–confidence. For more information, see Reed.

[117] Cohen, p. 111.

[118] Due to the threat of Communist China, and the lessons they learned from their loss to the mainland, the KMT government wanted no instigation of any kind.

[119] Ku, "The Changing Status," p. 181.

Besides writing articles and books, and delivering speeches on equal rights and women's problems, Lu also made some attempts to have the women's movement institutionalized between 1972 and 1975. However, her attempts were either outlawed or met strong resistance. For example, the Taipei municipal government refused to issue her a permit to start an Association for the Promotion of Women in 1972, and even though she was able two years later to establish the Taipei Chapter of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women (IFBPW), she was forced out shortly because the majority of its members were displeased with her overt concern for women's issues.[120] A feminist coffee house named "the Pioneer's Home" was also forced to close in 1973. In 1975, Lu received an Asia Foundation grant to visit women's organizations in the United States, Japan, and South Korea. She was also invited to attend the World Conference of the International Women's Year in Mexico City. However, the head of the People's Republic of China delegation to the conference pressured the Mexican government to deny the "breakaway province of Taiwan" representative a visa.[121] After Lu returned to Taiwan, she resigned from the civil service in order to devote all her time and energy to the women's movement. Aside from setting up hotlines in Taipei and Kaohsiung to aid abused and underprivileged women, she also established a feminist research centre, offering training sessions to women, and conducted several surveys and seminars on sex roles in the household. Accordingly, Lu began focusing on the problems of lower class women, including

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[120] Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 16.

[121] Cohen, p. 111.

farmers, factory workers, and prostitutes.[122] Lu later organized a publishing company, the Pioneer Press, which published her own works and those of a number of other young feminist writers (many of whom have also studied in the West), including the second edition of Lu's *New Feminism*. However, due to some poor management decisions, as well as financial difficulties, and after being prohibited by the Taipei municipal government from opening a dating service for unmarried young people, she closed her business in Taiwan and returned to the United States to obtain a second Master's degree from Harvard Law School. She became increasingly interested in international issues, including Taiwan's political status and women's rights. She also focused on women's law in Taiwan, concerning the laws restricting abortion and the marital prosperity law.[123] In 1978, Lu returned to Taiwan to participate in the National Assembly elections since she believed that the status of a member of the National Assembly would serve as a vehicle for promoting democracy and women's rights.[124] Meanwhile, she became involved in opposition politics and became one of its leaders.[125] However, the election was postponed after U.S. President Carter announced that the United States would recognize the People's Republic of China (PRC) and sever its diplomatic ties with

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[122] Cohen, pp. 110–111.

[123] Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 17.

[124] For more information, see Ku, "The Feminist Movement."

[125] In the 1970s, under martial law it was illegal to form a formal party and thus the political opposition was called Tangwai (meaning outside the party, i.e., the KMT). Tangwai was transformed into the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 1986. For more information, see Cohen.

the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan in December 1978. The opposition continued its mass rallies throughout Taiwan and launched *Formosa Magazine*.[126] Lu was appointed the magazine's Deputy Director and was arrested after the magazine organized a demonstration in Kaohsiung on December 10, 1979 (known as the "Kaohsiung Incident"). She was sentenced to twelve years in prison for inciting the ensuing riot, although she had in fact urged the crowed to observe non–violence. Like her co–defendants, she was adopted by Amnesty International as a prisoner of conscience, and the Committee to Protect Journalists also repeatedly appealed for her release.[127] She was finally released on probation for medical reasons in 1985.[128] While Lu was in jail, she wrote several books, including a novel entitled *These Three Women*, openly proclaiming it to be "feminist" by intention, a gesture that still required much courage in Taiwan in the 1980s.[129]

In 1986, Lu left Taiwan after receiving an appointment as a Visiting Scholar at Harvard University. Thereafter, she became more active in general politics rather than the women's movement. However, she has remained in contact with the modern women's movement in Taiwan and in fact wrote an article on Taiwan's

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[126] Because martial law banned unauthorized public gatherings and protests, it became a common practice in the 1970s for activists to form publishing companies or to publish magazines to propagate their ideas. For more information, see Ku, "The Changing Status."

[127] Cohen, p. 112.

[128] Lu was suffering from thyroid carcinoma.

[129] Chien, p. 36.

women's movement in 1988. After the lifting of martial law, Lu finally received a full commutation of her sentence and restoration of her civil rights. She was later elected as one of the few female legislative members of Parliament after twenty years as a political outsider and once again returned to the political arena to continue her work in terms of democracy and liberation for women.[130] More recently, Lu won a popular election as a county magistrate (the only female magistrate out of sixteen countries, as mentioned in Chapter 2) in her home town – Taoyuan County in 1997.

Generally speaking, Lu's efforts at promoting a women's rights movement through her writings and public speaking engagements have evoked little response even from female communities since it was handicapped both by traditions and by government's manipulation of women's group activities.[131] In addition, her efforts to institutionalize the women's movement were also repeatedly frustrated. However, "as one of the models of a modern new woman herself, Lu has demonstrated the unusual courage and strength to be a female pioneer in her homeland despite persecution and controversy. . . . Her special contribution lies in her vision of combining Western and traditional ideas of womanhood and in her charisma, which attracts numerous intellectual volunteers to carry on women's tasks. Among these 'recruits' is Li Yuanzhen, who later became the founder of the Awakening

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[130] Chien, p. 36.

[131] Harvey Feldman and Ilpyong J. Kim, eds., *Taiwan in a Time of Transition* (New York: Paragon House, 1988), pp. 25–26.

Foundation and the leader of the second wave of the [modern] women's movement after Lu."[132]

3.3.2. The *Awakening* Period (1982–87)

In addition to Annette Lu, there were several female intellectuals who had studied in the West and who later became active in the modern women's movement in the late 1970s. These individuals worked with Lu to seek new divorce laws and the protection of child prostitutes. In 1982, while Lu was in prison in connection with the "Kaohsiung Incident," a number of her associates in the modern women's movement joined together to establish a monthly magazine, *Awakening*, in order to "raise female consciousness, encourage self–development, and voice feminist opinions";[133] Li Yuanzhen, who had also completed graduate work in the US and participated in opposition politics in the 1970s, was the key figure behind the magazine.

Li was born in Kunming (in mainland China) in 1946 and grew up in Taiwan. She studied Chinese Literature at NTU and received her Master of Arts degree in 1970. She later taught in Tamkang University and married a classmate. However, she divorced her rather traditionalist husband in 1973[134] and left for

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[132] Chien, p. 36.

[133] Cohen, p. 113.

[134] After having their daughter, Li's husband insisted that they move into his parents' household. Serving the role of traditional daughter–in–law and losing control of her own life, Li felt suffocated by the institution of marriage.

the United States to study drama the following year. After she returned to Taiwan in 1976, she taught at Tamkang University again, and became involved in opposition politics. She also remained sympathetic to and supportive of the modern women's movement, and became a volunteer working to create job training programs for teenage prostitutes. However, Li soon became dissatisfied with male supremacist attitudes within the opposition movement due to male activists' neglect of "the needs and dignity of women" and sought to develop an autonomous women's movement in Taiwan.[135] Having failed to establish a vocational school and a halfway house for teenage prostitutes through the Taipei municipal government and Zonta Club in 1980, Li realized that female consciousness had to be "awakened" before women could be mobilized to improve their own situation.[136]

The *Awakening* was therefore organized by Li, along with a small group of professional women in Taipei. Due to the absence of a full–time leader, *Awakening* made decisions on a collective basis. It depended mainly on personal donations, volunteer work, and very limited subscriptions and so it was always in a constant struggle for survival. However, the *Awakening* collective has tried to maintain itself as an authentic and autonomous feminist voice in Taiwan. It did not ally with the political opposition, but it has sought to work with other women's organizations on projects of common interest.[137] Besides the publication of the magazine and

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[135] Cohen, p. 113.

[136] Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 18.

[137] Cohen, p. 113.

feminist books, the *Awakening* collective also provided the media with comments and information concerning women's issues,[138] and organized annual seminars on International Women's Day, March 7, around particular themes regarding women's issues. These themes included "Developing Women's Potential" in 1983, "Protection of Women" in 1984, "Rights of Housewives" in 1985, "Dialogue Between the Sexes" in 1986, and "Women's Right to Work" in 1987.[139] These seminars, except for the 1987 event, attracted widespread media attention, and resulted in public discussion, including annual feminist dialogue on many college campuses throughout Taiwan. The 1987 theme was more or less ignored by the media since it touched upon the sensitive issue of labour relations but "media was not yet ready to challenge the status quo on both the feminist and the individual relation fronts."[140] In fact, compared to a decade ago when Lu had initiated the movement, Taiwan's society was more tolerant of different ideas. Thus, the members of *Awakening* did not experience the same degree of resistance that Lu once had. However, there was a fine line in the mass media that feminists in

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[138] *Awakening* sent free copies to or exchanged publications with other magazines, and its members also contributed joint newspaper columns and served as advisors on television programs. See Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 18.

[139] After the lifting of martial law in 1987 (meaning that gatherings and protests were no longer banned and the registration of new organizations was also no longer restricted), *Awakening* was formally reconstituted as a non–profit foundation. Starting to work with a number of newly established women's NGOs, the Awakening Foundation began to use several different schemes to organize its activities for International Women's Day, apart from annual seminars (e.g., demonstrations, garden parties, etc.).

[140] Ku, "The Feminist Movement," pp. 18–19.

Taiwan have not yet managed to cross; that is, women were allowed to be expressive as far as they remain supportive of the mainstream ideologies and the major interest groups.[141] Nevertheless, all themes before 1987 were more acceptable because they were related to the traditional role of women whereas the 1987 theme was shunned by the media since it (the demand for equal access to work) posed a direct challenge to Taiwan's androcentric tradition.

In addition, *Awakening* had also struggled for the liberalization of abortion laws in 1984 when the Legislative Yuan was debating the *Genetic Health Law* that was drafted by the Department of Public Health. The draft provides for abortion in cases where the mother's life is endangered, the fetus is defective, the pregnancy is a result of incest or rape, or when pregnancy imperils the mother's mental health or family life. However, the draft sparked intense argument in both the legislature and the press since the inclusion of the last condition was generally regarded as legalizing *de facto* unrestricted abortion. Many legislators considered the draft was too lenient toward abortion and was going to put more restrictions on it. In response to this, the *Awakening* successfully gathered the support of seven women's groups, including the YWCA and *The Women* magazine and solicited 154 signatures[142] to petition for the passage of the draft, and assembled delegates to observe the legislative meetings. This was the first time that a women's group ever petitioned the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan, even when martial law was still in full force. However, in order to be accepted, the proponents of legalized abortion had

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[141] Ku, "The Changing Status," p. 183.

[142] Ku, "The Changing Status," p. 183.

to appeal to the scheme of the ruling apparatus by arguing that it was in the national interest to control the population and to eliminate defective fetuses on top of protecting women's lives, and leaving out some crucial particulars such as it is a woman's right to make her own life plan. This reveals the dilemma that was faced by Taiwan's women's movement during this stage; that is, a choice between ideological purity and immediate gains for women[143] – *Awakening* obvious chose the latter. In 1985, the *Genetic Health Law* was finally promulgated (as mentioned in the previous chapter) and it did included the clause which allows abortion to be carried out for women whose mental or family life is endangered.[144] The successful campaign to liberalize the abortion law has inspired *Awakening* to make similar efforts again in the following year to abolish sex discrimination in the family law (e.g., child custody) when the revision of the family law was being discussed in the Legislative Yuan in 1985. However, this attempt failed because the Taiwanese government rushed through a bill that essentially maintained the old provision intact before *Awakening* could take any effective action.

On the other hand, drawing upon and advancing Lu's earlier work, *Awakening* helped to spark the creation of new women's organizations: the Presbyterian Church organized a Taipei Women's Development Centre in 1984 to help women from poor families to receive training and employment; and the Asia Foundation funded the establishment of a Women's Research Program at the Population Research Centre of NTU in 1985. As well, *Awakening* also helped to

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[143] Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 19.

[144] Bulbeck, p. 96.

inspire institutions on concern about women's issues. For example, Soochow University has sponsored a conference on "The Future of Asian Women." In 1985, the Presbyterian Church, which has long evangelized among the Aborigines, hosted the Asian Christian Women's Conference in Taipei on "The Problems of Asia – Tourism and Prostitution."[145] As a consequence of this gathering, in which the key figure of *Awakening* (Li) participated, the Church agreed to set up the Rainbow Project, aimed at housing and rehabilitating escaped child prostitutes and at conducting research into the problem of child prostitution. Following this, some Taiwanese women took to the streets;[146] there were about thirty Aborigine, religious and women's organizations along with *Awakening* and the Rainbow Project holding a protest at Hwa–hsi Street[147] against the exploitation of child prostitutes in January 1987. This was the first time NGOs of different natures in Taiwan formed a coalition, and it was also the first and largest public

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[145] In the 1980s, Christian and women's groups in Thailand, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Taiwan became increasingly aware of the growing influx of young children into the sex industry. "End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT)" was therefore launched in 1991 by three Christian bodies in Asia: the Christian Conference of Asia, the Asia Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism. With its office in Bangkok, ECPAT has led the effort to stop child prostitution in Asia.

[146] Inspired by the successful demonstrations of grassroots activists in Lukang, a western port of Taiwan, against the building of a $160 million titanium dioxide plant by the DuPont chemical company, and by the government's tolerance of their demonstrations, many issue–oriented groups all over Taiwan started to seek to pursue their goals by taking to the streets. For more information, see Ku, "The Feminist Movement."

[147] The Hwa–hsi Street, known as "Snake Alley" to Westerners, is one of Taipei's most notorious red–light districts: many brothels are nearby.

demonstration over a women's issue.[148] The following year, about fifty–five organizations mobilized more than a thousand people in a similar demonstration against child prostitution. The Taiwan Women's Rescue Association,[149] headed by a young female lawyer, Shen Mei–chen, a member of *Awakening*, was established on August 2, 1987. This organization offers legal assistance to child prostitutes. The police have also set aside a special task to eradicate illegal prostitution. It was the first time the problem of child prostitution gained the focus of public attention and had a chance of being ameliorated.[150]

The *Awakening* was truly the only group taking a steady feminist stand in coordinating joint activities and providing ideological pressure during this period.[151] However, it faced some difficulties, particularly financial and labour shortages. In order to strengthen its financial structure in 1987, the *Awakening* collective decided to raise NT$1 million[152] ($50,000 Can.) in order to help meet

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[148] Ku, "The Changing Status," p. 183.

[149] This association is made up of lawyers, scholars and other people concerned with the issue of child prostitution.

[150] Ku, "The Changing Status," p. 183.

[151] Other women's groups have also come on the scene in the 1980s as the KMT government decided to promote democratic (e.g., lifting of martial law, etc.) and was about to lift the limitations on NGOs. However, many women's groups were staggering between a female consciousness and their organizational or personal interests, while others identified more with other social causes (e.g., the New Environment Housewives Association, a women's consumer and environmental organization). Thus, it was possible to form coalitions in response to specific issues that concerned many women without arousing ideological disputes. For more information, see Ku, "The Changing Status."

[152] NT$ – New Taiwan Dollars – is Taiwan's currency. $1 Can. = NT$20.

the government's requirement to register itself as a non–profit foundation – the Awakening Foundation. In March 1988, the goal was finally reached.[153]

In sum, most of these activities of the second wave of the modern women's movement in Taiwan were carried out in a way that would not appear directly threatening to traditional Chinese values and mores,[154] but they "laid the groundwork for diverse women's NGOs to sprout in the late 1980s."[155]

3.3.3. The Post–Martial–Law Period (1987–present)

After martial law was lifted on July 15, 1987, the mass women's movement expanded and became more powerful than before (since there were no more restrictions on public gatherings, protests and forming NGOs). Taiwanese women could now express their feminist ideas freely without violating the law. There were several issue–oriented women's NGOs established in the late 1980s, such as Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation, created to assist child prostitutes, the Warm Life Association (1988) created to assist divorced women and widows, the Modern Women's Foundation[156] (1987) created to assist victims of rape and incest, the

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[153] Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 20.

[154] Most observers felt the ideas present in the magazine were less radical than Lu's. However, in reality, some of the writers of *Awakening* were more critical of androcentric values, but their views were expressed less stridently. See Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 18.

[155] Chien, p. 35.

[156] The "Protection Centre" of the Modern Women's Foundation was later established in October 1988.

Homemakers' Union and Foundation,[157] created to lobby against the construction of a dangerous chemical plant,[158] among other organizations. As well, many demonstrations concerning women's issues were taking place, including a demonstration against pornography during the World Lion's Club Convention, and a protest on August 18, 1987 against the unfair treatment of female employees – the mandatory retirement of pregnant female employees – at Sun Yat–sen Memorial Hall in Taipei.[159] In fact, these demonstrations met fewer obstacles, and instead they have received some positive responses. For example, the Ministry of Education instructed all of its socio–educational units to eliminate the pregnancy restriction on female employees in August 1987, two days after the protest. However, it did not specify the effective date, and worker contracts were still renewed on an annual basis; therefore, the female employees of all socio–educational institutions throughout Taiwan decided to form their own union, and *Awakening* also announced the birth of its "Equal Employment Bill Study Group" to push for stronger equal employment opportunity legislation.[160] In response to this, the KMT finally included an endorsement of equal opportunities (e.g., equal pay for equal work, promoting women to higher positions, etc.) and child care in their platform in December 1987, the DDP in fact established the

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[157] Its precursor organization was New Environment Housewives Association.

[158] The aim of this organization is to help housewives to become more confident and to mature through participating in such activities.

[159] This protest was backed up by six women's groups in Taipei.

[160] Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 21.

League of Progressive Women (headed by Tsao Ai–lan) and incorporated pay equity and daycare into its platform under labour and welfare policies. In October 1987, the newly formed Labour Party further demanded the revision of the family law which would include the recognition of child care. Thus, "a movement once characterized as Annette Lu's 'one woman crusade' became organizational, and saw its proposals placed squarely upon the policy–making agenda."[161]

On the other hand, despite the efforts that the second–wave of the modern women's movement has made in the struggle against child prostitution and the positive response from the Taiwanese government approving the *Juvenile Welfare Laws* in 1989 to enable juvenile welfare bodies, prosecutors, and victims to apply to courts for determination of guardianship of parents in case of parents having forced their children into prostitution, the practice of child prostitution still flourished and was becoming more and more serious. This was largely because many clients, like many other Asian men, still believe that sex with virgins promotes longevity; and perhaps most important, the fear of AIDS was driving customers to seek younger girls who are regarded as more likely to be disease–free. This led more and more brothels to exert their utmost effort towards purchasing young girls, particularly aboriginal girls in the villages. Therefore, more and more women's groups were putting greater effort into opposing child prostitution in Taiwan. For example, in 1990, the Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation, via "Project Lily" dedicated itself to the prevention of the sale of girls in the country, to rescue child prostitutes in the city, to offer legal assistance

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[161] Cohen, p. 115.

including rehabilitation at halfway houses, to advocate new legislation, and to study and publish the issues. As a result, the Legislative Yuan passed the *Child and Youth Sexual Transaction Prevention Act*, in July 1995, to supplement the *Penal Code* and compensate for its inadequacy with respect to sexual exploitation of adolescents.[162] This law allows public prosecutors independently to press charges against pimps or patrons. The act stipulates that a sexual patron of a prostitute aged under sixteen can be sentenced to a maximum of three years imprisonment and a maximum fine of US$3,704 ($5,185 Can.). Patrons of prostitutes aged sixteen or seventeen are subjected to the same fine but no imprisonment. Pimps can be sentenced to life imprisonment and fined US$740,741 ($1,037,037 Can.).[163]

In fact, in the 1990s, it became more and more common for women's groups in Taiwan to work together on issues aiming to help disadvantaged women and to achieve increased opportunities for Taiwanese women, even though these women's groups might have different interests or some of them might be closely attached to different political parties. The issues they were concerned with (and continue to be

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[162] According to the *Penal Code*, any person who has sexual intercourse with an individual aged 14 or under is guilty of statutory rape, and is subject to a mandatory sentence of at least five years imprisonment. A person who has sex with an adolescent aged 15 or 16 is also guilty of rape and must be sentenced to one to seven years in jail. However, these provisions are based on the condition that a complaint must be filed either by the victim or the victim's guardian, not just by the public prosecutor. Most parents of young victims are reluctant to seek redress in a public court of law, usually preferring out–of–court settlements. See *The Republic of China Yearbook 1997*, p. 328.

[163] *Republic of China Yearbook 1997*, p. 328.

concerned with) included increasing female participation in politics, fighting against sexual harassment and violence against women, helping aged "comfort women"[164] and divorced women, lobbying for equal right to education, and

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[164] During the Second World War, the Japanese military forced thousands of Asian young women, including women from Taiwan, Korea, the Philippines, and China, to provide sexual services to Japanese soldiers at the war front. These victimized women, known as "comfort women" (a Japanese term), were forced to service up to thirty or even fifty Japanese soldiers per day. After the defeat of Japan in the war, these women were sent back home. Although these women were victims, they still had to face the different degrees of discrimination from their societies, even their families blamed them for being immoral since most Asian countries were more traditional and conservative regarding a woman's chastity. In fact, these victimized women also saw themselves as "bad women" whose rape accusations would not be believed. Nevertheless, the life for these victimized women was one of suffering, and they hoped to receive an official apology (which would acknowledge Japan's responsibility for the mistreatment of these women) and full compensation from the Japanese government. However, until today, the Japanese government still do not admit their guilt in forcing these victimized women to provide sexual services during the Second World War, and have not given any official apology or compensation. Instead, "the Japanese government had maintained the stand that these 100,000 to 200,000 'comfort women' were professional prostitutes hired and managed by private brothel houses, despite the fact that the brothel operator of the 'comfort' system was the Imperial military of Japan; like cattle, women in many parts of Asia were herded into 'comfort houses' during World War II to sexually serve Japanese soldiers" (see "Japan: Women Representative Demand Compensation for 'Comfort Women'," *International Network News*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Spring 1992), p. 65). In fact, the Japanese government has used a private foundation, Japan's Asian Foundation, to deal with this issue privately as a way of avoiding publicly accepting responsibility for their part in the mistreatment of these women. This private foundation provided Can$25,000 privately to any of the "comfort women" who were willing to make a claim on condition that they not speak of Japan's involvement in their mistreatment during the war. This action has resulted in many NGOs from South Korea, Taiwan, Japan, etc., deciding to organize a joint front to seek full compensation and an official apology from the Japanese government for these victimized women; in Taiwan, the Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation, incorporating with another twenty women's groups, has been struggling for this goal. For example, in 1997, the Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation has announced a charity bazaar, attempting to raise Can$2 million to help these victimized women in their old age. The representatives for victimized women from other Asian countries, including South Korea and the Philippines, were also invited to attend this charity bazaar, and all in attendance agreed to work together to fight for an official apology from the Japanese government.

revising the family law. In order to achieve their goal, they have used several different strategies, including presenting seminars, holding protests, conducting surveys, offering charity bazaars, publishing books, setting up hotlines, and holding news conferences. They also peddled feminist political views to candidates during the electoral period. These women's groups all play an important role in gaining tangible benefits for Taiwanese women, such as expanded job opportunities in the civil service and white collar work in general, and increasing representation among the ranks of college and university students. In particular, their efforts gradually drew the attention from the authorities, the public and the media, and so women's issues gradually gained a certain degree of recognition and legitimacy as a relevant public concern. That is, the Taiwanese government presented some positive responses to these concerns. For example, in 1994, both ministers of the Interior and Justice had joined the Hwa–hsi Street Jogging in support of the movement against child prostitution. Moreover, many local governments, under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, started to organize regional coalitions of groups (these groups include both women's NGOs and government organizations), aiming to help women. These coalitions, and the groups which constitute them, have generated public awareness about gender issues, provided medical, legal, psychological, educational, and vocational assistance to Taiwanese women, and empowered women by providing them with avenues for action and a collective voice. The Taipei Women's Service Network is in fact the most mature and successful women's welfare coalition in Taiwan (see Figure 1); this network of

FIGURE 1
TAIPEI WOMEN'S SERVICES NETWORK

Legal Questions:	The Taipei Citizen's Service Centre The Shihlin District Court
Domestic Violence:	Carnation Line
Emergency Sanctuary:	Suicide Prevention Centre
Emergency Relief:	Department of Social Affairs, Taipei City Government
Rape:	(Day) Modern Women Foundation (Night) Women's Police Squad
Halfway Houses:	The Garden of Hope Foundation Good Shepherd Sisters Social Welfare Services Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation
Family Problems:	Taipei Family Education Service Centre Mackay Counselling Centre
Psychological Problems:	Huaming Counselling Centre Peace Line of the Mackay Counselling Centre Cosmic Light Media Centre
Unwed Mothers:	Cathwel Service Christian Salvation Service
Child Abuse:	Child Protection Hot Line of the Department of Social Affairs, Taipei City Government Children's Welfare League Foundation
Forced Labour:	Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation
Job Counselling:	Public Employment Service Centre, Department of Labour Affairs,Taipei City Government
Vocational Training:	Taipei Women's Development Centre Vocational Training Centre, Department of Labour Affairs, Taipei City Government
Medical Issues:	Medical Information and Service Association, ROC
Divorcees & Widows:	The Warm Life Association for Women

Source: *The Republic of China Yearbook 1997* (Taipei, ROC: The Government Information Office, 1997), p. 332.

women's welfare organizations offered service to the 1.32 million women living in Taipei City and 1.61 million in surrounding Taipei County in 1994,[165] and it had the most complete welfare service for rescued child prostitutes. Also, in 1995, Taiwan had sixty–five comprehensive welfare centres, some of which were government–run. These offered seminars, counselling, vocational training, and other services to underprivileged women. There were twenty–three halfway houses and shelters in the same year as compared to seventeen in 1994.[166] Nevertheless, it is true that the expansion of the social service based on the female principles of interconnectedness, empowerment and mutual support indicates the harvest of the seeds Lu had planted more than twenty years ago.

In short, this period of the modern women's movement following the lifting of martial law has expanded significantly since the sociopolitical atmosphere has changed and the social attitudes have become less authoritarian and more tolerant than before. Because of the efforts of the modern women's movement, the government, the media, and the public have gradually given their attention to women's issues, which is in fact reflected in some positive responses and actions from the Taiwanese government. However, the ongoing problems of child prostitution, still existing problems of unequal pay, the discriminatory marital rights laws remaining on the books, violence against women, and many other

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[165] In 1994, more than half the women in Taipei City had at least a high school education, with the same number working outside the home. See *The Republic of China Yearbook 1996* (Taipei: Kwang Hwa Publishing Company, 1996), p. 331.

[166] *The Republic of China Yearbook 1997*, p. 331.

issues remain serious problems today. Moreover, even though the political parties have included endorsement of equal opportunities for both gender in their platforms, it remains questionable as to whether the party leaders are truly committed to advancing the feminist agenda or not. Thus, how women's issues can be fully incorporated into the political process and be included in official public policy will be a major challenge and the only way that the modern Taiwanese women's movement will be able to achieve its agenda; however, "eliminating sex discrimination in law and policy is the critical first step toward that objective."[167]

3.4. THE AGENDA OF THE TAIWANESE MODERN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT (GAD) PERSPECTIVES

3.4.1. The Evolution of Theorizing on Gender and Development

Several schools of thought regarding women and development have been developed after the Ester Boserup's study, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, was published in 1970.[168] "Women in Development" (WID),

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[167] Cohen, p. 116.

[168] Boserup was the first to delineate systematically on a global level the sexual division of labour that existed in agrarian economics. She examined the different impact of the changes that occurred as a result of technological modernization on the work done by men and women. Her analysis explored the fact that most "modern" projects improved male opportunities and technological knowledge while reducing women's access to technology and employment at the same time. Although Boserup's study was later criticized for its oversimplification of the nature of women's work and role, it was seminal in focusing scholarly attention on the sexual division of labour and the differential impact by gender of development and modernization strategies. See Eva M. Rathgeber, "WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice," *The Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (July 1990), p. 490.

"Women and Development" (WAD) and "Gender and Development" (GAD) are the main frameworks in development thought that addressed on women as a category in the development process among others.

The term "Women in Development" (WID) came into use in the early 1970s after Boserup's analysis – it was initially used by the Women's Committee of the Washington, DC, Chapter of the Society for International Development, a network of female development professionals who were influenced by the work on Third World development undertaken by Ester Boserup and other "new" anthropologists,[169] and who tried to have women explicitly included in development policy and practice. Their efforts resulted in the Percy Amendment in 1973 which required gender–sensitive social impact studies on all development projects, with the goal of helping women in developing countries to be fully integrated into the economic activities of their countries; that is, minimizing the discrimination and disadvantages of women in the productive sector and increasing their economic independence. This focus on equality of opportunity for women came out of liberal feminism[170] – WID represents a merging of modernization theory and liberal feminist theory.[171]

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[169] Caroline O. N. Moser, *Gender Planning and Development – Theory, Practice and Training* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 2.

[170] Liberal feminism is rooted in the liberal philosophical tradition of the 16th and 17th centuries which focused on the ideals of equality and liberty. See M. Patricia Connelly, Martha MacDonald, Tania Murray Li, and Jane L. Parpart, *Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development* (Vancouver: The Commonwealth of Learning, 1996), p. 99.

[171] Connelly *et al.*, pp. 49–50.

The WID approach was solidly grounded in traditional modernization theory while it began to ask how women could be better integrated into an ongoing development process. It advocated more equal participation for women in education, employment, and other spheres of society in order to enhance women's full and equal access to development, but it did not seek to challenge the status quo – the nature of women's subordination and oppression, since it assumed that gender relations will change by themselves as women become full economic partners in development.[172] Moreover, the WID approach tended to focus only on the productive aspects of women's work and to ignore their domestic labour, and it has generally overlooked the impact of global inequalities on women in the Third World and the importance of race, class, and culture in women's lives.[173] In fact, since the WID approach is based on the dominant modernization development paradigm and it began from an acceptance of existing social structures (nonconfrontation nature), it was more popular among levels of governments and international donor agencies.

The "Women and Development" (WAD) approach emerged in the late 1970s as a response to the limitations of the WID approach. It draws some of its theoretical base from dependency theory and Marxist feminism,[174] focusing primarily on class relations in its analysis. The WAD approach calls for

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[172] Rathgeber, pp. 491–92.

[173] Connelly, *et al.*, p. 51.

[174] Marxist feminism asserts that it is capitalism, the current form of class society, which perpetuates the subordination of women by enforcing their economic dependence on men. See Connelly, *et al.*, p. 104.

acknowledgement for the special roles that women play, and have played, in the development process; that is, women always have been a part of development processes, women always have been important economic actors within their societies, and women work both inside and outside the home.[175] Although the WAD approach started its analysis on women's productive and reproductive roles and used a class approach to analyze inequality, it still tends to focus heavily on the productive sector rather than reproductive work, and "it gives little analytical attention to the social relations of gender within classes . . . fails to undertake a full–scale analysis of the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's subordination and oppression."[176] The WAD approach is also likely to see women as a class, and it views women's disadvantages as being the result of oppressive global structures based on class and capital[177] – "women's condition is seen primarily within the structure of international and class inequality,"[178] hence, the WAD perspectives do not deal with the relations between men and women, and it assumes that if and when the international structures become more equitable, women's position will improve, and even suggests that solution for the world's women can be found in the experience and agenda of one particular group.[179]

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[175] Rathgeber, p. 492.

[176] Rathgeber, p. 493.

[177] In fact, according to WAD perspectives, both sexes are seen to be disadvantaged within the global structures of inequality and dependency.

[178] Rathgeber, p. 493.

[179] Connelly, *et al.*, p. 53.

The "Gender and Development" (GAD) approach, which emerged in the 1980s as an alternative to WID and WAD, has its theoretical roots in socialist feminism.[180] The GAD approach is also referred to as the empowerment approach, or gender aware planning.[181]

The focus of the GAD approach on "gender" rather than "women" makes it critical to look at not only the category "women" but at women in relation to men, and the way in which relations between these categories are socially constructed. This contrasts to the former approaches which focus on women in isolation, and in so doing ignore the real problem of women's status as subordinate to men.[182] GAD attempted to attain a more comprehensive analysis of women's oppression by taking into account all aspects of women's lives, and by linking women's burden of reproductive labour to their subordinate position in society. According to Kate Young, the GAD perspective includes a holistic analysis that "looks at the totality of social organization, economic and political life, in order to understand the shaping of particular aspects of society. . . . While it assumes that gender will be an important aspect of social organization, it does not assume that it will be the only one or the most powerful, nor that gender relations will be the principal

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[180] Socialist feminists argued that both women's subordination and class were of equal importance and had to be challenged at the same time. See Connelly, *et al.*, p. 109.

[181] Connelly, *et al.*, p. 54.

[182] Moser, pp. 2–3.

determinant of a woman's situation."[183] Therefore, the GAD approach focuses on the culturally specific forms of social inequality and divisions in order to see how and why gender is related to other forms of social inequalities, but it does not merely focus on productive or reproductive aspects of women's (and men's) lives to the exclusion of the other. GAD also addresses the duty of the state in promoting women's emancipation, and views women as agents, and not simply recipients, of development.[184] However, even though the GAD approach goes further than WID and WAD in questioning the social, political and economic structures, it was less practical for use in development strategies and programs due to its nature of fundamental re–examination of social structures and institutions.[185]

Generally speaking, the shift from WID to WAD and subsequently to GAD shows the evolution of theorizing on gender and development from the early 1970s to the mid–1980s. In the 1990s, WID and GAD have gradually turned out to be two main competing feminist development frameworks.[186] While WID remains the dominant approach of governments and donor agencies, there have been some changes in rhetoric and in practice – in some cases, policies and programs that continue to fit clearly within the WID paradigm have adopted GAD as their newer, perhaps more fashionable label in order to reassure men that their interests and

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[183] Kate Young, "Gender and Development," Notes for a Training Course on Gender and Development (Toronto: Aga Khan Foundation, 1987), p. 2.

[184] Rathgeber, p. 494.

[185] Rathgeber, p. 495.

[186] Connelly, *et al.*, p. 45.

concerns are not being ignored or undermined by an "excessive" focus on women. Although some agencies are still using WID language, they have also started to become more far–reaching in the critiques of the structure of gender relations and in the challenge of fundamental inequality[187]. Therefore, the distinction between WID and GAD has become less clear at present.

3.4.2. Does the GAD Approach Apply to the Agenda of the Modern Women's Movement in Taiwan?

As we all know, "theory is not wisdom; it is a set of tools. Theory should be criticized and redefined in specific social contexts. . . . Most theories have their roots in the West, and need to be tested and redefined in other contexts."[188] In this thesis, the GAD approach has been chosen to be examined in the context of the agenda of Taiwan's modern women's movement in three stages. The purpose of this analysis has two parts as described below. First, in the case of the GAD approach, since it is important that a feminist development theory and its practice be rooted in a knowledge of real life situations, and is able to respond to the needs and interests of people, especially women across national and regional boundaries, whether or not GAD can apply to the case of Taiwan's modern women's movement will be important to explore. Also, due to its transformative nature, GAD is often considered to be less practical in the ongoing development strategies and programs, and so it is important that if GAD can apply to the case of Taiwan, it will prove

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[187] Connelly, *et al.*, p. 56.

[188] Connelly, *et al.*, p. 48.

useful and practical; if not, it is also useful for GAD to determine what issues have been left out and should be included within its framework. Second, in the case of the modern women's movement in Taiwan, since most feminist theory comes from the West it is usually the case that such theory has little relevance to the Taiwanese situation. Therefore, it is important for the modern women's movement in Taiwan that, if the GAD approach can be applied, then it may become a useful tool within the women's movement in Taiwan. There are three main areas that may relate to the analysis of the relevance the agenda of the modern women's movement in Taiwan and the GAD perspectives; these are: first, the assumptions that the modern women's movement in Taiwan made about the basis for women's subordination; second, the issues that the modern women's movement in Taiwan addressed in three stages (the focus); and, third, the strategies that the modern women's movement in Taiwan used in each stage.

3.4.2.1. *Assumption – The Basis for Women's Subordination*

The GAD approach argues that the ideology of patriarchy operates within and across classes to oppress women, and therefore it emphasizes the role of patriarchy as a major source of women's oppression in their societies at the national, community, and household level, while it recognizes that women experience oppression differently according to their race, class, colonial history, culture, and position in the international economic order.[189]

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[189] Connelly, *et al.*, pp. 54–55.

On the other hand, as discussed earlier, the first wave of the modern women's movement in Taiwan (1971–1982) has also argued that Taiwanese society was permeated with patriarchal Chinese traditions which prescribe women's roles and the roles of the men who they must deal with, and saw Confucianism, the foundation of Chinese social philosophy, at the heart of the traditional oppression of Taiwanese women.[190] As the leader in the first stage of Taiwan's modern women's movement, Lu critiqued the Confucian traditions from a feminist perspective in her work *New Feminism*; Lu identifies some traditional Confucian views dealing with the fate of Taiwanese women, and argues that these views are the roots of women's subordinate position in contemporary Taiwanese society. These views include "continuing the family line," "three submissions and four virtues," "men outside/women inside," and "one–sided chastity." From Lu's point of view, the most powerful and perhaps most destructive value of Confucian tradition is the dominating importance of "continuing male family line" (*chuan tsung chieh tai*), namely to produce at least one male heir in order to carry on the family name and the ancestral sacrifices (this value is always related to the proper virtue of filial piety).[191] According to Lu's analysis, "the overriding importance of this aspect of filial piety causes parents and society in general to 'consider boys important and girls unimportant' (*chung nan ching nu*) . . . cause families to view their own daughters as commodities and for their husband's families to view them

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[190] Reed, pp. 228–241.

[191] For more information, see the discussion in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

as their own 'tools' for continuing their family line."[192] Lu also argues several societal problems actually arising from this prejudice of considering boys more important. For example, families (especially poor families) may rather force their daughters to work in factories at a young age, or even to work as prostitutes in order to add to the family income, instead of educating their daughters since they see little point in educating someone who will benefit someone else's family. In fact, daughters are expected to pay back their natal families for the expense of raising them before they get married.[193] Lu concludes that the view of "continuing the male family line" is truly the root of discrimination against women in Taiwan, and suggest to end the emphasis on this view in order to end the discrimination against women in Taiwan. The second traditional view that resulted in Taiwanese women's subordination consists of "the three submissions and four virtues" (*san ts'ung ssu te*), according to Lu's analysis. The three submissions of women's lives, as proposed in the Confucian classic, *Li chi*, include women submitting to their father and elder brother prior to marriage, to their husbands and parents–in–law after marriage, and to their sons in widowhood. The four virtues – morality, skill in handicrafts, feminine appearance, and appropriate language – [194] were brought together with the "three submissions" in a Confucian text *Instructions for Women* to indicate an ideal of womanhood. Lu believes that "the three submissions and four virtues" made Taiwanese women "take submission as their

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[192] Reed, p. 228.

[193] Reed, p. 229.

[194] Metraux, p. 61.

reason for living from birth until death . . . and tied up Taiwanese women's hands and feet, limiting their innate talents to merely adorning themselves and limiting their temperament to gentle submission, cowardice, and ignorance,"[195] and therefore contributed to Taiwanese women's lower position. Moreover, Lu points out the third traditional view that oppresses Taiwanese women, namely, "men outside/women inside" (*nan wai nu nei*) – the division of men's and women's realms of activity and influence. Lu argues that it is important not to totally separate men's and women's lives, but to have equal participation by both men and women inside and outside the home.[196] The fourth traditional view dealing with women's destiny, discussed by Lu, was that of "one–sided chastity" (*p'ien mien chen ts'ao*), a primary moral virtue for women in some traditional Confucian texts. Chastity was an ideal not only for wives but also for widows.[197] According to Lu, "chaste widowhood had nothing to do with romantic love, but only with public recognition and familial pressure . . . since to lose one's integrity . . . is a very serious issue,"[198] in traditional Taiwanese society. Lu argues that if chastity is to remain a Chinese moral value, it should be a rational and two–sided chastity (for both men and women), and that the ideal of chastity should be motivated by love of self, rather than fear of social disapproval.[199] In fact, Lu argues that it is

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[195] Reed, p. 230.

[196] Reed, p. 230.

[197] For more information, see the discussion in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

[198] Reed, p. 231.

[199] Reed, pp. 231–32.

important to eliminate the prejudices of the patriarchal Chinese tradition (mainly the four traditional views against women that are described above), and to build a new society based on rationality.[200]

Not like Lu, the second wave (1982–87) and third wave (1987–present) of Taiwan's modern women's movement seldom touched upon issues dealing with the basis of women's oppression. This is because they tended to put more focus on "action" to help women, particularly disadvantaged women, with their real problems rather than focusing on the "ideological debate," and because they often face the dilemma between "ideological purity" and "immediate gains" for women and they often chose the latter. However, even though they did not, or perhaps avoided talking about the ideology, their actions and activities sometimes did directly challenge the patriarchal tradition in Taiwan (e.g., the demand of equal access to work in *Awakening*'s 1987 theme for International Women's Day seminar posed a direct challenge to Taiwan's androcentric tradition).

Generally speaking, Lu's critique of Confucian traditions (patriarchal) as the root of Taiwanese women's oppression correspond with the assumption that the GAD approach makes – patriarchy is a main source of women's oppression. To this extent, GAD does apply to the first stage of modern women's movement in Taiwan. However, it is difficult to analyze the application of GAD in the second and third stages of Taiwan's modern women's movement in relation to this subject since it is seldom discussed in the second and third stages of Taiwan's modern women's movement. On the other hand, unlike GAD approach, no stage of the modern

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[200] Reed, p. 232.

women's movement in Taiwan considered "class" an important issue associated with women's subordination. Thus, to this extent, the GAD approach did not really fit into the context of Taiwan's modern women's movement.

3.4.2.2. Focus

Within the GAD perspective, a distinction is made between two types of women's needs: *practical gender needs* (PGNs) and *strategic gender needs* (SGNs). PGNs are "the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender divisions of labour or women's subordinate position in society, although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context . . . ."[201] PGNs are practical in nature and tend to be short–term. They can be readily identified and usually relate to unsatisfactory living conditions and lack of resources. Thus, they are usually related to daily needs such as food, housing, clothing, and the means to care for children, and they can be addressed by provisions of specific inputs like food, hand pumps and clinics, etc.[202] PGNs can improve the condition but not position of women's lives; thus, they tend to involve women as beneficiaries. However, SGNs "are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to particular contexts. They relate to gender divisions of labour, power and control and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal

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[201] Moser, p. 40.

[202] Connelly, *et al.*, pp. 122–24.

wages and women's control over their bodies. Meeting strategic gender needs helps women to achieve greater equality. It also changes existing roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position."[203] SGNs emerge when women's disadvantaged position relative to men is seen as inherent in the social and economic organization and structure of a society. They tend to be long–term and relate to improved women's position. Meeting or promoting SGNs requires working to dismantle and transform the mechanisms and structures which maintain women's subordinate position and so they can empower women and transform gender relations and attitudes. They can be addressed by consciousness–raising, increasing self–confidence, education, strengthening women's organization, political mobilization, and empowering women to have more opportunities, etc.; therefore, SGNs tend to involve women as agents or enable women to become agents.[204]

In theory, the GAD approach focuses on both PGNs and SGNs. However, in practice, it often tends to focus on the root inequalities which create many of the practical problems that women experience in their daily lives, although they understand SGNs and family survival should be a priority since their satisfaction is a prerequisite to women's ability to deal with their SGNs. The following will use SGNs and PGNs as a tool to examine the issue that Taiwan's modern women's movement addressed in each stage, and to analyze whether or not the GAD approach is useful to apply to the case of Taiwan.

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[203] Moser, p. 39.

[204] Connelly, *et al.*, pp. 122–24.

In the first stage of the modern women's movement in Taiwan, Lu addressed issues such as equal access to education, employment and political participation, equitable divisions of household responsibility, and legal reforms on laws regarding women (e.g., divorce law and property law), which is related to SGNs. Lu also advocated the need to set up daycare and family planning, which is closed to PGNs. The issues that the *Awakening* period (second stage) focused on include the issue of child prostitution, equal right to work, revision of family law and liberalizing abortion law. Most of these issues are related to SGNs in this period. The third wave of the modern women's movement in Taiwan addressed such issues as divorced women, comfort women, and child prostitution, equal pay for work of equal value, pornography, equal right to education, equal political participation, environmental protection, revision of family law, re–establishing women's culture, sexual harassment, and women's control over their bodies. Since many of these issues are regarded as helping Taiwanese women to achieve greater equality, they are closed to SGNs.

According to the discussion presented above, the PGNs/SGNs tool does help to understand what kind of women's needs were being promoted by Taiwan's modern women's movement – namely, SGNs. To the extent to which the SGNs were a focus of the modern women's movement in Taiwan, the GAD approach does apply to the case of Taiwan.

3.4.2.3. Strategy

The politicizing of PGNs and their transformation into SGNs constitutes a central aspect of GAD, as does the empowerment of women to achieve this goal.[205] GAD sees women as an agents of change and so advocates the need for women to organize in order to gain a more effective political voice.[206] The GAD approach suggests that the strategies for the empowerment of women include consciousness–raising, increasing self–confidence, education, strengthening women's organizations, and political mobilizations.

In the pioneering period of Taiwan's modern women's movement, Lu has used strategies like writing articles, publishing books, and giving speeches, to raise women's consciousness in Taiwan. She also tried to institutionalize the women's movement in order to have women's collective voices transformed into action. Lu, herself, finally entered the political arena in order to have more influence on promoting women's rights. In the second stage of Taiwan's modern women's movement, *Awakening* was in fact established under the goal of raising female consciousness and encouraging self–development. *Awakening* has used strategies such as publishing magazines and books, presenting seminars, establishing women's history (consciousness–raising), holding protests and demonstrations, institutionalizing the women's movement (strengthening women's organizations), working with other groups on common interests (collective voice), and petitioning (political mobilization). The third stage of the modern women's movement in

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[205] Connelly, *et al.*, p. 55.

[206] Rathgeber, p. 494.

Taiwan has extended the strategies that the previous two stages of Taiwan's modern women's movement had used to raise female consciousness, to strengthen women's organizations, and to inspire political mobilization.

Comparing the strategies that the GAD approach suggested and the strategies that Taiwan's modern women's movement has used, it is obvious that they are similar. In fact, the accomplishments of Taiwan's modern women's movement prove the central concern of GAD – that women can be successful agents of change. Thus, in the context of strategies, the GAD approach can also apply to the case of Taiwan.

To sum up, except for the fact that the Taiwanese modern women's movement does not consider class to be an important issue, the GAD approach does generally apply to the agenda of Taiwan's modern women's movement in three stages under the three general headings of assumption, focus, and strategy. This result is important for GAD, (which has its roots in the West) in that it can apply to such a different culture like Taiwan. It is also important for the modern women's movement in Taiwan that GAD may become an alternative framework, or perhaps a useful tool for them to use.

3.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has analyzed the central theme of this thesis: the development of Taiwan's modern women's movement beginning in the early 1970s. From a one woman's movement, to one collective women's movement, and to a mass women's

movement, the struggle and success of the Taiwanese modern women's movement presents a good example of how women can have their conscious and collective voices towards equality transformed into action, by organizing themselves to struggle for the change of women's situation in Taiwan, and it is also correspondent to the main concept of the GAD approach by proving that women can and should be the agent of change, not the passive recipients of development assistance.

In the final chapter, the author will present some conclusions to complete the thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR:

CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter will begin with an overview of the first three chapters of this thesis before ending with a conclusion exploring the future of Taiwan's modern women's movement.

4.1. OVERVIEW OF THESIS

The goal of this thesis has been to study a topic about which little has been written within the field of feminist research – the development of the Taiwanese modern women's movement – and to find an alternative approach (GAD) that can be useful for the analysis of the modern women's movement in Taiwan.

This thesis began with the discussion of why the topic of this thesis is important to address; it is because of the little research that has been done in this area and because of the need to find a proper and applicable framework, or perhaps a tool for analyzing the modern women's movement in Taiwan. Chapter 2 established a historical background for understanding the changing status of women in Taiwan over the past century. After a short overview of Taiwan in general, the thesis dealt with the traditional role of Taiwanese women before the twentieth century, addressing the great influence that Confucianism had on the subordinate status of Taiwanese women. This then followed by an analysis of Taiwanese women's role in the twentieth century in different aspects ranging from education,

family, marriage, work, and political participation, which revealed the fact that the gender gap has been narrowed significantly in Taiwan, but there is still a major gap that needs to be bridged. This persistent gender inequality actually provides an environment for the emergence of the modern women's movement in Taiwan.[207] Chapter 3 discussed the emergence and development of the modern women's movement in Taiwan starting from the 1970s and used the GAD approach to examine the agenda of Taiwan's modern women's movement. The first section dealt with the historical background of the modern women's movement in Taiwan, focusing on both the history of the pre–modern women's movement in Taiwan prior to the 1970s and influences on the emergence of Taiwan's modern women's movement such as education, Western influence, and industrialiation. The second section presented three different stages of modern women's movement in Taiwan and their accomplishments. The third section started with the analysis of theoretical frameworks that address the issue of women's place in development. From WID, WAD, to GAD, a decision was made that GAD would serve as the tool to examine the agenda of Taiwan's modern women's movement in three stages. This section finally reached the conclusion that GAD could apply to the case of Taiwan under the issues of assumption, focus and strategy.

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[207] "Environment is vital to the emergence of a movement. If gender inequality did not exist in Taiwan, then there would be no need for a feminist movement, and agitation for such a movement would have met little success." See Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 15.

The analysis of this thesis brings about some important results. First, the development of Taiwan's modern women's movement is indeed an excellent example of how women can transform their level of consciousness and create a collective voice by organizing to ameliorate their oppressive situation. Second, the result of the GAD approach being applicable for the analysis of the modern women's movement in Taiwan suggests that the GAD approach can be an effective tool for future use by the Taiwanese modern women's movement. The applicability of the GAD approach also leads in some promising directions for future research or study on the topic of the modern women's movement in Taiwan.

4.2. THE FUTURE OF THE MODERN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN TAIWAN

The modern women's movement in Taiwan began in the early 1970s when Taiwan was still under an authoritarian political system. Without any previous experience in organizing political movements and not possessing a consolidated organization, while at the same time facing a restrictive political and social environment, Annette Lu's efforts in the first wave of women's movement was often seen as a "one woman crusade" against the patriarchal tradition and in fact has inspired vigorous defence and sometimes personal hostility. With unusual courage and a strong sense of mission, Lu sacrificed her health, her youth, and her personal savings, while remaining single[208] for the good of the feminist cause. When there was no avenue for reform, Lu finally turned to the political arena to

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[208] In the 1970s, critics made much of the fact that Lu had not married.

gain more influence and clear more channels for social change.[209] The second wave of the modern women's movement in Taiwan, carried out by *Awakening*, has generally eschewed involvement in broader politics in order to keep its feminist message undiluted. It usually had to tone down its feminist rhetoric and to match dominant social values in order to organize coalitions with other groups, to influence legislation, and to pursue the public good for Taiwanese women.[210] Having cleared some old legal obstacles, the political liberalization of Taiwan in the late 1980s provided a great chance for success for the third wave of the women's movement in Taiwan. The expansion of mass women's organizations, the positive reactions from both government and the public all signify the effort of women's movement. More importantly, the struggle of the women's movement has increasingly raised the consciousness of Taiwanese women and so there is a rapidly growing number of Taiwanese women participating in the women's movement and feminist–oriented women's organizations to fight for equality and to help disadvantaged women. On the other hand, however, there are still some difficulties that Taiwan's modern women's movement faces at present: First, the modern women's movement in Taiwan still remains politically weak since not many feminists hold policymaking positions in key governmental and other political organizations, and thus it is difficult to influence political decisions. Second, due to the still existing patriarchal system and continuing male dominance, it is still not easy for Taiwan's modern women's movement to achieve its agenda or to pursue

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[209] Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 22.

[210] Ku, "The Feminist Movement," p. 22.

gender–aware policies. Therefore, there is still much for the modern women's movement in Taiwan to struggle for.

In conclusion, it is evident that the experience of the Taiwan's modern women's movement demonstrates that the only way to achieve equality is through the solidarity of women participating in the political process, becoming involved in policymaking, and applying pressure to government bodies. Nevertheless, although it is true that the modern women's movement in Taiwan still remains somewhat politically weak in nature, and it may be far from completely successful, it cannot be denied that it has made impressive strides during its short history, and it is believed that the modern women's movement in Taiwan will continue to play an important role in leading Taiwanese women forward towards achieving their final goal of equality.

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