Ya-chen Chen *Editor*

(En) Gendering Taiwan

The Rise of Taiwanese Feminism

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About the Editor

Ya-chen Chen is an associate professor at the College of Humanities and Technology in China Medical University. With almost two decades of teaching experience in US higher education, she had research experience as a post-doctoral researcher at Stanford University as well as a visiting scholar at Harvard University and Columbia University. Her academic books include *The Many Dimensions of Chinese Feminism*; *Women in Chinese Martial Arts of the New Millennium: Narrative Analysis and Gender Politics*; *Women and Gender in Contemporary Chinese Societies: Beyond the Han Patriarchy*; *Higher Education in East Asia: Neoliberalism and Professoriate*; *Women in Taiwan: Sociocultural Perspectives*; *Farewell My Concubine: Same-Sex Readings and Cross-Cultural Dialogues*.

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Chapter 1
Introduction: (En)Gendering Taiwan

Ya-chen Chen

Although most nonacademic people in English-speaking or other non-Asian areas frequently mistake Taiwan for Thailand, what Taiwan is is discussed in various English-language academic books by numerous scholars, such as William Campbell's *Formosa under the Dutch*, Andrew Ljungstedt's *A Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China*, Tonio Andrade's *How Taiwan Became Chinese*, Melissa Brown's *Is Taiwan Chinese?*, Alan M. Watchman's *Taiwan: National Identity and Democratization*, Denny Roy's *Taiwan: A Political History*, Bruce Herschensohn's *Taiwan: The Threatened Democracy*, John Franklin Copper's *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?*, or Murray A. Rubinstein's *Taiwan: A New History*. However, English-language academic books focusing on Taiwanese gender issues could probably be counted on one's fingers. The most influential reason lies in most English-speaking feminists or gender scholars, though not mistaking Taiwanese gender issues as Thai gender issues, frequently place Taiwanese gender issues under the huge umbrella of Mainland Chinese, Communist Chinese, or P.R.C. women's and gender studies. This inadvertent "big China bias"[1] indirectly hinders a more complete understanding of how Taiwanese gender issues were in the past, what Taiwanese gender issues are now, and which sort of future Taiwanese gender issues will be facing. Although limited exceptions in Harvard University's library online catalogues include Cal Clark and Janet Clark's cooperation with Chou Bih-er (周碧娥) to publish *Women in Taiwan Politics*, Catherine Farris and Murray A. Rubinstein's collaboration with Lee Anru (李安如) to publish *Women in the New Taiwan*, Chen Pei-ying's "*Acting Otherwise*," Doris T. Chang's *Women's Movements in Twentieth-Century Taiwan*, Lydia Kung's *Factory Women in*

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Taiwan, Hans Tao-ming Huang's *Queer Politics and Sexuality Modernity in Taiwan*, and some of Chen Ya-chen's (陳雅禎) books, most English-language academic books which touch upon Taiwanese gender issues because they unconsciously regard Taiwanese aspects as nothing but a tiny byproduct when talking about the giant vista of Mainland Chinese, Communist Chinese, or P.R.C. women's, gender, and queer studies—not because Taiwanese gender issues are their only key-points.

If P.R.C. feminism, Communist Chinese gender issues, or Mainland Chinese women's liberation were only a part of feminism in the whole Chinese-heritage women's cultural realm, why is the P.R.C. version presented as if it were the entirety of Chinese-heritage people's gender concerns? This book aims to highlight the diversity and rich-ness of non-Mainland and Taiwan-oriented gender issues in order to replace the above-mentioned "one-ness" with the many dimensions or "not-one-ness" of Chinese-heritage people's gender concerns. Although Chinese-heritage people share similar traditions, different gender problems have been taking places in and challenging various local conditions of Chinese-speaking areas. Taiwan's gender issues have been reflecting Taiwan's unique historical, sociocultural, economic, political, (post)colonial (including not merely Japanese but also Dutch, Portuguese, British, and Spanish aspects), military, and diplomatic backgrounds, which Chinese mainlanders, Chinese Communists, P.R.C. governmental official, Hong Kongers, Mongols, Tibetans, overseas Chinese, and other kinds of Chinese-heritage people are probably unfamiliar with and inexperienced in. Needless to say, Taiwanese gender issues should not be misrepresented by P.R.C. communist feminism or Mainland Chinese gender practice, therefore. To counter-react to the inadvertent misrepresentation of "big China bias," Taiwanese gender issues are the only focus of this English-language academic book. How Taiwanese gender issues differ from all the other Chinese-speaking people's gender concerns can enrich the bird's-eye view of feminism or gender studies in the overall Chinese-speaking cultural realm.

The English-language word, "gender," indicates not only sexual or gender issues but also the birth or creation of a new life. If the past, present, future, and overall history of Taiwanese feminism and gender practice can be academically taken seriously and not oversimplified by Mainland Chinese, Communist Chinese, or P.R.C. misrepresentation (though it is undeniable that Taiwan does share Confucian backgrounds and some other Chinese-heritage people's traditions with Mainland China, Communist China, or P.R.C.), the title of this book, "(En)Gendering Taiwan,"[2] can probably be a convincing starting point to call for follow-up scholarly attention to the uniqueness of Taiwanese gender issues as well as Taiwanese dimensions of Chinese-heritage people's feminism.

Since the word, "gender," is related to the meanings of the word, "birth," this edited book also aims to be one of the Taiwan-oriented responses to *The Birth of Chinese Feminism* coedited by Lydia H. Liu, Rebecca Karl, and Dorothy Ko and published by Columbia University Press in 2013. According to the opening sentence in Columbia University Press's official website, "He-Yin Zhen (ca. 1884–1920?) was a theorist who figured centrally in the birth of Chinese feminism." How

about Mainland Chinese female TCM (traditional Chinese medicine) doctor Zeng Yi's (曾懿) publication of *Nüxuepian* (女學篇 *Women's Education*)? Does the three coeditors' opening sentence indicate that the birth of Taiwanese feminism was included in or excluded from He-Yin Zhen's stories? If the key-word, "birth," serves as a metaphor of Chinese feminist genealogy, heritage, or DNA, Lydia H. Liu, Rebecca Karl, and Dorothy Ko are probably playing roles of historians or governmental officers of census data to record the birth and "bildungsroman" (or life story) of Chinese feminism and to issue the "birth certificate" to this Chinese feminism. If He-Yin Zhen included Taiwanese feminism in her life story about this birth of Chinese feminism, did Lydia H. Liu, Rebecca Karl, and Dorothy Ko touch upon how He-Yin Zhen involved in not merely Mainland Chinese feminism but also Taiwanese feminism, the birth of Taiwanese feminism, and the 'bildungsrom" (or life story) of Taiwanese feminism in the "birth certificate" which they issued? For example, He-Yin Zhen was born in 1886, but her contemporary Taiwanese feminist activists, such as Xie Xuehong (謝雪紅1901–1970), Cai Axin (蔡阿信 1899–1990), Qiu Yuanyang (邱鴛鴦 1903–1995), Ye Tao (葉陶 1905–1970), Yang Qianhe (楊千鶴), Zhagn Yulan (張玉蘭), and Jian E (簡娥), were never mentioned in *The Birth of Chinese Feminism*. How about recent Taiwanese male and female legislators' efforts to draft the bill of diverse family formation (草擬多元成家法案) and the well-known controversy to legalize same-sex partnership (同性戀婚姻合法化)? Would Taiwanese non-heterosexual parts of Chinese feminism be counted?[3]

Except for *The Birth of Chinese Feminism*, the title of this book "(En)gendering Taiwan" might remind readers of at least two more books: *Engendering China* published by Harvard University Press in 1994 and *Engendering the Chinese Revolution* published by the University of California Press in 1995. Neither *Engendering China* nor *Engendering the Chinese Revolution* strongly highlighted Taiwanese feminist elements; therefore, this book can serve as their Taiwanese counterpart. This book's inclusion of Xie Xuehong's Taiwanese communist feminist activism may remind readers of the fact that Christina Kelly Gilmartin's *Engendering the Chinese Revolution* did not stress Xie Xuehong's communist feminism even when it aimed to emphasize Chinese communist feminism and thus contained chapters about Xie Xuehong's contemporary communist feminists, such as Wang Huiwu (王會悟1898–1993)[4] and Xiang Jingyu (向警予1895–1928).[5] The chapter about Xie Xuehong (謝雪紅) in this book can certainly help complete readers' understanding of different Chinese feminist activists and how they collaboratively "(en)gendered" China and the Chinese revolution.

1.1 Multidisciplinary Perspectives

In this book, multidisciplinary diversity is inevitable because of the insistence on multiple people's collaborative work to "(en)gender" Taiwanese feminist progress and gender studies. This interdisciplinary book offers the blueprint of multiple

scholars' collaborative work in anthropology, religious studies, history, political science, literature, cinema studies, media studies, education, drama, performing art, sociology, cultural studies, and so on.[6]

1.2 Blueprint of Book Contents and Contributors' Perspectives

If feminism can really be personified and can be born like a newborn in a gynecological clinic, when was Chinese feminism born? When was Taiwanese feminism born? Was the birth time of Chinese feminism the same as or overlapping with the birth time of Taiwanese feminism? Was there truly an accurate time to give birth to Chinese feminism or Taiwanese feminism? Which time, which day, which month, and which year? Did the birth of Chinese feminism fully include the birth of Taiwanese feminism? The beginning chapter of this book is written by Chen Ya-chen (陳雅禎). This chapter and this book aim to problematize the above-mentioned questions and reexamine them in diverse contributors' multidisciplinary viewpoints. This chapter derives from Chen Ya-chen's book review of *The Birth of Chinese Feminism*, yet Chen Ya-chen's ultimate goal is a broader viewpoint to highlight the fact that feminism and gender issues in Taiwan deserve worldwide readers' understanding or attention without being misrepresented by, oversimplified as, or mistaken for something synonymous as Mainland Chinese counterparts.

The second chapter of this book is entitled "Indigenous Concepts of Marriage in 17th Century Sincan (Hsin-kang): Impressions Gathered from the Letters of the Dutch Ministers Georgius Candidius and Robertus Junius." Its author is Natalie Everts in the Netherlands. This chapter explores the transformations that occurred within the sphere of gender relations during the initial phase of contact of Sincandians with Dutch missionary activity (1627–1640). At first the cultural code of traditional Sincandian society, with regard to marriage, sexual relations, etc., will briefly be sketched, followed by a discussion of some of the missionaries' aspirations and how they propagated the ideal of Christian marriage as part of their effort at conversion. Finally, a closer look will be taken at the cultural outcome of the interaction between the missionaries and their flock.

In a letter to governor Hans Putmans (stationed at Zeelandia Castle at Tayouan (Tainan), the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company on Formosa) written on 25 November 1633, the Rev. Robertus Junius dejectedly reported that Tackareij, an inhabitant of Sincan whom he himself had taught the Christian principles, had yelled at him: "If the Dutch want to bring me back to my wife, I will trample one of them and run away". The personal correspondence between the Rev. Junius and governor Putmans, of which a few letters have been preserved in a private collection kept in the Dutch National Archives, reveals something of the conversion process at the micro-level. This correspondence bears witness to a contradiction: on

the one hand Junius writes about the increasing amount of converts while, at the same time, he frequently complains about what he calls the sin of adultery.

Natalie Everts has sufficient background knowledge about the seventeenth-century Holland to analyze seventeenth-century Dutch colonizers' gender issues. After Cao Yonghe's death (曹永和 Tsao Yung-ho 1920–2014), it has been almost impossible to find scholars with enough Dutch language, historical, and cultural background knowledge to analytically decode Dutch ministers' gender concerns in Taiwan. Even Rudolphus Teeuwen, a Dutch-heritage scholar with Ivy League training from the United States of America in the research field of comparative literature and decades of teaching experience in Taiwan, mentioned the impossibility for him to contribute anything between Holland and Taiwan in this book project. This chapter by Natalie Everts can undoubtedly help compensate this, therefore.

The third chapter features Chen Ya-chen's analytical reading of Li Ang's literary portrait of Xie Xuehong as a Taiwanese communist feminist in Taiwan's pre-1949 feminist activism. According to recent research, the first wave of Taiwanese feminist movements started in the Japanese colonial era and the second wave was the feminist activism that Nationalists' anti-communist political forces enhanced in Taiwan. This phenomenon seems to match the repetitive patterns that East Asian feminism's rise occurred under the supervision of male social activists and political-cultural reformers. Seldom, however, do researchers stress Xie Xuehong as the unique feminist part of both waves of Taiwanese feminist activism. This chapter aims to emphasize Li Ang's literary and artisitic efforts to add Xie Xuehong's feminist stories to the first two waves of Taiwanese feminist activism.

So far Li Ang's literary works have not been the only artistic portraits of Xie Xuehong. In addition to Li Ang's fictions, there were several on-stage shows and even possible plans for movies about Xie Xuehong. For example: in 1994, Tian Qiyuan (田啓元 Tien, Chi-yuan) directed his on-stage drama show entitled "Xieshi A Nü—yincang zai lishi beihou de Taiwan nüran" (謝氏阿女—隱藏在歷史背後的臺灣女人The Girl with the Surname Xie—The Taiwanese Woman Hidden behind the History). In 2004, Xie Xuehong's life stories were included in an episode of TV show, *Taiwan bainian renwuzhi (臺灣百年人物誌Records of People in Taiwan of the 100 Years)*, at the Public Television Station. This TV episode showed a part of Xie Xuehong's unpublished autobiography written in Moscow, Russia, in 1925. Wang Qimei (汪其楣 Wang, Chi-mei) created her own on-stage one-person show about Xie Xuehong's life story. The first show started at the Concert Hall of the National Theater on May 21, 2010. The National Archive of Taiwanese Literature also had her performance together with discussion sessions with Li Ang on May 29, 2010. Han Siqing (韓四清), a producer in China's Shanxi Province, also tried to accomplish a motion picture about Xie Xuehong's life story. Although Tian Qiyuan's artistic achievements became topics of several graduate theses in Taiwanese universities and Wang Qimei mentioned her intention to allow Xie Xuehong to speak her mind by giving the on-stage microphone to Xie Xuehong, Li Ang's literary works about Xie Xuehong resulted in the greatest amount of impressive reverberation from mass media, public, research projects, and academic publications.

Daniel Palm and Linda H. Chiang's coauthored chapter about Madame Chiang Kai-shek is the fourth chapter in this book. It is entitled "'The Only Thing Oriental about Me Is My Face': The True Picture of Madame Chiang Kai-shek." It would be no exaggeration to say that the single Chinese image best-known to most Americans during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s was that presented by Soong Mei-ling, popularly known as Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Her elementary, secondary, and college education in the U.S. (to the extent that she declared as a young woman, "the only thing Oriental about me is my face"), her fluency in English, her glamor and carefully crafted appearance, and her familiarity with American manners and customs made her accessible and popular to the American public, and allowed her to play a significant role in her country's relations with the U.S. Her charisma, her self-identification as a Christian, the softness of her appearance alongside her clear self-confidence all came together to make her a strikingly prominent cross-cultural figure and twentieth-century Chinese icon.

Recent scholarship and well-regarded biographies of Soong Mei-ling and Chiang Kai-shek have brought their lives and public careers to the attention of a new generation of students and scholars. But Soong Mei-ling's understanding of China's role in the World War, and her central position in the conflict within China about the nation's postwar future, remain under-appreciated. Likewise, reactions in the U.S., China, and Taiwan to her roles in wartime and Cold War and during the time when the KMT migrated to Taiwan, their diplomacy and statesmanship deserve further attention. As well, in Soong Mei-ling we have an iconic Chinese female figure, active in public life, with which to gauge perceptions of Chinese women's role beyond the home. A decade having passed since her death in October 2003, a reassessment of her self-understanding and the perceptions of public figures which interacted with her is timely.

This chapter assesses Soong Mei-ling's politics, philosophy, and her understanding of China's role in the twentieth-century world, as set forth in her own speeches and public statements. As well, we consider how she was perceived in the United States, China, and Taiwan by leading political figures, including Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, top military and diplomatic personnel, and members of Congress, and her role as the first lady of the Republic of China in Taiwan focusing on the years 1930–1960. In this Daniel Pal and Linda H. Chiang argue that while Soong Mei-ling retains elements of the Chinese heroine and character in her thought and action, while clearly influenced as well by her Chinese virtue, Western education and Christian faith.

The fifth chapter is Chen Ya-chen's "Cinematic Metaphors of Autumn Cicadas and Chilling Cicadas: The Way out of Legal Bottlenecks in *Sex Appeal*." Wang Weiming enriches his film, *Sex Appeal*, with cinematic metaphors of cicadas and romantic relations. Cicadas sing courting songs for mates, just like Muhong's love song for Baibai. The clarinet music replaces Baibai's taciturnity, which results from the PTSD and Stockholm syndrome, and represents Baibai's vagina monolog in the vagina-like auditorium and the "chilling effect" in court. Li Renfang points out Baibai's clarinet music lacks true love and emotions because Baibai is a fatherless daughter, suffers from Electra Complex, adores the image of a powerful father-like

middle-age man, and thus has no true romantic love for him. Li Renfang's purple flowers in Baibai's glass vase at the hospital, his authoritative existence in the vagina-like auditorium, and Baibai's first-time bleeding at the dorm stand for the rape victim's defloration and the insertion of Li Renfang's penis into Baibai's vagina. The rape, adultery, and cyber bullies to blame the rape victim take place after the metronome, which represents ethical norms and legal rules, stops working because they are out of legal or moral control. Li Renfang kneels down and kowtows to the purple flowers before his death symbolizes his antemortem apology. Li Renfang's death releases Baibai from the legal bottleneck in court and allows her to reconsider and accept Muhong's love; therefore, cicadas' courtship songs restart, Baibai reunites with Muhong after the hymen-like curtain between them is removed in the hospital, and Baibai's second-time bleeding scene at the end of this film implies her metaphorical defloration and sexual gratification with Muhong after her "bed-time" contact with him at the emergency room.

The sixth chapter, authored by Chen Yeong-Ruy (陳勇瑞), focuses on the spectatorship in Huangmei Opera films, especially on the issues related to the audience's perception of Ling Po's practice of male impersonation. It employs Laura Mulvey's psychoanalytic theory from her famous essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" to discuss the unconscious pleasure experience of the audience of Huangmei Opera films. However, it challenges Mulvey's theory about male gaze and identification in cinematic apparatus by the case of Ling Po's male impersonation, while men perceive him as a woman and women perceive her as a man. This essay considers that the spectator's identifications of Ling Po's impersonation rely on the fantasy proposing links among cultural, societal and psychological modes. It suggests that Ling Po's images on and off screen represent a sexual ambivalence and enables polymorphous identification.

Cal Clark and Janet Clark, in the seventh chapter, collaboratively analyze factors promoting women's participation in Taiwan's politics. As the postwar era commenced in the late 1940s, the status of women in Taiwan could probably best be described as dismal. Half a century later, both Taiwan itself and most women on the island had made very considerable progress. In the political realm, for example, women occupied about a fifth of the seats in the country's legislatures and assemblies at the turn of the century. While this certainly falls far short of equal representation, it is fairly good for a developing country and significantly better than the United States.

Taiwan obviously has gone through dramatic socioeconomic and political change that has produced a much more prosperous and democratic society. How women in Taiwan would benefit from such change is somewhat problematic, however, since both industrialization and democratization have had countervailing implications for the status of women in other developing societies. These countervailing effects that economic and political development had upon the status of women during the twentieth century suggest two divergent perspectives upon women's progress in Taiwan. First, Taiwanese women must have been able to take advantage of important opportunities that political and economic change opened up. Second, we need to be careful not to overlook groups or types of women who

have not benefited from rapid change on the island over the past half century. This chapter argues that many women in Taiwan were able to utilize resources made available during the country's development but that significant groups of women were excluded from this process as well and then uses these findings to illustrate a theoretical model of how socioeconomic change affects the status of women in developing societies.

In the eighth chapter, Chou Bih-er (周碧娥) details how Taiwanese higher education systemized women's studies and gender studies from 1985 to 2005. The establishment and institutionalization of women's studies program in the higher education was once viewed as "the academic wing of the women's liberation movement." It has led to the curriculum reform in higher education which became a major women's movement itself. The paths and ways by which women studies developed as an institution had been various and diverse. In general, two major models of institutionalization may be identified as practiced in the West, especially in the US. They were referred to as the integrated and separated models. This chapter analyzes how women's and gender studies developed in higher education as a reflection of women's movements in Taiwan.

Using the information collected from media, educational statistics and roasters of courses listed in Women's Studies Bulletins, this chapter attempts to delineate the development of women's movements as reflected in the process of feminist transformation of knowledge in higher education in Taiwan. Three dimensions of the transformation process, namely, institutionalization of women's studies, mainstreaming of gender curriculum, and feminist insurrection of knowledge were examined. Analysis of the data shows that women's movements have achieved a fair level of success in gendering the liberal arts education of university and mainstreaming feminist pedagogy. Women's and gender studies courses became available in more than half of the institutions of Taiwan's higher education in the 15 years period since 1988. Gendering of curriculum was achieved not only among traditional departments and disciplines, there was also significant progress in general education curricula and interdisciplinary programs. This reflects the vitality and versatility of feminist scholars and women's movement in Taiwan. However, in terms of the acceptance and prevalence of gender studies as an independent academic institute or discipline, especially in prestigious public research universities, there remains much to be desired by feminist ideals.

The ninth chapter is entitled "From Women in Taiwan's History of Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) to Recent Case Studies of Gender Practice under the Academic Glass Ceiling." In this chapter, Lin Jaung-gong (林昭庚), Tsai Liang-wen (蔡良文), and Chen Ya-chen (陳雅禎) unveil Taiwan's first female TCM professor and problems of gender egalitarianism in terms of male professors and female professors' promotion, ranking, and professional ups and downs in Taiwan's TCM educational system. The glass ceiling that women encountered in Taiwan's traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) has remained chiefly unchallenged, with only a few individual women's exceptional success in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Even in the twenty-first century, most of Taiwan's prominent TCM experts and scholars of Taiwanese history are ignorant of or resistant to the

significant value of women in Taiwan's TCM history as well as in women's studies, gender studies, and sexology. This chapter aims to compensate for this failure to highlight women in Taiwan's TCM history, and to unveil statistical data from CMU (China Medical University, the first medical school to feature TCM in Taiwanese history) about gender practice. In addition, the chapter shares anonymous female interviewees' personal experiences of gender practices under the academic glass ceiling of Taiwan's twenty-first-century administrative politics.

Notes

1. In August 2017 international publishers admitted pressure of censorship from the PRC government and Chinese Communist Party. The "authorities govern the distribution of the International Standard Book Number (ISBN) that companies need for their books to be sold in China… You don't mention the three 'Ts': Tiananmen, Tibet and Taiwan." For details, please consult the news report entitled "International Publishers Admit Self-Censorship" in *Hong Kong Free Press* (HKFP) on August 24, 2017.
2. Authors in this book use their favorite Romanization systems. Some of them prefer the pinyin system, but some of them prefer the Wade-Giles system of Romanization.
3. This introductory chapter derived from Chen Ya-chen's review of Lydia H. Liu, Rebecca E. Karl, and Dorothy Ko's *The Birth of Chinese Feminism: Essential Texts in Transnational Theory*. This is an invited book review in the 11 (April 2015): 111-116 issue of *Monumenta Taiwanica* (台灣學誌) (published by National Taiwan Normal University). *Monumenta Taiwanica* (台灣學誌) (published by National Taiwan Normal University) officially agreed the book review to be turned into a book chapter.
   Is there any "devil's defense" to explain why Lydia H. Liu, Rebecca Karl, and Dorothy Ko inadvertently or purposefully excluded Taiwanese gender issues from their coedited book at the moment when they decided to have "the birth of Chinese feminism" as their coedited book title? Yes, some people might find the following defense: Lydia H. Liu, Rebecca Karl, Dorothy Ko, or even He-Yin Zhen might not think of Taiwan at all at the moment when the phrase "the birth of Chinese feminism" became a significant representative of their publications about Chinese feminism. Because Taiwan has been playing an extremely marginalized role in mainstream China-centered viewpoints that many Mainland Chinese, American Chinese, American, or non-Western feminists might not feel Taiwanese gender issues as an tremendously important representative of Chinese gender issues. Numerous Mainland Chinese, American Chinese, American, or non-Western feminists might not be strongly aware of the value of Taiwanese feminist or gender studies among all types of Chinese-heritage women's and gender studies. If they have a chance to rank all the Chinese-heritage people's gender problems, Taiwanese women's and gender problems might be ranked so low according to their value system that Taiwan looked inexistent in or expelled from their book entitled "The Birth of Chinese Feminism" and other academic publications about Chinese-heritage people's gender concerns. This is probably one of the reasons why Taiwan might not look like a stereotypical representative part of the Chinese research subjects, which they paid special attention to and cordially focused on, regardless of whether Chinese-heritage people's political parties or the Ming and Qing Dynasties defined Taiwan **"to be or not to be"** a part of China.
   If the word, "birth," is such an unavoidable metaphorical keyword in *The Birth of Chinese Feminism*, there must be parents, grandparents, ancestors, and relatives who share similar or the same DNA with He-Yin Zhen or the Chinese feminist newborn. Who are the father and mother? Who are the grandparents? Who are the ancestors and relatives? Were Lu Zhi (呂雉), Wu Zetian (武則天), Liu E (劉娥), Empress Dowager

(慈禧太后) considered as this Chinese feminist baby's aunts in ancient dynasties? Were prehistorical Chinese matriarchal leaders regarded as this Chinese feminist baby's ancestors? Who created the newborn of Chinese feminism? Who gave birth to this Chinese feminist baby? Which medical doctor, midwife, anesthesiologists or nurse delivered this Chinese feminist baby at which Chinese hospital or clinic in which part of Chinese territory? Was this a vaginal delivery or a cesarean delivery? What time on which day, which month, which year, and how long was the delivery? Did this Chinese feminist baby grow up, get married to a man (without showing any lesbian interest in women), and give birth to any Chinese feminist offspring, such as Xie Xuehong (謝雪紅), Soong Mei-ling (宋美齡), Jiang Qing (江青), Li Yuanzhen (李元貞), Lu Xiulian (呂秀蓮), Zheng Wang (王政), or even Lydia H. Liu (劉禾) and Dorothy Ko (高彥頤)–the two Chinese-heritage coeditors of *The Birth of Chinese Feminism*? Which roles did female feminists' soul mates, such as Xie Xuehong's lovers, Soong Mei-ling's husband Chiang Kai-shek, or the men whom Jiang Qing married, play in this genealogical network of Chinese feminist kinship? How about the roles played by other male supporters of gender egalitarianism, such as the Guangxu Emperor who banned women's foot-binding in 1901, China's "Dr. Sex" Zhang Jingshen (張競生1888–1970), and Liu Dalin (劉達臨 b. 1932) who established Mainland China's first museum of sexology, in this Chinese feminist "family tree" before or after the "birth of Chinese feminism" which Lydia H. Liu, Rebecca Karl, and Dorothy Ko highlighted?

If it is impossible for a person to independently give birth to any newborns according to the medical technology or moral ethics in the He-Yin Zhen's life time (1886–1920) and even nowadays in the twenty-first century, the "birth" may result from multiple people's collaboration– just like the cooperation of medical doctors, nurses, midwives, and anesthesiologists in either a vaginal delivery or cesarean delivery. Chen Fangming (陳芳明) entitled his book "Commentary Biography of Xie Xuehong (謝雪紅評傳)," instead of "the Birth of Taiwanese Communist Feminism." His decision of this book title coincidentally matched the above-mentioned concerns about Taiwanese communist feminism's birth. Miu Boying (謬伯英 1899–1929), Wang Huiwu (王會悟 1898–1993), Liu Qingyang (劉清揚1894–1977), and Xiang Jingyu (向警予 1895–1928) were Mainland China's earliest female communist members, but nobody entitled their life stories "the Birth of Mainland Chinese Communist Feminism." This also happened to echo the above-mentioned concerns. This book argues that numerous people made collaborative efforts to engender Taiwanese feminist progress and gender studies. The delivery may be a long-time and difficult task. The time of the delivery may be not yet certain now because current and future researchers may dig out older and earlier historical facts about Taiwanese feminism. This book purposefully leaves an open ending in terms of the "birth certificate" of Taiwanese feminism and replaces the certificate with the key-words, "(en)gendering Taiwan," in order to everlastingly welcome and embrace new findings of historical facts about Taiwanese feminism. After Chapter 1, the diverse themes of all the other chapters include portraits of famous feminists, gender issues in institutions, and various gender concerns collaboratively create an "orchestra of feminist heteroglosia" to coherently sing Taiwan's own celebration song (if not the "Happy Birthday" song) to the initiation, rise and advancement of all the gender studies and activism in Taiwan.

In addition to the physiological indication which Lydia H. Liu, Rebecca Karl, and Dorothy Ko's keyword, "birth," shows to their readers, the word, "(en)gender," enables this book to have different attitudes toward the frequently seen critique of essentialism in feminist, queer, or other types of gender studies. Of course, the word, "(en)gender," probably reminds readers of the borderline between "sex" and "gender." To some readers, it may denote that the production, initiation, growth, developments, or "ups and downs" of Taiwanese feminism include not merely aspects of physiology/essentialism but also facets of sociocultural construction.

4. Wang Huiwu's father is Wang Yanchen (王彦臣), and her husband is Li Da (李達).
5. Xiang Jingyu's original name was Xiang Junxian (向俊賢). She married Cai Hesen (蔡和森) in France in 1920, but they were divorced in Moscow in 1926.
6. This unique Taiwan-oriented dialogue with Lydia H. Liu, Rebecca Karl, and Dorothy Ko's *The Birth of Chinese Feminism* is what other academic books cannot compete with. According to the research of library collections in Harvard University Yen-Ching East Asian library, no past or current academic books make efforts to ask above-mentioned questions about various metaphorical details of the "birth" and stage such a follow-up dialogue. If instructors in educational institutions or researchers at academic organizations use *The Birth of Chinese Feminism*, this book should be also used at the same time in order to balance different dimensions of standpoints.

Author Biography

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Chapter 2
Siraya Concepts of Marriage in Seventeenth-Century Sincan: Impressions Gathered from the Letters of Two Dutch Missionaries

Natalie Everts

2.1 Introduction

In November 1633, the Reverend Robertus Junius informed the Dutch East India Company governor on Formosa (modern Taiwan) about the difficulties he was experiencing in his Sincan (Hsin-kang) benefice. He dejectedly reported that inhabitant Tackareij, whom he himself had taught the Christian principles, had yelled at him: 'If the Dutch want to bring me back to my wife, so I will trample one of them and run away.'[1]

Junius explained that Tackareij had left his lawfully wedded wife, whom he had recently married according to Christian rites in front of the Sincan community in the newly established village church. When the minister, in accordance with his duty as a missionary, had tried to correct Tackareijs' behaviour by telling him that it was sinful for a Christian to break the sacred bonds of marriage just like that, Tackareij had answered him in what the minister could only consider to be a disrespectful way.

This telling example from the archival sources points to the existence of a difference of opinion between a missionary and an indigenous convert about how Christian principles should be practiced. It seems that the standard, as it was propagated by Junius and his fellow-missionaries in Sincan, did not fit in with the experience of their converts. Tackareij, being among those villagers who already had embraced Christianity in name, had been willing to get married in public in the

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Christian way, but he now indicated to Junius that with regard to his private life he insisted on making his own decisions. A case like this offers a rare view into the complex reality of the interaction of cultures on seventeenth-century Taiwan: the Formosan Encounter.[2]

The personal correspondence between the Rev. Junius and governor Putmans, of which a few letters have been preserved in a private collection kept in the Dutch National Archives, reveals something of the conversion process at the micro level. This correspondence bears witness to a contradiction: on the one hand Junius writes about the increasing number of Sincan converts while, at the same time, he frequently complains about their sinful ways, particularly about what he regards as the sin of adultery.

This chapter merely aims to explore the transformations that occurred within the sphere of gender relations during the initial phase of contact of the Sincan people with Dutch missionary activities (1627–1640). At first, I will briefly sketch the cultural code of traditional Siraya society, the ethnolinguistic group to which the Sincan belonged, with regard to social relationships, marriage and moral principles.[3] This is followed by a discussion of some of the missionaries' aspirations and how they propagated the ideal of Christian marriage as part of their effort at conversion. Finally, I will take a closer look at the cultural outcome of the interaction between the missionaries and their flock with the intention to learn in which way the Sincan did conform the new Christian standards to their own interests.

2.2 Traditional Gender Relations: A Subjective View

In his famous Discourse and brief Account of the Isle of Formosa,[4] written in 1628, Junius' predecessor, Georgius Candidius, recorded various ethnographical aspects of the Sincan and some of their neighbouring Siraya communities, dwelling on the south-western coastal plain. Their villages clustered around the Bay of Tayouan, opposite to the peninsula on which Zeelandia Castle, the Dutch East India Company trade factory, was located (the site of modern Tainan).[5]

Minister Candidius certainly provides us with much more than a random picture of traditional Siraya culture. In an attachment to the Discourse he observed the changes that already occurred within that society and continued to do so, notably in the field of religion:

> I suspect that every sixty years their religion falls into decay, that now it is completely renewed and has been altered and I presume that in another sixty years, even without us Christians being around, it will again have changed completely and will have become different from the current one.

Candidius illustrated this by mentioning that he had spoken with some very old people 'who told me things totally different from what is believed and honoured by them nowadays.'[6] He was of the opinion that these ongoing transformations in the Sirayan religious convictions had to do with their oral culture, because they were

not founded on any written regulations. The fact that this vital aspect of their society was liable to internal changes could however also serve us as an indication that the plains peoples—including the Sincan—were receptive to external influences and ideas.

Candidius did compile his account just at the moment when influences from the outside world were beginning to take effect and intensified the process of alterations, in which he himself played a crucial role. Although he affirmed his objectivity to his readers, by stating that he only informed them about those places of which the language, manners, customs and religion were known to him, we should keep in mind that he came to live in Sincan (in 1627) with the sole purpose of being a missionary.[7] Armed with these critical reservations regarding this somewhat controversial source we can proceed with Candidius' picture of gender relations in traditional Sirayan culture.

With regard to marriage, he noticed that men were not allowed to marry until they had reached the age of about twenty but women could marry as soon as they were thought fit for it. When a young man wished to marry a maiden he sent his mother, sister, cousin or someone of his other female relatives to her house with presents consisting of adornments, textiles or Chinese import goods. Upon showing them the wedding gift, his intermediary asked the girl's father, her mother or other elders of her family for permission on his behalf. If they approved the proposal, they could keep the presents and the marriage was considered to be settled without any ceremony or celebration. The following night the groom was allowed to sleep with the bride. Candidius reveals that newly weds continued to live in their respective family houses, instead of establishing their own conjugal household. The wife had occupations of her own such as cultivating the fields for the benefit of her kinfolk. The young husband kept on residing in the men's quarter near to his parents' house during the years he had to fulfil duties for his age grade as a hunter and a warrior. Only after having served out their term in this capacity, when they had reached the age of about fifty, a man finally was allowed to settle down and live together with his wife.[8]

According to the minister, it was the rule that women were not allowed to give birth to children before having reached the mature age of about 36 years. Candidius noted that the influential local female shamans, the *Inibs*, saw to it that the foetus of every young woman, married or not, who got pregnant before the fixed age, was aborted. He explained that this practise, performed by the *Inibs* themselves by means of a drastic massage, was done out of strict religious belief. The women themselves, notwithstanding they suffered 'more pains than giving birth to a living child,' considered it a taboo to give birth before the mentioned age. By criticizing this mandatory abortion in detail in his discourse, Candidius seems to have provided himself with a pretext that was meant to legitimate his action against this custom.[9]

Besides the rather loose marital bond that existed between partners, having no common household or children to rear, the minister witnessed fairly free sexual morals which he designated as fornication. Marriage itself could easily be annulled, whereas partners were not expected to stay together forever till the end of their

lives, but could separate and remarry. If the only reason for such a separation was that a husband no longer loved his wife, then she could keep the wedding gift he had presented to her and her family. If his wife on the other hand had committed adultery, flirted with other men, had beaten her husband or had committed similar wrongdoings, then he could reclaim all the goods she once had received from him. Candidius affirmed that wives held the same rights in return, however. Much to his regret, he observed that people sometimes remarried several times in a row.

Though it was customary to have only one woman at a time, this did not keep Candidius from severely denouncing Sirayan sexual mores: "They are great whoremongers. Although having their own wives, they will not pass up a chance to commit adultery, but in secret, so that their own spouses (or the husbands of the adulteresses) will not find out. It is a very lascivious and libidinous nation indeed."[10] He added that when he rightfully rebuked them for their fornication, they merely said that their own gods were pleased with it. Moreover, parents who knew about their children's promiscuous behaviour were amused, instead of scolding them for their misconduct. Candidius concluded that adultery, as long as it was committed in secret, was not considered as a sin by the local inhabitants. Whenever someone discovered another man being involved too intimately with his wife, he could take revenge by taking away some pigs out of his rivals' pigsty. In the meantime, while the adulterer himself went into hiding, his relatives negotiated with the husband's family about the number of pigs, deerskins or other commodities that had to be offered in order to satisfy him. Once the ransom was paid the adulterer could freely return to his community.[11]

2.3 Minister's Aspirations

Candidius' account clearly was written from the point of view of a missionary. While describing Siraya customs in general, he also indicated which aspects of indigenous culture had to be altered. Indeed in his own words: "their religion, on account of which I was sent there with the purpose of changing it, and introducing the true Christian Faith."[12]

When the Dutch governor Pieter Nuyts enquired if Christianity would ever be acceptable to the Formosan inhabitants, Candidius noted that it would be possible only when they would be really attracted to Christianity, not for the material benefits accompanying conversion but for the basic values upheld by the Christian faith. Only then a complete change of habits on the part of the inhabitants would become possible.[13]

In order to get a better understanding of the ideas of both Candidius and Junius about conversion and the ideals that underlay their missionary fervour it is necessary to take a somewhat closer look at the doctrine of the church they belonged to. All ministers in service of the Dutch East India Company in Asia were enlisted on its payrolls but they were recruited and supervised by the Classis Amsterdam of the Dutch Reformed Church.

In the first part of the seventeenth century, the Protestant Reformed Church had become the principal denomination in the Netherlands. However, this did not mean that the greater majority of people belonged to this church. Besides those who remained Roman Catholic, many smaller protestant groups attracted followers, too. In addition, many people, though being religious at heart, chose to not become members of any church at all.

During that period the Reformed Church's attitude vis-à-vis people of other denominations was permissive in certain ways. For the purpose of somehow including as many people as possible within the church community, people were welcomed whenever they wished to attend a service, get married or let their children be baptized. Regular visitors were addressed as 'hearers' as distinct from the real 'members' of a congregation, who were expected to live entirely according to the Protestant doctrine. Only members were allowed to communicate, that is to attend Holy Communion. The sacrament of baptism was however open to everyone, on condition that parents who let their children be baptized in the Reformed Church had to make the affirmation that the child would be raised in accordance with the Protestant teachings.[14]

Marriage, though it was not considered as a sacrament, was esteemed by all Protestants to be of extraordinary importance because it was regarded as predestined by the Lord himself. Marital bonds were therefore considered as sacred and thus irrevocable. Nevertheless, the Dutch Reformed church was willing to perform the ceremony for everyone, be they committed Calvinists or not, if only the intending husband and wife both had been baptized. The assumption was that it was better to expose an individual to church influence for one moment of increased receptivity in this way, than not at all.[15]

Seventeenth-century Calvinists distinguished between the opposites of an orderly, disciplined Christian life and what they regarded as a natural life. Christians were subjected to the law of God, whereas humans in their natural state lived to be sinners and slaves to the so-called sins of the flesh, like adultery, fornication, debauchery, idolatry, or discord etcetera. It was believed that committing these sins would arouse the wrath of God. Consequently, those converts who trespassed were censored by the ministers.[16]

Each minister who was to perform duty as a missionary on Formosa (apart from learning the local languages, required if he wanted to communicate with his future converts), should bring out a wife with him. Candidius considered this the best way to resist the 'snares of Satan'. Moreover, if the clergy man lived together with his wife and children, he could present the inhabitants with a true example of virtuous and proper family life, so that they, as a consequence, could regulate their lives accordingly. However, it would even be better if a young bachelor minister would choose an indigenous woman from among his converts for his wife. Though she could only marry him after having been properly educated in the Christian principles as well as being baptized first.[17]

Considering the expanding activities of the Dutch East India Company in Asia, the matter of baptizing 'heathens' had already been discussed among the ministers and elders of the Dutch Reformed church. During the important general synod that

was held in the town of Dordrecht (1618–1619) the assembled Dutch ecclesiastics had inserted a special clause that children of pagans could be baptized officially, if they had been sufficiently educated in the Protestant doctrine, and had been confirmed.[18]

In August 1628, in his benefice in Sincan, Candidius however had to deal with the local reality. To his regret he had to admit that the implanting of the Christian faith in the minds of the inhabitants, as well as the eradication of their heathen superstition, idolatry and quite a few other irregularities did not make much progress. Although many of them already knew the creed and their prayers reasonably well, and were fit to be baptized as far as external knowledge was concerned, Candidius deemed the time not yet right to christen them. In his opinion, they not only had to promise in advance that they would do away with all idolatry, superstition and irregularities, but they also had to put this into practice for some time beforehand, so as to give the minister a proof of their proper manners. What bothered him, however, was that some of his pupils had openly confessed to him that though his preaching was true and their priestesses taught them to simply lie if they did not wish to put his teachings into practice. They assured him that the customs had been handed down to them from their ancestors, and that they could not do away with them just like that.[19]

Five years later, in 1633, over a two hundred people in Sincan had been baptized, while a large number of them seemed to be reasonably well taught so that they as a consequence soon would be ready to be baptized, too.[20] Candidius, however, still was by no means convinced that the new faith would take root into the peoples' hearts. Indeed, in 1636, the Reverend Junius, who had succeeded him as a preacher of the faith among the Sincan, still faced about the same situation. In rather philosophical words he expressed his doubts about the true effects of his work. Educated by experience he raised the rhetorical question: 'How many perils attend the effort to make of carnal men, spiritual [men] and of [the] heathen, Christians?'[21]

2.4 Cultural Outcome: Tacareij and Friends

In October 1640, Junius reported governor-general Anthonio van Diemen, the supreme company administrator stationed in Batavia (modern Jakarta) on Java, that among the Sincan young people could be seen who not only had married according to Christian rites and cultivated land together, but who even lived and raised their children as a couple. He confirmed that formerly, in Candidius' time, it had appeared to be almost impossible to bring this about. Then, "they would rather have died than live in this fashion" but at that moment things were changing. He noticed that the inhabitants' former reprehensible customs were gradually disappearing. To Junius, this demonstrated that conversion required both time and proper instruction. The priestesses who had formed such an obstacle to Candidius' labour, had lost all their former power.[22]

On 30 October 1641, the Dutch governor on Taiwan, Paulus Traudenius, sent a letter to the board of East India Company directors in Amsterdam. He reported that the propagation of the gospel to the Formosan youth, as well as their Christian education continued to progress. Many young people had been baptized, after having solemnly professed their faith and a number of them had even got married in the Dutch manner. Nevertheless, the elder generation of inhabitants would never renounce their "superstition", which they still were practicing in secret. The governor was of the opinion that the only solution would be to exercise patience.[23]

In his standard work about Taiwan frontier society on the *longue durée*, John Shepherd, examines the impact of the presence of the East India Company on Formosa's indigenous southwestern plains cultures during the Dutch era (1624–1661). Shepherd points out that the conversion of the Sincan took off very rapidly in the 1630s. He explains that both "missionary efforts and Dutch rule had profound effects on the native way of life, especially on the Siraya systems of marriage and age grades." However, Shepherd does also mention that soon: "the nominal character of the initial conversions became obvious. Deepening the hold of religion over the natives required a much greater investment of resources in religious education and the reform of native customs […]."[24]

Tackareij's case illustrated this controversial character of the conversions. Although he must have been one of the about 200 Sincan villagers who already had been baptized by 1633, and thus had been considered ready to get married according to the Christian rites, he did act contrary to the way a convert was expected to, and really disappointed Junius.

Tackareij's threats to run away meant that, although being a Christian in name, with regard to his private affairs he was prepared to act in defiance of his teachers' admonition. In the same letter in which Junius mentioned Tackareij's disobedience, he complained about other Sincan villagers who acted in the same way. One of them left his wife and three children for another woman. Though Junius had persuaded him to return to his family, by pleading with the adulterer, he was aware that the issue could not be solved that easily. Soon after, the minister was told that the man had left his wife and children again, and ran away with the same woman. A deed, designated by angry Junius, to be in stark contrast with 'our' customs.[25]

Three years later, Junius still struggled with similar problems. In a letter he reminded Governor Putmans of the topic that Sincan converts, over and over again, violated Christian rules by committing adultery. He regretted that these sins of the flesh were not only perpetrated by the adults, but also by the young ones. Therefore, he urgently requested Putmans to let him know how he should proceed in order to discourage prospective malefactors, and prevent them from committing such besetting sins. Junius was convinced that if nothing would be done about it, the Sincan simply would start to believe that he condoned their behaviour. In order to explain to Putmans the problems with which he was dealing, Junius presented the governor with two cases of people who had violated the Christian rules regarding holy matrimony.[26]

The first case concerned a certain Sincan woman, named Vacca, who, shortly before at the general meeting, had been confirmed in the state of holy matrimony

with Tidiris. Soon afterwards, Junius was informed that a dispute had arisen between the spouses. According to the wife, the husband caused the disagreement and should have been blamed because the wedding present he donated to her was too poor. Junius had tried to obtain more information from questioning both parties, but as far as he could see they were living in harmony again. A few days later, however, the truth about the conflict came about, when Junius found out that Vacca had committed adultery with another man, named Gavail, who was also married himself. Vacca had confessed to this herself by saying to some other person that she loved Gavail, and no longer wanted to live with Tideris. Therefore, Tidiris could freely come to recollect the goods he had given her, and take them back to his own home. Vacca confirmed that she had fallen in love with Gavail and that she had already slept with him. As far as the Dutch were concerned, she did not fear them at all because they only meted out mild punishments. She would sent her father to the clergyman to negotiate about the proper punishment with him, or how many pieces of cloth she should be fined to make amends for her unfaithfulness to her ex-husband. To Junius's indignation, both Vacca and her partner in crime, Gavail, had gone into hiding immediately afterwards. If he had been able to find them, he assured that he would have ordered them to be put in chains right away—the only punishment he thought fit for those sinners.

In addition, Junius had to deal with what he called Joost's case. It was rumoured that Tagutel, the wife of junior Dutch company official Joost van Bergen, secretly had a rendezvous with one of the pupils of the village school, named Packoy. This time, Junius saw to it that he had carefully investigated the crime. He had seized the malefactor at once, and had put him in chains. In the presence of one of the Sincan elders, Packoy did confess that he indeed had sexual intercourse with Joost's wife, Tagutel, for at least five times. All this had happened while Joost had been sent off on a company mission to the south-eastern indigenous village of Lonckjouw. It even came to light that the secret lovers had committed their crime twice on Joost's own berth. Having been informed about everything by Packoy, Junius immediately called in Tagutel, whom he ordered to be brought into his house. He interrogated her on the spot about what Packoy confessed and if this corresponded with the truth. At first she denied, but later on she did confess that Packoy had spoken the truth.[27]

Taking stock of the situation, Junius expressed his concern that if these sinners, as well as several other adulterers he knew about, did not receive a just punishment, soon more and more men and women were to follow Vacca's example. If it would come to that, everyone who no longer felt attracted to one's wedding partner and wished to get a divorce, only had to tell it to the Dutch. In the minister's eyes, the sins of fornication committed by Joost's spouse Tagutel, as well as her lover Packoy, were even more serious because it was a Company official who happened to be the betrayed husband. Joost was Tagutel's lawful husband who, as the whole of Sincan knew, had spent a tidy sum on her and bought her everything she could possibly wish for. In addition, it was common knowledge that back in happier days, Tagutel once had declared to Joost: "If I [ever] would be unfaithful, you may freely have me killed as I am aware of Dutch customs."[28]

The words with which Tagutel addressed Joost, as well as the way in which she tried to keep secret about her adultery case, revealed the double moral standards she employed. On the one hand she was the wedded Christian wife of a Company official. Having received some instruction in catechism preceding her baptism, she must have been aware of the importance attached to marriage by Protestant Christians. Notably their belief in the irrevocability of marital bonds, and that those ties were believed to be predestined by God. As appears from Tagutel's own utterances, she understood something of this viewpoint as she connected unfaithfulness with death.[29] At the same time, this knowledge did not prevent her from having a sexual relationship with a man other than her husband, something which according to her ancestral customs was not considered to be wrong at all, if only it did not happen in public. Tagutel's initial attempt to deny her affair with Packoy then could be seen as an effort to keep it under cover, so that her formal relationship with Joost did not have to be dissolved.

About Vacca, it was clear that she wished her marriage with Tidiris to be terminated in order to continue her relationship with her lover Gavail. To reach her goal she went into hiding for some time with her partner, a course of action perfectly in line with customary law. In addition, she had sent somebody of her own kin, in this case her father, to negotiate with the offended party about the amount of the compensation necessary to dissolve her marriage and satisfy her aggrieved ex-husband.

2.5 Epilogue

In this chapter, attention was given to some of the profound transformations that occurred within the sphere of gender relations in traditional Sincan society, following upon the introduction of Christianity. We have taken a look at indigenous Siraya culture with regard to marriage and sexual morals and learned how the inhabitants dwelling on Formosa's south western plains were deeply influenced by the teachings of the two pioneer missionaries Candidius and Junius. Their converts proved to be willing to take over the Christian concept of marriage to the extent of living together as wedding partners in a conjugal household while raising children. This change in opinion about the role of marital ties in the community side tracked the once powerful *Inibs*, the priestesses who guided the villagers through their cycle of life before.

In addition, we came to understand that the Sincan did not simply accept all the new religious rules, principles and strict precepts that were enforced on them. Consequently, minister Candidius's ideal to instill the Christian faith into the minds and souls of his converts clearly was aiming too high. The documentary sources that have been explored in this chapter bear witness to a local process in which many Sincan villagers were filtering and bending Christian values in order to fit them into the reality of their own original cultural code.

Notes

1. Missive minister R. Junius to governor H. Putmans. Sincan, 25 November 1633, Dutch National Archives, The Hague (NL-HaNA), Teding van Berkhout Collection (Teding) 15, fol. 2–3. Published in the series: Blussé et al. (1999) (Hereafter: *Encounter I*), pp. 221–224.
2. Ibidem.
3. The inhabitants of Sincan (Today's Hsin-kang/Xingang in Tainan county) are classified as *Austronesian people* belonging to the ethnolinguistic group the *Siraya*. In general the term *Aborigines* (*yüan chu min*) is applied: Shepherd (1993: 62–68), Macapali (2008: xxxiv–xxxvii); A critical approach on the conceptualization of Siraya communities in the Dutch sources is: Peter Kang 'A Brief Note on the Possible Factors Contributing to the Large Village Size of the Siraya in the Early Seventeenth Century' in Blussé (2003: pp. 111–127). I prefer the term inhabitants, indigenous peoples or Formosans, the literal translations of the designations used in the original manuscripts.
4. Discours ende cort Verhael van 't Eijlant Formosa, minister G. Candidius. Sincan, 27 December 1628, Het Utrechts Archief (HUA) 67, Huydecoper Family Archive (Huydecoper) no. 621. Published in: *Encounter* I, 91–133.
5. The Siraya belong to the "Plains tribes" (*p'ing p'u tzu*): Shephard, *Statecraft*, 31, 415–417, 451; For an overview of the different Austronesian groupings and their encounters with officials in service of the East India Company (Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie: VOC) see: Hsin-hui (2008). A compilation of the available original VOC documents on the indigenous peoples of Taiwan is: Blussé and Everts (1999–2010).
6. Continuation of Discourse, by G. Candidius [December 1628], HUA, 67, Huydecoper, no. 621. Published in: *Encounter* I, 134–137. See also Kang, 'Brief Note' 122–124.
7. Discourse, 1628, HUA, 67, Huydecoper, no. 621. Published in: *Encounter* I, 91–133.
8. Ibidem, I,103–105, 124–127. An indication of a matrilocal pattern of residence.
9. Ibidem, I, 105, 126; Shepherd (1995: pp. 41–46). In a profound analysis of Candidius' account and the Sirayan construction of gender, Shepherd relates abortion to the male roles in warfare and headhunting. The *Inibs* were indeed deprived of their dominance: Blussé (2006).
10. Discourse, 1628, HUA, 67, Huydecoper, no. 621. Published in: *Encounter* I, 91–133.
11. Ibidem, 91–133.
12. Ibidem, 91–133.
13. Continuation of the Discourse, [1628], HUA, 67, Huydecoper, no. 621. Published in: *Encounter* I, 134–137.
14. Van Deursen (1992: pp. 291–296). Children from parents who did not belong to the Dutch Reformed Church could be baptized in the presence of a witness, who had to make the vow. See: Idem (1991: pp. 136–137).
15. Van Deursen (1992: 294); Schutte (2002: pp. 19, 22–23).
16. Van Deursen (1992: 118).
17. Memorandum minister G. Candidius to governor P. Nuyts on the Christianization of Formosa (undated), Campbell (1992 [1903]: 91–92).
18. Roodenburg (1990: 86).
19. Missive minister G. Candidius to governor-general J. Pietersz. Coen. Sincan, 20 August 1628, NL-HaNA, Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) 1096, fol. 199–202. Published in: *Encounter* I, 79–89.
20. Missive minister G. Candidius to governor H. Putmans. Sincan, 25 November 1633, NL-HaNA, Teding 15, fol. 3–4. Published in: *Encounter* I, 225–227.
21. Missive minister R. Junius to the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber of the East India Company, 5 September 1636, in: *Formosa under the Dutch*, 116. For the background of Candidius' and Junius' missionary zeal, see: Ginsel (1931) passim;

Leonard Blussé, 'De Formosaanse Proeftuyn der Gereformeerde Zending,' in: Schutte (2002: 189–200); L.J. Joosse 'Kerk en Zendingsbevel' in Idem, 25–42.

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24. Shepherd (1993: 62–68)
25. Missive minister R. Junius to governor H. Putmans. Sincan, 25 November 1633. NL-HaNA, Teding 15, fol. 2–3. Published in: *Encounter* I, 221–224.
26. Missive minister R. Junius to governor H. Putmans. Sincan, 15 August 1636. NL-HaNA, Teding 15, fol. 31–33. Published in: *Encounter* II, 90–95.
27. Ibidem, 90–95.
28. Ibidem, 90–95.
29. Besides being educated in the basics of Christianity, Tagutel was tied to Joost's culture by the bonds of marriage. For the importance of intercultural marriage as a means of introducing new ideas in a community see: Brown (2004: pp. 134–155).

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Chapter 3
Taiwanese Communist Feminist, Xie Xuehong: Li Ang's Literary Portrait of Xie Xuehong's Pre-1949 Feminist Activism in Taiwan

Ya-chen Chen

According to recent research, the first wave of Taiwanese feminist movements started in the Japanese colonial era and the second wave was the feminist activism that Nationalists' anticommunist political forces enhanced in Taiwan. This phenomenon seems to match the repetitive patterns that "East Asian feminism's rise occurred under the supervision of male social activists and political-cultural reformers" (Chen, Ya-chen, 141). Seldom, however, do researchers stress Xie Xuehong as the unique feminist part of both waves of Taiwanese feminist activism.[1] This chapter aims to emphasize Li Ang's literary and artistic efforts to add Xie Xuehong's feminist stories to the first two waves of Taiwanese feminist activism.

So far Li Ang's literary works have not been the only artistic portraits of Xie Xuehong. In addition to Li Ang's fictions, there were several onstage shows and even possible plans for movies about Xie Xuehong. For example, in 1994, Tian Qiyuan (田啓元 Tien, Chi-yuan) directed his onstage drama show entitled "Xieshi A Nü—yincang zai lishi beihou de Taiwan nüran" (謝氏阿女—隱藏在歷史背後的臺灣女人 The Girl with the Surname Xie—The Taiwanese Woman Hidden Behind the History).[2] In 2004, Xie Xuehong's life stories were included in an episode of TV show, *Taiwan bainian renwuzhi (臺灣百年人物誌 Records of People in Taiwan of the 100 Years)*, at the Public Television Station.[3] This TV episode showed a part of Xie Xuehong's unpublished autobiography written in Moscow, Russia, in 1925. Wang Qimei (汪其楣 Wang, Chi-mei) created her own onstage one-person show about Xie Xuehong's life story.[4] The first show started at the Concert Hall of the National Theater on May 21, 2010.[5] The National Archive of Taiwanese Literature also had her performance together with discussion sessions with Li Ang on May 29, 2010.[6] Han Siqing (韓四清), a producer in China's Shanxi

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Province, also tried to accomplish a motion picture about Xie Xuehong's life story. Although Tian Qiyuan's artistic achievements became topics of several graduate theses in Taiwanese academy and Wang Qimei mentioned her intention to allow Xie Xuehong to speak her mind by giving the onstage microphone to Xie Xuehong, Li Ang's literary works about Xie Xuehong resulted in the greatest amount of impressive reverberation from mass media, public, research projects, and academic publications.[7]

In 2000, Li Ang simultaneously published both *Zizhuan no xiaoshuo* (自傳の小說 *Autobiography: A Novel*) and *Piaoliu zhi lü* (漂流之旅 *A Drifting Journey*; companion travelogue). *Zizhuan no xiaoshuo* (自傳の小說 *Autobiography: A Novel*) is Li Ang's literary biographical fiction about Xie Xuehong's life. *Piaoliu zhi lü* (漂流之旅 *A Drifting Journey*) is Li Ang's companion travelogue of *Autobiography: A Novel*. In this book, Li Ang documented how she followed Xie Xuehong's footsteps to Japan, Russia, and Shanghai (Berry, 234). In the description on the back cover of *Autobiography: A Novel*, Li Ang has defined her literary story about Xie Xuehong's life experience in three ways: first, a biographical story of Xie Xuehong's life; second, a fiction about Xie Xuehong's romantic love; and third, a record of history.

3.1 Political Portraits of Xie Xuehong: (Anti-)Communist and (Anti-)Colonialist Data

Before the release of the two above-mentioned books, Li Ang consulted the following influential book: *Xie Xuehong ping zhuan: luotu budiao yüyehua* (謝雪紅評傳:落土不凋雨夜花 *The Annotated Biography of Xie Xuehong: The Blossom that Never Withers after Falling onto the Soil in Raining Nights*) published by Chen Fangming (陳芳明 Chen, Fang-ming; b. 1947) in 1991. This book inspired Li Ang and motivated her to start the writing project about Xie Xuehong's life. In 2003, the National Archive of Taiwanese Literature staged a dialogue between Li Ang and Wu Dayun (吳達芸 Wu, Ta-yun). Li Ang discussed how she strategized to "subvert" Cheng Fangming's annotated biography of Xie Xuehong in her fiction entitled *Autobiography: A Novel* (Wang, Yuting, 102–125).

Following is a brief listing of some Chinese-language publications in addition to Chen Fangming's book, which involved Xie Xuehong's life story: In 1946, Sanmin (三民) Bookstore released Xiao Youshan's (蕭友山 Hsiao, You-shan) *Taiwan jiefang yudong no huigu* (台灣解放運動の回顧 *Retrospectives of Taiwanese Movements of Emancipation*). In 1986, Pei Kequan (裴可權 Pei, Ke-chuen) published *Taigong panluan ji fuwang jingguo jishi* (臺共叛亂及覆亡經過記實 *Historical Records of the Taiwanese Communist Riots and Decay*). In 1999, Huang Shiqiao (黃師樵 Huang, Shih-chiao) published *Taiwan gongchandang mishi* (臺灣共產黨秘史 *Secret History of the Taiwanese Communist Party*). Qianwei (前衛) publishing company released two books about Taiwanese communism, in which Xie Xuehong involved herself: Lu Xiuyi's (盧修一 Lu, Hsiu-i) *Riju shidai Taiwan*

gongchandang shi (日據時代臺灣共產黨史 *Taiwanese Communist History during the Japanese Colonial Era*) and Jian Juongren's (簡炯仁 Chien, Chuong-jen) *Taiwan gongchan zhuyi yundong shi* (臺灣共產主義運動史 *History of Taiwanese Communism*). In 2002, Wang Yu's (王玉) journal article, "*Taiwan kangri yundong de zuoyi: cong 'Shanghai gangling' kan Taiwan gongchandang de jiandang benzhi*" (臺灣抗日運動的左翼:從「上海綱領」看台灣共產黨的建黨本質 The Leftist Wing of Taiwan's Anti-Japanese Social Movements: Looking into the Nature of the Taiwanese Communist Party from the "Shanghai Guideline"), appeared in *Fengjia renwen shehui xuebao* (逢甲人文社會學報 *Feng Chia University Academic Journal of Humanities and Social Science*). In 2003, the Taiwanese Public Television Station's Cultural Foundation produced a TV episode about Xie Xuehong: "Cai busi de yehua Xie Xuehong" (踩不死的野花謝雪紅 The Wild Blossom that Never Dies after the Torture, Xie Xuehong). Zhang Chuanren (張傳仁; b. 1957) published *Xie Xuehong yu Taiwan minzhu zizhi tongmeng* (謝雪紅與臺灣民主自治同盟 *Xie Xuehong and the Alliance of Taiwanese Democratic Self-Government*) in 2004. Zhang Kihui (張克輝 Chang, Ki-hui; b. 1928) published *Ah! Xie Xuehong* (啊!謝雪紅) in 2007.

As for Xie Xuehong's involvement in the February 28 Incident, there are numerous publications on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. In the Preview of Renewal Exhibition at Taipei 228 Memorial Museum's "Qingting yu zaishen" (傾聽與再生 Listening as Renewal Process), the fifth chapter entitled "Ererba shijian shimo" (二二八事件始末 From the Beginning to the End of the February 28 Incident) mentions that Xie Xuehong organized the army troops and merged student-level army forces into the *er qi budui* (二七部隊 Army Troops 27) to fight against the Nationalist General Chen Yi's (陳儀) army troops in Taizhong (臺中 Tai-chung) in March 1947. This chapter also contains visual files of the following documents: Xie Xuehong's photo in 1943, the picture of Taizhong Jianguo Craft School (臺中建國工藝學校) that Xie Xuehong wished to establish as the base to educate her youth army force, and the circular order to arrest Xie Xuehong as the most important criminal on January 5, 1948.[8] Li Xiaofeng's (李筱峯 Li, Hsiao-feng) article about Wang Wande's (王萬得) role in the revolution of Taiwanese communism inevitably touched upon Xie Xuehong. Wong Jiayin's (翁佳音 Wong, Chia-in) article on Cai Xiaoqian (蔡孝乾 Tsai, Hsiao-chien) in the same book also mentioned Xie Xuehong. Cai Luo (蔡洛), Yu Yanguang (余炎光), Liu Linsong (劉林松), and Meng Kequn (夢可群) published their *Peng Pai zhuan* (彭湃傳 *Biography of Peng Pai*) in 1986. During the same year, Xiao Biao (蕭彪), Yang Jinhe(楊錦和), Wang Bingnan (王炳南), and Xu Weiping (許偉平) published "Wong Zesheng" (翁澤生). During 1991, *Sichuan dangshi* (四川黨史 *History of the Communist Party in Sichuan*) included Wang Puyuan's (王普源) journal article entitled "Taiwan gongchangdang chengli shimo" (台灣共產黨成立始末 The Establishment of the Taiwanese Communist Party: From the Beginning to the End). In 1991, Chen Fangming published "Taiwan Kangri yungong de zuoyi luxian yi taigong 'shangdapai' zhunao Weng Zesheng wei zhongxin" (台灣抗日運動的左翼路線以台共「上大派」主腦翁澤生爲中心). In 1992, Lin Qiquan's (林其泉) "Guanyu Taiwan gongchangdang baiwang de yuanying" (關於台灣共產黨

敗亡的原因 Reasons for the Taiwanese Communist Party's Decay) inevitably touched upon Xie Xuehong. During the same year, Lin Mingzhang (林銘章 Lin, Ming-chang) published "Xie Xuehong shanliang er kankede yi sheng" (謝雪紅閃亮而坎坷的一生 Sparks and Bad Luck—Life of Xie Xuehong) in *Zhuangji wenxue* (傳記文學 *Biographical Literature*). In 1993, Zhang Yanxian (張炎憲) and Gao Shuyuan (高淑媛) coauthored "Yiwei Taigong de xin lulicheng. Zhuang Chunhuo fangwen jilu" (一位臺共的心路歷程—莊春火訪問記錄 The story of a Taiwanese Communist Party's Member—Zhuang Chunhuo's Interview). In 1994, Chen Fangming authored "Lin Mushun yu Taiwan gongchangdang de chengli" (林木順與台灣共產黨的成立 Lin Mushun and the Taiwanese Communist Party's Establishment), and this article was included in *Taiwan shiliao yanjiu* (臺灣史料研究 *Research on Taiwanese Historical Data*).

In 1997 and 2001, when Han Jialing (韓嘉玲) published her research on participants in Taiwanese peasants' social movements, she certainly dealt with Jian Ji (簡吉 Chien, Chi) and Zhuang Shou (莊守 Chuang, Shou) who had connections with Xie Xuehong. In 1999, Taipei County Government published Li Rigao's (林日高 Lin, Ri-kao) life story, parts of which certainly were related to Xie Xuehong. In 2000, Wang Guojun (王國君) published an article about Wong Zesheng: "Qing xi zuguo tiegu zhongxin—Wong Zesheng tongzhi shengping shulue" (情繫祖國鐵骨忠心—翁澤生同志生平述略 Caring about the Motherland—Biographical Sketch of Comrade Wong Zesheng). In 2001, Lin Jiang (林江 Lin, Chiang) recorded memories about Wong Zesheng's life story: "Huainian wo fuqing Weng Zesheng" (懷念父親翁澤生 Recalling My Father Wong Zesheng). Yang Xiuying (楊秀瑛 Yang, Hsiu-ying) also published her memory about her father: "Huainian wode fuqing Yang Chunsong" (懷念我的父親楊春松 Recalling My Father Yang Chunsong). During the same year, Guo Zhengzhong (郭正中 Kuo, Cheng-chung) published "Riju shiqi Taiwan zhishi fengzi de ge'an yanju—yi "Taigong shujizhang" Lin Mushun wei lie" (日據時期台灣知識份子的個案研究—以「台共書記長」林木順爲例 Japanese Colonial Period Taiwan's Intelligensia Case Studies—The Secretary of the Taiwanese Communist Party Lin Mushun). In 2007, Zeng Jianyuan (曾建元 Tzeng, Chien-yuan) had the printed edition and online version of Zhang Zhizhong's (張志忠 Chang, Chih-chung) biography, which was undoubtedly related to Xie Xuehong.

Some Japanese-language publications are certainly also indirectly related to Xie Xuehong. For instance, the following books are translated into Chinese and published in Chinese-speaking areas: The Japanese government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs published the microfilms entitled *Miscelleous Documents of the Japanese Communist Party's Relations: Connections with the Taiwanese Communist Party* in Tokyo in 1989. Xu Shikai (許世楷 Hsu, Shih-kai) wrote *Riben tongzhi xia de Taiwan* (日本統治下的臺灣 *Taiwan under Japanese Colonialism*), which Li Mingjun (李明峻 Li, Ming-chun) and Lai Yujun (賴郁君 Lai, Yu-chun) translated and published in Taipei, Taiwan, in 2006. Mukooyama Hiro's (向山寬夫) *Riben tongzhi xia de Taiwan minzu yundong shi* (日本統治下的臺灣民族運動史 *History of Taiwanese Ethnic Social Movements under Japanese Colonialism*) was translated into Chinese by Yang Hongru (楊鴻儒 Yang, Hung-ju), Chen Cangjie (陳滄杰 Chen,

Tsang-chieh), and Shen Yongjia (沈永嘉 Shen, Yung-chia) in 1999. The study group of Japanese-language documents about Taiwanese history (臺灣史日本史料典籍研讀會) translated Wakabayashi Masahiro's (若林正夫) *Taiwan kangri yundong shi yanjiu* (臺灣抗日運動史研究 *Research on the History of Taiwan's Anti-Japanese Social Movements*) in 2007.

Some Western-language publications do not lack information related to Xie Xuehong. For instance, *Time* magazine reported the story about Xie Xuehong on April 7, 1947, with a strong focus on her fights against Nationalists during the February 28 Incident.[9] In this report, Xie Xuehong is called "Snow Red." During the 1970s, Lu Xiuyi (盧修一 Lu, Hsiu-i) touched upon Xie Xuehong when writing his doctoral dissertation about the Taiwanese Communist Party, and the Chinese version of this research project was published in Taiwan in 1989 and 1997. In 1998, Patricia Stranahan published *The Shanghai Communist Party and the Politics of Survival* with Rowman and Littlefield. In 1999, Feng Haiyan (馮海燕) published a journal article entitled "Xie Xuehong yu Taigong, Taimeng" (謝雪紅與臺共、臺盟 Xie Xuehong and the Taiwanese Communist Party and Taiwan Independence Union). According to Andrew Morris's research experience posted onto the H-Asia Discussion Net on April 27, 2000, Frank S. T. Hsiao and Lawrence R. Sullivan's coauthored article in the *Journal of Asian Studies* seems to be the main English-language scholarly work.[10] In addition to what Andrew Morris mentioned, Hsiao and Sullivan were coauthors at least once more to publish their academic work on the Taiwanese status of communist developments, in *Pacific Affairs*: "The Chinese Communist Party and the Status of Taiwan." The theme of Anna Belogurova's (白安娜) MA thesis is similar to Hsiao and Sullivan's coauthored articles. Her thesis is entitled "The Taiwanese Communist Party and the Comintern 1928–1931," and completed at the Graduate Institute of Foreign Affairs in National Cheng Chih University. This thesis included dozens of Russian-language publications and data. In 2002, Lin Qionghua's (林瓊華 Lin, Chüng-hua) doctoral dissertation in France focused on Xie Xuehong, and the Chinese version of this research was included in Hu Jianguo's (胡建國 Hu, Chien-kuo) edited book. Lily Xiao Hong Lee's *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women* (modern period: 1912–2000) included Xie Xuehong's life story (Lee, Stefanowska and Ho, 591–597). In 2006, Huang Huizhen's (黃惠禎 Huang, Hui-chen) journal article about Yang Kui mentioned Xie Xuehong's complicated and difficult relations with Yang Kui and his wife, Ye Tao. In 2010, Xu Xueji (許雪姬 Hsu, Hsueh-chi) and Zhong Shumin (鍾淑敏 Chung, Shu-min) edited Li Suian (李隨安) and Chen Jinsheng's (陳進盛 Chen, Chin-sheng) translation of Konstantin M. Tertitski (郭杰) and Anna Belogurova's (白安娜) *Taiwan gongchan zhuyi yu gongchan guoji 1924–1932* (臺灣共產主義與共產國際 1924–1932 *Taiwanese Communist Social Movements and the Comintern 1924–1932*) from Russian to Chinese.

3.2 Numerous People's Memoirs

Numerous people's memoirs include Xie Xuehong. Yang Kehuang (楊克煌 Yang, Ke-huang; 1908–1978) was probably the most significant source because of his intimate relationship with Xie Xuehong. Yang recorded Xie Xuehong's verbal autobiography as a book entitled *Wo de qianbansheng* (我的半生記 *My Half-Life Records*).[11] He also published *Wo de huiyi* (我的回憶 *My Memoir*). In 1970, Yang Zilie (楊子烈) wrote *Wang shi ru yan* (往事如煙 *The Past was like the Smoke*) and changed the book title to: *Zhang Guotao furen huiyilu* (張國燾夫人回憶錄 *Memoirs of Zhang Guotao's Spouse Yang Zilie*). Yang Zilie's husband, Zhang Guotao, published *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party* with the University Press of Kansas in 1971, and its Chinese version, *Wo de huiyi* (我的回憶 *My Memory*), appeared in *Mingbao* (明報) in Hong Kong and then published by other presses in 1980, 1981, and 2004. In 1988, Zhuang Chunhuo's (莊春火 Chuang, Chun-huo) memoir was published and entitled *Wo yu riju shidai de taigong – qian taigong zhongyang weiyuan de huiyi* (我與日據時期的台共—前台共中央委員的回憶 *Me and the Taiwanese Communist Party During the Japanese Rule—Memoirs of the Former Member of the Taiwanese Communist Party Central Committee*).[12]

In 1982, Su Xin (蘇新 Su, Hsin) published his autobiography, and in 1993 and 1994 Lan Bozhou (藍博洲) edited two volumes of Su Xin's (蘇新 Su, Hsin) memoirs that touched upon Xie Xuehong. In 1990, Gu Ruiyun (古瑞雲) published his memoir: *Xie Xuehong zai yiqi de rizi li* (臺中的風雷:跟謝雪紅在一起的日子裡 *The Winds and Thunders of Taizhong: The Days When I was Together with Xie Xuehong*). Before Lan Bozhou's editorial work, Cai Futong (蔡福同 Tsai, Fu-tung) worked on Su Xin's memoir and included it in *Taiwan yu shijie* (臺灣與世界 *Taiwan and the World*) in 1983. In 1994, Chen Yisong (陳逸松 Chen, I-sung) mentioned his reminder to Chinese Communist leaders to take good care of Taiwanese people who stay in Mainland China, including Xie Xuehong, in his memoir. In 1995, Zhou Mengjiang (周夢江 Chou, Meng-chiang) published his article-length memoir about Xie Xuehong: "Mianhuai Xie Xuehong" (緬懷謝雪紅 Recalling and Missing Xie Xuehong) in *Taiwan jiushi* (臺灣舊事 *Old Taiwanese Affiars*).

3.3 Published Interviews

In 1993, Ye Yunyun (葉芸芸 Yeh, Yun-yun) published an interview with Zhou Ming (周明), who talked about Xie Xuehong in the February 28 Incident. In 2001, the Taiwan Provincial Assembly's publication of an interview with Xie Hanru (謝漢儒 Hsieh, Han-ju) contained the information that Xie Xuehong, Xie E (謝娥 Hsieh, E), Zheng Yuli (鄭玉麗 Cheng, Yu-li), and Li Duan (李緞 Li, Tuan) were all significant members of Taiwanese feminist activism (Taiwan Provincial Assembly, 18). Xu Zongmao's (徐宗懋) book entitled *Ererba shibian diyi zhujiao*

Xie Xuehong: zhengui zhaopian (二二八事變第一主角謝雪紅:珍貴照片 *The Number One Protagonist Xie Xuehong in the February 28 Incident: Precious Photos*) has an incredible number of old photos and visual files about Xie Xuehong's communist activities. Xu Zongmao's interview with Zhou Qing (周青 Chou, Ching; Zhou Chuanzhi 周傳枝 Chou Chuang-chih) focused on Zhou Qing's opinion against Chen Fangming's belief that Xie Xuehong lead social movements about Taiwan's independence.[13]

3.4 Old Feminist Activist Records

Although the above-mentioned sources seldom left out discussion of Xie Xuehong's complicated romances and intimate relations with diverse men, the records about Xie Xuehong's feminist activism seem to be still more limited than those of her political activism. Following is a brief list of some published information about Xie Xuehong's feminist activism in Taiwan and Mainland China. In March 1991, the Association to Enhance Peace after the February 28 Incident (二二八和平促進會)[14] included Xie Congmin's (謝聰敏 Hsieh, Tsung-min) interview with Xie E (謝娥 Hsieh, E), which indirectly touched upon Xie Xuehong,[15] in its publication entitled *Taiwan zhanhou shi ziliao xuan* (台灣戰後史資料選 *Selected Documents of Taiwanese Post-War History*). Li Duan, Xie E, and Xie Xuehong used to be praised as the top three heroines in feminist activism in post-war Taiwan.[16] They collaborated to organize women's feminist organizations at the governmental levels of Taichung City and Taiwan Province. All of Li Duan, Xie E and Zheng Liyu gradually obtained the highest administrative positions in either the city-level or the province-level women's organizations, but Xie Xuehong's administrative title never reached the peak in these feminist activist organizations. The most likely reason was the fact that even female peers who shared feminist comradeship could hardly accept Xie Xuehong's complexity in romantic relations at that time. Yang Kehuang's *My Memory* also repeated this matter, but in this book the reason why Xie Xuehong was not elected was because Chen Bingji's (陳炳基 Chen, Ping-chi) threat to voters that Xie Xuehong was a communist (Yang, *My Memorny*, 268–269).

In 1992, Wang Shiqing's (王世慶 Wang, Shih-ching) "Sanmin zhuyi qingnian tuanyuan yu er er ba shijian (chutan)" (三民主義青年團團員與二二八事件(初探) Participants in the Youth Team of The Three Principles of People and the February 28 Incident (Initial Investigation)) recorded Xie Xuehong's Taiwanese feminist title during that period: Chief of the Taiwanese Women's Team Directly Under the Central Government (中央直屬臺灣區團部臺灣婦女隊隊長) (Wang, Shiqing, 7–10). Chen Cuilian (陳翠蓮 Chen, Tsui-lien) also included this feminist activist title of Xie Xuehong in her article about post-war Taiwan and the Youth Team of the Three Principles of People (Chen, Cuilian, 76–77).[17]

3.5 Feminist Activism, Gender Theories, and Li Ang's Literary Works About Xie Xuehong's Child Bride Era

Recent academic publications usually trace the earliest Taiwanese feminist activism back to the Japanese colonial era. They also usually regard the Nationalist women's organizations as the second wave of Taiwanese feminist activism. So far, the above-mentioned old records about Xie Xuehong's feminist activist leadership seem to confirm Xie Xuehong's enthusiasm and obstacles in the second wave of Taiwanese feminist activism under the Nationalist governmental system. As for the earliest wave of Taiwanese feminist activism, Li Ang's literary work seems to compensate the insufficiency of Xie Xuehong's administrative titles of feminist leadership (Hong, Yingxue, 9–43).[18]

During the Japanese colonial era, both Japanese colonizers and grassroots Taiwanese anti-Japanese elites developed their styles of Taiwanese feminism. Japanese colonizers modernized Taiwanese women because of Japan's goal to prepare Taiwan for the modern Japanese empire's first model colony. They helped non-aboriginal and non-Hakka Taiwanese women escape from foot-binding (Brown, 88–89). They established girls' high schools, teachers' colleges, and training programs for nurses and midwives, and then caused most Southern Taiwanese people's (especially Tainan people's) keen desires for good daughters and daughters-in-law to become school teachers, caretakers, or physicians' wives. Women's magazines and the Japanese-styled "Ladies Patriotic Association" showed Japanese colonizers' political agenda related to women in their Taiwanese colony. At the same time, grassroots Taiwanese anti-Japanese elites also promoted Taiwanese feminist activism for their political pursuits. They also published women's magazines and advocated for women's participation in political activities to assist anti-Japanese revolutions. Western women's voting rights, for instance, were supportive models for them to sponsor Taiwan's political escape from Japanese colonialism. Before the age of 18, Xie Xuehong was too young, illiterate, poor, and resourceless to participate in collective teams or activities of feminist activism—except for escaping from patriarchal oppression, such as her status as a mistreated child bride married to Hong Xinhu (洪心瓠 Hung, Hsin-hu).

In terms of anthropological gender theories, Xie Xuehong's escape from her fate as the mistreated child-bride in the Hong family reminds readers of Rubin S. Gale (b. 1949), who published an academic article entitled "The Traffick in Women: Notes on the Political Economy of Sex" (Gale, 770–794). In this article, Rubin S. Gale skillfully combined Levi-Strauss and Michael Foucault's theoretical foundations and argued that men act as givers and women function as gifts while arrangements of marital relations are like men's exchange of women to transfer biological sexuality into marital and family systems in patriarchal societies.

Xie Xuehong might not have foreseen Rubin S. Gale's theoretical discourse; however, her statement happened to match this anthropological gender theorist's belief when she recalled in *My Half-Life Records* that she was "sold" like a "desired product" to the Hong family at the price of one hundred and sixty Taiwanese dollars at the age of twelve. Li Ang did not directly cite Rubin S. Gale, but she highlighted Xie Xuehong's comments that matched this gender theory. Li Ang even went out of her way to mention the Han Dynasty's international policy to exchange or "trade" Princess Wencheng (文成公主) and Wang Zhaojun's (王昭君) marriage with the neighboring country's kings for the "price" of warless peace and diplomatic harmony (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 159–161). Xie Xuehong acted as an activist at the moment when she escaped from the destiny as the child bride in the Hong family though she herself was not educated enough to know Rubin S. Gale's gender theory.

In addition to Rubin S. Gale, socio-biologists and other anthropologists adopted the Taiwanese-dialect phrase *simpua* (媳婦仔 child-bride 童養媳) and developed the theory that childhood familiarity would result in sexual disinterest, such as the unhappy marriage in cases of child brides or cousin marriage. Edvard Alexander Westermark is probably the most well-known theorist about the gender problems of *simpua*. He argued that the experience of human beings or animals living closely together in the first few years of their lives minimize mutual sexual attraction. Some of Arthur P. Wolf's books and academic articles focused exclusively on Chinese case studies of the Westermark Effect. The research outcome of Arthur P. Wolf, Robin Fox, Joseph Shepher, and Anne Pusey indicated that women lose sexual interest in men who grew up with them like siblings in childhood (Pusey, 61–75; Spain, 623–635, 643–645).[19] Xie Xuehong and Hong Xinhu's arranged marriage seemed to match the above-mentioned researchers' scholarly belief. Compare with Xie Xuehong's love affairs with Zhang Shumin, Lin Mushun, or Yang Kehuang, Xie Xuehong and Hong Xinhu had far less romantic love for each other after living in the same family or home too long to feel interested in exploring new adventurous elements in their marital life. In both *Autobiography: A Novel* and *A Drifting Journey*, Li Ang's literary portrait of Xie Xuehong's marital relationship with Hong Xinhu happened to be also far less romantic than Xie Xuehong's erotic intimacy with Zhang Shumin, Lin Mushun, and Yang Kehuang.

In *My Half-Life Records*, there is a chapter entitled "Child-Bride." Lower payments for female labors' work also initiated Xie Xuehong's childhood experience in gender inequality. This chapter clearly recorded that lower salaries for female workers in factories and companies but higher payments for men irritated Xie Xuehong, and it also made a note about the Hong family's lack of appropriate payback and foods for Xie Xuehong (Yang, *My Half-Life Records*, 77–82).

3.6 Li Ang's Additional Literary Work on Xie Xuehong's Feminist Activism

At the age of 18, Xie Xuehong traveled to Japan with Zhang Shumin (張樹敏 Chang, Shu-min) in 1919, learned Japanese, did business and lived in Chinatown of Kobe (神戸南京町), Japan, for a while. Although the young age and illiteracy might be bottlenecks of Xie Xuehong's participation in collective feminist activism during this particular period, Li Ang's fiction highlights at least two sorts of Xie Xuehong's unique feminist leadership: first, capacities to (re)name/(re)define herself; second, feminist empowerment in the erotic game of writing.

3.6.1 Capacities to (Re)Name/(Re)Define Herself

Li Ang's *Autobiography: A Novel* and *A Drifting Journey* both reverberated Yang Kehuang's written records of Xie Xuehong in *My Half-Life Records* in terms of Xie Xuehong's capacities to (re)name herself. According to Xie Xuehong's verbal description, her parents thought that she would be a baby boy. After Xie Xuehong was born, her parents named her Jianü (假女 Fake Female), indicating the strong resistance to admit the fact that she was actually female. Her first official name was registered as A Nü (阿女 literal meaning: Female), implying that she was female. When Xie Xuehong was the child bride in the Hong family (ages 13–18), she was called Sulan (素蘭). Xie Xuehong's verbal description and Yang Kehuang's written records mentioned that Xie Xuehong started to name herself Xie Xuehong at Qingdao (青島) in 1919 and more and more people called her Xie Xuehong after 1923. Yamane Toshiko (山根淑子) was the name that Xie Xuehong created for herself in Japan, according to Li Ang's *Autobiography: A Novel*. In April 1925, Xie Xuehong had her second trip to Shanghai and made up a pseudoname: Xie Feiying (謝飛英). In winter 1927, the Communist International gave a name to Xie Xuehong: Kurcahoba (基爾莎諾娃). Xie Xuehong pointed out one more pseudoname that she invented for herself during her Japanese trip from the end of 1927 to February 1928: Wu Biyu (吳碧玉). In addition, Xie Xuehong recalled that there were too many pseudonyms for her to remember (Yang, Kehuang, *My Half-Life Records*, 22–24 & 227).

Theoretically speaking, the capacities for a woman to (re)name or (re)define herself and act out herself as the active subject, instead of the passive object, represent the creation of the woman's own voices, standpoints, perspectives, interpretation, self-identities, and even the gender performativity of her own gynocentric genealogy. The highlight of Xie Xuehong's capacities to (re)name/(re)define herself happened to echo feminist theories related to Judith Butler's belief in gender performativity (Stone, 4–24), Michel Foucault's theoretical dialogues with Nietzsche about genealogy[20] and history, and so forth.

3.6.2 Feminist Empowerment in the Erotic Game of Writing

When Zhang Shumin replaced a pen with his penis to write on Xie Xuehong's body, Xie Xuehong was actually the true leader or instructor to strategize and direct the erotic *jouissance* (Luce Irigaray's feminist theoretical term to refer to sexual ecstasy). Although Zhang seemed to be the teacher to show her the writing processes, Xie Xuehong was the true guide toward the sexual climax and Zhang was only her follower in their sexual game. Although Zhang Shumin wrote Chinese characters and Japanese words on Xie Xuehong's body and then Xie Xuehong learned to practice writing them as her own post-class homework, the entire seductive game was actually Xie Xuehong's special design of her own *féminine écriture* (Hélène Cixou and Luce Irigaray's French feminist theoretical term to refer to feminine writing). Within the erotic game, Xie Xuehong was the guide while Zhang Shumin was Xie Xuehong's adherent. If the sexual game is viewed like a movie, Xie Xuehong acted the true filmmaker to direct the actor Zhang Shumin.

The multiplicity of Xie Xuehong's enjoyment of sexual pleasure became the strongest feminist voice to talk back to patriarchal highlights of the singular focus on the male sexual organ. This writing strategy of Li Ang's happened to echo several French feminist theories, such as Luce Irigaray's beliefs in the multiplicity of women's sexual pleasure against the single-ness of men's penises, *parle fémme* (women's speaking as women), and so on. While Luce Irigaray argued with male psychologists that women's two (virginal) lips, diverse sexual zones, and multiple parts of female bodies to enjoy the sexual ecstasy should defeat the "one-ness" or "single-ness" of men's penises,[21] Li Ang's literary writing strategy awarded Xie Xuehong this feminist prestige to act out Luce Irigaray's above-mentioned feminist theoretical philosophy.

Citing the age-old Chinese mythological legends about Fan Lihua and the Senior Goddess-Mother's incantation, Li Ang happened to "sinicize" Luce Irigaray's theoretical term "two lips": "We never forgot the mystic incantation. As long as the *two lips* were opened and the voice came out with vocabulary, everything could be involved—including life and death" (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 177–178). This magic incantation of "two lips" was strengthened by Li Ang's strategic over-reading of the sexual infection in the following metaphor: "As easy as the password about sesame, it opens the door toward the stone cave full of valuable deposits" (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 190–191). Furthermore, Li Ang's literary portrait combined both male and female sexual organs in the sections about *fantanari*. On the one hand, this indirectly echoed the feminist theoretical concept of androgyny (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 225–230 & 236–241). On the other hand, this paved the way toward Xie Xuehong's masturbation or autoeroticism (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 225).

In *A Drifing Journey*, Li Ang's literary metaphor about the Japanese harbor of Kobe and the Japanese-style dress, *kimono* (和服), free from the hindrance of panties or bra to easily and care-freely access the sexual *jouissance* happened to match the feminist theoretical argument related to the multiplicity of women's

erotic enjoyment and omnidirectional ecstacy (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 74–75). When Hélène Cixou highlighted women's seductive strategies, *féminine écriture*, and Madusa's power to "laugh away"[22] the patriarchal naivety (such as the male-centered-ness), Li Ang's literary writing strategy offered Xie Xuehong this feminist advancement to put Hélène Cixou's above-mentioned theories into practice at her own romantic boudoir.

Li Ang's literary techniques to adopt the Chinese mythological legends, *she-langjun* (蛇郎君 a serpent transforms into a handsome young man and marries a beautiful lady) and *hulijing* (狐狸精 fox-spirit; a fox transforms into an attractive lady and seducts men), happened to reverberate the patriarchal focus on the powerful penetration of penis[23] during sexual intercourse and the feminist seductive strategies to counter-construct the dominating and male-centered power of sexuality (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 50–53 & 275–277). Simultaneously, Li Ang skillfully adopted the Chinese idiom *hongyan huoshui* (紅顏禍水 pretty women with rosy cheeks as sources of disasters) to point out patriarchal tricks to turn the fox-spirit and women into a scapegoat for immoral sexuality (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 275–277). Even Li Ang's strategic over-reading of Xie Xuehong's sexual ecstasy or *jouissance* happened to reflect the Bahktinian-style[24] celebratory spree of carnivalesque joys (Clark & Holquist, 297–299).

Undoubtedly, some researchers showed concerns and asked questions about the essentialist tendency that Li Ang's literary portrait of Xie Xuehong seemed to share with Hélène Cixou and Luce Irigaray's theories. In an interview, Li Ang emphasized that her romantic novels focus on human nature and the concerns about human nature differentiate her literary works from pornography. Li Ang remarked

> The final destination of literature is to write about human nature. Human nature is under social control. Hence I am more than happy to discuss the issues of human nature under the impacts of social restrictions.[25]

Both Hong Shanhui (洪珊慧 Hong, Shan-hui) and Chen Danchen (陳丹晨 Chen, Tan-chen), for instance, just aposted sexuality, femininity, and human nature to explore Li Ang's novels. Exceeding the limitation of human power, the feminist spiritual power in Li Ang's literary metaphor even reached the levels of supernatural power to transform a fox into a seductive girl. This emphasis might be the indirect answer to the question about the essentialist tendency.

3.7 After Xie Xuehong's Literacy: Li Ang's Further Work on Xie Xuehong's Pre-1949 Feminist Activism

3.7.1 Women's Literacy

The proportion of most East Asian women's literacy was in doubt at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. There were of course abundant opportunities for daughters' education in wealthy families and female

students in modern-style teachers' colleges. There was no lack of well-known talented ladies with marvelous educational trainings even before the modern republics were established. However, the ratio of illiterate or uneducated women without outstanding family backgrounds was incredible. Xie Xuehong was only one of the convincing examples.[26]

3.7.2 Financial Independence in a Room of the Career Woman's Own

After returning from Japan and separation from Zhang Shumin, Xie Xuehong became a career woman: both a tailor and a saleswoman of Japanese-style sewing machines. In *My Half-Life Records*, there is a chapter entitled "Career Women" (Yang, *My Half-Life Records*, 135–143). Compared with contemporary Western feminist thinkers in the 1920s, this financial independence was what Virginia Woolf meant by the "room of [women's] own."[27] At that time, only the rarely seen top percentage of Taiwanese women could bravely afford the luxurious delight of economic independence. With the financial self-help, Xie Xuehong's courage to initiate, maintain, and escape from different romantic relations was certainly what most of her female peers would not dare to put into practice.

3.7.3 Glass Ceiling

Li Ang's graduate-level training in drama might remind feminist readers of Virginia Woolf's well-known theory about the patriarchal social obstacles to hinder Shakespeare's sister's career. The globally renowned term "glass ceiling" will certainly join feminist readers' recall of the above-mentioned aspects related to Xie Xuehong's career and financial independence. On the job market, male communist peers' better accessibility to positions of power than women, such as Xie Xuehong, also indirectly echoed the feminist theory of "glass ceiling" (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 157).[28]

3.7.4 First Female Bicycle Rider: Feminist and Sexual Metaphors

In *Autobiography: A Novel*, Li Ang mentioned that Xie Xuehong was reported in local newspapers as the first female biker in Taizhong (臺中 Tai-chung) area and that this news attracted peers' admiration of Xie Xuehong though scandalous criticism did follow the complexity of her love affairs. In the case of biking,

Li Ang's emphasis metaphorically resonated the feminist confidence that women can ride to their own destinations, take their own paths, decide their own roads, define their own directions, and control their own destinies.

Li Ang inevitably included the sexual metaphor of bicycle riding. The rider was Xie Xuehong, the female dominator to decide her sexuality. Xie Xuehong's male sexual partners were counterconstructed as bicycle-like objects in the feminine writing about sexual pleasure. The peers' admiration happened to be the admiration for Xie Xuehong's feminist courage to deconstruct the age-old patriarchal traditions, including both the literal meaning and sexual metaphor of women's bicycle riding (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 67–89).

3.7.5 Overseas Students' Return to Reform Their Hometown or Home Country: Taiwanese, Chinese, Post-colonial, and Marxist/Socialist Feminism

In Chinese-speaking areas, overseas students' return to reform their hometown or home country played an incredible role in modern history. Influential establishers and revolutionaries who replace feudalist dynasties with republican China, such as Sun Yat-sen (孫逸仙), were persuasive examples. Female overseas students also helped improve their home country. For instance, female overseas students were also involved in the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty, the organization of the May Fourth Movement, the rise of Nationalist Party, and the establishment of the Republic of China. They were also the main force to achieve the first two waves of modern Chinese feminism.

Xie Xuehong was no exceptions. In 1923 and 1925, her encounter with Lin Mushun directed Xie Xuehong toward her patriotic admiration for communist and socialist feminism. In 1990, Cheng Fangming (陳芳明) published "Taigong lingxiu Xie Xuehong de eguo jingyan" (台共領袖謝雪紅的俄國經驗 The Russian Experience of the Taiwanese Communist Party Leader Xie Xuehong). Li Ang's literary portrait of Xie Xuehong's feminist activism showed that Xie Xuehong's feminist activism was of Taiwanese, Chinese, post-colonialist, and socialist/communist styles.

Li Ang's description of Xie Xuehong's respect for Qiu Jin showed that Xie Xuehong's feminist activism did not lack Chinese elements (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 100–103). Xie Xuehong's initial feminist admiration went to Qiu Jin, one of the leaders of Mainland China's first-wave feminism; therefore, Xie Xuehong's feminist activism was undoubtedly a sort of Chinese feminist activism. In addition, another special Chinese feminist activist element that Li Ang points out is the nude parade in Wuhan during 1927.[29]

After abroad experience in Russia and learning experience in Shanghai, Xie Xuehong was as active as most overseas students who returned to Chinese-speaking areas in terms of her socialist social movements (Yang, *My Half-Life Records*,

183–230). The communist training and the establishment of Taiwanese communism undoubtedly made sure that Xie Xuehong's feminist activism was full of socialist and communist flavor.

In addition to enthusiastic participation in Taiwan's cultural association (台灣文化協會 established in 1921) and peasants' social movements, Xie Xuehong also gave speeches to promote Taiwanese feminist thought. Li Ang pointed out that this part of Xie Xuehong's feminist activism was Taiwanese feminist activism:

> Taiwanese culturist Zhang Shenqie (張深切 Chang, Shen-chieh) recalled this and included his vivid description in his memoir: "I do not remember my own statements and the condition of the meeting. I only recall that Xie Anü (Xie Xuehong) contended that women should also participate in revolutions… This arcument resulted in hilarious praises and left an extremely deep impression on everyone. The number of female participants in Taiwan's past political movements was tiny: only Cai Axin (蔡阿信 Tsai, A Hsin) in Japan and Xie Anü in Chinese-speaking areas. These two people were the rarely seen women among numerous male revolutionaries; therefore, they won a lot of admiration (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 104).

Li Ang mentioned a number of Xie Xuehong's contemporary Western and Caucasian feminists: Mary Wollstonecraft, Susan B. Antony, Emmeline Pankhurst, Mrs. Russel Sager, Ellen Key, and so forth (Li, Ang, *Aitobiography: A Novel*, 100–103). In Li Ang's literary portrait, Xie Xuehong's feminist activism did not lose itself in Western, white, or even Japanese colonial domination of non-white, non-Western, third-world, and colonized feminists. Li Ang clearly alerted readers that Xie Xuehong was fully aware of the subtle nuances between Japan (colonizing country), Korea (under Japanese colonial effects), Taiwan (under Japanese colonial effects), and Mainland China (the area suffering from multiple imperialist countries' unequal treaties) even when she studied communism and socialism with students from those places in Russia (Yang, *My Half-Life Records*, 200–205 & 221–230). In this sense, Xie Xuehong's feminist activism did not lack post-colonial feminist elements.

3.7.6 Comparison and Contrasts

Xie Xuehong was inevitably compared and contrasted with other renowned Taiwanese women or feminist activists, such as Ye Tao (葉陶 Yeh, Tao; 1904–1969), Cai Axin (蔡阿信 Tsai, Ah-hsin; 1899–1990), Li Duan, Zheng Liyu, Xie E, and so on. Cai Axin and Xie E were both female physicians with considerably high level of formal academic training in educational institutions. They won undeniably high respect and prestigious social status. Li Duan completed her terminal degree in politics and economics at Waseda (早稻田) University in Japan. Ye Tao completed her education at a teacher's college, taught in a public school for seven years, joined the anti-Japanese social movements, served as the head of women's division in the Taiwanese peasants' organization, and suffered from imprisonment with her husband Yang Kui.

Xie Xuehong and Ye Tao were known as a pair of rivals. Huang Huizhen (黃惠禎 Huang, Hui-chen) points out the hostility between Xie Xuehong and Ye Tao in her monograph entitled *Zuoyi pipan jingshen de duanjie: sishi niandia Yang Kui wenxue yu sixiang de lishi yanjiu* (左翼批判精的鍛接:四十年代楊逵文學與思想的歷史研究 *The Training and Connections of Leftist Critical Spirits: Historical Research on Yang Kui's Literature and Thoughts during the 1940 s*) (Huang, 240–241).

The most frequently seen comments after comparing and contrasting Xie Xuehong and the above-mentioned women included Xie Xuehong's lack of systematic academic training in official schools since childhood and her complicated romances with numerous men. In *Autobiography: A Novel*, Li Ang delineated that Zhang Shenqie (張深切 Chang, Shen-chieh) compared Cai Axin (蔡阿信 Tsai, Ah-hsin) and Xie Xuehong. According to Zhang Shenqie's metaphor, Cai Axin was compared to clouds on the sky and Xie Xuehong was compared to clay on the ground because of their educational training (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 102 & 104).

In *A Drifting Journey*, Li Ang mentioned the comparison and contrasts between Xie Xuehong and Lin Liyun (林麗韞; b. 1933). Lin Liyun moved from Taiwan to Kobe, Japan, studied in "tongwen xuexiao" (同文學校 the school that Chinese heritage people established to teach Mandarin Chinese) from 1940 to 1947, left Japan for Mainland China, and became the first Taiwanese woman to win the status as the *renda daibiao* (人大代表 Representative of the People's Congress) in 1952 (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 80–83). In her 70s, Lin Liyun serves as the Dean of Foreign Languages College at Nankai University.

Li Ang also included some comparison and contrasts between Xie Xuehong and Soong Qingling in *A Drifting Journey*. She mentioned Soong Qingling's fur coat, beautiful dresses, and women's style of wearing decorative hats at that time. However, Xie Xuehong left no clothes after her death and she was not fashionable enough to wear various hats at that time (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 84–85).

3.7.7 The Merger of Li Ang, Xie Xuehong, and Women

In addition to various pairs of comparison and contrasts between Xie Xuehong and many women, Li Ang established mutual connections with Xie Xuehong and even merged a part of herself with Xie Xuehong in both *Autobiography: A Novel* and *A Drifting Journey*. For example, Li Ang confessed that she was like turning herself into Xie Xuehong. She overlapped her footprints with Xie Xuehong's footprints, her eyes replaced Xie Xuehong's eyes, her thoughts turned into Xie Xuehong's thoughts, and her feeling became Xie Xuehong's feeling (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 91, 94). The experience in using sewing machines of "Singer" brand also linked Li Ang and Xie Xuehong (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 144–145). Li Ang even moved forward to portray the crimson color that Xie Xuehong identified herself with (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 137–140, 229). Li Ang confessed

> Xie Xuehong, I still cannot choose to stop standing by your side… I see myself from you. We, you and I, to some extent, are doomed to be everlasting opponents or counterforce… For so many years, I have written my fiction according to your life stories. You lived in my creative writing and my life. You breathed my breath. Sometimes, I even felt that we were in chorus. Yes, in chorus, it is good that were were simply in chorus, not exactly united to be the same. But I am deeply afraid that you would enter my life and merge with me. I fear that I would see you again in your grave and imagine that your ghost, which is reluctant to leave, would stick to me… I realize how intensively you are involved in my life. (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 170–171, 222).

At the end of *A Drifting Journey*, Zhou Qing advised Li Ang that the permission for Li Ang to visit Xie Xuehong at the cemetery required Li Ang's kinship with Xie Xuehong. So Li Ang mentioned that Xie Xuehong was born and brought up in her hometown and was her remote relative. Li Ang said that they were cousins (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 222–225). Li Ang stated

> I am no longer just a writer having you as the central figure in my novel. At that moment, you and I had blood relationship that endlessly connected us… You would forever have me. I am your causin. (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 226–227, 233–234, 236).

Furthermore, Li Ang remarked that she fused not only herself with Xie Xuehong but all the Taiwanese women in the past 100 years. For instance, in *A Drifting Journey*, Li Ang mentioned that one of the connecting points is women's yearning for the freedom and joys resulted from exoticism (Li Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 93–97).

3.8 More and More French Feminist Theoretical Connections: After Li Ang's Literary Portrait of Xie Xuehong

After Li Ang's literary portrait of Xie Xuehong, there have been more and more academic publications about the French feminist theoretical "intertextuality" between Irigaray, Cixous, and Li Ang's literary work about Xie Xuehong's life stories in *Autobiography: A Novel*. Following is a brief list of examples: While interpreting Li Ang's *Autobiography: A Novel*, Hong Yingxue (洪英雪 Hung, Ying-hsueh) points out Luce Irigaray's theorem of "female libido" in Xie Xuehong's (謝雪紅) imaginary sexuality with Yang Kehuang and Yang Kepei (Hong, Yingxue, 24). According to Hong, Luce Irigaray's feminist concept of "self-eroticism" and the "two (virginal) lips" also occurs in Xie Xuehong's "female autoeroticism" and *jouissance* after the male sexual organ stops erecting (Hong, 24; Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 225). Hong also believes Cixous and Irigaray's theoretical belief about pairs of binary extremes (Hong, Yingxue, 37).

Cai Meizi (蔡玫姿 Tsai, Mei-tzi) categorizes Li Ang's *Autobiography: A Novel* as a sort of *écriture féminine* in the 2008 syllabus for her undergraduate class about "women's literature" in the Department of Chinese Language and Literature at

National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan.[30] The application of Irigaray's and Cixous's French feminist theories to interpret Li Ang's literature has been appearing in more and more Taiwanese graduate students' master theses and doctoral dissertations. Since the first Taiwanese master thesis that exclusively focused on Li Ang's novels in 1998,[31] Chen Fangming (陳芳明 Chen, Fang-ming) verbally told me, there have been dozens master theses and doctoral dissertations about Li Ang in Taiwanese academy (my visit to Chen's office at the Graduate Institute of Taiwanese Literature in National Cheng Chih University, Taipei, Taiwan, on June 22, 2010).

Early in the 1990s, Shi Shu (pen name: 施淑 Shih, Shu; real name: Shih, Shu-nü 施淑女) also applied Luce Irigaray's and Hélène Cixous's theories to emphasize Shi Shuqing's (施叔青 Shih, Shu-ching's) "writing techniques to subvert patriarchal ideology… in her early-stage works" (Shi, 279). Influenced by elder sisters, Shi Shuqing and Shi Shu, who also published and won good literary reputations early in their teens, it is not unreasonable or impossible to comparatively explore the links between Li Ang's literature and French feminists, such as Irigaray and Cixous.

Japanese feminist sociologist Ueno Chizuko and Taiwanese literary critics extend the feminist theoretical bridges between Li Ang's literature and French feminists, such as Hélène Cixous and Luce Irigaray. After Fuji Shozo's Japanese translation of Li Ang's *Autobiography: A Novel*, Ueno Chizuko gave her feminist endorsement to the translation. She was invited to write her preface to Fuji Shozo's translation. She was also invited to have a dialogue with Li Ang in Japan. The topic of this dialogue was "Li Ang vs. Ueno Chizuko: Experimental Fiction about Sexuality and Politics—Discussions on *Autobiography: A Novel*." During this dialogue, Ueno Chizuko pointed out that Li Ang's *Autobiography: A Novel* involves Hélène Cixous's French feminist theoretical concept about women's sexual pleasure.[32] After this dialogue, Ueno Chizuko also completed and published her book review of *Autobiography: A Novel*. This book review was translated by Zhang Wenxun (張文薰 Chang, Wen-hsun) from Japanese into Chinese and published in the October 2005 issue of *Wenxue Taiwan* (文學臺灣 *Literary Taiwan*). Ueno Chizuko's feminist theoretical link between Li Ang's literature and French feminist theories does not lack echoes from Taiwanese feminist literary researchers.

Notes

1. A lot of Japanese-language publications about Taiwanese anticolonial social movements are translated into Chinese and published in Taiwan. This phenomenon evidences both Japanese and Taiwanese focuses on Japan's colonialism and Taiwan's anticolonialism. Here is a brief list of some Chinese translation of Japanese-language books related to this theme:
   Xu (2006).
   Mukooyama (1999).
   Wakabayashi (2007).

2. Online data retrieved in June 2011: http://catalog.digitalarchives.tw/dacs5/System/Exhibition/Detail.jsp?OID=3112720.
3. Online data retrieved in June 2011: http://web.pts.org.tw/～web02/taiwan/p23.htm.
4. Consult Wang Yiru's (汪宜儒 Wang, I-ju) "Xie Xuehong chuanqi Wang Qimei dujiao xi" (謝雪紅傳奇汪其楣獨角戲 Xie Xuehong's Legend, Wang Qimei's One-Person Show) in *China Times*.
5. Online data retrieved in June 2011: http://www.ntch.edu.tw/program/show/40408e9626b22cb90126bb303c490080.
6. Online data retrieved in June 2011: http://www.taiwannews.com.tw/etn/news_content.php?id=1256788&lang=tc_news&cate_img=260.jpg&cate_rss=news_DD.
7. This chapter derived from an academic journal article entitled"Taiwanese Feminist Communist: Xie Xuehong" in *American Journal of Chinese Studies* 19:2 (October 2012): 119–126. The *American Journal of Chinese Studies* officially agreed the inclusion of this article in this book. The MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) also included this academic journal article in its literary research website: http://web.mit.edu/ccw/li-ang/liang-world.shtml.
8. The online data is retrieved at the following websites in May 2011:
   http://228renewal.culture.gov.tw/history.html
   http://228renewal.culture.gov.tw/docs/chapter5.pdf
9. The online data about *Time Magazine*'s report of Xie Xuehong was retrieved in May 2011: http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,804090,00.html.
10. Andrew Morris's original wording:
    In terms of research on the TCP, the main English-language work is the article by Hsiao and Sullivan (1983).
    Online data retrieved in May 2011:
    http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=h-asia&month=0004&week=d&msg=13IZbkB79du85zwWffTR2w&user=&pw=.
11. Yang Kehuang's first daughter, Yang Cuihua (楊翠華 Yang, Tsui-hua), published this book in Taipei, Taiwan, in 2004. In the preface, she comments that it would be difficult for readers to remain untouched after they finish reading Xie Xuehong's life stories.
12. It appeared in *Wuyue pinglun* 7 (1988): 83–87.
13. Xu, Zongmao's (徐宗懋) interview with Zhou Qing is included in *Ererba shibian diyi zhujiao Xie Xuehong: zhengui zhaopian* (二二八事變第一主角謝雪紅:珍貴照片*The Number One Protagonist Xie Xuehong in the February 28th Incident: Precious Photos*). This interview is also available at the website: Xue Zongmao. "Wo suo renshi de Xie Xuehong—Zhou Qing fangwen ji" (我所認識的謝雪紅-周青訪問記 The Xie Xuehong that I Knew—Interview with Zhou Qing): http://boxun.com/hero/2006/xsj12/22_1.shtml (online data retrieved in September 2009).
14. This association was advocated and established by Zheng Nanrong (鄭南榕 Cheng, Nan-jung; 1947–1989) in 1987. The president of this association is Chen Yongxing (陳永興 Chen, Yung-hsing). The annual conference of this

association is February 28. Members of this association meet to pursue the political rectification of injustice for people who suffered from the hurt related to the February 28th Incident. In 1996, Taipei City government and the Executive Yuan started the policy about the February 28th Memorial Day for Peace. After that, there are more and more news reports, public attention, memorial halls, and press conferences related to the truth of the February 28th Incident.

15. During the interview, Xie E mentioned that Xie Xuehong actively participated in the *Taizhong funü hui* (臺中婦女會 Women's Association in Taichung). However, Xie Xuehong was not chosen as the leader of this association. Instead, Xie E had experience in serving as the head of Taipei Women's Association and Taizhong Women's Association. Most people did not offer the strongest support to Xie Xuehong mainly because her complicated romantic relations with different men were unacceptable to the Taiwanese social norms at that time.
16. Online data retrieved in June 2011: http://women.nmth.gov.tw/zh-tw/Content/Content.aspx?para=353&page=0&Class=88.
17. Fulian zhiwei (婦聯執委 Executive Committee Member of the All Women's Association) was Xie Xuehong's feminist activist title after 1949.
18. Also consult Lü Zhenghui's article on newspapers: Lü (2000).
19. Also consult Arthur P. Wolf and Chieh-shan Huang's *Marriage and Adoption in China*; Arthur P. Wolf's *Sexual Attraction and Childhood Association: A Chinese Brief for Edward Westermarck*; Robin Fox's *The Red Lamp of Incest* and *Kinship and Marriage*; Edvard A. Wastermarck's *The History of Human Marriage*, and *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*; Juhani Ihanus's *Multiple Origins: Edward Westermarck in Search of Mankind*, Joseph Shepher's *Incest: A Biosocial View*; etc. With reference to journal articles or book chapters, see Carol McC. Pastner's "The Westmarck Hypothesis and First Cousin Marriage"; Barbara S. Kisilevsky, Sylvia M. J. Hains, Lee Kang, Xie Xing, Huang Hefeng, Ye Hai Hui, Zhang Ke, and Wang Zengping's "Effects of Experience on Fetal Voice of Recognition"; David Spain's "The Westermark-Freud Incest-Theory Debate"; Robert A. Paul's "Psychoanalysis and Propinquity Theory of Incest Avoidance"; Klaus Immelmann's "Sexual and Other Long-Term Aspects of Sexual Imprinting in Birds and Other Species"; Pierre L. van den Berghe's "Human Inbreeding Avoidance: Culture in Nature"; Arthur P. Wolf's "Childhood Association, Sexual Attraction and the Incest Taboo: A Chinese Case" and "Adopt a Dauther-in-law, Marry a Sister: A Chiense Solution to the Problem of the Incest Taboo"; Alex Walter and Steven Buyske's "The Westermarck Effect and Early Childhood Cosocialization: Sex Differences in Inbreeding Avoidance."
20. "Genealogy demands consideration of the means by which 'dispersed, heteromorphous, localised procedures of power are adapted, reinforced, and

transformed by these global strategies'" (Llyod, 443). Also consult theoretical publications by Michel Foucault and Kathy E. Ferguson.

21. Consult Luce Irigaray's *This Sex Which Is Not One*; *Luce Irigaray: Key Writings*; etc. Luce Irigaray also coauthored with Sylvere Lotringer and Mary Green. Ingeborg Ovesen also published a monograph about Luce Irigaray.
22. "The Laugh of Medusa" is one of the most stereotypical representatives of Cixous's feminist articles. For more information about Cixous, also consult the following official website: http://www.egs.edu/faculty/helene-cixous/biography. (online data retrieved in June 2011).
23. Jian Qiru (簡齊儒 Chien, Chi-ru), for example, highlighted the ritual and sexual procedure of becoming a wife when comparatively decoding the Cantonese–Taiwanese comparative texts of Chinese legends about *shelangjun*. Actually, the *shelangjun* symbolizes the male sexual organ. For details, consult her journal article entitled "Cong 'chengqi' de guoduxing yishi jiedu zhongguo shelangjun gushi—yi yuetai yiwen bijiao wei zhuxian" (從「成妻」的過渡性儀式解讀中國蛇郎君故事—以粵台異文比較爲主線 Decoding the Chinese Legends about Shelangjun in viewpoints of the Transitional Rituals of "Becoming A Wife"—Main Focus on Cantonese–Taiwanese Comparative Readings).
24. Consult Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World*.
25. Online data retrieved in June 2011: http://www.nchu.edu.tw/taiwan/reside_writer_LiAng_08-0.htm.
26. Outside of Chinese-speaking areas, even educated women were not taught to understand *kanji* (漢字 Chinese characters) or *hanwen* (漢文 Chinese characters) in Japan and Korea in the past; therefore, they were barred from access to influential documents, such as contracts, treaties, legal data, national policies, military orders, etc., at that time.
27. Consult Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own.*
28. Also consult *The Glass Ceiling Effect* and Federal Glass Ceiling Commission's *Solid Investiment*.
29. Consult Chia-lin Pao Tao's chapter about the nude parade in the forthcoming book entitled *Women and Gender in Contemporary Chinese Societies: Beyond the Han Patriarchy*.
30. For details, consult the website about the syllabus: http://iteach.ncku.edu.tw/outline.php?t_id=b1063&c_id=b134000 (online data retrieved in April 2011).
31. According to Huang Yu-ching's "Lugang shuxia—Li Ang xiaoshuo yanjiu" (鹿港書寫—李昂小說研究 "Writing Lugang—Research on Li Ang's Fictions"), Hong Shanhui's (洪珊慧 Hung, Shan-hui) "Xing, Nüxing, Renxing—Li Ang xiaoshuo yanjiu" (性，女性，人性—李昂小說研究 "Sexuality, Women, and Human Nature—Research on Li Ang's Fictions) is the first master thesis which exclusively focuses on Li Ang's literary works in Taiwanese academy. For details, consult Huang Yu-ching's "Lugang shuxia—Li Ang xiaoshuo yanjiu" (鹿港書寫—李昂小說研究 "Writing Lugang—Research on Li Ang's Fictions"), p. 6.
32. 「李昂 V.S. 上野千鶴子トークショー:性と政治をめぐる実験小説——『自伝の小説』を語る」.

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Chapter 4
"The Only Thing Oriental About Me Is My Face": The True Picture of Madame Chiang Kai-Shek

Daniel Palm and Linda Chiang

4.1 Introduction

The oft-quoted statement that comprises this chapter's title–perhaps somewhat jarring to modern ears–appeared in a letter written in 1917 by the youthful and vibrant Soong Mayling as she returned to Shanghai after a decade spent pursuing her education in the United States.[1] At the tender age of only 22, this young Chinese woman, whose face 25 years later would be known across the globe, and would later be assessed as "the most powerful woman in the world"—had already been fully immersed in western culture, literature, and manners.[2] And yet despite her youthful protest about their effect on her identity, Soong Mayling was clearly returning to the land of her birth to continue life as a Chinese woman and would make no effort to deny her Chinese ethnicity.

There can be little question that interest in Soong Mayling's life story and significance is presently strong not only within academic circles, but in popular culture as well. In September 2013, on the 10-year anniversary of her death at age 106, the Republic of China on Taiwan issued a commemorative stamp in her honor. As reported by the Chinese-language newspaper *World Journal Daily*, public interest in the stamps was significant.

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> When the stamp with Soong Mayling's picture became available for purchase [in R.O.C., Taiwan] on September 12, many people got in line at midnight outside the post office. Customers were limited to four stamps per person, and many people in China asked people to purchase stamps for them, with an original stamp costing 12 NT$ selling for 500 RMB on the mainland.[3]

Release of the postage stamp offered the public, and those in the scholarly community who took notice, an appropriate occasion to reflect on Soong Mayling's life. Her remarkable life story was so well known to the American public during the WWII and early Cold War era. These should not be limited to the purview of a few historians, but will be of significant interest to a new generation of students and scholars born during her final decades of life, if they have instructors ready to encourage them in that task. Her own erudite and plentiful written works, and her early life, with significant time spent in two distinct cultural and educational settings, make her an excellent subject for cross-cultural study. Likewise her middle and later life, as a woman active in public and political matters, compel us to acknowledge her influence on world affairs. And, thanks to the aforementioned historians, writings from her close friends and biographers, it is possible to call a new generation of students' attention to this significant historic figure, and to grasp more fully her political and moral thought, and her own self-perception.

Soong Mayling's oft-quoted self-assessment used in our title suggests a starting point–that she comprehended differences between the East and the West, and that she understood herself, to a significant degree, as having been influenced by, and to have adopted some of the ways of the Occident, the West. But this raises more questions than it answers. To be not, or only minimally, "Oriental" would be, what exactly? The Occident during the course of her lifetime was informed by conflicting schools of thought, respecting religion, nationalism and political theory, empire and colonialism, and the role of women. It is easy to forget that the Progressive Era United States that Mayling experienced until 1917 included not only multiple varieties of Christianity, but active socialist and communist movements alongside the country's unique democratic republicanism. Which particulars of western culture affected her thinking the most?

One must be equally curious about how Soong Mayling used and understood the term "oriental." Educated Chinese and Asian people of her early years appreciated then, as now, their many centuries of sophisticated and highly developed culture. China during her lifetime was characterized by intense political tumult—the decline and fall of the Qing Dynasty, her own father's prominent role in the 1912 Xinhua revolution, sectionalism (encouraged by Japan), widespread corruption and violence, followed by invasion, massacre, and war. Did she understand her "oriental" native culture as somehow problematic or "less-developed", or simply different from the culture and life she had experienced in the US?

Further complicating the effort to understand Soong Mayling's self-perception is the fact that she wrote only minimally about her own sentiments, and when she did, that discussion took place in private letters and speeches. The bulk of her written work exists in the form of speeches and essays focused on China's economic and political challenges, the practical problem of building financial support for the

nationalist Chinese war effort, and, later, to protect the Republic of China on Taiwan. And, while popular press coverage of her visits to the US were characterized by breathless statements about her beauty, intelligence, and bravery, that material offers little in the way of substance about her self-understanding.

Nevertheless, despite these challenges, Madame Chiang is too interesting, significant, and intriguing a figure to let go. Well-educated in western literature and ideas, and born into a family that had fully embraced Methodist Christianity, yet returning to China in adulthood and at the center of China's war against foreign invasion–and then also at the center of one of the world's largest ever civil wars–her thought and work is worthy of continued attention. This is all the more true as the academy appreciates the often neglected role of women in political life, and the continuing emergence of China as a great power. From the spotlight of the public icon to the quietness of her retreat in old age, her life story offers a vivid picture for subsequent generations to remember. In this chapter we consider the question of Soong Mayling's self-perception as woman with cultural and political connections in both China and the USA, and what current students of Chinese culture, sociology and politics might gain from a consideration of her remarkable life. Focusing on several themes prominent in Soong Mayling's rhetoric about China, and statements by prominent persons who interacted with her, we aim to begin to understand how she understood herself, the better that she might receive a fair representation.

4.2 Answering the Critics

The arguments against including Soong Mayling in the present study concerning women in Taiwan are several, and each is worthy of consideration and response. First, she was born on the mainland, and Taiwan was her adopted home only later in life, and of course not by choice but political necessity. But this fact in itself hardly makes her irrelevant to the question of women's rights on Taiwan as it was equally true of thousands of mainland Chinese women who fled to Taiwan during 1949. Taiwan's demographic picture was one of upheaval, with all aspects of its politics deeply affected by the arrival of mainland refugees.

Second, for all her own skill in writing and public speaking, and for all her activity and personal interest in public affairs, Soong Mayling was without question prominent as the wife of a larger than life political figure, complicating efforts to measure and assess her own impact respecting and valuing women's roles in Taiwan. But like the accident of her birthplace, the fact of her long marriage can hardly be held against her, and her contributions as Madame Chiang Kai-shek to the long-term improvement in conditions for the women of Taiwan deserve as fair an assessment and appreciation as is possible. Prior to her marriage, she had already proved herself as a capable and energetic thinker and public persona, as she did again later in life after her husband's death.

Third, not only her public appearances, but her writings and speeches were in some instances edited and used by the Republic of China on Taiwan government

for political purposes. Soong Mayling was without question a partisan figure, identified as closely as one can be with political leadership and a political party during the most difficult and violent decades of the Republic of China on Taiwan, a factor inevitably complicating any effort to assess her contributions to Taiwan's women. Yet this charge as well concerns factors beyond her control, and the occasional politicization of her public life cannot fairly be used to discount or negate her larger contributions to women's rights.

The beginning point for appreciating Soong Mayling's role during her lifetime is to understand the extreme degree to which Chinese women were separated, by longstanding tradition and society's expectations from public life, and the gradual turn made possible through changes in politics and modern technology beginning in the late nineteenth century. This meant that the first steps toward public life, experienced by a few women in the early twentieth century and gradually by others, while minimal by today's standards, were nevertheless significant and hugely important at the time.

In her 2009 study, *Women's Movements in Twentieth-century Taiwan*, Doris T. Chang argues that Soong Mayling's public activity in Taiwan during the 1950s and later after Chiang Kai-shek's death must be understood in the context of the times. If she exemplified for the public a "supportive and complementary" role for women with respect to their husbands, this was in keeping with the expanded role for women offered by the New Life movement during the 1930s. While women were not understood as independent actors, neither were they understood as having no connection whatsoever to the nation and public life. Soong Mayling's role during the war in China, and later in Taiwan, was significant in this respect:

> As a social feminist, she . . . urged all modern Chinese women to extend the love they felt for their families to their national community. In other words, a modern Chinese woman should love her nation as she would her family. To translate one's patriotism into action, she advocated that women should contribute their homemaking skills and nurturing capacity to enhance the patriotic cause of recovering the mainland from the communist occupation.[4]

This meant that every woman in Taiwan–not just those few women of privilege and status—had an important political role as "as active participants in the public domain and educators of future citizens at home."[5] Again, this will certainly sound limited in scope to modern readers, but given the realities of life for the vast majority of women in China and Taiwan, Soong Mayling's example and rhetoric marked significant advances over the past.

4.3 Resources

With respect to the quantity and quality of primary sources available to us in attempting to comprehend our subject's self-understanding, Soong Mayling declined to write an autobiography or memoirs, responding once to an inquiry about

the subject that God knows it all [SOURCE?]. Her papers and archival material are held at her alma mater, Wellesley College.[6] It is surprising and disappointing that only a handful of her published speeches and writings are available online.[7]

A decade after her marriage to Chiang, and at the start of the worst phase of the Japanese incursion alongside the Chinese Civil War, Soong Mayling's speeches were first published in English, first by Chinese and later by the US publishers. Under the title *Chiang Kai-shek*, published in the US shortly after her husband's abduction in December 1936, is her essay entitled "What China Has Faced", an apologetic frankly acknowledging the deeply rooted Chinese cultural patterns that inhibit its development, while taking pride in her country's long history, and criticizing the powers that had taken advantage of its weakness. This was quickly followed by several publications produced during the war years including *War Messages and Other Selections By Mayling Soong Chiang* (Hankow, China, 1938) and *China in Peace and War: Selections from the Writings of MayLing Soong Chiang* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Limited, 1940). *War Messages and Other Selections* was published in the US in 1943. With so much of her writing devoted to China and its population rather than herself, scholars aiming to gage her self-understanding will need to begin their search here, sometimes reading between the lines. She did write eloquently and frequently about her Christian faith, and its application to the dramatic events of her own life. After the war and the Communist victory on the mainland, several of her essays were published and promoted by the Republic of China on Taiwan government during the late 1950s and 1960s.

Alongside her own writing, scholarship respecting Soong Mayling may utilize the writing of significant figures that dealt with her directly during the War: Generals Albert C. Wedemeyer, Claire Lee Chenault, Joseph Stillwell, and George C. Marshall in particular. Each of these men interacted with the woman directly, with perceptions of her role and character that vary widely, but that cannot be ignored.

Public interest in China's suffering from Imperial Japan, and in Chiang and Soong Mayling grew steadily during the late 1930s, all the more after Dec. 7, 1941. In 1943—the year of her widely publicized visit to the US—she and her sisters were described by author Emily Hanh in *The Soong Sisters*.[8] During the final years of Soong Mayling's life, and after her death, several significant writings of her life and family have been published. These include Sterling Seagrave's 1985 volume, *The Soong Dynasty*, with its in-depth discussion of Mayling's role within what was arguably China's most significant single family. Wesley M. Bagby's 1992 study, *The Eagle-Dragon Alliance: America's Relations with China in World War II* includes significant discussion of Madame Chiang's role, as does Ronald Heiferman's 2007 study of the *The Cairo Conference of 1943*. In 2007 Laura Tyson Li published *Madame Chiang Kai-shek: China's Eternal First Lady,* alongside Thomas A. DeLong's consideration of Mayling's longstanding friendship with an American, *Madame Chiang Kai-Shek and Miss Emma Mills: China's First Lady and Her American Friend*. An excellent recent 2009 biography of her husband, *The Generalissimo*, by Jay Taylor, includes extensive discussion of Mayling's life and impact on her husband's actions. The same year author Hannah Pakula published

The Last Empress: Madame Chiang Kai-shek and the Birth of Modern China. Chinese writers also published books on her life such as Wang, *The Beauty and Sorrow of Soong Mayling* (1995, Taipei), In 2003, Chin published *Soong Mayling*, and Chang, *A Century of Soong Mayling* (Taipei). Finally, stories concerning Soong Mayling appear in the autobiography of Chiang Kai-shek's second son, Chiang Wei-Kuo (2007). Each of these accounts offers factual information about her life, but little analysis of her own self-understanding as a cross-cultural human being.

4.4 Perception of China in Crisis

By the time of her June 1917 commencement from Wellesley College and return to Shanghai, her two sisters had married—not without great family tumult in one case—to China's two most significant men.[9] Until her own marriage in 1927 she maintained an active social life, as dinner guest or host with Shanghai's elite on a near daily basis. As her biographer Hannah Pakula notes, her correspondence from this time period reveals that "her American education had not been wasted."[10] Commenting in 1919 on the boycott of Japanese goods sparked by the May Fourth Movement's outrage over Article 156 of the Treaty of Versailles granting authority of Shandong peninsula to Japan, Mayling wrote to her friend and lifelong correspondent Emma Mills about the boycott:

> I feel that this boycott movement is effective only in so far as it leads to a constructive program. You may be sure that Japan will hold everything regarding this movement against the Chinese, and when the day comes they will make us pay if they can. And if we are not ready to face them . . . we will get the worst of it. Therefore while I approve of this boycott movement, in that it shows to the world . . . the oneness of our eighteen provinces, I feel that boycotting is after all a passive state. . . . It is really discouraging when one thinks of the amount of history the students study, but not one jot of it is about China since the Revolution. Our oriental mind seems to be steeped in the glories and conquest of the past, and if something is not done to change this, we shall be a second Korea. . . . . the Japanese are not afraid of our Government, for they know that it is weak and largely composed of self-interested men; . . .[11]

In these few sentences, the youthful Mayling reveals herself as an astute observer of this particular tactic's usefulness, but also the message about China's weakness that it implicitly carried, and the need to correct that weakness. China's great problem, she recognized, was a tendency toward inward-looking conservatism, and that by sticking to that course the country ran the risk of following the path of Korea, then often referred to as the "hermit kingdom." The road to international strength for China, she argued, is a stronger and reformed government comprising some body of persons able to see beyond their own self-interest, and willing to consider ideas from the outside world.

With a decade of interacting among China's elite, upon her marriage in 1927 to Chiang Kai-Shek, Mayling may be said to have been as thoroughly prepared as is

imaginable for a life in the political spotlight. And with her well-obtained knowledge of the United States, she became the perfect voice for China during the war years. Visiting the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang in October 1942, former presidential candidate Wendell Willkie quite accurately (if also somewhat idealistically) praised her as possessing "brains, persuasiveness and moral force . . . with wit and charm, a generous and understanding heart, a gracious and a beautiful manner and appearance, and a burning conviction . . . Madame would be the perfect ambassador . . . we would listen to her as to no one else."[12]

About China's historic economic and political difficulties, Mayling recognized that China's problems were massive, but hardly unique. Its problems in both realms resembled those of other developing countries, and the same reformist principles could be considered and applied. Educated in an elite American university at the peak of the Progressive Era, it is apparent in her writings that she absorbed the emphasis on history and social progressive thought as offering solutions to developing countries. In a 1937 broadcast speech entitled "Salvation from Within", she argued that,

> Everywhere there is widespread recognition of the fact that with the solution of the economic problem the political problem will automatically be solved. For this reason the Government is bending its energies toward giving the people an efficient, honest and progressive administration. Where carelessness and corruption have long held sway, this is not as easy as it first may appear.[13]

If by "carelessness" Soong Mayling understands a longstanding acceptance for the way things are, and that any effort to bring change would be futile, she has identified the same problems social scientists would years later identify as the essential problems to resolve in order to advance the population of developing countries. She has identified issues such as longstanding social codes and traditions alongside business nepotism, bribery, and political favoritism–all categories of the larger corruption—demanded resolution. In a 1940 collection of essays published in the US under the title *China Shall Rise Again*, Soong Mayling expands on this critique in an essay focusing on China's "Seven Deadly Sins", attacking traditional Chinese tendencies toward cliquism, lack of self-discipline, lack of accountability, complacency, defeatism, appointment of the unqualified to positions of authority, and ignorance of foreign languages.[14]

Alongside ridding China's population of bad habits, she advocated cultivation of democratic habits and virtues. In a speech entitled "Finding the Voice of China" she argued that centuries of rule by an "official class" had left people in constant fear, causing them to lose "all interest in public life, in patriotism, and in the affairs of the country" applying themselves instead "solely to the task of protecting the interests and promoting the welfare of their families and their clans."[15] A political system, in which any Chinese citizen could have some confidence, thereby restoring the long-lost patriotic sentiments and interest in public affairs, would have to be the goal of any forthcoming Chinese government. In this and similar speeches, Soong Mayling rarely mentions the US or other political systems as an example, preferring

instead to place her confidence in Chinese characteristics that she believes can be found beneath the corrupt surface.

4.5 Political and Educational Work

Madame Chiang's Chinese character and love of country emerges most fully in her charitable and philanthropic efforts accomplished both in wartime China, and after 1949 in Taiwan. Historically, the Chinese called the Emperor's wife "Mother of the Nation", and this title transferred to Soong Mayling as President's wife in the Chinese Republic. In 1932, Soong Mayling realized the need for China's defense forces to include a powerful air force, and she became "Mother of the Air Force." Armed aircraft in the hands of trained pilots could decisively increase the speed with which an enemy could invade and defeat defensive forces, representing a quantum leap over horse power or vehicles, and so the need for Chinese fighter pilots and aircraft was great. She was successful in persuading Chiang and designated resources and hiring personnel, fighting along the way endemic graft within the ranks of the Chinese officer corps.[16] In 1937 Soong Mayling invited General Chennault to serve as Instructor of the Chinese Air Force. Chennault recruited pilots from the US and they became the famous "Flying Tigers." In this she recognized the importance of a new technology for China's defense, bringing Chinese fighting practice up to international standards while simultaneously forging an important link with the US. Rightfully proud of this accomplishment, wartime photographs of Mayling almost always find her wearing her air force wings. [See photo #2]

With respect to her wartime speeches, delivered during the late 1930s and continuing on radio through the war with Japan, and culminating in her tour of the US and speeches to Congress in 1943, her twofold objectives were to boost morale at home and improve the chances for aid in the form of arms and money. In this, she clearly understood that her English language ability was a crucial centre for American leadership and the public. Her message concerning American support for China was simple: the two nations had a mutual interest in stopping Japan's ambitions to create a Greater East-Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. China would lose territory and become even weaker and the US would lose access to Chinese markets and resources. In delivering this message she always spoke as a Chinese national, trying to persuade her American colleagues of the need for action. The 1943 speech to Congress also had the effect of leading to repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act.

4.6 The Lady and the Generals

Surely remarkable if not unique in the history of politics and warfare is the extent to which Soong Mayling as wife of a political leader interacted directly with US military leadership, she served as interpreter and counselor with her husband as he

worked with no fewer than four major wartime US Army leaders. We thus have in the comments and memoirs of Generals Claire Chenault of Flying Tigers fame, Joseph Stilwell, and George C. Marshall interesting assessments of Madame Chiang.[17]

General Chennault first met Soong Mayling in May 1937 in her position as head of the Chinese Air Force, visiting China at the request of her own personal advisor, US Army Air Corps pilot Roy Holbrook. For her interest and support of air power–"pursuit" or fighter aircraft in particular as opposed to large bombers, as Chennault advocated—the General wrote in his diary, "She will always be a princess to me."[18] The feeling was mutual—Hannah Pakula writes that Chennault's strong support for Chiang's requests for aircraft and money made him forever popular with Madame. Yet in his war memoir, *Way of a Fighter*, Chennault relates that even with this strong relationship, he had to resort to deception in dealing with her: "Supply problems remained my biggest headache until the end of the war. I finally developed a technique for dealing with Madame Chiang that proved effective. Instead of discussing my immediate problems, I approached her with a sad visage. . ."[19]

General George Marshall's biographer Leonard Mosley describes him as "a sucker for beautiful and intelligent women", and Mayling's suggestive comment to him at a formal dinner in Egypt in 1943 placed her, and by extension her husband and China, in a most favored category.[20]

General Joseph Stilwell, appointed commanding general of US Army Forces in the China–Burma–India theater by General George Marshall in January 1942, served as Chiang Kai-shek's chief of staff. The relationship between Chiang and Stilwell, difficult from the start, and ultimately hostile, can be traced to personality and cultural differences between the two, but also to the corruption endemic in the Chinese political and military chain of command, and in Chiang's immediate conflict against Japan, but his long-term aim to accumulate munitions for the eventual fight against Chinese Communist forces.[21] Stilwell had met Soong Mayling briefly in 1937 in Hankow as Japanese forces pressed westward, and had come away impressed at her remaining in the city to the last minute, and judging her "very charming, highly intelligent and sincere" and "doing a good job", while also intensely political, free with "propaganda about the way the government is looking out for the common people."[22]

His next meeting with the Generalissimo and Mayling took place in Chunking in Spring 1942, and his assessment of her in his diary includes significant attention to her cultural perceptions:

> Quick, intelligent. Wants to get things done. Wishes she was a man. Doesn't think too deeply, but catches on in a hurry. Very frank and open . . . Impulsive to point of precipitation . . . A clever brainy woman. Sees the Western viewpoint. (By this I mean she can appreciate the mental reactions of a foreigner to the twisting, indirect and undercover methods of Chinese politics and warmaking.) Direct, forceful, energetic, loves power, eats up publicity and flattery, pretty weak on her history. No concession to the Western viewpoint in all China's foreign relations. The Chinese were always right; the foreigners were always wrong. Writes entertainingly but superficially, with plenty of sarcasm for

> Western failings but without mention of any of China's little faults. Can turn on charm at will. And knows it. Great influence on Chiang K'ai-shek mostly along the right lines, too. A great help on several occasions.[23]

By late 1942, Stilwell's private papers reveal him becoming ever more doubtful about his own role in US–China relations, and Soong Mayling's role as her husband's adviser.[24] During the war, as his friction with the Generalissimo steadily increased, Stilwell became more skeptical of Soong Mayling as well, recognizing the charm he had noted earlier as a tool she used strategically. Leading a tour of Kunming and Chungking for five US Senators in August 1944 whom he hoped to influence respecting the corruption of the Kuomintang (KMT or the Nationalist Party) regime, he found his intentions thwarted: "May [Mme. Chiang] turned on the glamor and I don't know who won."[25]

Historian Barbara Tuchman assesses Soong Mayling's role as translator for her husband as having frequently softened the strong and quite direct tone from "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell and American military leadership, who sought more aggressive action from Chinese military against Japanese forces.[26] In this Mayling (alongside Chiang's other advisors), in keeping with Chinese traditions of indirect, face-saving communication, might well have made the disastrous situation worse.

President Roosevelt appears not to have spoken to his confidants or family about his impressions of Madame Chiang. However, close to the end of his life, Roosevelt revealed to Edgar Snow that he realized, too late, that his decisions during the war had been based on limited information: "I was never able to form any opinion of Chiang at Cairo. When I thought about it later I realized that all I knew was what Madame Chiang told me about her husband and what he thought."[27] This comment raises several interesting questions: Was Soong Mayling overly protective of her husband and, by extension, of her own position? Was she following Chinese courtly translation patterns from the past? Might Roosevelt have insisted on the presence of a trusted US translator to ease concerns and alleviate doubts?

4.7 Transition and Decision-Making

In 1949, when she was still seeking medical attention in the US Mao's Communist forces won control of the mainland. Soong Mayling might have remained in the US, and might even have persuaded the Truman administration to allow her and her husband to obtain refuge in the US indefinitely. Instead she chose to return to Taiwan:

> I then determined that no matter what the future held, since I could do no more for my country in America, I would return to share the fate of my husband and my people on Formosa. All my friends tried to dissuade me. They were sure that death awaited my return. They pointed out that my sacrifice would be useless since it was only a matter of weeks, perhaps even days, before Formosa, too, would fall. I felt, however, that life was meaningless if I survived while China perished. How could I let me husband face the greatest set-back of his life without me at his side?[28]

This decision gave Mayling and Chiang Kai-shek a pathway to reestablish their credibility, and also rewrite their history with respect to the Republic of China. During these years, many policies on land redistribution, political reform, Taiwan's unique geographic location helped secure regional stability in Southeast Asia. Soong Mei-ling continued to work alongside her husband and became the icon for Chinese women. An essential part of that work received expression through her own Christian faith, and her establishment of a prayer group that she explains in her short work published in 1955, *The Sure Victory*. Both a faith testimony and very likely the closest we will have to an autobiographical statement, the essay reminds us of her early upbringing in a Christian household, attending Sunday school and church alongside family devotions. She notes that she "sometimes rebelled against this rigorous schedule", and that she was, even during the first years of her marriage, "merely a nominal Christian."[29] But she also recognized that her parents' strict regimen in the faith allowed her to have "absorbed" the ideals of the faith, and to have enjoyed, while at Wellesley, a certain advantage over Americans in their own self-understanding:

> [T]he Bible was blood and bone of the American homesteaders who settled the land, and it became part and parcel of their cultural foundation. Perhaps I, as a foreigner, could see more clearly than my American schoolmates how closely the make-up of the country had followed the principles of Christianity. Somewhat vaguely, I connected God's abundant blessing of American whatever its foibles and sins, with the keeping of the Lord's teaching.[30]

Her faith would lead her—not without great internal struggle–to include the concept of forgiveness in her wartime speeches to US audiences, most notably her Madison Square Garden speech in 1943:

> There must be no bitterness in the reconstructed world. No matter what we have undergone and suffered, we must try to forgive those who injured us and remember only the lesson gained thereby. The teachings of Christ radiate ideas for the elevation of souls and intellectual capacities far above the common passions of hate and degradation. . . . He taught us to hate the evil in men, but not the men themselves.[31]

It is perhaps noteworthy that in her discussions about her faith, she does not describe Christianity as a western phenomenon, but as a faith any human being can accept.

4.8 Charitable Work in Wartime China and in Taiwan

Madame Chiang's wartime efforts were hardly limited to public speaking. Often accompanying her husband to the front, she experienced several dangerous situations. But the bulk of her work involved promoting female material support for ROC army troops and rewarding model behavior of patriotic women. She is perhaps best remembered, however, for her work in creating several orphanages for children whose parents were killed in the conflict. Madame Chiang took a keen and

direct interest in these orphanages, selecting teachers and staff, and raising money for the cause. One author of this chapter recalls from her childhood memories that some of her teachers filed their official documents to indicate that Chiang and Mayling had registered as their parents.

Following the escape of the KMT government to Taiwan in 1949, Madame Chiang continued her pattern of charitable work in education. By 1955 a number of orphans required housing, and she established that year an orphanage for elementary age children in Taiwan. In 1956, the name of the school was changed to Hua Shing Secondary School, housing also was provided for soldiers and veterans. She was active in the 1960s in promoting Little League Baseball players and their acceptance at the school. Later in life, from her retirement in New York, she supported the establishment of a deaf school for girls with the Women's Cultural Foundation, as well as helping to raise $2 billion for a Children's Leukemia Center.

In 1950, the previously established Female Association became the Female Anti-Communist Union. One of the Union's chief efforts was to support the troops, including sewing and repairing uniforms in the Soldiers' Garment Factory which operated for 42 years.

4.9 Conclusion

One popular account published by biographer Basil Miller in 1943 described Soong Mayling at her graduation as "a finished product of her college, having assimilated its atmosphere of culture, dug deep into its educational courses, and above all having become thoroughly Americanized in mental outlook. She said of herself at this time in her life, 'The only thing Oriental about me is my face.'"[32] To Miller, the transformation appeared nearly complete, yet her energetic personality compelled her to a life of action directed at transforming her homeland:

> She had become an American in thought, in speech, in Southern drawl and in the zest with which she was able to color her talk with picturesque slang. The adaptation of mind and body, mental outlook and spiritual perspective had become perfect. In fact, too perfect, for when it was time to return to the land of her childhood, old Charlie found that he had "overdone his hand" in giving his youngest daughter an American education, and he warned a friend against following in his steps. He said, in making the admonition, "When they come back they want everything changed."
>
> Mei-ling had already been changed by her long residence amid Occidental splendor and American frankness. She had caught a glimpse of free women whose minds were able to cope with the brilliance of their brothers. She could not be content to remain in America when once she envisioned the possibilities of transforming China with the knowledge she had gained while in our land. Like a magnet she was drawn to her homeland where tremendous movements were in the making. At the time little did she realize the part she would play in carrying those movements to fruition.[33]

Her own early protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, and despite all the clear influence the West had on her thinking, it would be fair to conclude that

throughout her lifetime Madame Chiang remained essentially Chinese in character and essence. In her attire and artistic work, in her defense of China's population and her clear interest in the well-being of its children, her devotion to her country remains clear. It might be argued that this carried over to her quality and style of attire—her understanding that a woman in a prominent position required clothing and lodging. But alongside this one must note that she remained throughout her life in some respects modest, and perhaps even humble, as evidenced by her unwillingness to appear to promote herself through an autobiography.

Critics have argued that Madame Chiang's fluency in English made her too easy for Americans to appreciate, and that she became the image of what they hoped China would become. Whatever differing opinions people have of her, she deserves continuing recognition in having deepened communication between the US and China, and having done her best to ensure that China would become a unified, modern nation. Her philanthropic efforts in rescuing war orphans and in establishing orphanages in Taiwan remain admirable work that should serve as inspiration for today's youth. While she left no full statement of her self-understanding, her essays, her legendary work and the stories of her life now retold in recent biographies, and commemorated on a postage stamp, will keep her story alive. If this chapter has provided its readers with some additional insights on this truly historic woman, its authors will be gratified.

In sum, no better assessment of Madame Chiang may exist than the judgment of American diplomat Sumner Welles in his 1944 book *The Time for Decision*:

> Few individuals have in recent years created so profound an impression upon American public opinion as Madame Chiang Kai-shek. She has an amazing knowledge of the elements which determine public opinion in the United States and a keen appreciation of the very real admiration and friendship which the American people have for the people of China. Her quiet dignity, her beautifully modulated eloquence, and her apparent frailty mask an ardent national fanaticism and an unquenchable faith in the future destinies of her people. But more than that, she is, in the most real sense of the word, a citizen of the Far East as well as a citizen of China. She is no less a citizen of the world.[34]

Notes

1. As quoted in Nicolay (1944). See also, DeLong (2007).
2. Fenby (2003).
3. "Madame Chiang Kai-shek Stamps for Sale", *World Journal*, Sept. 21, 2013.
4. Doris (2009).
5. Ibid., 66.
6. For a survey of the Soong Mayling collection, see Papers of Mayling Soong Chiang, 1916–2003: a guide. MSS.1. http://academics.wellesley.edu/lts/archives/mss.1.html. Her husband Chiang Kai-shek's diaries are presently held at the Hoover Institution.
7. The authors of this paper express the hope that this project—making Soong Mayling's published speeches and essays widely available via web archive–could be undertaken in the near future.

8. Hahn (1943).
9. Ai-Ling became wife of China's then richest man, H.H. Kung in 1914, and Ching-Ling wife of Sun Yat-sen in 1915.
10. Pakula (2009).
11. June 5, 1919 letter of Mayling to Emma Mills, as quoted in Pakula, 81.
12. Wendell Willkie, Oct. 1942, as quoted in Tuchman (1970a). General Stilwell was notoriously skeptical of the Chinese war effort, to the point of openly mocking Willkie's naiveté.
13. Soong Mayling, "Salvation from Within", (Radio broadcast from Nanking to the United States, Feb. 21, 1937), as reprinted in *China in War and Peace*, 9–10.
14. Chiang (1940a).
15. Chiang (1940b).
16. Li (2006).
17. A fourth candidate for inclusion would be General Albert C. Wedemeyer, Commander of US forces in China, and Chief of Staff to Chiang Kai-shek after Stilwell's recall in October 1944, though for all his good relations with Chinese officials, Wedemeyer's published work includes no significant commentary on Soong Mayling.
18. As recounted in Seagrave, 360.
19. Claire (1949).
20. Mosley (1982).
21. See Tuchman (1970b). See also "The Feud Between Stilwell and Chiang" *Saturday Evening Post*, Jan. 7, 1950.
22. Tuchman, 193.
23. As reproduced in Pakula, p. 387.
24. Stilwell, Entry for July 1, 1942, *The Stilwell Papers*, 120–121.
25. As reproduced in Tuchman, 387.
26. Tuchman, 493–495.
27. As recounted in Sterling Seagrave, *The Soong Dynasty*, 404.
28. Kai-shek (1950).
29. *The Sure Victory*, p. 9.
30. *The Sure Victory*, pp. 11–12.
31. *The Sure Victory*, p. 19.
32. Miller 1943).
33. Ibid., 30–31.
34. Welles (1944).

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Chapter 5
Cinematic Metaphors of Autumn Cicadas and Chilling Cicadas: The Way Out of Legal Bottlenecks in *Sex Appeal*

Ya-chen Chen

"Qiuchan"[1] (秋蟬 "Autumn Cicadas") is a popular Chinese-language song that highlights cicadas' shrieks of high volume in the autumn as if personifying cicadas as outspoken people; in contrast, "chilling effect" is a legal term referring to the "undesirable discouraging effect"[2] that muffles speakers at court. Wang Weiming's (王維明) film entitled *Sex Appeal* (寒蟬效應 *Hanchan xiaoying*; literally, chilling cicadas; legally, chilling effect; the other Chinese title of the same film: 不能說的夏天*Bunengshuo de xiatian*; literally, the speechless summer) paradoxically juxtaposes the contradictions of squabbling and dampening metaphors related to cicadas.

In this movie, the female protagonist Baibai, a master student of musicology majoring in clarinet at National Taidong (台東Tai-tung) University, is raped by her professor Li Renfang during her job interview to be Li Renfang's office assistant. She is so severely hurt that she suffers from Stockholm syndrome. Because of her Stockholm syndrome, Baibai unconsciously alleviates her psychological hurt by feeling that she and Li are in love, and rejects the true romantic love of her peer Muhong. Because her Stockholm syndrome misleads her to believe the mutual love between her and Li and stops her from candidly roaring to accuse Li as a rapist, her lawsuit against the rapist ends in an everlasting legal ordeal until Li dies of heart disease.

Legal ordeals are frequently seen in current Chinese-speaking societies, such as Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Tibet, Mongolia, Macao, or Singapore, regardless of decades-long uproars about women's "half of the sky." It turns outspoken activists of social movements into quietened prey stuck in courthouses. Among all Chinese-speaking areas, Taiwan is now probably the most open-minded for social movements or feminist activism. Early in the 1990s, outspoken feminist

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Sophie Chunrui Ho's (何春蕤) parade against all levels, particularly the college level, of sexual harassment on Kaidagelan Avenue in front of the Presidential Palace in Taiwan was a flamboyant headline in Taiwanese newspapers and mass media; however, rape victims, victims of sexual harassment, or activists who organize and participate in social movements might not have an easy escape from legal bottlenecks even after enjoying the powerful buttress from an open-minded sociocultural atmosphere. Wang Weiming's *Sex Appeal* happens to offer cinematic evidence because it derives from a true story told by Attorney Lai Fangyu (賴芳玉) and highlights how the chilling effect silences the female rape victim and activists of social movements.

In this film, the chilling effect at the court, like a muzzle, mutes outspoken activists and the rape victim Baibai so terribly that nobody has an escape from the legal quandary until the rapist dies of his heart attack. The word "appeal" in the English title of this film serves as a pun to indicate multiple meanings: activists' earnest requests for support of gender egalitarianism or social movements, the legal accusation at the court, the sexual attraction that Baibai mistakes for true romantic love because of her Stockholm syndrome, the rapist's sexual betrayal of his wife, the other female assistants' and students' possible status as rape victims, female attorneys' work on lawsuits to dodge marital problems, and so on. The legal bottlenecks are so tough and unresolvable that the only literary, artistic, and cinematic remedy that this film and screenplay can offer to all the characters trapped in the predicament is probably the disease and death of the rapist, Li Renfang. Li Renfang's disease and death release everyone from the difficult legal proceedings.

After his disease and death, Li Renfang is no longer stuck in Taidong because of his wife and family members; hence, he is free from marital and family burdens in Taidong and regains the freedom that he pursued and longed for in Taipei, his favorite place and his birthplace. After Li Renfang's disease and death, Li's wife, Attorney Lin,[3] is released from her husband's adultery and betrayal, and from Baibai's damage of her marriage. Li Renfang's disease and death also rescue Baibai from all the emotional hurt of Stockholm syndrome and follow-up legal proceedings.

5.1 Metaphor of Qiuchan (秋蟬 Squealing Cicadas in the Fall)

Because of their squealing sounds in autumn, *qiuchan* (autumn cicadas) is a vivid metaphor of outspoken organizers of or participants in social movements, especially of feminist activists, because these people are supposed to squeak as loudly as autumn cicadas. Personified in a well-known Chinese-language song entitled "Autumn Cicadas," autumn cicadas appeal to everyone, according to the song of *Quichan*:

秋蟬 Cicadas in the Autumn

作曲: 李子恆 Lyrics by Li Ziheng

演唱: 楊芳儀,徐曉菁 Singers: Yang Fangyi, Xu Xiaoqing

聽我把春水叫寒 Listen to my voices to chill the spring water,

看我把綠葉催黃 See my efforts to turn green leaves into yellow leaves.

誰道秋下一心愁 Who said that the autumn harries our heart?

煙波林野意幽幽 Foggy waves in the forest and wild-land look distant and dim.

花落紅 Crimson blossoms fall down to the ground.

花落紅 Crimson blossoms fall down to the ground.

紅了楓 Maples turn red.

紅了楓 Maples turn red.

展翅任翔雙羽燕 Just like a swallow, which stretches its double wings and flies freely,

我這薄衣過得殘冬Thin clothes enable me to survive in the cold winter.

總歸是秋天 It is autumn after all.

總歸是秋天 It is autumn after all.

春走了 The spring is gone.

夏也去 The summer is also gone.

秋意濃 It is the autumn now.

秋去冬來美景不再 Beautiful scenes do not remain after the arrival of the winter and the end of the autumn.

莫教好春逝匆匆 Don't waste the wonderful springtime.

莫教好春逝匆匆 Don't waste the wonderful springtime.

The autumn in the lyrics coincidentally matches the female protagonist Baibai's first autumn semester at the graduate institute of musicology in National Taidong University. It is undoubtedly not a coincidence that the filmmaker's special arrangement of sound effects (SFX) of cicadas' high volume is the ambiance (background noises, or BG noises) at the moment when Baibai moves into her dorm. Baibai covers her ears with her hands and tells Muhong that cicadas' sounds in Taipei were not as flamboyant as those in Taidong. According to zoological observation of cicadas.

> Cicadas spend most of their lives beneath the Earth and can lie there for 17 years. They only venture above ground level to shed their ugly larva shells … and sprout wings to become adults. Once matured, they sing for a mate. Male cicadas have "tymbals" on the sides of their abdominal bases to "sing" while their hollow abdomen amplifies the sound. Some of the insects produce sounds up to 120 decibels—which are among the loudest of all insect sounds. In addition to a mating song, they also have a distress call—an erratic noise they make if they are attacked and seized.
>
> Some species also have a courting song that is quieter and is produced once a female is drawn by the calling song.[4]

Like male adult cicadas, Muhong creates and sings his love songs to Baibai. Like male adult cicadas, Li Renfang also uses music or whatever is related to musicology and orchestra to attract his female students, including Baibai, Liya, and Xiaoling. The cicadas' songs symbolize the courtship songs for Baibai from Muhong's heart as well as the music that brings Baibai closer and closer to Li Renfang and misleads Baibai to mistake rape as mutual love between her and Li Renfang.

Right after Baibai questions where the cicadas are, however, the bright scene of a green forest full of trees and cicadas' sounds disappears and a dark scene of the auditorium's closed door follows. Following the door-closing scene, Muhong lowers his voice and tries to keep silent when viewing Baibai's music demonstration in front of Li Renfang. Actually, if the darkness of the auditorium probably represents Baibai's vagina, Li Renfang's existence in the auditorium before Muhong's entrance to the auditorium implies that Li Renfang experiences Baibai's vagina and sexual relationship with Baibai before Muhong. Li Renfang criticizes that Baibai's music in the auditorium sounds to be lacking true feelings; this may denote that Baibai does not truly love Li Renfang and her music in the dark and vigana-like auditorium sounds to have no true feelings to Li Renfang. That is to say, Baibai's music is a metaphorically musical version of Baibai's "vagina monologue," honestly confessing that Baibai has no true love for Li Renfang and ironically contrasting the fake romantic love that Baibai mistakes to be true after her Stockholm syndrome worsens. The shift from the bright scene to the dark scene foreshadows Baibai's paucity of capability to be as outspoken as the noisy cicadas after the tragedy of rape and Stockholm syndrome darken her heart and future. If Li Renfang would not rape Baibai, this autumn semester would have been Baibai's happy first semester enjoying Muhong's guitar, singing voice, and romantic love. This is probably why filmmaker Wang Weiming does not let Muhong sing the popular song of "Qiuchan" with his guitar to Baibai, regardless how this song matches this film and the sound effects of cicadas' clamors in Baibai's first autumn semester. The silence of the door-closing scene foretells the predicament of Muhong's successful romance with Baibai at the beginning of Baibai's first autumn semester.

This door-closing scene of soundlessness and dimness is a meaningful contrast to the door-opening scenes of music, the sound of rain, and the brightness before and after Li Renfang rapes Baibai. For instance, when Baibai opens the door of Li Renfang's office to start her job interview, an old-style CD player near the door, Thelonious Monk's jazz music,[5] and glaring sunshine from the outside of windows into the office are employed, but not cicadas' uproars. When Baibai opens the door of Li Renfang's office and rushes back to her dorm after Li Renfang rapes her, there are stunning sounds of heavy rain, but not cicadas' sounds. Because the cicadas' clamor represents Baibai's outspokenness in fully expressing herself, the disappearance of the cicadas' hullabaloo implies Baibai's impotence to shout for help as a rape victim. Autumn cicadas' silence stands for Baibai's speechlessness and defenselessness. If the door-opening scenes represent Baibai's vagina opening to Li Renfang's penis during the rape, and autumn cicadas' racket implies Baibai's ability to speak her mind, the lack of cicadas' blast is like the impossibility of Baibai's "vagina monologue." Moreover, autumn cicadas' noiselessness also refers

to the tragedy of Baibai's Stockholm syndrome muffling her call for help and her attorney's defense for her at court.

5.2 Metaphor of *hanchan* (寒蟬 Chilling Cicadas, or the "Chilling Effect")

The above-mentioned noiselessness of autumn cicadas matches the legal term "chilling effect"—namely, Baibai's impotence to express her hurt in the courthouse after being raped and suffering from Stockholm syndrome.

When Baibai becomes a patient at the hospital after her suicide attempt, the purple flowers planted and brought by Li Renfang are vertically inserted into the glass bottle. This is an apparent metaphor of Li Renfang's rape of Baibai—namely, his penis in Baibai's vagina. The purple flowers inserted into the glass vase represent the hurt of his rape resulting in Baibai's suicide attempt and stay in the hospital. Baibai says nothing angry to Li Renfang at the hospital, however. On the contrary, because of her Stockholm syndrome, Baibai comforts Li Renfang, telling him that the doctor believes that her muscular and tendinous tissue is unharmed. Li Renfang caresses Baibai's feet and ankle, and the Stockholm syndrome motivates Baibai to look as if she is enjoying his caress. Probably as a cinematic metaphor of karma and reincarnation, the filmmaker, Wang Weiming, and the scenario editor, Xue Kunhua (徐琨華), let Li Renfang kneel down and kowtow to his purple flowers, symbolizing his "antemortem" apology for the rape of Baibai, other female students, and his family members before his death in this film.

The frequently seen rain in this movie probably implies almost every hurtful thing related to Li Renfang's semen and body fluids when raping Baibai. What follows rainy scenes is usually Baibai's weeping, tearfulness, bruises, scars, lack of psychological reconciliation, helplessness, and lack of protection that her lack of an umbrella or a raincoat to protect her from the rain seems to indicate. In the story, Attorney Fang Anyu (方安昱) clearly points out that Baibai's nighttime trip to her hotel room to initiate the lawsuit during the heavy rain meant that Baibai was psychologically not reconciled to simply equate Li Renfang's rape of her with mutual love and Li Renfang's extramarital affairs; however, because of the Stockholm syndrome, Baibai tells her attorney that she would like to mention that she and Li Renfang loved each other if Li Renfang's wife, who serves as Li Renfang's defending attorney at court, one day asks her why they had sex.

In order to defend Li Renfang at the court, his wife, who is also his attorney (Attorney Lin), purposefully discounts the importance of Li Renfang's first-time rape of Baibai, takes advantage of Baibai's Stockholm syndrome, and emphasizes the fact that Baibai's Stockholm syndrome motivated Baibai to "voluntarily have sex with Li Renfang more than once:"

Attorney Lin: Why did you not take any action when Professor Li had physical contact with you? You neither opened his office door, screamed, nor escaped.

Baibai: I have no idea.

Attorney Lin: Did you voluntarily have sex with Professor Li more than once?

Baibai: Not for the first-time sex.

Attorney Lin: Answer my question only.

Baibai: Not for the first-time sex.

Attorney Lin: Answer my question only. Did you voluntarily have sex with Professor Li more than once?

Baibai: Yes.

Attorney Lin: Why did you continue having sex with him?

Baibai: I had no idea.

Attorney Lin (raising the volume of her voice): Why did you continue having sex with him?

Baibai: The professor was nice to everybody. He was nice to me, too. Everyone likes him. Maybe I loved him. I had no idea.

Attorney Lin: What was the difference between multiple sexual experiences? What was the difference between the first-time sex and all the later sexual experience? Why did you mis-accuse Professor Li? Was it because you found out that you would not possess him?

Baibai: I did not mis-accuse him. The first-time sex was not what I volunteered.

Attorney Lin: Why did you sue Professor Li?

Baibai: The professor should listen to voices from his heart, [facing Professor Li while speaking], just like what you told me: Existence would not be meaningful until one honestly faces himself/herself.

In the court, Attorney Lin also invalidates the possibility of Baibai's attorney, Attorney Fang, using the medical diagnosis of Baibai's PTSD (posttraumatic stress disorder) and Stockholm syndrome offered by the psychiatrist. Dr. Lü. She accuses Dr. Lü of violating the judge's right to decide who the victim was and who the assailant was:

Dr. Lü: Bai Huihua had obvious symptoms of PTSD. … The medical assessment was hindered. … Bai Huihua refused to disclose more details to us. She even started to protect what hurt her. This could be regarded as her Stockholm syndrome. … It means that the victim became psychologically attached to the criminal and even helped the criminal. … As long as the defendant was mentioned, the plaintiff began to show apparent fears. She also avoided everything related to the defendant or locked herself in her own world. According to my clinical experience, the defendant is almost surely who hurt the victim and the source of the victim's pressure.

Attorney Lin: You started the hypothesis of the relationship between the assailant and victim before your medical assessment of the plaintiff's Stockholm syndrome, right?

Dr. Lü: My assessment derived from professional medical training.

Attorney Lin: Whether the defendant committed the crime of sexual assault should have been decided by the judge. I believe that you violated the judicial right. Your Honor, this expert witness's description is not of value.

The legal term "chilling effect" also corresponds to the Mandarin Chinese-language idiom *jin ruo hanchan* (噤若寒蟬 as speechless as silent cicadas in winter).[6] This is probably the reason why the other title of this film is *The Speechless Summer*.

Tao Zhe (陶喆David Tao), the creator of the theme song "Love Is to Star and Then Leave" (愛是凝望又離開)[7] for this film, implies that Baibai's heart is locked by her PTSD and Stockholm syndrome and nobody will understand her reticence.

> 愛是凝望又離開 "Love Is to Star and Then Leave"
>
> 電影「寒蟬效應」主題曲 Theme Song of the Film "Sex Appeal"
>
> 作詞:娃娃 Lyrics: Wawa
>
> 作曲:陶喆 Melody: Tao Zhe (陶喆David Tao)
>
> Let the happiness in.
>
> 風在樹葉穿梭低語撥弄心事忽明又忽暗 The wind goes back and forth between leaves of trees, whispering what is inside of my heart, seeming to be abruptly clear but unexpectedly dark.
>
> 像空氣裡微塵在飄蕩著 It is like tiny filth floating in the air.
>
> 陽光跳躍在平靜海面洶湧最深的看不見 The sunshine dances within the abysmal and invisible waves under the serene surface of the ocean.
>
> 回憶隨波浪推移著 Waves push memories.
>
> 愛是偶然的存在 還是種莫名的意外 Is love a coincidental existence or unknown accident?
>
> 心鎖了就打不開 靜默的誰都不明白 The heart is not opened once locked, and nobody understands the taciturn.
>
> Let the happiness in.
>
> 拉不住渴望的墜落 There is no way to stop the collapse of desires.
>
> 誰離開帶走誰的自由 The freedom of which person leaves and brings the other person away.
>
> You've gotta let the happiness in.
>
> 不回頭 Never turn back.

In the lyrics, Tao Zhe and Wawa seem to be explaining, "The heart would not be opened if it is locked, and nobody would understand the taciturn."[8]

The Chinese-language idiom *jin ruo hanchan* (噤若寒蟬 as speechless as silent cicadas in winter) derives from Fan Ye's (范曄) *Du Mi zhuan* (杜密傳 *Biography of Du Mi*) in *Hou Han Chronicle* (後漢書). Du Mi criticized that Liu Sheng should not have been as voiceless as silent cicadas in winter in terms of his refusal to broadcast good and dissuade evil:

> Liu Sheng is a high-ranking governmental officer. He is polite to everyone, but speechless when it is necessary to advocate good and deter evil.[9]

5.3 Multiple Layers of Meanings of the Key Word "Appeal"

The English word "appeal" can have multiple layers of meanings. First, the "appeal" of this film, *Sex Appeal,* can refer to the female protagonist Baibai's "power or ability to sexually attract, interest, amuse, or stimulate the mind or emotions"[10] of the two men, Li Renfang and Muhong. Baibai's sexual appeal brings Li Renfang and Muhong into this love triangle, resulting in Muhong's attack of Li Renfang in the classroom as if they were a pair of enemies competing for the same woman.

In the ancient Chinese patriarchal cultural tradition, women's sexual attraction, just like Baibai's sexual appeal to these two men, was misused as an excuse to exonerate men's betrayal, sanction men's adultery, or exculpate men's sexual irresponsibility. In other words, it was misrepresented as a scapegoat to prevent men from criticism of crimes related to unethical sexual behaviors. It was therefore simultaneously abused to denigrate sexually attractive women, mislabeling them as troublemakers who triggered everything and deserved to be reproached as if men were not responsible for whatever they did. "Fox spirit"[11] and *xiaosan* (literally, the young third party in the love triangle; meanings: the young female third party in an extramarital affair) are frequently seen Mandarin Chinese language phrases to chastise sexually attractive women. For instance, Baibai's mother interrogates, "Did you seduce your professor? Were you the seducer? Is this God's punishment for me? Why are you so shameless?" Li Renfang's wife, serving as Li Renfang's attorney, accuses Baibai of destroying her family, defining this lawsuit as Baibai's "retaliation after failing to ruin the defendant's family," though this is Li Renfang's wife's accusation of Baibai, as if she were not an attorney but simply a wife longing for a happy marriage and family life without any disturbance from a *xiaosan* disturbance. The close-up scenes show her eyes livid and almost tearful when she asks Baibai why Baibai would like to wreck her family and when she asks Li Renfang whether he realized that he was committing a crime of adultery. She is acting as Li Renfang's wife to accuse Baibai of the crime of disrupting her marriage and the family and as the interrogator.

Before Baibai's final suicide attempt at her dorm, she gets anonymous criticizers' blaming messages via cell phone:

> 10:30 on February 3 Sunday
>
> +886-914-119-078 10:30
>
> You are truly daring! You still shamelessly came to school after these things resulted in our professor's disease and stay in the hospital. Go to hell!
>
> +886-987-085-388 10:30
>
> You nymphomaniac! Who do you think you are? Get out of this campus!
>
> +886-937-766-204 10:30

"Go to hell!"

+886-913-172-191 10:30

You shameless skank! Home-wrecker and the meddling woman! You hussy! You limmer!"

Second, the "appeal" of this movie, *Sex Appeal*, can indicate the legal procedure of Baibai's appeal in court. On the one hand, Baibai would like to right the wrong after she has taken Attorney Fang's advice and witnessed the cruel fact that Li Renfang continues enjoying his happy family life with his son and wife without taking her psychological scars into serious consideration. On the other hand, Baibai is so deeply hurt that she cannot help but emotionally comfort herself by lying to herself that Li Renfang loves her and protecting Li Renfang by refusing to tell Doctor Lü everything at the hospital. According to Dr. Lü, a victim's protection of the attacker or rapist is a typical symptom of Stockholm syndrome. Even a victim's belief in her or his love for the attacker or rapist is an important symptom of Stockholm syndrome. Baibai confesses that her doubt of whether she was in love with Li Renfang was the reason why she did not resist, escape, or even scream for help when Li Renfang raped her. After this rape, the Stockholm syndrome drives Baibai to voluntarily have sex with Li Renfang eight times, on October 15, October 22, October 23, October 30, November 15, November 19, November 28, and December 15, because believing in mutual romantic love between Li Renfang and herself could help Baibai temporarily forget her psychological and physical scars of being raped. At court, Dr. Lü describes his understanding of Baibai's PTSD and Stockholm syndrome:

> Bai Huiha [Baibai] had PTSD. … Medical assessment was hindered. … Bai Huihua refused to disclose the source of her hurt, and even tended to protect this source. This is understood as her Stockholm syndrome. … A victim became emotionally attached to the criminal who hurt her, and even tried to avail the criminal. … As long as the defendant was mentioned, the plaintiff started to be clearly afraid of or dodging whatever was related to the defendant, and even locked herself into her own world to avoid facing anything related to the defendant. According to clinical experience, this is almost proven to be the source of her hurt and pressure.

Because of Baibai's severe Stockholm syndrome, her appeal is doomed to fail. Attorney Fang honestly tells Baibai's on-campus psychological counselor, Professor Wang, that the best outcome of this lawsuit would be Li Renfang and his wife providing financial compensation for Baibai. Her strategy and goal for this litigation are to negotiate the best settlement for Baibai, not to win this lawsuit.

In fact, the plot of this film derives from a true story of on-campus rape. Attorney Lai Fangyu personally knew this story, told it to Filmmaker Wang Weiming, and motivated the filmmaker's cinematization of it. Most Taiwanese folks have not heard about the true story of on-campus rape because the reality of this case was not widely broadcast. Below is my brief English-language summary of the true story according to remaining online records of old news reports:

> In May 2013, Associate Professor of Public Administration Li Fangzhi (李方志 Li, Fang-chih), National Jinan (Chi Nan) University (國立暨南大學), Taiwan, was accused of sexually harassing his female graduate student by repetitively kissing her, caressing her,

and threatening that he would not allow her to graduate. The female graduate student dared not attend classes, emotionally collapsed, and attempted suicide four times during the litigation and appeal procedure. The university's investigation concluded that Professor Li's sexual harassment was true. The first judge decided that Professor Li should be jailed for one year and two months, but the jailing period was shortened to seven months. At that time, the university decided to discharge him and reported the intention to discharge him to the Ministry of Education, yet Professor Li insisted on appealing all the way to the supreme court and took a temporary leave. The Modern Women's Foundation (現代婦女基金會) protested severely and requested Professor Li's immediate unemployment; however, the second judge decided that Professor Li was innocent. Professor Li's wife, family members, and students supported him. His wife told the media that he had long-term problems with his vertebrae and it would therefore be impossible for him to rape his student. Before the third judge made any decision, Professor Li died of heart disease.[12]

5.4 The Sounds, Voices, and Silence outside of the Control of the Metronome

All of the music in this film, especially the orchestral music conducted by Li Renfang, seems to be under control and matching the regulated pace of the metronome. In contrast, the other sounds—the cicadas' sounds of courtship, Li Renfang's wife's legal strategies to invalidate the psychiatrist's testimony, the attorneys' arguments in litigation, Baibai's taciturnity resulting from the chilling effect, the PTSD and Stockholm syndrome, and the blaming voices from Baibai's mother and cyber bullies are completely outside of the control of metronome, which represents the ethical norm or laws that the judge can use to help the rape victim in this film. Before Baibai's mother gets Baibai's text message about what happened to Baibai at National Taidong University, the metronome worked well to regulate the piano practice of the little female student taught by Baibai's mother, but the metronome stopped and never restarted its work after Baibai texted her mother to report the on-campus incident. The metronome symbolizes laws, regulations, and rules to govern the pace of everything. When the metronome pauses and never resumes its original work, it indicates that multiple layers of meanings—Baibai's (sex) appeal, and the teacher-student relationship between Baibai and Li Renfang—are out of control and their pace is becoming more and more uncontrollable.

5.5 Sloughing off the Cicadas' Golden Shells

Professor Li's death is probably the best, and possibly the only, way out of the legal ordeal after Baibai's Stockholm syndrome severely attacked her and affected everyone else related to this incident. In this film, Attorney Fang and Psychological Counselor Wang point out every person's search for his or her own way out: "Everyone is trying to escape from his or her own predicament, but the difference

lies in whether she or he realizes that she or he is seeking an exit to depart from his or her stalemate." Without Professor Li's death, other female student victims, such as Liya and Xiaoling, would not have been brave enough to end their silence and testify to the cruel reality that Li Renfang raped not merely Baibai but also them.

At the end of this movie, Filmmaker Wang Weiming silently informs viewers of the following via captions:

> After the professor's death, Attorney Lin decided to leave Taidong and give up her appeal. Other female student victims courageously revealed Professor Li's crimes. Just as with Baibai, Attorney Lin offered compensation to every one of them, including Liya and Xiaoling. This film is sincerely dedicated to fighters who struggle for minority women.

The legal impasse is like the larval shells that restrict cicadas. The way out of the legal quandary is like the cicadas' way out of their shells. It matches the Mandarin Chinese idiom *jinchan tuoke* (金蟬脫殼 golden cicadas shed shells).

In Chinese and East Asian martial arts, *jinchan tuoke* "is a strategy in which you make your move while giving the appearance of remaining steadfast. This strategy's highly effective if you need to retreat in the face of a great enemy force. If you are unable to continue the fight and believe that the more you hold out the more damage you will sustain, then the best plan is most likely" *jinchan tuoke*.[13] Because Stockholm syndrome disallows Baibai and everyone else related to this incident to continue the legal fight and makes everybody believe that the more Baibai holds out, the more damage she will sustain, this way out of the legal fight is probably the best and the most effective use of the *jinchan tuoke* strategy.

Jinchan tuoke echoes the Taoist theory of *chan tui* (蟬蛻 cicadas' departure from shells) because cicadas' departure from shells can be an allegorical symbol of spiritual betterment after a separation from physical restrictions. It symbolizes a relief at freeing oneself from difficulties or departing from all of the hardship in the ordinary human world. In the biographical portions of Chuyuan and Jia Yi (屈原賈生傳) of *Shiji* (史記 *The Records of the Grand Historian*), there is a metaphor of *chan tui* (蟬蛻 cicadas' departure from shells): dipping into muddy dirt, departure from earthy uncleanness in the ordinary human world just like cicadas' departure from shells, and floating outside of dusts.[14] Because sometimes the metaphor of *chan tui* in Buddhism or Taoism implies physical death to enable spiritual betterment, Li Renfang's death is like the shells that cicadas shed and symbolizes the way out of legal bottlenecks as well as the relief of Baibai's and all the other female students' physical hurts from Li Renfang's rape to win their spiritual improvement.

One more possible cinematic metaphor after the way out of legal stalemate via Li Renfang's death is probably the fresh red blood simultaneously flowing from Baibai and Muhong after Baibai telephones Muhong to ask if he would like to be with her and establish their boyfriend-girlfriend relationship. This may allegorically symbolize Baibai's choice and acceptance of Muhong's romantic love after her way out of legal deadlock in court. After Baibai had finally departed from the shell-like constraint of Li Renfang's rape and her Stockholm syndrome, her acceptance of Muhong's romantic love seems a good path out of the past legal gridlock toward the bright future. If this is the case, the fresh red blood simultaneously flowing from

both Baibai and Muhong when their beds happen to be next to each other with only a thin, light curtain between them is probably not just a coincidence but the filmmaker and playwright's purposeful arrangement to symbolize Baibai's spiritual defloration and her first-time acceptance of Muhong's romantic love (though her first physical defloration might have happened when Li Renfang raped her). The thin and light curtain between their beds symbolizes Baibai's hymen opening to welcome Muhong. This symbolizes that Baibai's spiritual door is finally open to Muhong's romantic love and singing of courtship songs. That is to say, Baibai's spiritual door is now finally reopened to Muhong.

Although Baibai's blood appeared at least once after the scene of her first suicide attempt at her dorm, she did not recover from her psychological hurt of Li Renfang's rape at that time. On the contrary, her severe Stockholm syndrome ensued. There was no way out of her legal standoff and no possibility for her to open her spiritual door to anybody else, especially Muhong and his romantic love, until Li Renfang's death. Muhong was even prohibited from contacting Baibai during the lawsuit. This prohibition was not canceled until Li Renfang's death. Baibai's phone call to ask Muhong whether he would be with her is like an announcement to abolish this prohibition and a call for Muhong's second-time initiation of his romantic relationship with Baibai. The car accident is therefore inevitable to result in Muhong and Baibai's immediate "bedtime" contact, bringing Muhong and Baibai to the beds next to each other with just a thin, light, hymen-like curtain between them. After Baibai overhears the voices and sounds about Muhong, this hymen-like curtain was immediately pulled. This represents that her spiritual door is opened to Muhong at the particular curtain-pulling moment. This is why Baibai sees Muhong, and shows her concerns about him.

The moment when the hymen-like curtain between Baibai and Muhong is pulled reflects Du Fu's (杜甫) famous Tang-Dynasty poetic line *pengmen jin shi wei jun kai* (蓬門今始爲君開 My door is not open for you until now).[15] Blood appears right after the "door-opening" scene to indicate Baibai's spiritual defloration after her acceptance of Muhong's courtship and her recovery from or her way out of the past difficulties to move on to the bright future. This surprising reunion of Baibai and Muhong on beds next to each other with a hymen-like curtain between the beds followed by the blood scene implies the possibility of Muhong singing his love songs again to Baibai after his and Baibai's recovery, just like male cicadas' noisy singing of courtship songs. The Mandarin Chinese translation of the word "defloration" happens to be the Chinese phrase *luohong* in the lyrics of the song entitled "qiuchan: hua luohong" (花落紅 "Crimson Blossoms Fall down to the Ground"). After Baibai's reunion with Muhong at the hospital, Baibai's peaceful slumber with her mother is accompanied by cicadas' courtship songs, confirms the possibility of Baibai and Muhong's future romantic relationship, and signifies that Baibai and her mother can finally take a good rest. This is probably why filmmaker Wang Weiming's final caption on the screen says that he dedicates the movie to fighters who struggle for minority women. Just as cicadas slough off their shells and renew their lives, Baibai and everybody else related to this incident escaped from

their shell-like restriction of a legal dead end, took a rest, and moved on to a refreshed future.

Notes

1. The pinyin system of Romanization is adopted throughout this article. Exceptions are places whose Wade Giles spellings are already internationally known, such as Taipei. When it is necessary, the Wade Giles system of Romanization is added and placed next to the pinyin system of Romanization in order to help readers understand names, places, or Chinese pronunciations. This chapter derives from revisions of an academic journal article in *Cineforum* 22 (December 2015): 35–64. The editor of Cineforum officially permitted the revision of this journal article to become a chapter in this book
2. For reference to the definition of this legal term, consult the online legal dictionary at http://dictionary.findlaw.com/definition/chilling-effect.html (retrieved in April 2015). Also consult *Freedom of Expression: Essays in Honour of Nicolas Bratza, President of the European Court of Human Rights* coauthored by Casadevall, Joseph, Nicolas Bratza, Egbert Myjer, Michael O'Boyle, Anna Austin, and Council of Europe. Oisterwijk, Netherlands: Wolf Legal Publishers, 2012. Also consult Darren Batello-Samson's *Can Regulatory Takings Litigation Cause a Chilling Effect*? Dissertation at Rutgers University, 2008.
3. According to Rule#38 in Taiwanese Bar Association, attorneys should avoid lawsuits that are related to their spouses. For details, consult the file from Taiwanese Bar Association: www.tcbar.org.tw/mng/usr/100421-2.doc (retrieved in July 2015). The information in this note was provided by Professor Cai Yingfang (蔡穎芳 Tasi, Ying-fang) at the Law School in Providence University and Professor Hong Meiling (洪美齡 Hung, Mei-ling) at the Center for General Education in China Medical University on May 11, 2015. The author of this article is grateful for both of them.
4. Milne and Milne (1992). Also consult Griffiths (2013). For more details, consult the following website: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-2448427/A-bugs-life-The-amazing-images-cicada-breaking-free-larva-shell-unfurling-wings-adult-insect.html#ixzz3dO3ifcnB (retrieved in June 2015).
5. According to the department office assistant Liya's deposition, she overheard the Jazz music composed by Thelonious Monk. She also heard the sound of heavy rain at the same time. Consult (Solis 2008).
6. Yao (2005).
7. The title of this theme song reverberates the cinematic scene that Baibai silently stared at Li Renfang's joys of family life with his son and wife and then left for Attorney Lin's hotel room in a heavy rain to prepare for their initiation of the lawsuit.
8. 心鎖了就打不開,靜默的誰都不明白。 If locked, the heart cannot be opened. If silenced, nobody can understand you.
9. 劉勝位爲大夫,見禮上賓,而知善不薦,聞惡無言,隱情惜己,自同寒蟬,此罪人也。Also consult Fan (2013).

10. http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/appeal?s=t (retrieved in April 2015).
11. According to D. J. Conway's *Magickal, Mystical Creatures: Invite Their Powers Into Your Life*, "The Japanese and Chinese have a number of stories about Fox Spirits, or Fox Faeries… Fox spirits are masters of illusions and love to trick humans" (Conway, 209). Also consult Gary Melhorn's *The Esoteric Codex: Shapeshifters*. Kang Xiaofei cited Donald Sutton's viewpoints, saying that Confucian elites after the Ming and Qing Dynasties criticized the spirit medium cult because the medium could gain as much authority and power and make as much moral or political claims as elites via their organizations or written words though their counterparts before the Ming and Qing Dynasties the vouchsafed the spirit medium cult. For details, consult Kang (2006).
12. https://movie.douban.com/review/7163747 (retrieved in June 2015).
13. Moriya (2008). Also consult Ken Jeremiah's *Eternal Remains: World Mummification and the Beliefs that Make It Necessary*.
14. 《史記.卷八四.屈原賈生傳》:「濯淖汙泥之中,蟬蛻於濁穢,以浮游塵埃之外。」 Also consult (Sima 2001).
15. 杜甫〈客至〉: 舍南舍北皆春水,但見群鷗日日來。花徑不曾緣客掃,蓬門今始爲君開。盤飧市遠無兼味,樽酒家貧只舊醅。肯與鄰翁相對飲, 隔籬呼取盡餘杯。Also consult (Sun 2010).

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Chapter 6
An Investigation of the Huangmei Opera Film Genre: The Audience's Perception of Ling Po's Male Impersonation

Yeong-Rury Chen

Abstract This chapter focuses on the spectatorship in Huangmei Opera films, especially on the issues related to audiences' perception of Ling Po's practice of male impersonation. It employs Laura Mulvey's psychoanalytic theory from her famous essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" to discuss the unconscious pleasure experience of the audience of Huangmei Opera films. However, it challenges Mulvey's theory about male gaze and identification in cinematic apparatus by the case of Ling Po's male impersonation, while men perceive him as a woman and women perceive her as a man. This chapter considers that the spectator's identifications of Ling Po's impersonation rely on the fantasy proposing links among cultural, societal, and psychological modes. It suggests that Ling Po's images on and off screen represent a sexual ambivalence and enable polymorphous identification.

Keywords Huangmei Opera film genre · Male impersonation · Psychoanalytic theory · Male · Gaze and identification · Fantasy theory

6.1 Huangmei Opera Films: A Unique and Popular Chinese Film Genre Neglected by Cinema Studies

Huangmei Opera was originally a body of tea-collecting songs that developed in the Chinese region of Huangmei around 200 years ago. In the 1960s, many of these songs were incorporated into films that became extremely popular in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia. Audiences flocked to see these films. The most

Most of the Chinese-language phrases in this chapter follow the rules of pinyin system of Romanization. However, some exceptions follow the rules of the Wade-Giles system of Romanization, such as the author's name Yeong-Rury Chen and the Taiwanese-heritage filmmaker Li Han-hsiang's name.

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popular Huangmei Opera film, *The Love Eterne* (1963), generated unprecedented fervor, holding the box office record in Taiwan for two decades, until it was eventually surpassed by Jackie Chan's Project A (Lau 1994, p. 69). About 50 films, based on a combination of ancient stories and Huangmei folk music, established a genre that enjoyed cult popularity and lasted into the 1970s. Yet because of its lyrical music and Chinese literary traditions, Huangmei Opera films were considered slow-paced by the next generation and were finally replaced by wuxia (sword fighting) and kung fu movies, full of rapid action scenes and poeticized violence. The Huangmei Opera film genre faded from the audience's memory.

More recently, following the international box office success of *Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon* (2000), the wuxia and kung fu movies have drawn the attention of international audiences, and Chinese popular cinema of the 1970s has become a topic of interest for Western film scholars. Yet before martial arts movies appeared, the Huangmei Opera film genre played a significant role in the development of Chinese cinema. Many renowned martial arts film directors, such as King Hu (胡金銓) and Zhang Che, began their directorial debut with Huangmei Opera films, and two major Hong Kong studios, Shaw Brothers and Cathy Studio, consolidated their empires by producing Huangmei Opera films. However, neither of these major film studios released Huangmei Opera films since the 1970s. Western audiences had no opportunity to see them through the mass media, and Huangmei Opera films have been little studied by either Chinese or Western film scholars, despite their popularity and significance among Chinese communities in the 1960s. It was not until 2002, when Celestial Pictures bought the Huangmei Opera films of Shaw Brothers and started to redistribute them through DVD outlets, that audiences began to recall the heyday of the Huangmei Opera film genre. This genre was neglected and unknown by younger Chinese people and the Western world for a long time.

The rerelease of these films in that past decade has certainly resulted in a general renewed interest in Huangmei Opera films. However, scholarly interest in Hong Kong cinema, as a comparatively recent phenomenon, has remained largely focused on films from the 1970s onwards. For instance, Tan and Aw (2008) remark that writings on *The Love Eterne* have been largely anecdotal and biographical rather than scholarly. Thus, some commentary exists, but not of a breadth or depth that may be expected given the enormous cultural impact of these films.

Such cultural impact was epitomized in audience responses to *The Love Eterne*. Indeed, in 2009, 46 years after its initial success, this legendary Huangmei Opera film was commemoratively re-performed on stage and embraced widely again in Taiwan. This stage production of *The Love Eterne* featured surviving members of the cast, including Li Kuwn and Ren Jie, who starred as a servant and maid in the original movie. The renowned actress, Ling Po, who starred as Brother Liang in the film, enjoyed the continuing adoration of her fans of 46 years' standing. Thousands of fans, most of them around 70 years of age crowded into the theater, accompanied by their children and grandchildren. They sang and wept at the story and its performance. At the end, they cheered for Ling Po and presented her with flowers. Ling Po won a round of applause, just as she had 46 years ago.

Like many other Chinese people who suffered family separation through the upheaval of the civil war in China, Ling Po had a miserable childhood, which won many people's sympathy and became one of the reasons for her popularity. Ling Po's parents gave her away for adoption due to poverty when she was only 4 years old. After the communists established the People's Republic of China, she escaped with her adoptive parents to Hong Kong. Ling Po began her singing and acting career in the 1950s, in Fukienese movies as a child character, Xiao Juan. While working in a film in the Daguan Studio, Ling Po happened to meet director Li Han Hsiang, impressing him with her singing (Chen 2005). He quickly offered her a contract with Shaw Brothers, and she took the new stage name of "Ling Po". In 1963, Ling Po's excellent vocals won her the part of the young male scholar in Li's *The Love Eterne*. This film was a legendary success and Ling Po's accomplished impersonation of the male protagonist, Brother Liang, catapulted her to stardom overnight.

6.2 The Enigma of Ling Po/Brother Liang

Ling Po inspired a cultish worship. In Hong Kong and Taiwan, thousands crowded into theaters to see *The Love Eterne* repeatedly, some even reportedly seeing the movie more than a hundred times (Taiwan Shin Sheng Daily News 1963, 31 October, p. 6). According to news reports from 1963, when Ling Po visited Taipei for the first time, around 200,000 fans crowded onto the street to welcome her (United Daily News 1963, 31 October, p. 3). Ling Po recalled the scene in an interview: "There were many fans climbing on windows, wire poles and cars. Everyone called me Brother Liang, Clumsy Gander, and Ling Po. They held my hands so tightly" (Chen 2005). The Hong Kong media called Taipei "a crazy city" because of this mass exhibition of enthusiasm for Ling Po and the film (Huang 1997, p. 15). Given that she was dressed as a man and played a male role, the authorities of the Golden Horse Film Awards of Taiwan did not think it was proper for her to receive a best actor or actress award. They established a "Best Acting Award" exclusively for Ling Po in 1963. The following year she won the best actress award for her role in Lady General Hua Mulan and became the most popular star and foremost representative of Huangmei Opera films.

Most of Ling Po's roles were in fact male characters. She starred in many of Shaw Studio's Huangmei Opera films such as *A Maid from Heaven* (1963), *The Crimson Palm* (1964), *The Female Prince* (1964), *West Chamber* (1965), *The Mermaid* (1965), and *Three Smiles* (1968), enjoying the adoration of a mass of fans in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Southeast Asia for a decade. Ling Po left Shaw Brothers in 1975, moving to Taiwan to star in her husband's Huangmei films, *Dream of the Red Chamber* (1978) and *Imperious Princess* (1980). Imperious Princess was Ling Po's last Huangmei Opera film, followed by a Huangmei Opera television drama in Taiwan, before retirement in Canada with her husband and children in the early 1980s.

Ling Po's signature role remained that of Brother Liang in *The Love Eterne*, paving the way for her success, as well as providing a nickname that accompanied her throughout the years. Today, most fans still see Ling Po and Brother Liang as

one, and continue to love her through the image of a male scholar. Interviews with Huangmei Opera film fans revealed their fascination with her handsome appearance as a male scholar. Other fans were attracted by her glamorous appearance as a female movie star. Her images on and off screen attracted different genders, classes, and ages. While male fans perceived Ling Po/Brother Liang as a woman, many women perceived Ling Po/Brother Liang as a man (Liu 1963). During my interviews, one of her female fans answers, "I don't know. I was insanely crazy about her." Some fans reply, "I adored her no matter what roles she played" (Chen 2005). Evidently, watching Ling Po was a highly pleasurable experience for them, plausibly fuelled by an unconscious psychological attraction, one that frequently bordered on obsession. The possibility for the generation of this kind of fervor is indeed multilayered, present at least in part in the complex relationships and positions arising from the entwining of the real and cinematic worlds: a beautiful actress playing a young man, in a love story between this young scholar and a character who, for most of the story, is a woman impersonating a man, with all the attendant ambiguities and comedic double entendres that this gives rise to.

Perspectives on possible emotional and sexual responses to *The Love Eterne*, and Ling Po and her character Brother Liang differ. The basic story is the one of love between Liang Shanbo (or Brother Liang), a young male scholar and a Zhu Yingtai, a young woman who disguises herself as a man to gain entry into the scholarly world of men and pursue her own studies. These two form a friendship, which after much misunderstanding, eventually becomes a love affair. Yet this affair is doomed, as Zhu's marriage to another has already been arranged. The story ends with their deaths, implying eternal love and liberation. This traditional story has a long history in Chinese culture, well summarized by Chiao (2003):

> Regarded as a Chinese Romeo and Juliet, the love story of Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai has had a long history, beginning from the time of the Song dynasty. It was composed into a zaju (Yuan drama) and evolved into different regional dramatic forms in different eras: pihuang (Peking opera music, pi refers to Xipi and huang to Huangpi and Huanggang in Hubei Province), Chu opera, Cantonese opera, Chaozhou opera, Peking opera, Shaoxing opera. It was an early love story archetype in Chinese drama and literature (p. 77).

Many different film versions were also made, indeed at least eight between 1948 and 1964 (Tan and Aw 2008). Thus, the story was by no means new to Chinese audiences, and for those in Taiwan, the popularity of *The Love Eterne* was no doubt born in part of the homesickness for traditional China. Yet the overwhelming popularity of Ling Po in Li Han-hsiang's version suggests more than this particular sentiment.

In her chapter on the film, Chiao focuses on its feminist aspects, a point also made by others (Tan and Aw 2008) and remarkable given its time. The character of Zhu Yingtai, played by Le Di, is by far the strongest. She is the initiator and focus of the events that propel the narrative, as well as decisive, rebellious, and highly intelligent. Thus, Chiao sees the obsessive love for Ling Po as at least partly the result of audience identification with Zhu, with Liang Shanbo, (or Brother Liang), as the object of her love. This provides a vehicle of escape; "Falling for a surrogate male figure, who represents no 'gender' or 'gender difference' is indeed the closest to a safe extramarital affair." (2003,

p. 84) Yet Chiao ultimately describes this expression of longing as an almost asexual experience, as though it is beyond gender, "leading the audience into the willful and spiritual realm of gender liberation." (2003, 83) In this way, her analysis reminds of Ang Lee's discussion of the film in an interview in 2001, which brought the film to the attention of Western audiences. Lee chose *The Love Eterne* as the one film to discuss for the article "Watching Movies With/Ang Lee" as it was, for him, a reminder of innocence. Despite acknowledging it as "a very kinky story", Lee mentions that for Chinese audiences of the time the film would have been "pure" and "sexless" (Rick 2001).

Such readings tend to downplay the shifting possibilities that gender, of both the actors and characters, brings to the film, and that is worth considering more deeply given the depth of feeling displayed in the enduring love of fans for Ling Po. Indeed, Lee also describes the heart of the film as lying in "the repressed emotional wish" (Rick 2001). Thus, Tan and Aw take issue with these readings and suggest an alternative reading of the film, informed by queer theory, or "the queer gaze" (2008, p. 161). Tan and Aw's analysis is suggestive rather than prescriptive, highlighting the potential spaces created by gender in the film. They see the film as opening up a "space for negotiation…for anyone who wants, or dares, to indulge in polymorphous desires and identification to do just that." Importantly,

> This is not to repudiate the fact that *The Love Eterne* features a narrative progression favoring a heterosexual closure, but to point out that the film's gender-bending activities can generate subject-positions other than heteronormative ones (2008, p. 165).

The view that the film generates multiple possible points of identification may be elucidated through a psychoanalytic perspective, in particular in relation to the polymorphous appeal of Brother Liang, and Ling Po.

6.3 Perfect Woman or Perfect Man?

In her influential essay Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema, film theorist Laura Mulvey employs psychoanalytic theory to discuss the unconscious structural ways of seeing, and the pleasure in looking, between viewers and the cinema. Mulvey adapts Freud's theory of scopophilia to claim that the cinema offers a source of pleasure in voyeurism. In psychoanalytic terms, scopophilia is one of the component instincts of sexuality, and is associated with taking other people as objects and subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze (Mulvey 1989, p. 16). Film theorist Christian Metz agrees that scopophilia is the invocatory drive, one of the main sexual drivers and always part of what constitutes the pleasure of film-going. Metz (1982, p. 58) notes, "The practice of the cinema is only possible through the perceptual passions: the desire to see, scopophilia."

Mulvey also claims that the pleasure in looking has another primary form—narcissism, connected to the presence of an object as a source of identification. She employs Lacan's Mirror Phase theory, describing "the long love affair/despair between image and self-image", and suggests that "such intensity of expression"

can be found in cinema and "such joyfulness" can be recognized briefly by the cinema audience (Mulvey 1989, p. 18). Narcissism refers to the pleasure in looking when the spectator projects himself onto the screen and fuses with the protagonist through identification. However, Mulvey argues, "In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female", (1989, p. 19) with the male protagonist identified as active and controlling events, while the female protagonist is a passive presence, a sexual object and an icon. She adds, "As the spectator identifies with the main male protagonist, he projects his look onto that of his like, his screen surrogate, so that the power of the male protagonist as he controls events coincides with the active power of the erotic look, both giving a satisfying sense of omnipotence" (Mulvey 1989, p. 20). Hence, the man gazes while the woman is the object of the gaze.

However, when we examine Ling Po's male impersonation of Brother Liang, Mulvey's assumption creates many problems, as most male fans perceive Brother Liang as a woman. When questioned, they commonly reply, "Of course, Brother Liang is a fictional character played by a woman." (Chen 2005) They apparently perceive Brother Liang, the male protagonist, as the object of gaze, rather than an object of identification.

Mulvey argues that this representation of the female figure as an erotic spectacle stems from a threat of castration. In psychoanalytic terms, the woman is displayed for the gaze and enjoyment of men. However, her lack of a penis, implying a threat of castration, always evokes the anxiety it originally signified (Mulvey 1989, p. 21). She suggests that the male unconscious has two avenues of escape from this castration anxiety, "preoccupation with the re-enactment of the original trauma, counterbalanced by the devaluation, punishment, or saving of the guilty object; or else complete disavowal of castration by the substitution of a fetish object or turning the represented figure itself into a fetish so that it becomes reassuring rather than dangerous" (Mulvey 1989, p. 21). Fetishism, then, refers to the latent perversion whereby men strive to discover the penis in the woman in order to grant themselves erotic satisfaction (Kaplan 1983, p. 14). Thus, the film, with its leading male role played by a woman, and the leading female role entailing male impersonation in an attempt to break free from the restrictions placed upon women ultimately provided for both avenues of escape.

The character of Zhu Ying Tai, who struggles against the patriarchal world and evokes a threat of castration, and is ultimately punished for this struggle in her own death epitomizes the first avenue. The threat posed by this young, beautiful, and intelligent woman, ambitiously surpassing men in learning and intellect is effectively neutralized by her death. The character of Ling Po provides interesting possibilities for the second avenue. Castration may be disavowed as she becomes a man in her impersonation of the male scholar through the substitution of the fetish objects that denote her maleness: the hat and the fan, objects that are traditional signifiers of masculinity in Chinese drama. Yet at the same time, Ling Po becomes a fetish object herself, when she is perceived as "really a woman". In the 1960s, Ling Po's publicity images displayed her as a girlish figure with an association of glamor and charisma; male fans were attracted by the fetishised sexiness of this female star.

Thus, men could both accept Ling Po's male impersonation and continue to perceive her as a woman.

Of course, given that some male spectators disbelieved Brother Liang's masculinity, they had difficulties becoming involved in the story and were not drawn into its fantasy. They were possibly drawn into the film by its representation of a fantasy Chinese world that was absent in their real lives; rather than believing in Brother Liang as a man, they were more fascinated by this virtual world and its story. Indeed, according to news reports in 1963, most men went to see Ling Po because their wives demanded companionship; men represented a far smaller proportion of the fan base for Ling Po and the Huangmei Opera film genre, and the Ling Po societies and associations were established by female fans (Liu 1963).

The passion that women experienced through the film and directed towards Ling Po may be seen as sanctioned within the cultural milieu of the time in at least two ways. The tradition of the male impersonation has a long history in China, dating back to the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618–907), during which women played male parts and performed for the emperor (Wu 1980, p. 300). Indeed, in general, Chinese drama has developed a "virtual" aesthetic that permeates its forms, plays, and acting. Unlike realism-oriented Western drama, Chinese drama simplifies and symbolizes its scenery, in stage properties, props, and sets, and delineates the world through the actor's gestures and movements. Thus, like Chinese landscape painting, Chinese drama requires the viewer's imagination to enter a realm beyond everyday reality and likeness.

Gender representation on stage, then, depends on the codification of the character's costumes, make-up, gestures, and movements, not the original sexuality of the performer. "Gender" becomes a performance dependent upon the appearance of masculine or feminine, regardless of biology. This performance aesthetic is based on the principle of depersonalization, denaturalizing the individual's original sexuality through a series of codified gestures and poses. Hence, most Chinese male/female impersonators spend years practicing a series of formulated masculine/feminine gestures and movements to discursively mask their gender identity.

During my interviews, most of the fans, especially women, said that having a male actor play Brother Liang would have destroyed the beauty of this character. They explained that a real man could never be as tender as a woman playing a male role, nor could an actor be as good looking as Ling Po playing Brother Liang. Ling Po's male impersonation articulates an ideal lover by infusing femininity and tenderness into Sheng, a traditional male scholar role characterized by gentleness, effeteness, and book reading. Furthermore, Ling Po's beautiful singing and vocals surpass those of many male actors and are more suited to Huangmei Opera's lyrical melody. Thus, for most of her fans, no real man is tender enough, talented, or beautiful enough to compete with Ling Po's impersonation in a male role. Some viewers might feel that Ling Po's male impersonation is camp and artificial. However, for Ling Po's fans, camp equates with tenderness, and it is precisely the artifice of Ling Po's male impersonation, a "make-believe" man, a "virtual" male role, that renders it more skillful and beautiful. In this way, the expression of ardor by female fans can be at least partly justified as an appreciation of skill. It is partly

in relation to this facet of Chinese culture that Chiao speaks of the experience of the film as effectively beyond gender.

Yet the strength of emotion displayed towards Ling Po by female audiences suggests a deeper and more unconscious attachment than the appreciation of talent and skills, and, again, this is amenable to a psychoanalytic interpretation. That Ling Po's male impersonation of Brother Liang encapsulates the beauty of femininity in a male character suggests a sexual ambivalence. Brother Liang, a virtual male role, becomes androgynous, enabling multiple points of identification.

Freud observed that pure masculinity or femininity does not exist in human beings in a psychological sense, but rather that every individual shows masculine and feminine character traits (Appignanesi and Zarate 1979, p. 89). Cowie adds that the innate bisexual disposition of the human is the juxtaposition of both the feminine and masculine as distinct positions of desire (Cowie 1997, p. 137). Hence, for most Chinese women in the 1960s, we might posit two unconscious sexual fantasies for Brother Liang. First, as fulfillment of the feminine side, Brother Liang captured their desire for an ideal lover, tender, and thoughtful yet absent from their lives, a "prince charming" and an object of desire. Conversely, these women, as befits their masculine side, were yearning for the freedom of self-fulfillment and self-determination exemplified by the male protagonist, Brother Liang, and in the actual world, given that this role was in fact played by an actress. Such freedom was also absent from everyday reality. Thus, reality and dreams could be reversed simply by altering appearances. In an oscillation between masculine and feminine unconscious fantasies, Brother Liang could be perceived as a man, an object of desire, and an object of identification at the same time.

However, these desires and pleasures still occurred under the supervision of a patriarchal society. Under the conservative patriarchal ideology of sexuality in the 1960s, Chinese women were educated to be well behaved, and hence were not encouraged to express their passion or to woo a real man in public. However, in *The Love Eterne*, Brother Liang is a virtual male role impersonated by an actress. The theater became an outlet in which women could project their virtual love onto a virtual male role in a virtual world. All this was allowed by men, who were safe in the perception that Brother Liang was not a real man, and who felt comfortable with women idolizing a virtual male role in the film. They sardonically called Huangmei Opera films "weepies" or "women's films". For men, all these qualities were virtual —in a word, fake—and would not jeopardize their authority. Furthermore, any threat that men might have felt, either unconsciously or consciously would certainly have dissipated as they witnessed the way that women referred to Ling Po, the actress, as distinct from Brother Liang, the character. When female fans recognized the fact that Ling Po was a young, feminine woman in the real world, they immediately transformed their perception of her.

Psychoanalytic theory posits that women have the ability of seeing and knowing simultaneously. In the phallic stage when the little girl discovers that she does not possess the external genitals of the male, she will transfer her object love to her father, who seems to have the phallus (Hall 1978, p. 111). Freud claims that the little girl, upon seeing the penis for the first time, "makes her judgment and her

decision in a flash" (Doane 1991, p. 23). There is no temporal gap between seeing and knowing for women. Hence, upon seeing Ling Po's female figure, female fans could transfer their perception of Ling Po from a man to a woman instantly, resulting in the second and more interesting way their passion for her could be sanctioned. Female fans transformed their object love from Brother Liang to Ling Po with a culturally sanctioned sisterhood, which they called "a pure female friendship"; most female fans called Ling Po "sister" or "daughter" (Chen 2005). This sisterhood friendship between female fans and female star was considered safe and acceptable by the patriarchal society of the time. In the 1960s, female homosexuality, barely admitted to Chinese people's consciousness in Taiwan and Hong Kong, was an impossible issue. Friendship between women was actually regarded as a pure and innocent form. It was permissible if the rules of social propriety, such as getting married and having children, were observed.

In this way, we might agree with Chiao that Brother Liang/Ling Po provided the opportunity for a safe extramarital affair, born at least partly of the unconscious feelings of dissatisfaction and repression of these women. Yet the possibility for inspiring and allowing for the expression of the level of fervor witnessed should be seen as both triggered and brought into focused expression by the shifting space of gender both within and outside the film, as a complex play of gender and sexuality rather than a kind of asexual transcendence of gender.

The result was that perceptions of the relationship with Ling Po between men and women outside the cinema were well balanced and accepted. Such a cross-sex acceptance by the patriarchal society produced a phenomenon by which, no matter where Ling Po went, she always attracted many fans, men, and women. Welcoming Ling Po and adoring her became a social fever and had the appearance of a religious event.

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Chapter 7
Factors Promoting Women's Participation in Taiwan's Politics

Cal Clark and Janet Clark

Most spectacularly, Taiwan elected its first woman President when the DPP's Tsai Ing-wen won with a decisive 56% of the vote. As the postwar era commenced in the late 1940s, the status of women in Taiwan could probably best be described as dismal. The country had a poor agricultural economy that had been devastated by World War II; it was ruled by an authoritarian regime that had just lost the Civil War in China, and its culture was widely described as a highly patriarchal one that relegated women to subservient roles. Consequently, most women faced highly constrained circumstances; and the prospects for either political or economic changes that could improve their situation and status appeared remote. Half a century later, both Taiwan itself and most women on the island have "come a long way." The country experienced an "economic miracle" and now is an industrialized, if not post-industrial, nation with a GDP per capita in 2013 of $38,200 at ppp (purchasing power parity), which was only $200 less than Germany's.[1] While real political liberalization was delayed until the 1980s, there is now a thriving democracy. The status of women has improved markedly as well. For example, women have a fairly high level of participation in the labor force; and the ratio of women's salaries to men's has now reached the level that exists in the United States. In the political realm, women now occupy about a fifth of the seats in most of the country's legislatures and assemblies and have reached a third of the national parliament.

Taiwan obviously has gone through dramatic socioeconomic and political changes that has produced a much more prosperous and democratic society. That women would benefit from such change is somewhat more problematic, however, since both industrialization and democratization have had countervailing implications for the status of women in developing societies. On the one hand, industrialization should set off a series of socioeconomic changes favorable to women:

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(1) women's greater participation in the formal labor market, (2) growing prosperity and opportunities for education, and (3) a more urbanized society in which the repressive power of extended kinship systems is diminished. On the other hand, many women face marginalization, rather than empowerment, from such disparate facets of industrialization as the mechanization of agriculture, the breakdown of strong kinship ties and the extended family, and the evolving division-of-labor in industrial urban centers. For example, new agricultural techniques (e.g., the Green Revolution in South Asia) were dominated by men, thereby marginalizing women in agricultural production; and women's contribution to the industrial work force was largely limited to the least skilled and most tenuous positions in many developing societies.[2] Consequently, while women in some social groups and classes have clearly benefitted from industrialization, the accompanying economic and social transformations have reproduced and reinforced patriarchy in many societies. Similarly, since democracy provides broader avenues for influencing public policy, previously excluded and marginalized groups, such as women, might gain some impact on governmental activities in more democratic societies. However, the strength of the existing patriarchal culture will almost inevitably influence both the extent of women's autonomous participation in the public sector and the efficacy of government policy. Indeed, women seemingly made few gains from the democratic transformations in Latin America and the former Soviet bloc during the 1980s and 1990s.[3]

These countervailing effects that economic and political development had upon the status of women during the twentieth century suggest two divergent perspectives upon women's progress in Taiwan. First, Taiwanese women must have been able to take advantage of important opportunities that political and economic change opened up. Second, we need to be careful not to overlook groups or types of women who have not benefited from the rapid change on the island over the past half century. This chapter begins by presenting a brief overview of Taiwan's development during the postwar era. Two sections then discuss women's changing status in the socioeconomic and political spheres. Finally, the conclusion argues that many women in Taiwan were able to utilize resources made available during the country's development but that significant groups of women were excluded from this process as well. These findings are then used to illustrate a theoretical model of how socioeconomic change affects the status of women in developing societies.

7.1 Taiwan's Postwar Transformations[4]

Taiwan's economy and politics went through a series of transformations during the postwar era that resulted in the creation of a prosperous democracy and created opportunities for many (but far from all) women to better their lives. In particular, four periods of major structural transformation can be discerned—(1) the 1950s when both an authoritarian regime and the transformation away from an agricultural

economy were consolidated; (2) the early 1960s to the early 1970s when the "export boom" revolutionized the economy and set off significant social changes as well; (3) the mid 1970s to the late 1980s when substantial industrial upgrading occurred that was accompanied by the emergence of a middle-class society and a significant political liberalization; and (4) the late 1980s to the present when full democracy was finally achieved but the country was also challenged by an ongoing transformation from an industrial to an "information age" economy.

The first stage of Taiwan's postwar development was strongly shaped by the imposition of authoritarian rule over the island by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang (KMT or the Nationalist Party) party who had evacuated to the island following its loss of the Chinese Civil War in the late 1940s. Under the KMT, the government was dominated by Mainlanders (i.e., the 15% of the population who came to Taiwan with Chiang). The Mainlanders were seen by many Islanders, those who resided in Taiwan at the end of World War II, as treating the Taiwanese (who are also almost entirely Han Chinese) as "second class citizens" in their own land. In addition, there was a legacy of political oppression called the "white terror," most especially the tragedy of the February 28, 1947, or 2-2-8 Incident, in which a limited popular uprising brought a massive retaliation that resulted in an estimated over 20,000 deaths, mostly by execution.[5] While the KMT rule was strongly authoritarian, it did include several aspects that helped to promote democratization several decades later. It incorporated existing social and political groups and factions into the lower levels of the regime. It also allowed local elections which the central party-state adroitly manipulated to play local Taiwanese factions off against each other.[6]

In the economic realm, in contrast, this period saw a series of much more positive reforms or transformations. First and probably most dramatically, there was a radical land reform that created a productive small agriculture sector, greatly reduced the country's economic and social inequality, and provided resources for small business entrepreneurship. Second, a program of universal primary education proved to be extremely successful in developing the country's human capital. Third, the government substantially increased its economic leadership capability by bringing skilled technocrats into the top levels of the regime. Finally, import-substitution policies of protecting the domestic market allowed light industry to develop quite rapidly.[7]

Despite the initial success of this transformation, import-substitution soon reached its inevitable high point with the saturation of the local market for light industrial goods, setting off a new challenge for Taiwan. The resources accumulated during this first stage then formed the foundation for a new transformation to exporting light industrial products in the 1960s. The technocrats conceived and implemented the major policy changes which made this transformation possible, while its success rested on the human capital that had been developed in the work force and business community. The results were certainly spectacular as Taiwan recorded double-digit real economic growth through most of the 1960s and early

1970s based on an even more rapid expansion of primarily light industrial exports. In the political realm, the liberalization of the economy to promote exports had the perhaps ironic consequence of undercutting state power by forcing Taiwan's small businesses to become highly entrepreneurial in the face of stiff international competition. This also had a very salutary social effect by increasing the power of the primarily Taiwanese business community, thereby bringing a little more balance to the relations between Mainlanders and Islanders.[8]

Just as with import-substitution, the success of Taiwan's export-led strategy contained the "seeds of its own destruction" in the sense that the island's rising prosperity and wages began to price it out of the niche of low-cost manufactured products in the world economy. Economically, Taiwan responded to this new challenge with two somewhat disparate transformations during the late 1970s and 1980s. First, there was a state-led push into the heavy industry (e.g., steel and petrochemicals); second, the small-scale business sector began to upgrade its production techniques, especially in the electronics field.[9] The important social change occurred as well with the emergence of a strong middle class.[10] The authoritarian regime began to liberalize significantly as well with the emergence of a coherent opposition and the growing role for "electoral politicians" within the Kuomintang.[11]

The final structural transformation commenced in the late 1980s. Economically, Taiwan emerged as a major player in the global high tech industry (e.g., ranking third in the world in semiconductor production as the new millennium opened) and, correspondingly, saw a massive movement to offshore production in its traditional labor-intensive industries, primarily to the PRC.[12] Unlike earlier eras, though, the economic change was probably dwarfed by the transformation of the polity, as Taiwan went through a very successful democratic transition. By the early-to-mid 1990s, Taiwan's citizens were electing all their political leaders in free and competitive elections; and the formerly opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) won the presidency in 2000.[13] Perhaps because this final structural transformation is not yet complete, it appears more problematic than the first three. Economically, the massive loss of old industries periodically raises fears of impending crisis, while the polarization and gridlock in Taiwan's recent politics have taken a little of the luster off its successful democratization.[14]

Cumulatively, therefore, these four transformations have radically reshaped Taiwan from a poor agricultural dictatorship to a prosperous industrial (or post-industrial) democracy. Such far-reaching and fundamental change certainly presents many opportunities and resources that women might potentially use for greater empowerment. Yet, as noted in the introductory section, development in many Third World nations has not really benefitted women very much because of various barriers that prevent them from availing themselves of such theoretically potential resources and opportunities. The next two sections, therefore, examine what socioeconomic and political development has meant for women on Taiwan.

7.2 Women's Socioeconomic Status in Taiwan

Most indicators of women's socioeconomic status in Taiwan imply that they have made very substantial progress and now experience conditions that are, for the most part, equivalent to those in the developed world. For example, the data in Table 7.1 show that women in Taiwan now have a life expectancy of 82, a fertility rate of 1.1, an infant mortality rate of 4.5, and a maternal mortality rate of 6.5, all typical of figures in the developed nations. Educationally, women now have a literacy rate of 96%; and there is little difference between the school attendance of girls and boys through four-year colleges and universities, although a clear male bias in graduate education remains.[15] In terms of economic status, women have a fairly high rate of participation in the formal labor force at 50%, which is widely seen as an important prerequisite for their social empowerment. Most impressively, their average wages and salaries are 80% those of men. While this is still far from equality, it is approximately equal to the ratio in the United State.

The attainment of increased and increasingly equal education for women in Taiwan is crucial because a good education is almost required to broaden one's possibilities and achieve independence and empowerment. Traditionally before industrialization, most families in Taiwan had been reluctant to invest in education for their girls who were regarded as "spilled water" because they left the family upon marriage. Consequently, educational opportunities are vital if women are to develop their skills and resources. At the beginning of Taiwan's industrialization drive, educational opportunities were quite limited; and very substantial gender inequality existed in the education system. For example, in 1951 the average man had attended school for four years, while the average woman had only a year and a half of education.[16]

The government instituted compulsory primary school (grades 1–6) at the beginning of the country's development drive; and compulsory schooling was expanded to nine years or junior high in 1968.[17] Universal education paid for by the government is obviously very advantageous for girls because it overcomes cultural

Table 7.1 Indicators of women's socioeconomic status in Taiwan, 2008–09

Life expectancy	82
Fertility rate	1.1
Infant mortality	4.5[a]
Maternal mortality	6.5[b]
Literacy rate	96%
Labor force participation	50%
Average salary compared to men's	80%

[a]per 1,000 live births
[b]per 100,000 live births
Source
Phyllis Mei-lien Lu. *The Changing Status of Women in Taiwan: 1948–2010*. Auburn, AL: PhD Dissertation, Auburn University, 2012. pp. 158, 160, 162, 171, 173, 185

prejudices against girls' going to school. The data on the percentages of girls and boys in various age cohorts who attended school in 1969 and 1988 in Table 7.2 demonstrate the importance of Taiwan's educational policy. In 1969, just after the increase in compulsory schooling, there was nearly universal schooling for both girls and boys through the age of 11. For older children, however, the proportion of those in school dropped considerably; and serious gender inequality existed for those who continued their schooling. For example, only a little more than half (50%) of the girls aged 12–14 were in school compared to nearly three-quarters (70%) of the boys. Clearly, the patriarchal traditional culture was acting in a biased manner to limit the resource endowments of many girls and women in Taiwan.

Two decades later as Taiwan emerged as an industrialized society the picture was much more positive. School attendance for both girls and boys had increased substantially. Furthermore, the decided gender inequality that existed in the educational system had been overcome as well. Indeed, by 1988 women had become a little more likely than men to have continued their education beyond 15 years of age. Despite this aggregate equality in educational opportunities for girls and boys, more subtle but serious gender biases continue in the educational system, however. For example, lower levels of schools seem to be more oriented to educating and encouraging boys than girls; and substantial gender segregation by subject matter exists at the level of colleges and vocational schools.[18] Even with these limitations, though, the tremendous expansion of educational opportunities for women during

Table 7.2 Percentage of age group attending school

	1969	1988
Age 6–11		
Male	98%	99%
Female	97%	99%
Age 12–14		
Male	70%	91%
Female	54%	90%
Age 15–17		
Male	43%	73%
Female	31%	80%
Age 18–21		
Male	20%	29%
Female	15%	33%
Age 22–24		
Male	7%	8%
Female	3%	8%

Source
Cal Clark, Janet Clark, and Bih-er Chou. "Women and Development in Taiwan: The Importance of the Institutional Context." In Kartik C. Roy, Clement A. Tisdell, and Hans C. Blomqvist, Eds., *Economic Development and Women in the World Community*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996. p. 47

the postwar era is widely seen as making a major contribution to women's empowerment in Taiwan.[19]

Taiwan's pattern of economic development also proved to be helpful for improving women's status, although there were a few more contradictory results than for the expansion of educational opportunities. The implications of land reform were very significant. During the 1950s and 1960s, these effects were clearly positive. Because of the small agricultural plots that were institutionalized by the "Land to the Tiller" program, large-scale mechanization was limited, thereby curbing the pressures for a gender-based division of labor in which men would monopolize the new, much more productive technologies. Consequently, women shared the benefits of vastly increased ownership and somewhat increased productivity with men without facing the negative spin-offs that the Green Revolution can produce for the status of women. Furthermore, Taiwan's early development that was based on the growth of geographically dispersed small factories[20] reduced the problems that early industrialization often creates for rural women. For example, the existence of nearby factories minimized the disruption of traditional ties and support systems that industrialization inevitably generates. More importantly, aggregate data on women's employment showed that, perhaps surprisingly, they were not grossly under- or overrepresented in most job categories except the very highest one of managers and administrators.[21]

Taiwan's rapid passage through industrial development into an "information age" economy by the 1990s also was quite beneficial to women because this tertiary economy created innumerable professional positions for which educated women were quite well qualified. This economic transition brought significant pressures undercutting traditional family relations. Several traditional norms continued to hold sway even as what has been termed the "new nuclear family" has increasingly replaced the extended rural kinship system in urbanized Taiwan. For example, daughters are still viewed as "marrying out" of their natal families. However, women, especially those who are educated and employed, have become much more independent. For example:

> Highly educated urban women after marriage use their greater economic independence to help their natal families financially. Thus, various tensions within the family are evident as women assume new roles in the larger society. Many men resent challenges to their traditional prerogatives of domination in the public domain and also recent challenges to a sexual double standard. This contributes to domestic discord and a slowly rising divorce rate.[22]

Despite Taiwan's relatively good record in terms of aggregate statistics, more detailed and qualitative studies point to continuing and substantial biases that women faced in labor markets during Taiwan's industrialization. Most importantly, women's role in the industrial labor force has always been subject to very considerable discrimination. For example, women have formed a highly disproportionate number of the "part-time proletariat" who work in factories before marriage, rank at the bottom of pay and status among manufacturing employees, have almost no opportunity for advancement, and continue to be subordinated within traditional

family structures. In agriculture and small-scale commerce, moreover, women are far more likely than men to occupy the marginalized status of "unpaid family help."[23] This marginalization of a substantial number of women in Taiwan's postwar economy spotlights class differences among women, as well as the growing role of education and professional employment in promoting the independence and empowerment of many (but far from all) women in Taiwanese society.

7.3 Women's Political Status in Taiwan

Women can use government and the political processes in two distinct ways in order to improve their status. First, women officials are usually assumed to be especially responsive to women's concerns and issues. Thus, having more women officials should result in more governmental policies supportive of women.[24] Second, women's groups and individual women can canvass public officials to gain favorable policies. Indeed, the activities of grassroots women's organizations have been quite effective in upgrading the status of women in a wide range of contexts in both the developed and developing worlds.[25] This section, hence, examines women's political status on Taiwan.

7.3.1 Women in Political Office

In terms of holding official political offices, women have gained very significant representation in many areas of government. The question of how well women are represented in Taiwan's politics is one of whether one sees a glass "half full or half empty." On the one hand, women are grossly underrepresented in almost all categories of political offices and jobs; on the other, they now have very significant representation that is fairly high for a developing country. In terms of holding official political offices, women have gained very significant representation in many areas of government. For example, in the early 21st century, women generally held over 20% of the seats in Taiwan's assemblies and legislatures and 15% of the cabinet posts. Furthermore, while women in Taiwan have not fared as well in gaining executive positions as they have in winning legislative races, they have done quite well in contests for the top executive positions. Annette Hsiu-lien Lü of the Democratic Progressive Party served as Taiwan's Vice President for eight years (2000–2008) during the presidential administration of Chen Shui-bian; and Tsai Ing-wen won the DPP's presidential nomination for president in 2012, although she lost in a highly competitive race.[26]

Gaining political office, of course, does not necessarily mean that women will be able to exercise effective power or to pursue their own policy objectives. This is especially true for Taiwan where the patriarchal Confucian culture might well result in women office-holders acting and being treated as second class "tokens." Moreover, especially during the authoritarian era, many governmental positions did not really confer much power upon the office-holder. Still, there are several important indications that women officials have participated meaningfully in government. For example, two studies of Taiwan legislators based on in-depth interviews with matched samples of Assemblywomen and Assemblymen found a surprising similarity in the activities and role orientations of female and male legislators in both the authoritarian era[27] and the more recent democratic period.[28]

During the mid-1980s, of course, Taiwan's politics still retained considerable authoritarian controls; and, in particular, legislative activities were clearly constrained. Thus, it might be argued that the relative similarity between Assemblywomen and Assemblymen at that time lacked much substantive import. The same cannot be said for Taiwan's politics after the democratic transition was completed in the early 1990s. Consequently, the argument that women legislators in Taiwan are far from inactive tokens receives strong support from similar findings about the activism of women legislators in Yang Wan-ying's study of the Legislative Yuan (Taiwan's national parliament) that was based on interviews conducted in late 1997 with a matching sample of about 20 women and 20 men.[29]

Furthermore, Yang was explicitly interested in the question of whether women and men legislators differed in their representative activities. Table 7.3, for instance, explores the hypothesis that women and men would specialize in sponsoring different types of bills (these data are not based on Yang's interviews but on the records of the Legislative Yuan for all parliamentarians). In particular, Yang hypothesized that a much higher proportion of the bills introduced by women, as compared to men, would address either (1) "feminist issues" (legal equality and improving women's status in society) or (2) "caring issues" in such areas of women's traditional concerns about children, education, health care, and social welfare. Table 7.3 provides strong support for this hypothesis as over half (57%) of the bills sponsored by women were in these two fields, while less than a fifth (18%) of men's bills were, with (as might be expected) the difference being especially pronounced concerning feminist issues (13–1%). In addition, women accorded a slightly higher priority than men to bills concerning judicial affairs (20–13%), perhaps reflecting a greater interest in human and legal rights (which can benefit women even if not specifically targeted toward them). Overall, therefore, women legislators in Taiwan do appear to be specializing in the representation of women.[30]

The historical operation of Taiwan's electoral system provides the primary explanation for women's comparatively good representation today. Article 136 of the 1946 Constitution mandates that women be guaranteed a minimum representation in legislative assemblies at all levels of government. In practice, this has meant that one or more seats are "reserved" for a woman in Taiwan's multi-member electoral districts, with the number of "reserved seats" being determined by the size of the district. When a sufficient number of women candidates got enough votes to

Table 7.3 Emphasis in bill sponsorship by gender, 1996–1997

	Women[a] (%)	Men[a] (%)
Feminist issues	13	1
Caring issues	42	17
Judicial issues	20	13
Economic development issues	17	36
Politics and government issues	1	19
Defense and foreign affairs	1	5
Group advocacy	4	10

[a]Columns do not sum to precisely 100% because of rounding errors

Source Wan-ying Yang. *Politics of Gender Differences in Taiwan's Legislative Yuan: Descriptive, Symbolic or Substantive Representation?* East Lansing: Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1999. p. 106

be elected, they were considered to meet this quota. However, when no or not enough female candidates got enough votes to be elected, those with the most votes were awarded the seat or seats reserved for them. Overall, about ten percent of legislative seats were reserved for women by this system. The fact that there were competitive local elections even during the authoritarian era in which the central government played off Taiwanese factions against each other meant that local factions had a strong incentive to recruit women candidates in order to prevent these "reserved seats" from falling to their rivals by default. Over time, therefore, women candidates had to develop their own political skills; and by the 1970s or 1980s, depending upon the office, women were exceeding their reserved quotas by significant margins in all of Taiwan's legislative elections.[31]

That women had become quite competitive in their own right was demonstrated in the 2008 Legislative Yuan elections when the voting system was changed so that single-member districts predominated, in which women were guaranteed half of the few party-list seats or about 15% of the total (Hsieh, 2009). Instead of increasing the male domination of the legislature, this election actually resulted in a jump in women's representation as they captured 30% of the seats, including 21.5% of the single-member districts (Legislative Yuan, 2008). Table 7.4 charts women's progress in the Legislative Yuan. From 1969 when elections were first held for this body (before then it was composed of legislators who had been elected in the late 1940s from all of China) through 1992 women won slightly over 10% of the seats which was 30–40% above their reserved quotas. This jumped by almost half to about 20% of the seats in the late 1990s and early 2000s and then jumped again by ten percentage points to 30% in 2008 and 34% in 2012.

In contrast to the reserved seat system, the specific political dynamics of Taiwan's political democratization were not particularly helpful to women because they worked to marginalize women's issues. Questions of "ethnic justice" have always been central to politics in Taiwan due to the dominance of the government and the ruling KMT party by the 15% Mainlander minority during the authoritarian

Table 7.4 Women's percentage of seats in legislative yean elections

Year	Women's share of seats (%)
1969	9.1
1972	11.1
1975	10.8
1980	11.4
1983	11.3
1986	9.6
1989	12.9
1992	10.6
1995	14.0
1998	19.1
2001	22.2
2004	20.9
2008	30.1
2012	33.6

Sources
Phyllis Mei-lien Lu. *The Changing Status of Women In Taiwan: 1948–2010*. Auburn, AL: PhD Dissertation, Auburn University, 2012) p. 192
Timothy Rich. "Women in Politics: The Pattern in Asia," *Thinking Taiwan*, June 22, 2015, www.thinking-taiwan.com

era. For example, the Democratic Progressive Party, which emerged as the leading challenger to the Kuomintang in the late 1980s, has always emphasized Taiwanese nationalism in its platform.[32] Consequently, other issues, such as women's and social welfare ones, have been shunted to the margins of political debate. More recently, beginning in the late 1990s, the balance in Taiwan's politics became so even and highly polarized that very little opportunity for policy initiatives existed.[33] In combination, therefore, these factors have kept women's issues fairly low on Taiwan's political agenda.

7.3.2 Women's Groups and Political Activism

In the realm of civil society, feminist and women's groups have pushed for an aggressive agenda of democratization, social reform, and the granting of equal rights to women. During the authoritarian era, a variety of women's groups existed. However, they either were officially organized by the regime, such as the Kuomintang's Office of Women's Activities, or were fairly conservative social and professional organizations that were closely tied to the Office of Women's Activities. Consequently, these organizations were highly supportive of the political status quo and refrained from challenging Taiwan's patriarchal culture.[34]

Taiwan's feminist movement in the 1970s was something of a "one woman whirlwind," in large part because of the open hostility from the regime. Annette Hsiu-lien Lü, who had been exposed to American feminism during her studies in the United States, launched Taiwan's Feminist Movement with a talk on International Women's Day in 1972 and with the publication in 1974 of a book, *New Feminism*, which described western feminism, gave a historical overview of the position of women in Chinese society, and argued that considerable gender inequalities still existed in Taiwan. While Lü quite consciously limited her analysis and arguments to seemingly moderate issues, the regime quickly concluded that her brand of feminism constituted a threat to the island's social order, thus contradicting its women's policy aimed at preserving the patriarchal tradition in Taiwan. For example, when Lü was arrested after the Kaohsiung Incident, her interrogators specifically berated her for her activities on behalf of the Feminist Movement, even though they had nothing to do with the alleged reason for her arrest:

> Your motivation to launch such a movement is to destabilize the society, especially to arouse dispute between the husbands and wives of our high ranking officials so that their marriages may be broken.[35]

In the face of repression from the KMT, support for Lü and the Feminist Movement remained limited. The Women's New Awakenings Foundation, which was founded in 1982, continued Lü's work in the 1980s (while she was in jail) but was the only women's group that openly promoted feminism and women's rights before the end of martial law in the late 1980s, even though women continued to suffer from substantial handicaps. For example, despite the fact that the Constitution assured equality of the sexes, many laws discriminated against women, especially the marital property law which prevented married women from developing economic independence. Even so, the Foundation's journal, *New Awakenings*, had to struggle in its work to raise female consciousness, encourage self-development, and voice feminist opinion. The magazine was considered radical by many and failed to win a wide readership. In addition, most of the feminist leaders were Mainlanders, which unfortunately limited their appeal to Islander women.[36]

The beginning of Taiwan's democratic transition in the mid-1980s, however, opened up much more space for both feminist activities and the formation of new, independent women's groups. For example, Lü's *New Feminism* was reissued in 1986; and, following the lifting of martial law in 1987, a coalition of women's, human rights, and religious groups organized a large public demonstration against child prostitution. More generally, many new women's organizations were formed and sought to improve women's lives. For example, the Feminist Studies Association became quite active in academic life; the Warm Life association was formed by divorced women; the Taipei Women's Development Center focused on the reemployment of minority women and the elderly; the Warm Life Association for Women assisted divorced women and women on the verge of divorce; the Women's Research Program in the Population Center of National Taiwan University worked on gender and women's studies; the Rainbow Project, which was supported by the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan, helped aboriginal teen girls;

the Taipei Association for the Promotion of Women's Rights and Pink Collar Solidarity supported women against the still prevalent patriarchal norms in Taiwan; and the Homemakers' Union was concerned with the protection of the environment and a wide range of social issues. Subsequently, an intricate network was created among such organizations. Within this network, if any group seized a particularly compelling issue, the others immediately stepped up to help win the attention and support of the public.[37]

Somewhat later in the 1990s the Feminist Movement in Taiwan began to expand as well. In particular, the diversity (as well as the number) of feminist groups increased to meet the needs of particular groups of women. These new women's associations began to focus on gender concerns from different perspectives. While some of them provided women practical services and professional assistance, others actively took part in political and social movements to urge the modification or enactment of laws and to supervise the government's execution of public policies to improve women's status in Taiwan's society. Women also participated in protests related to nuclear development, pollution, police-protected prostitution, and aborigines' land struggles. Most significantly, in contrast to feminists' prior need to compromise with conservatives, these activists threw off their self-censorship after the revocation of martial law, as women's groups based on social feminism and radical feminism began to emerge in the mid-1990s.[38] Moreover, in 2001, the National Alliance of Taiwan Women's Associations (NATWA), an umbrella organization, was established to coordinate the country's more than 70 gender-related NGOs.[39]

Directly challenging traditional beliefs and patriarchal culture, these autonomous women's groups in Taiwan have been working hard to improve women's situation in various fields, including women's right to reproductive choice, the prevention of domestic violence and sexual assault, environmental protection, gender equality in employment opportunities, the civil rights of same-sex couples, and the advancement of women into leadership roles in the political arena. In particular, the Women's Movement had a significant impact on women's daily lives through its success in obtaining legal reforms for gender equality. These achievements in legislative reforms between 1984 and 2011 include legalizing abortion, revising the Civil Code to protect women's rights, preventing children and teenagers from becoming prostitutes, prohibiting different forms of violence against women, eliminating gender biases in the education system, and securing women's equal access to employment opportunities.[40]

Not all women's groups were particularly feminist, though. In fact, several seemingly derived their success from appealing to traditional values. For example, the Homemakers' Union's Environmental Protection Foundation primarily appealed to middle-class housewives who "root their environmentalism in issues of household and motherhood."[41] Moreover, probably the most successful women's group through the 1990s, the Compassionate Relief Merit Society, appeared

distinctly unfeminist. Compassionate Relief had been founded by a Buddhist nun in the 1960s and grown to a membership of 4 million (80% women) 25 years later, making it the largest civic organization in Taiwan, with a charitable budget of over $20 million annually. This organization, in addition to its traditional religious orientation, ignores normal feminist concerns in its support for the traditional family structure and in its appeal to wealthy housewives:

> Many of the followers' stories speak of alcoholic husbands, shrewish mothers-in-law, and disappointing children. Compassionate Relief teaches them to accept their problems, gives them a supportive group of friends, and offers new interests that give them a feeling of worthy accomplishment…. Compassionate Relief's unique appeal to women in Taiwan thus stems from its universalization of women's family concerns. It confirms women in their family roles yet also extends them beyond the family itself for the first time.[42]

This importance of women's groups also suggests that conventional stereotypes of women's subordination and submissiveness in Confucian societies are somewhat oversimplified. For example, Emma Teng[43] points to a research tradition based on Margery Wolf's *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan*.[44] Wolf's anthropological field work found a variety of social phenomena that were at variance with the prevailing stereotype of women's universal oppression and victimization under Confucian patriarchal culture. Women's status differed considerably over their life cycle; women actively participated in informal social networks that exercised considerable power; and some of these social networks even constituted "a women's community." Overall, Wolf's work:

> offered a radical challenge to the idea that women were wholly subordinated in the Confucian patriarchal family. Wolf's notion of the "uterine family," centered on the mother, opened the way for an investigation into an alternate women's view of Chinese society that contrasted with the official Confucian view.[45]

Robert Weller's work on civil society and democracy in China and Taiwan represents a somewhat broader application of this approach.[46] His analysis of civil society in Taiwan and China, in particular, is distinctive because of the strong emphasis that he places on the role of women in developing informal social organizations in Chinese societies. Weller argues that historically women have played a leading role in a wide array of "horizontal" social organizations (e.g., religious groups, poetry societies, clothes washing groups, and revolving credit associations) at every level or class in society. While these organizations, unlike those dominated by men, were almost exclusively communal and local in nature, the ties were often more intense and more trustworthy than in male organizations. In contemporary society, Weller sees women as taking a leading role in small business and revolving credit associations, charitable groups (e.g., Compassionate Relief), and even more conventional political interest groups (e.g., the Homemakers' Union).

7.4 Women in Taiwan

Women in Taiwan have certainly made considerable, if not remarkable, progress over the postwar period. They have done so by using new resources to enhance their independence, empowerment, and status. While not generally recognized, women's networks were important even in traditional Taiwanese society, creating a basis for women's activism and empowerment. Tremendously increased opportunities for education, professional employment, and political influence allowed numerous women to transform and improve their lives and life opportunities. Still, despite these expanding opportunities, Taiwan's development pattern also created very significant barriers to the empowerment of many women as well. For example, those who did not have access to better education and professional employment have been generally marginalized in Taiwan's increasingly post-industrial society. Furthermore, while democratization has allowed a very wide array of women's groups to emerge and become politically influential over the last two decades, the dominant issue dynamics in the polity have also made it hard to get many women's issues onto the political agenda. In short, much has been accomplished, but much also remains to be done.

The Taiwan experience also is suggestive for broader theories of what factors promote or retard the improvement of women's status in developing societies. As diagrammed in Fig. 7.1, two background sociocultural factors are the degree of patriarchy in the traditional culture and the amount of socioeconomic development and cultural change that has occurred. Higher levels of economic development, in turn, are associated with democratization which can both help stimulate autonomous women's interest groups and, though the enhanced representation of women,

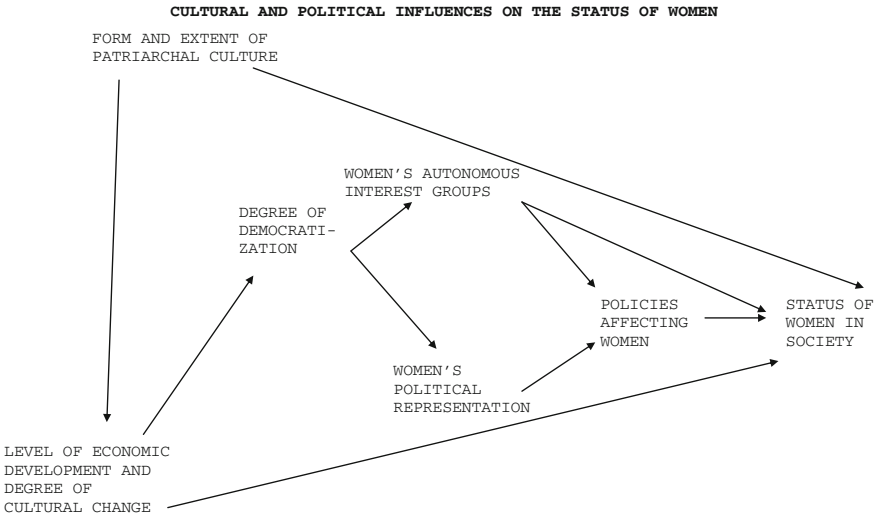

Fig. 7.1 Cultural and political influences on the status of women

lead to more supportive laws and government policies. The status of women in a society, finally, is determined by a combination of the initial patriarchal culture, the amount of sociocultural change, the ability of women to develop autonomous groups, and public policies affecting women.

The theoretical controversies over how these factors shape the status of women that were noted in the Introduction certainly imply that each of these linkages is at least somewhat problematic. What happened in Taiwan is consistent with this. First, the strongly patriarchal Confucian culture turned out to be not as pervasive as generally assumed. Rather, the work of Emma Teng, Robert Weller, and Margery Wolfe found very important women's spheres and skills. These expanded the opportunity for women, however, only because of specific components of Taiwan's developmental trajectory: (1) the emphasis on small-scale agricultural that land reform promoted; (2) universal education; and (3) the rapid transformation to first an industrial and then a post-industrial economy. In addition, political change and development had contradictory implications for women. The development of women's groups was retarded during the authoritarian era but then stimulated by the democratic transition. Similarly, the reserved seat system helped increase the representation of women, but the nature of party competition pushed women's issues to the side.

Notes

1. *Index Mundi* 2015.
2. Boserup (1970), Scott (1995).
3. Jaquette (1994), Waylen (1994).
4. For a much more detailed presentation of this model of Taiwan's political economy, see Clark and Tan (2012).
5. Gold (1986).
6. Rigger (1999).
7. Galenson (1979), Ho (1979).
8. Galenson (1979).
9. Fields (1995), Wade (1990).
10. Hsiao (1991).
11. Copper (1988), Tien (1989).
12. Chang and Yu (2001), Chow (1997), Ling (1996).
13. Chao and Myers (1998), Rigger (2001).
14. Clark (2006).
15. Lu (2012).
16. Chiang and Ku (1985).
17. Hsieh (1996).
18. Hsieh (1996).
19. Chiang and Ku (1985); Chou et al. (1990), Farris (2000).
20. Ho (1979).
21. Clark et al. (1996).

22. Farris (1994) p. 158.
23. Greenhalgh (1981).
24. Chou, Clark, and Clark (1990).
25. Bystydzienski and Sekhon (1999), Lee and Clark (2000).
26. Chen and Chung (2016), Lu (2012), Rich (2015).
27. Chou, Clark, and Clark (1990).
28. Yang (1999).
29. Yang (1999).
30. President Tsai's election was something of a mixed blessing, however, since only 4 of her initial cabinet appointees were women, the lowest level in almost 20 years.
31. Chou, Clark, and Clark (1990).
32. Rigger (2001).
33. Clark (2006).
34. Chiang and Ku (1985); Lu (1994).
35. Farris (1994).
36. Chiang and Ku (1985); Farris (1994); Lu (1994) Liberation; Teng (1991).
37. Chiang and Ku (1985); Farris (1994); Ku (1998); Wang (1999); Weller (1999).
38. Chen (2004); Ku (1998); Wang (1999).
39. Gao (2011).
40. Chen (2004); Fan (1994); Gao (2011); Yu (1994).
41. Weller (1999), p. 114.
42. Weller (1999), p. 98.
43. Teng (1996).
44. Margery Wolf (1972).
45. Teng (1996) p. 125.
46. Weller (1999).

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Chapter 8
Gendering of Academic in Taiwan: From Women's Studies to Gender Studies, 1985–2015

Bih-Er Chou

Abstract The establishment and institutionalization of women's studies program in the higher education was once viewed as "the academic wing of the women's liberation movement." It has led to the curriculum reform in higher education which became a major women's movement itself. The patterns and paths by which women studies developed as an academic discipline had been various and diverse. In general, two major models of institutionalization may be identified as practiced in the West, especially in the US. They were referred to as the integrated and separated models. This chapter aims to analyze the developmental procedure of women's and gender studies in higher education as a manifestation of women's movement in Taiwan. Using the information collected from educational statistics and roasters of courses listed in Women's Studies publications, this chapter attempts to delineate the development of women's movement as reflected in the process of feminist transformation of knowledge in higher education in Taiwan. Three dimensions of the feminist transformation process, namely, institutionalization of women's studies, mainstreaming of gender curriculum, and feminist transformation of knowledge production were examined. Analysis of the data shows that women's movement has achieved a fair level of success in gendering the liberal arts education of university and mainstreaming feminist pedagogy. Women and gender courses became available in more than half of the institutions of Taiwan's higher education in the past three decades. Gendering of curriculum was achieved not only among traditional departments and disciplines, there was also significant progress in general education curricula. This reflects the vitality and versatility of feminist scholars and women's movement in Taiwan. However, in terms of the acceptance and prevalence of gender studies as an independent academic institute or discipline, especially in the prestigious public research university, there remains much to be desired by feminist ideals.

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Keywords Gender studies · Women studies · Feminism · Feminist knowledge · Women's movement · Gender mainstreaming · Women in Taiwan

8.1 Introduction

Women's movement has a long history in the process of Taiwan's social and political development. It has her first wave movement in the early twentieth century during the Japanese occupation period. (Yang 1993) The current phase of the women's movement was developed from the New Women Movement which was derived from the women's liberation movement in the early 1970s in the US. Although it was claimed by some scholars as an indigenous movement grown out of Taiwan's experience (Lu 1972; 1994), others viewed it as part of the second wave global feminist project. (Wang 1999) Among the many distinguishing features of this second wave women's movement, the establishment and institutionalization of women's studies program in higher education, which started in the early 1970s in the United States, was considered by many as one of the most defining and significant characteristics. For not only was it once viewed as "the academic wing of the women's liberation movement," (Gordon 1975: 565) but through its relationship to the movement, women's studies have significantly shaped the development of feminist knowledge system within the academic. This, in turn, has led to the curriculum reform in higher education which becomes a major women's movement itself (Stimpson 1973).

Although the publication of "New Feminism" (Xin Nyu Xing Zhu Yi) by Annette Lu in 1972 was identified by feminist scholars and activists as sowing the seed of the contemporary phase of women's movement in Taiwan, the development of women's studies courses for the purpose of disseminating knowledge about women and for women would not be available until the establishment of "Women's Research Program" in National Taiwan University in 1985. This is a delay of more than a decade after the initiation of the "New Women Movement" in 1972, due to the authoritarian political atmosphere resulted from the implementation of martial law in Taiwan from 1949 to 1987. Despite its late start, the development of women's studies and, likewise, women's movement in Taiwan has been impressive among Asian societies. Over the past 30 years, women movement and women's studies program in Taiwan have come a long way. Women Studies has been expanded and renamed Gender Studies. Currently, there is a total of 11 such programs: three gender studies graduate institutes offering MA and PhD degrees and seven interdisciplinary gender/women's studies programs. These serve as platforms for integrating faculty from various disciplines to promote and offer courses on women and gender in all universities. There is also a total of 549 courses related to the subjects of sex, sexuality, and gender listed in the curricula of 65 schools among the total of 168 higher education institutions in Taiwan in 2008. (MOE 2009a, b).

In view of the importance of the feminist reform of curriculum for the contemporary women's liberation movement to achieve gender equality, and yet there has been no systematic investigation of its development in Taiwan available, this chapter thus attempts to analyze the developmental process of women's and gender studies in higher education as a reflection of women's movement in Taiwan. It will also try to identify the actors shaping up the unique path to engender Taiwanese higher education in Taiwan and emphasize its relationship to the political democratization in general and women's movement in particular.

8.2 Literature Review

Feminist transformation of higher education involves attempts and efforts in at least two fronts: feminist teaching and pedagogy and feminist transformation of knowledge. As claimed by the women's movement, feminist epistemology calls for new ways of constructing knowledge of society based on women's experiences and viewing women as the subject of knowledge production. Feminist critiques of male dominant (malestream) knowledge construction challenge the neutrality of scientific knowledge and the concepts of objectivity and value free from the traditional empirical science. Feminist methodology proposes feminist standpoint approach; that is, women, by being the oppressed group in patriarchal society where gender is the basic category of social division, behold the privileged position in the delineation of the ruling relationship and operation of power in their daily lives; and thus, knowledge constructed on the basis of their experiences should be relevant and empowering to the liberation of the underclass (Harding 1987; Hartsock 1987; Smith 1987a).

Literature review of women's transformation of knowledge system may be approached from the following two aspects:

8.2.1 Women and Gender Studies Curriculum

For the academic to serve as a wing of women's movement, curriculum reform or revolution to incorporate feminist teaching and pedagogy was perceived to be even more critical. (De Laurentis 1986; Lougee 1981) Not only historically women studies courses were offered before feminist journals were established, dissemination of feminist ideas and knowledge through small group discussion was a major force behind the "consciousness raising" in the early stage of movement. Teaching women/gender courses through classroom to young generation of women have served as an important mechanism of recruiting continuous support for and new input to sustain the development of the movement. The institutionalization of women studies curriculum in higher education also indicates the integration of feminist knowledge into academic discipline and ensures the acceptance and

employment of feminist scholars by the education system. Secure faculty position will then provide a basis for knowledge production for the feminist transformation of education. Therefore, delineation of the path and pattern of how women and gender studies program and courses developed will expand our understanding of the gendering process of Taiwan in the past and indicate its direction in the future. However, systematic investigation of the development of the gendering of curriculum in higher education in Taiwan was limited. This chapter analyzes the developmental procedure of women's and gender studies curriculum in higher education as a reflection of women's movement in Taiwan. It will also attempt to hypothesize the factors shaping up the unique path of the engendering of higher education in Taiwan and its relationship to the political democratization in general and women's movement in particular.

8.2.2 Models of Institutionalization of Feminist Curriculum

Over the past three decades, there had been many heated discussions and debates over the nature, structure and the goals of women studies program and its relationship to women's liberation movement among feminist scholars. (see Boxer 1982 for the excellent review; Sheridan 1990) The paths and ways by which women studies developed as an institution had been various and diverse. In general, two major models of institutionalization practiced in the West, especially in the US, may be identified. They were referred to as the integrated and separatist models. An integrated model refers to the ideal situation wherein not only women's studies or gender-related courses would be implemented as core courses of disciplinary curriculum, but also feminist knowledge would be integrated into the existing courses of the various departments of humanities and social sciences. Thus, for the sociology department, not only sociology of gender would be listed as a core course of sociology curriculum and required for all sociology students, but feminist theories and feminist critiques of traditional sociological theories will also be included in sociological theories courses. Similarly, for other disciplines such as history, anthropology, and literature, not only history of women would be required course, but also feminist reconstruction of history as experienced by women in daily life, i.e., social history would be included in the curriculum, in addition to political history.

In contrast, a separatist model would require the establishment of an independent women/gender studies program or department which will be responsible for designing and offering of courses leading to a major degree or, less preferred, a minor or certificate of women/gender studies. Such an independent department/program would have its autonomy in student recruiting and academic program requirements. Ideally, it will have its own faculty positions and budget allocation, as well as administrative staff. While this is an ideal and preferred model, such an independent women/gender studies department has not been the prevailing model of feminist pedagogy among American universities. Moreover, a

separatist department or institution of women studies, due to its small faculty, under funding, and unconventional subject, could have the potential danger of being marginalized and ghettoized by the academic politics within the university.

In short, each model has its benefits as well as its disadvantages, the adoption of a particular model was often dictated by the conjecture of the academic politics of university and the personality of women studies faculty at the time. Many women studies programs went through changes from one model to the other at a different stage of its development. The general trend seems to be in the direction of establishing a separate institution of gender studies as women's movement gained strength and women's studies became accepted (Schramm 1977). The most common model turns out to be an interdisciplinary program of women/gender studies consisted of faculty from different departments of humanities and social sciences and offered a combination of minor, major, certificate and/or degree for students interested in gender/women/feminist studies. In the US, there are currently about 700 women/gender/feminist studies programs, departments or research centers based on this model.[1]

8.3 Feminist Research in Taiwan

Over all, feminist research of women in Taiwan may be described as from being nonexistent to partially institutionalized over the past 30 years. There have been various reviews of the extent to which women research (funü yanjiu) or gender research (xingbie yanjiu) has grown and the topics and fields on which feminist research has focused among journal publications and graduate theses (Pan et al. 2000; Chang and Wu 2002; Lan 2008; Hwang and Hsieh 2011). Several points regarding the development of women/gender research in Taiwan may be summarized from these studies which are of significance. First, among the humanities and social sciences disciplines, it appears that literature, Western literature in particular, sociology and education are in the lead in producing women and gender-related research. Second, in terms of the path of development, over all, when measured by the number of published papers, women/gender research seems to grow significantly after 1995. But there is a tendency to slow down since 2005, especially for the discipline of literature which reach its peak in 1999. However, in terms of its impact on knowledge transformation, the results were mixed and less encouraging.

For example, using publications in sociology, education, and literature journals, the three leading disciplines in gender and women research, as basis of analysis, it was found that the total number of publications increased from 50 in the period of 1990–94 to 124 in the period of 2004–07, when gender/women research was defined broadly as including the term of women and gender in key words in the articles. This is an increase of more than double in the number of gender/women papers and looks impressive. But, when examined more closely in terms of ratio, the total number of women/gender papers comprised only a small proportion (6.3%) of all the papers published in these journals during the period of 17 years.

That is, a total of 451 women/gender papers out of a grand total of 7159 papers published from 1990 to 2007 among the 28 journals reviewed. Indeed, this is not very impressive or encouraging. Furthermore, when feminist research is defined more strictly as analysis of women and gender issues using feminist perspective, the proportion of feminist research was further reduced to only 4.3% (Hwang and Hsieh 2011).

As to the status of women/gender research in specific disciplines, although the discipline of literature published the largest number of women/gender publications, (257 among 9 journals) sociology has the highest percentage (17.5%) of women/gender research accepted for publication among the three selected journals. For the discipline of education, women/gender research appears rather invisible. Among all the reviewed journals of education, women/gender papers comprised only 2.3% of all the publications in 16 journals. (107/4586) In other words, education as a disciple is rather unfriendly and non-receptive to feminist scholarship in Taiwan. The differences in the extent to which "feminist revolution" was attainable among these disciplines were attributed to factors such as dominance of male gatekeepers as compared to the more gender-balanced composition of journal editors; qualitative oriented methodology; and the prevalence of experience in women's movement among female scholars of the respective disciplines. Among the three disciplines examined, education, due to its dominance of male gatekeeper, quantitative nature of methodology, and low participation in women's movement among its female scholars, turned out to be the most resistant to feminist research. In contrast, sociology in Taiwan, being more reflective and interpretative oriented and most participatory in social protests among its members, appears to be most friendly, while literature became the moderate host after being the most enthusiastic supporter in the early stage of feminist scholarship development. In short, based on the examination of journal publications the once optimistic expectation of feminists to ultimately transform knowledge production may still have a long way to go. There are "missing feminist revolutions" not only in sociology (as observed in the U.S.) but also in almost all disciplines of humanities and social sciences in Taiwan.

For the field of sociology, while feminism was believed to be important to sociology by being an element of public sociology in the US and women's studies or gender research was identified as a most visible subfield of ASA (Burawoy 1996; 2004) how did feminist sociology develop and what status has it attained in Taiwan? Using articles published in broadly defined sociological journals as the basis of analysis, Lan (2008) found that there has been an upward and growing trend of women and gender-related publications since the 1980s, with 1995 as the turning point. Compared with the increase from a total of 8 to 16 for the first half period, from 1981 to 1995, the number of sociological articles on women and gender increased substantially after 1995 among sociological journals in Taiwan. The total number of such publications jumped from 16 in the early period of 1991–1995 to 61 for the period of 2001–2005, an almost quadruple increase (Lan 2008, 77). The specific topics which received most research attention included family/marriage, body, work, sex, and sexuality (queer). These are the issues related more to the personal life of women, hence more feminine, as compared to those

topics on politics, ethnicity, class, and law which received less attention and are viewed as the more structural and core issues of sociology. That is, less feminine. This gendered division of labor among sociological subfields consequently has lead the author to the rather pessimistic conclusion. "There is (still) a missing revolution in sociology" in Taiwan according to Stacey and Thorne's US observation in 1985 (Lan 2008). Similarly. other feminist sociologists, after reviewing the representation of women and gender issues in a major sociology textbook of Taiwan society, summed up the status of feminist research in sociology as follows: "The inclusion of women issues in sociology serves, at best, only as a token of good will (of male sociologists). Or, more realistically, it is a masculine way to incorporate feminism by the main (male) stream." (Tseng et al. 2004: 135).

8.4 Women's Studies as a Wing of Women's Movement in Taiwan

To delineate the mapping of Taiwan's women movement as manifested in the process of gendering of college curriculum, three dimensions may be examined. The first one is the institutionalization of women's studies programs within academics; the second one is the mainstreaming of women/gender courses, and the third one is the insurrection of feminist knowledge (Sheridan 1990). Transformation of knowledge production and dissemination from the standpoint of women as the dominated group provides women's movement with the theoretical foundation for liberation but also constitutes the legacy for the contemporary feminist project (Harding 1991; Hartsock 1987; Smith 1987b).

8.4.1 The Institutionalization of Women/Gender Studies Program

Although the publication of New Feminism by Annette (Hsiu-lien) Lu in 1972 was viewed by many scholars as the beginning, "sowing the seeds" as many people like to put it, of the contemporary women's movement in Taiwan, the movement was not materialized until much later in the early 1980s. The launch of the Awakening magazine (funü xinzhi) in 1982 marked the beginning of the long campaign devoted to the promotion of women's movement in Taiwan under the Martial Law. The "Awaking" magazine and "Pioneer" publishing house (Tou Fang She) were organized by followers or supporters of Lu after her arrest and imprisonment due to her involvement in the "Kaohsiung Incident" in 1979. It was the first feminist group dedicated to the promotion of women's consciousness. However, there was no organized effort focused on women's issues on university campuses until a decade later. The first women research program within the university, Research Program on

Women (WRP), was established unofficially in 1985 as a research program under the auspices of the Population Studies Center in National Taiwan University. There was only a total of seven (7) women/gender research programs or centers ever established over the course of last three decades from 1985–2015 (Table 8.1).

More importantly, in terms of feminist pedagogy, there are currently only four formal graduate institutes offering MA and PhD degrees in gender studies (including one on human sexuality) among all of the higher education institutions in Taiwan. For undergraduate studies, there has not been yet any department offering

Table 8.1 Institutionalization process of women/gender research in higher education in Taiwan, 1988–2014

Year	Event	History
1972	"New Feminism" (Xin Nyu Sing Zhu Yi" by Anna Lu	The book on feminism published in Taiwan. It was banned by the government before being in circulation
1982	"Awakening" Magazine	Reorganized as "Awakening Foundation" in 1987
1985	"Research Program on Women" Population Studies Center, National Taiwan University	Offer "Gender Studies" Certificate in 1997. Renamed as Section on Gender Studies of "Population and Women's Studies Center" in 1998
1989	"Research Program on Sex and Society", National Tsing Hua University	Renamed "Gender and Society" Research Program, 2000; offering "Gender Studies" program in 2003; Renamed as "Center for Gender and Society" in 2014
1992	"Gender Research Center", Kaohsiung Medical University	Formalized as Graduate Institute of Gender Studies in 2001
1992	"Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association"	First academic association to claim as a feminist organization; it was not formally registered as a civil organization until 2001
1995	"Gender and Space Research Program", Institute of Urban and Rural Studies, National Taiwan University	
1995	"Sex/gender" Research Program, National Central University	
1997	"Gender and Media" Center, Shih Sin University	
2000	"Graduate Institute of Gender and Education" National Kaohsiung Normal University	First graduate program offering MA in Gender and Education. *PhD*. program was established in 2011
2000	Graduate Institute of Human Sexuality, Shu Te University	MA program in 2000 and PhD program in 2006
2001	"Graduate Institute of Gender Studies" Kaohsiung Medical University	Second MA degree program of Gender Studies in Taiwan. It was originally housed within School of Nursing and

(continued)

Table 8.1 (continued)

Year	Event	History
		re-assigned to College of Humanities and Social Science in 2012
2001	"Graduate Institute of Gender Studies" Shih Sin University	Third and last graduate program offering MA degree in Gender Studies
2001	"Center for Gender and Women's Studies", National Cheng Kong University	"Research Program for Gender and Women" was initiated in 1995 and formally institutionalized as center in 2001
2011	"Graduate Institute of Gender and Education" Ph D. program, National Kaohsiung Normal University	The first and only teaching program offering PhD degree for gender/women studies major

Table 8.2 Institutionalization Process of Women/Gender Studies Program in Higher Education in Taiwan, 1988–2014

Year	School	Program name
1997	National Taiwan University	Women's and gender studies program
2003	National Tsing Hua University	Program of gender studies
2006	National Chengchi University	Interdisciplinary program of gender studies
2007	Providence University	Program of gender relations (2007–2014)
2008	Tunghai University	Gender and culture program (2009–2011)
2008	Chung Shan Medical University	Gender, culture and medicine program
2009	National Central University	Gender education program
2009	National Taiwan University of Science and Technology	Program of gender studies
2009	National Cheng Kung University	Gender education program
2009	National University of Tainan	Gender and ethnicity program
2011	National Yang-Ming University	Program for gender studies
2011	National Sun Yat-Sen University	Program of gender studies

gender/women studies as a discipline of undergraduate major or BA degree. At most, there has been a total of 12 interdisciplinary programs offering a certificate for undergraduate students who are interested in gender/women/sexuality studies by providing courses through various departments of humanities or social sciences (Table 8.2). The one exception is the gender studies program which was approved and listed officially as a minor by the Interdisciplinary Program of Humanities and Social Sciences of National Tsing Hua University in 2002. At present, the total number of universities which have formal interdisciplinary programs offering a certificate for gender/women studies at undergraduate level is still rather limited,

only 10 out of the total of 168 universities. Moreover, all of these interdisciplinary teaching programs are available at public universities. For the privately funded university, only two such interdisciplinary programs have been institutionalized in the past for a period of time. Interestingly, these two higher education institutions are founded by religious organizations: one (Tunghai University) by Christian Church, one (Providence University) by Catholic Church. Unfortunately, these two programs are not available any longer.

Regarding the establishment of these four formal graduate programs of gender studies, one question worthy of asking is: why did these particular universities agree or were approved to set up such a programs? To answer this question, it is interesting to observe the following points. First of all, except the National Kaohsiung Normal University, the other three gender/sex graduate institutes were set up in private-funded universities. None of the major public universities has institutionalized any formal graduate program on gender/women studies. On the other hand, there is one commonality among these four universities with such programs. They are higher education institutions dedicated to the training of professionals for various fields such as teaching, media, and caring and counseling. These are fields which were dominated by woman professionals. While teacher's college is traditionally under the government supervision and thus public-funded, the other three professionally oriented universities are all private-funded which has fewer restrictions from the Ministry of Education and required only approval from the decision-making body of the university. As long as the university administration may be convinced of the demand for such a program, it may be accepted and implemented. The establishment of the Graduate Institute of Gender Studies in Kaohsiung Medical University may serve as a case for this point. The program was initially set up as a graduate program of the nursing school based on the argument that the main student body of nursing school was women who were the subject of gender studies, and thus justified the need and legitimized the demand for the establishment of such program. A similar argument may have been employed in the case of Institute of Human Sexuality which offered the only graduate program for the study of human sexuality in Taiwan. But, this program emphasizes the study of sexuality from traditional medical perspective and the training of counseling and therapeutic professionals for educational and medical purposes, rather than focused on feminist analysis of sexuality. Finally, about the timing of the promotion of gender studies program to PhD level after 2006, the passing of Gender Equality Education Act in 2004 may be relevant. This law requires schools of all levels not only must set up gender equality committee on campus but also have to develop and offer gender equality courses, including sex education and awareness of female sexual autonomy in the school curriculum. The implementation of this law certainly has the facilitating effect on the demand for teacher's training in the related topics of gender equality and sexual education, including sexual harassment prevention. This law certainly further facilitate the approval of the PhD program of Graduate Institute of Gender and Education in Kaohsiung Normal University by the Ministry of Education in 2011.

8.4.2 Stages of the Institutionalization Process

In addition to the type or nature of university wherein gender/women studies were offered, there is one other interesting point regarding the trend of development worthy of observing. That is, the process to institutionalize women's and gender studies centers may be divided into three stages. These three stages of the process of institutionalization were roughly parallel to the stages in the political democratization in Taiwan. The first period, from 1985 to 1994, was around the end of martial law in 1987 and the beginning of democratization when Lee Teng-hui was elected as the first Taiwanese President through direct popular votes in 1996. Only three research programs were established and all of them were funded by outside resources, the Asia Foundation, without or with only minimum support from within university. This period may be called the "sprouting" stage when several research programs, which were unofficial and unfunded organizations, began to emerge in predominately public universities. Most of these programs were set up by groups of young feminist scholars on their own efforts.

The second stage, from 1995 to 1999, was commonly viewed as the "deepening" stage of Taiwan democracy which led eventually to the first transfer of political power from the KMT (Komintung/Nationalist Party) to the DPP (Democratic Progressing Party) in 2000. For the first time in Taiwan, a non-KMT candidate was elected as the president. The DPP became the ruling party in Taiwan from 2000–2008. The political process entered the period of transitional democracy and political atmosphere was more liberal during this period. Representation of women in political decision bodies reached a new height. Not only the Vice President was a woman, who was a veteran women's movement leader, women also filled about one-third of the cabinet positions. Women's presence in the political decision process became visible. "Gender parity in governance" (xingbie gongzhi) was declared as a policy goal. These factors may lead to more receptive attitudes among the educational bureaucrats to the feminist call for a more gender supportive environment on campus. This period thus witnessed an accelerating growth or sprouting of such centers, additional 8 centers were established island wide. There was a total of eleven (11) women/gender programs or centers by 2000. This period may be called as the rooting stage of the academic engendering process.

Afterwards, the growth of women/gender research center appeared to suffer a setback. There was no new research center established among universities in Taiwan beyond 2000. On the other hand, there was a wave of establishment of graduate institutes offering MA degree for gender/sexuality as the subject of study since 2000. These graduate institutes were formally approved by the Ministry of Education and funded by the university as MA programs. All four such graduate programs were established in the two years period of 2000 to 2001 and two of the MA programs were expanded to PhD degree afterwards. The Graduate Institute of Gender and Education of Kaohsiung Normal University started its Ph D degree in 2011 while Graduate Institute of Human Sexuality of Shu Te University began its doctorate program in 2006.

The third stage of the institutionalization was characterized by the "formalization" of the gender studies as teaching units and degree-granting programs in higher education. This was a major achievement of feminist efforts toward the goal of institutionalization of gender studies. It signified the official acceptance of gender studies as an academic discipline and feminist knowledge finally gaining a secured footing in the gendering of higher education. The first graduate institute of gender studies approved by the government was named "Gender and Education" in normal university in 2000. It was designated to provide training for high school teachers with specialization in gender and sex issues in preparation for the implementation of Gender Equity Law after 2004. It is worthy of pointing out that this would also be the first and only PhD program on gender studies beginning 2011. Why was there a spur of growth of graduate programs of gender studies in the year of 2000–2001? It may be viewed as government's responses to social pressure and feminist demand for actions to curb increasing sexual assaults and severe cases of violence against women and girls between 1997 and 2000. Public demand on government actions resulted in the passages of various laws regarding gender equality in education and prevention of sexual violence against women. Among the laws of gender equality, the most important were the following ones: Act of Gender Equality in Employment (2002), Gender Equity Education Act (2004), and Sexual Harassment Act (2009). The passage of these laws reflects the social sentiment regarding the issues of gender injustice and paves the way for the further development of gender equality in the public sphere.

8.4.3 The Sprouting Stage: The Pioneer Women/Gender Institutions

Taiwan was under the authoritarian government from 1949 until the lifting of martial law in 1987. During the long period of 38 years, the freedom and rights granted under the constitution were severely curtailed. All levels of education, including university education, were under the tight control of the government. Not only textbooks have to be approved by the education authority, but also the institutionalization of academic discipline and the naming of the department within the university has to go through a long process of application, review, and approval according to the correctness of political ideology and needs of economic development. Under such conservative sociopolitical atmosphere, and given the negative labeling of women liberation movement then, it was not a small achievement that any women studies organization may be allowed to set up on the university campus. It would require a certain degree of ingenuity and creativity on the part of feminist scholars to get a footing within university bureaucracy. Therefore, for the purpose of understanding the gendering of academy in Taiwan, it may be interesting and informative to give a brief description of the three pioneer institutes (Chen 2005).

The first academic organization devoted to the study of women, Research Program of Women (RPW), was established in 1985 and housed in National Taiwan University. Although located in National Taiwan University, this program was not officially recognized as a unit of the university, but rather was hidden as a subsection of the Population Center under the protective wing of its executive secretary, a feminist geographer, with the understanding support of the director then. The funding of RPW was not from the university. Instead, it was funded by outside source from an international non-governmental organization, the Asia Foundation, as part of its UN Decade for Women program. As an unofficial program, not only half of the original faculty members who helped the establishment of the program were not affiliated with the university, the program was not known to or recognized as a unit by faculty within the university until 1998. Then, the program was officially integrated into the university as Section on Gender Studies and its host institution was also renamed as Population and Women Studies Center to signify the recognition of the existence of the program. The main missions and goals of this program were designated to compile and disseminate data and knowledge about women and women's status in Taiwan, rather than to develop curriculum and to implement courses of women's studies. It may be for this reason that National Taiwan University only started to offer undergraduate women's studies certificate program in 1997, more than a decade after the establishment of RPW. It should be noted that one of the data that RPW continuously assembled over the years were the lists of courses related to women offered in universities. Circulation of these data via its Newsletters[2] among women/gender scholars has facilitated the promotion of women's studies on campus and contributed to the development of women's movement.

The first women's studies program designated for the task of curriculum development was the Gender and Society Research Program (RPGS) initiated in National Tsing Hua University in 1989. Similar to RPW, the initial 3 years funding for the program also came from the Asia Foundation. Unlike RPW, RPGS was designed from the start to be an integral part of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences of the university. The establishment of RPGS went through an official process of proposal, review, and approval by the college faculty meetings. It was a product of internal initiation and was embedded in the college from the start. All the members of the program were faculty from departments or graduate institutes within the college. It was accepted as a unit of the college with its own office space and administrative staff, including a director and an assistant, even though it was treated only as a research center and supported by project-based funding by the university administration. In addition to its effort on developing a systematic curriculum of women's studies for undergraduate courses through general education, the work of RPGS also included offering graduate courses related to women and gender through the various graduate institutions, such as literature, history, sociology, and anthropology, where faculty members of the program come from.

A Gender Studies Program offering an MA certificate was officially accepted in the university curriculum beginning in 2003. Since Tsing Hua University is a predominantly science and engineer school, as a strategy of its feminist transformation of undergraduate education, RPGS also offered, through general education curriculum, two courses—Gender and Society and Gender and Culture, for the all the university undergraduate students every year since its establishment in 1989. These courses were taught by its faculty members either as a team or by individual faculty. Later, these two course were integrated and renamed as Introduction to Gender Studies and is now offered regularly as prerequisite for students interested in pursuing Gender Studies as a minor for undergraduates. Currently, RPGS offers two Gender Studies Certificate Programs: one for the graduate level (MA Certificate in Gender Studies, 2003) while the other, at undergraduate level, as a minor available to students of Interdisciplinary Program of Humanities and Social Science since 2005. The Interdisciplinary Program of Humanities and Social Sciences students may obtain a certificate of minor after they fulfill 18 credits of course requirements, including both core (2 courses and 6 credits) and selective (4 courses and 12 credits) courses. Gender Studies was restructured to the minor status (from the status of a major subject) in 2010 due to unstable teaching support and courses offerings, which was a consequence of its status as nonindependent department. Despite of this unhappy turn of event, this gender studies program remains as the only officially recognized undergraduate studies program among universities.

There were many reasons why RPGS, compared with RPW, was able to secure an official position from the beginning and thus facilitate its access to course offering. The main one has to do with the relative youngness of the college and its faculty and the liberal atmosphere and culture fostered by the college of humanities and social sciences in the late 80s when the social and political transition in Taiwan was already underway. The College of Humanities and Social Sciences to which the Gender and Society program belonged was established in 1984. The installment of a liberal arts college in a predominantly and high profiled science-technology university in the mid-1980s may indicate a shift in the attitude of university administration to be more progressive. Although the new college remained relatively marginal within the university power structure, this disadvantaged position of the college of humanities and social sciences relative to the powerful science-engineer decision-making center in turn provided the gender program a safe tuck-away cove, and consequently a freer space or play field. The naming of the program using Gender rather than Woman was also indicative of its theoretical orientations and reflective of the disciplinary backgrounds, as well as the gender composition of its founding members which included both women and men. (For the details regarding the differences in the above mentioned two programs, please refer to Chen 2005).

8.4.4 The Rooting Stage: The 1990s

This pattern of establishing, unofficially, interdisciplinary program in universities continued in the 90s. Gender Study Center was set up in Kaohsiung Medical College in 1992; Gender and Space Program came to existence in National Taiwan University in 1995 and Sex/Gender Program at National Central University in the same year. Finally, Gender and Media Center was set up at Shih Sin University in 1997. Several points worth of noting from these development. First, the naming of these three programs reflected the diversification of the focus of women's studies from Women to Gender and Sex. This signaled the transition in the focus of feminist scholars from the category of woman to the concept of gender and further expanded to the subject of sex and the critique of gender. Gender was becoming the standard term in the naming of the programs. It is also significant that two of the three programs were organized by male scholars and the last one was by a woman and a man. Gender, rather than woman, appears more accommodating to this situation.

Diversity in focus also indicated the beginning of feminist concerns with the subject of sex or sexuality and thus the emergence of radical feminism among women movement in Taiwan. The issue of sex and sexuality gained increasing visibility among academics as well as among activists (Ku 1997). Eventually, the conflict over the issue of sexuality and (right of) prostitution between the so-called "pro-prostitution" and "anti-prostitution" camps among feminists and women activists evolved to become the storm-eye of the politics of women's movement. In 1996, sexuality became the demarcation wherein the activists of women's movement in Taiwan were divided into two opposite camps: "pro-sex" versus "anti-"sex or "pro-prostitution" versus "anti-prostitution". This conflict between feminist groups culminated into an open confrontation among feminist activists during "the incident of public prostitutes" in 1998 (Lu 2007). Those feminists who favor the policy of abolition of public prostitution were labeled as "the conservative" by those activists who were against such measure and supported the right of public prostitutes as sexual workers. This group, self-labeled as "the radical", claimed that provision of prostitutes and protection of their work rights is a step toward the liberation of women's sexuality which should be the goal of women's movement.

8.4.5 The Formalization Stage: 2000 and Beyond

The first formally institutionalized gender studies program within university in Taiwan was established in the year of 2000 when the Graduate Institute of Gender and Education of National Kaohsiung Normal University was approved by the Ministry of Education. This may appear rather surprising and ironic at first sight. For normal universities (or teachers' college) in Taiwan were conventionally regarded as conservative educational institution and thus would be the least likely to

be the front runner in the promotion of feminisms and feminist pedagogy. This program marked the first official acknowledgement of feminism and gender as a discipline of higher education in Taiwan. The establishment of this degree-granting program was particularly significant because normal university is public university. Establishment of any new formal program in public university requires a complicated process of application and approval by various committees at different levels both within the university and at the ministry level. Therefore, the establishment of this first graduate program, MA in Gender and Education, marked a triumph of feminist efforts and deserved celebration. It seems to create a new space for gender studies in higher education. Two other graduate institutes of gender studies were established in the following year, 2001: one was in Kaohsiung Medical College and the other in Shih Hsin University in Taipei. Both of these universities were private-funded and had a long tradition of offering professional training for medical professionals and journalists respectively. The MA degree program of Gender Studies of Kaohsiung Medical University was initially established as a MA degree program of the School of Nursing and reassigned to College of Humanities and Social Science focusing on the issues of gender and medicine and gender and ethnicity in 2012. The MA program of Shi Sin focused on the issues of sexual harassment and violence and sex and culture including media.

The "mushrooming" of three gender studies programs in higher education within a short interval of two years period represented the formal institutionalization of women/gender studies in Taiwan. It has been viewed as an important accomplishment of the long process of struggle of feminist scholars and women activists. It signified a new phase of women movement and a possible beginning of the mainstreaming of feminist knowledge in higher education in Taiwan. Feminist scholars, in alliance with women activists, were able to use social pressure generated by public demand for prevention of sexual crime as the forums for gender discourses and further cultivate supportive conditions for the passage of the law of gender-equal education. The Law of Gender Educational Equality was initiated in 1998, drafted in 2000 and passed in 2004. This partly explained why the first formal graduate gender program funded by the government was focused on education and in a normal university. Despite this encouraging achievement, it is significant to observe that it will take another 10 years from the first Master program to the first PhD program,[3] and it is not clear when will the next public university, especially among those leading research universities, set up another graduate institute of gender studies.

8.5 Gendering the Higher Education as a Feminist Movement

If the above depiction of institutional growth gives the impression of slow progress of gendering of higher education in Taiwan, it may be misleading. In addition to the institutionalization of women/gender studies programs, there was another way by

which women's studies acted as an arm of feminist movement. It may be done either by integrating (slipping-in) the subject of women into existing courses or by introducing new courses on women and gender into the curriculum. Table 8.3 indicates the various statistics of the number of courses on women/gender offered in different types of universities and colleges (excluding junior colleges) (Table 8.3) and the ways through which these courses were offered: either by regular departments or general education for the period from 1988 to 2005 (Table 8.4) and 2006 to 2013 (Table 8.5).

Several trends are worth noting in these statistics. First, from Table 8.3, there was a huge growth and accelerating increase in the number of university and college in the 30 years period. The total number of university and college grew from 39 in 1988 to 145 in 2005, a triple increase and an addition of more than a hundred in number in two decades. Similarly, in terms of the number of universities which offered courses on women and gender, the increase also looked impressive, from a minimum of 14 in 1988 to 87 in 2005; a sixfold growth in two decades. However, if we examine the increase in terms of the ratio of the number of universities offering women/gender courses to the total number of university, the rapidity of increase was not particularly surprising. It was a moderate increase of 28% in two decades, from 36% in 1988 to 60% in 2005. More importantly, the trend of development was not always progressive or consistent. The ratio of the universities which started to offer women and gender courses was about one-third (36%) of all the universities in 1988 and fluctuated to one-quarter (26%) in 1991and remained constant till 1997. Only after 2001 did the ratio start to climb up and increase at a faster pace to surpass the early bench mark. In 2003, almost half (48%) of the universities in Taiwan offered some courses on gender and women. In 2005, the number reached its highest level (60%). Over half of the universities and

Table 8.3 Availability of women/gender courses in Universities by types of colleges: 1988–2005

Years	No. of Univ./ College offer W/G courses	University/colleges	Normal/Teacher	Engineer/Technical
1988	14/39[a](36%)[b]	6 (0.43)	3 (0.21)	5 (0.36)
1991	13/50 (26%)	10 (0.77)	2 (0.15)	1 (0.08)
1994	15/58 (26%)	13 (0.87)	1 (0.07)	1 (0.07)
1997	20/78 (26%)	13 (0.65)	3 (0.15)	4 (0.20)
2001 (Only 2nd semester)	44/135 (33%)	29 (0.65)	7 (0.16)	8 (0.18)
2003	68/142 (48%)	37 (0.54)	5 (0.07)	26 (0.38)
2005	87/145 (60%)	38 (0.44)	8 (0.09)	41 (0.47)

Notes

[a]Indicates the total number of university/college in Taiwan for the year

[b]Indicates the ratio of number of u/colleges offering gender courses to the total number of u/colleges

Table 8.4 Availability of women/gender courses in Universities by type of courses. 1998–2005

School Types / Courses / Years	Total	General University / Colleges			Normal / Teacher Colleges			Engineer / Technical Colleges		
		Total N of G/W courses	Departments (UG+G)	General education	Total N of G/W courses	Departments (UG+G)	General education	Total N of G/W courses	Departments (UG+G)	General education
1988[6]	53	38 (72%)[p]	36 (.95)	2 (.05)	8 (15%)	8 (1.0)	0	7 (13%)	7 (1.0)	0
1991[7]	21	17 (80%)	15 (.88)	2 (.12)	2 (10%)	2 (1.0)	0	2 (10%)	2 (1.0)	0
1994[8]	27	21 (78%)	18 (.86)	3 (.14)	3 (11%)	3 (1.0)	0	3 (11%)	3 (1.0)	0
1997[9]	71	59 (83%)	54 (.92)	5 (.08)	4 (06%)	4 (1.0)	0	8 (11%)	7 (.88)	1 (.12)
2001[10] (only 2nd semester)	252	156 (62%)	111 (.71)	45 (.29)	39 (15%)	36 (.92)	3 (.08)	57 (23%)	25 (.44)	32 (.56)
2003[11]	838	569 (68%)	368 (.65)	201 (.35)	88 (11%)	68 (.77)	20 (.23)	181 (22%)	92 (.51)	89 (.49)
2005[12]	829	509 (61%)	320 (.63)	189 (.37)	119 (14%)	95 (.80)	24 (.20)	201 (25%)	68 (.34)	133 (.56)

Note: p indicates ratios of total number of G/W offered in a type of University and Colleges.

[6] Data sources: WRP, 1998, Bulletin of Women's studies, No. 12, 13, National Taiwan University.
[7] WRP, 1991,----------No. 24, ----------.
[8] WRP, 1994, 1995,----------No. 33, 34,----------.
[9] WRP, 1997, 1998, Bulletin of Women's studies, No. 44, 46, National Taiwan University.
[10] WRP, 2003, ----------No. 62,----------.
[11] WRP, 1997, 1998, Forum in Women's and Gender Studies, No. 68, 70,----------.
[12] WRP, 2005, 2006, Forum in Women's and Gender Studies, No. 76, 78,National Taiwan University.

Table 8.5 Availability of women/gender courses in Universities by types of courses: 2006–2013

School Type / Courses / Years	Public University/College			Private University /College			Public Technical Institute			Private Technical Institute		
	Total	Required	Selective (include GE)	Total	Required	Selective (include GE)	Total	Required	Selective (include GE)	Total	Required	Selective (include GE)
2006	336[q] (2.6%)	64 (.19)	272 (.81)	259 (1.8%)	62 (.24)	197 (.76)	68 (1.3%)	47 (.69)	21 (.31)	483 (1.8%)	241 (.50)	242 (.50)
2007	405 (2.8%)	100 (.25)	305 (.75)	269 (1.9%)	76 (.28)	193 (.72)	58 (1%)	36 (.62)	22 (.38)	563 (2.1%)	241 (.43)	322 (.57)
2008	444 (3%)	100 (.23)	344 (.77)	304 (2%)	102 (.34)	202 (.66)	84 (1.5%)	47 (.56)	37 (.44)	589 (2.3%)	273 (.46)	316 (.54)
2009	444 (3%)	70 (.16)	374 (.84)	320 (2.1%)	113 (.35)	207 (.65)	91 (1.6%)	54 (.59)	37 (.41)	676 (2.8%)	297 (.44)	379 (.56)
2010	366 (2.7%)	102 (.28)	264 (.72)	306 (2%)	137 (.45)	169 (.55)	114 (2%)	77 (.68)	37 (.33)	662 (2.8%)	315 (.48)	347 (.52)
2011	331 (2.2%)	136 (.41)	195 (.59)	270 (1.8%)	102 (.38)	168 (.62)	90 (1.7%)	64 (.71)	26 (.29)	652 (2.8%)	311 (.48)	341 (.52)
2012	614 (4.1%)	201 (.33)	413 (.67)	381 (2.6%)	128 (.34)	253 (.66)	91 (1.7%)	55 (.60)	36 (.40)	781 (3.4%)	436 (.56)	345 (.44)
2013	463 (3.1%)	124 (.27)	339 (.73)	380 (2.5%)	124 (.32)	256 (.67)	95 (1.8%)	57 (.60)	38 (.40)	380 (2.5%)	124 (.33)	256 (.67)

Note: q indicates the ratios of total number of G/W courses to the total number of all courses offered in university and colleges for the year.

Data Sources: Ministry of Education. (April 04, 2015). *number of gender related courses and student enrollment by sex*. Retrieved from https://stats.moe.gov.tw/files/gender/405-1.xls July 15, 2015

colleges, gender-related courses were included in curricula. Read in another way, it may be hard to believe that in two-fifths of the universities or colleges, there was still no gender-related course available in their curricula. The accelerated increase in the number and ratio of universities offering women/gender courses at this point of time may be attributed to the passing of Gender Education Equity Act which requires all schools to include gender equality education in the curriculum in 2004. It may be expected that this trend will continue for the near future.

To explain why there was no significant increase in the ratio of university offering women/gendering courses until after 1997, one glimpse of the recent history of the development of higher education in Taiwan over the last two decades may be revealing (MOE 2005). In many Asian cultures, attainment of university education is a highly desirable social value and an indicator of social mobility. Increasing the opportunity of the general population to attend college and university education becomes an attractive political rhetoric among competing political parties. Taiwan as a democratizing society which underwent political transition since 1989 was a case in point. Expansion of higher education across the island to less urbanized areas and provision of higher education to general populace including less well-off sector has been a campaign slogan and political promise among competing political parties in the past elections. A look at the composition of the total increase by the types of institutions provided some clues. Although the total number of the institutions of higher education, including university, college, and junior college, only increased moderately from 105 to 159 between 1986 and 2004; the number of institutions classified as a university, however, increased drastically from 16 to 75, the figures for college are 12–70. In contrast, the number of junior colleges decreased from 77 to 14 for the same period. From these figures, it is reasonable to infer that the increase in the number of universities and colleges came from the upgrading of the original junior college to 4-year college and for this latter group to further upgrade to become a university.[4]

This process of "upgrading" was further accelerated to "universitization" with more college becoming university from 1996 onwards, according to the official statistics of MOE. And this "universitization" may have led to the upturn in the ratio described earlier. Unlike the junior colleges which offer technical training as their main goals, universities and colleges usually require general education program for undergraduate students or have disciplines of humanities and/or social sciences. These programs or departments would most likely to require and offer gender/women courses. Another factor responsible for the sharp upturn of the trend was due to the implementation of Gender Education Equity Law by MOE (2004) which required schools to offer at least four hours teaching on gender equality per week in their curricula. And this regulation definitely had similar effect on higher education.

About gendering of curriculum of higher education, there is one more interesting dimension to be noted. Table 8.4 gave information of the availability of gender/women courses by the types of university and by the paths of course offering: either via department or general education, for the year 1997–2005. First of all, most of the gender/women courses were offered in general universities or

colleges. For students of professional and teacher colleges, gender courses were available mainly through general education curricula and they become more available only after 2000. Further examination of the composition of all the gender/women courses shows two paths of curriculum gendering. That is, although majority of the feminist courses (90%) were offered through the curricula of departments and graduate institutes, especially before the year of 2000, other way of gendering of higher education is through general education curricula. As the total number of gender courses increased, the proportion of course gendering via general education curriculum also increased. For example, among the total of 252 women/gender courses, about one-third (32%) of them were offered through general education curriculum in 2001. Compared with that figure in previous years, it was an increase of more than 20%. The trend of gendering of higher education accelerated after 1997. In 2005, among the total of 829 courses across 87 universities and colleges, about three-fifths (63%) were taught through departments while two-fifth (37%) were through general education curriculum. In contrast, for the engineer and technical colleges, general education appeared to be the main channel through which gendering of curriculum has taken place. The ratios of gender courses for department and GE were 56% versus 44% in 2005 respectively. Since general education courses are part of the required credits for college graduation, prevalence or acceptance of the gendered curriculum can be viewed as further signs of gender mainstreaming and incorporation of feminist knowledge into higher education in Taiwan.[5]

Table 8.5 provides information on the number of gender-related courses offered by the type of higher education institutes for the period of 2005 to 2013. Unlike the data of the previous table, which were calculated from course listings of RPW Newsletters, these are statistics collected by the Ministry of education. They may be more complete, but based on a more inclusive definition of gender, and thus may inflate the numbers. From this table, it was obvious that the number of gender-related courses although increased steadily, but only slightly, among all types of university. Even for the public university and college, which has a higher ratio of gender-related courses in the curriculum, the difference in the ratios of gender-related courses to the total number of courses between the highest (4.1% of 2012) and that (2.6%) of 2006 was only minimal. Moreover, the majority of the gender-related curriculum was offered as elective, rather than required, courses to students in general universities/colleges, both public and private. However, for professional schools, including teacher and technological colleges/institutes, gender-related courses were offered more as required than selective curriculum to students. This high ratio of required gender courses, (but a low ratio of total gender courses) among professional schools should be interpreted cautiously. It seems to make sense given the regulations stipulated by the Gender Education Equity Act requiring all schools to provide a minimum of four credits/hours of gender education in the curriculum. (Wei and Fang 2012) Thus, for these schools, the purpose of offering the gender-related courses was likely to fulfill law regulations, rather than to engender the curriculum or to incorporate feminist knowledge.

8.6 Mainstreaming Feminist Knowledge Within Curriculum: Agents of Change

Production of feminist knowledge of women and gender was viewed by many as a foundation as well as a consequence of the continuous growth of the contemporary women's movement in the US. (Boxer 1982). Transformation of knowledge production and dissemination from the standpoint of women as the dominated group not only provides women's movement with the theoretical foundation for action and mobilization but also constitutes the legacy for the contemporary feminist project (Harding 1991; Hartsock 1987; Smith 1987a, b). Identification of the disciplines which are most active in the process of feminist transition of knowledge can reveal the agents of women's movement in Taiwan. Over the past 20 years, among all the fields of knowledge production, who were the main agents in the feminist transformation of knowledge production or dissemination? Or, stated differently, which disciplines were the most active in leading this project of feminist transformation of knowledge and who were the most accomplished in transforming their curricula? Table 8.6 provides the breakdown of all the courses on women and gender by subjects from 1988 to 2014. Several trends concerning the feminist knowledge dissemination may be observed from these data.

First of all, there was a clear trend of diversification and specialization of feminist knowledge production in terms of the subjects of courses. That is, the subject matter of gender courses started from the general course of women (i.e., "add the women and stir") and the discussion of "relations between two sexes" (liang xing guan xi) and progressed to more specific topics of women and critical analysis of gender relations. In 1988, among the total of 53 courses, almost all the courses (91%) can be classified as general courses which were titled as sex/gender relations (liang xing guan xi) or women studies (fu nyu ian jiu). However, starting from 1991, the proportion of such courses decreased very rapidly to only less than half of all the women/gender courses (45%) in 1994 and declined further to only one-fifth (21%) by the end of the decade. On the other hand, courses focused on specific dimensions of gender system, such as feminist theory, gender and society, and gender and culture, increased significantly. Diversification and intensification of feminist knowledge dissemination gained force after 1997. For the next decade, the subjects of gender curriculum were further expanded. Gender and education and gender and politics became the two focused subjects of gender curriculum after 2003. Currently, the four leading subjects of gender curriculum are feminist theories, gender and education, gender and culture, politics and society, in addition to the general courses on gender/women, which still constituted the largest proportion of all gender courses (31%) in 2014. Unsurprisingly, economics remains a field immunized from feminist transformation.

Secondly, in terms of the specific topics and disciplines wherein courses on women and gender had increased the most, gender and society and gender and culture were two leading categories, in addition to the general introduction course of women's/gender studies until the end of 1990s. However, after 2003, courses

Table 8.6 Distribution of women/gender courses by subject: 1988–2014*

Years \ Categories	Feminist theory	Gender & Society	Gender & Culture	Gender & Education	Gender & Economy	Gender & Politics	Sexuality (queer theory)	Sexual Education	General Courses on Women	Total
1988	1 (1.89%)	0	1 (1.89%)	0	0	0	1 (1.89%)	2 (3.77%)	48 (90.57%)	53
1991	2 (9.09%)	6 (27.27)	2 (9.09%)	0	1 (4.55%)	1 (4.55%)	0	0	10 (45.45%)	22
1994	1 (3.7%)	7 (25.93%)	2 (7.41%)	0	2 (7.41%)	1 (3.7%)	0	2 (7.41%)	12 (44.44%)	27
1997	13 (18.31%)	15 (21.13%)	17 (23.94%)	3 (4.23%)	2 (2.82%)	4 (5.63%)	1 (1.41%)	1 (1.41%)	15 (21.13%)	71
2003	88 (10.48%)	53 (6.31%)	126 (15%)	47 (5.59%)	9 (1.07%)	30 (3.57%)	17 (2.15%)	29 (3.46%)	439 (52.5%)	838
2005	92 (11.1%)	63 (7.6%)	137 (16.5%)	61 (7.36%)	4 (0.48%)	52 (6.27%)	19 (2.29%)	25 (3.02%)	376 (45.36%)	829
2008	112 (11%)	66 (7%)	124 (12%)	135 (13%)	19 (2%)	93 (9%)	16 (2%)	20 (2%)	427 (42%)	1012
2011	130 (12%)	78 (7%)	103 (10%)	180 (17%)	19 (2%)	114 (11%)	12 (1%)	34 (3%)	390 (37%)	1060
2014	135 (12%)	108 (10%)	138 (12%)	186 (17%)	40 (4%)	120 (11%)	8 (1%)	30 (3%)	350 (31%)	1115

*Data sources same as Tables 8.4 and 8.5

related to gender and education and politics also increased and gained increasing weight among gender curriculum. This trend of development may be related to the implementation of various gender equality laws and increasing visibility of women in politics in Taiwan after 2000. Increasing presence of women in public affairs, including politics, may attract the attention of general public and the interest of political scientists as well and hence increase courses of related topics. The development of the course of feminist theories deserved special notice in the analysis of gendering of the curriculum. It is the one course which has gained substantial growth and remained important over the entire period. It started from almost none in 1988 through 1994 and then gained a big jump to 18% in 1997. In 2003, there are 88 feminist theories courses offered in all the universities. Put differently, this means, on average, more than half of the universities (88/158) offer one course related to feminist theories. This is significant since courses on feminist theories definitely entail not only critiques of malestream academic traditions but also advocate knowledge produced based on women's vantage and standpoint of view (Watkins 1983; Stimpson 1978). It can be taken as an indicator of the progress of the feminist transformation of the liberal arts education of university in Taiwan.

The "flowering" of feminist theories during the period of late 80s and 90s may not be an accident. During these two decades, many disciplines in the social sciences and humanities witnessed a profound transformation of "postmodern" paradigm shift or "postmodern" challenges of traditional concepts and analytical frameworks. Feminism and feminist theory, likewise, experienced this "postmodern" impact and resulted in the emergence of cultural studies and the proliferation of theories courses, both feminist and queer theories, in academic, particularly in the discipline of literature.

Another way to reveal the agents behind the feminist transformation of curriculum is to examine the distribution of gender/women courses offered by discipline or department. Table 8.7 provides counts of gender/women courses offered in different disciplines from 1988 to 2014. Overall, based on the total number of courses offered, general education program remained to be the most significant agent through whom college curriculum may be gendered. In terms of the specific disciplines which were the more active and thus more contributive to this process of feminist transformation of curriculum, education, sociology (including gender studies) and social work/welfare, literature, English literature in particular, and psychology appeared to be the leading departments over the past 25 years. Among them, literature and sociology were the pioneers, education and psychology were late comers. In contrast, the least enthusiastic disciplines among the liberal arts were anthropology and philosophy. These findings were very different from that was observed in the history of women's studies in the U.S. (Stacey and Thorn 1985; 2006). In the U.S., among the disciplines of humanities and social sciences, literature, history, and anthropology were considered to be most receptive to feminist transformation of knowledge production, while sociology was criticized as more resistant to such revolution. The factors identified as facilitating the "feminist revolution" in these disciplines include the number of women faculty, the interpretative (vs. positive) nature of knowledge, and visibility of feminist legacy in its tradition. In Taiwan, although these disciplines may share some of the same characteristics with its counterpart in the U.S., absence of feminist legacy in the discipline's history has led to a different result in its "feminist revolution". This difference is particularly obvious in the disciplines of anthropology and history. Philosophy and economics, however, appear to be equally resistant to feminist challenges in both contexts.

In addition to course listings, Fig. 8.1 shows the distribution of gender/feminist scholars across the fields of their self-reported specialization among humanities and social sciences as listed in various government and nongovernmental data bases in 2005. Among the 15 fields identified, the highest concentration of scholars (107) falls on literature. If literature is defined more inclusively to include arts, films, drama and even cultural studies, then the total number of gender scholars would amount to 130. That is equivalent to one-fifth (21%) of the total of 632 gender/women scholars of 2004. The second highest concentration is in sociology (71), followed closely by education (68). Two applied fields—social work/welfare (50) and counseling (51) also have significant number of scholars identified as gender specialists. The field of history also contributed significant number of gender

Table 8.7 Distribution of feminist courses by disciplines/departments: 1988–2014*

Years / Departments	1988	1991	1994	1997	2003	2005	2008	2011	2014
Gender Studies	NA	NA	NA	NA	19	12	21	72	65
Sex/Sexuality	NA	NA	NA	NA	2	3	34	38	26
Literature	1	0	0	7	21	17	94	86	75
Philosophy	0	0	0	0	5	5	9	4	6
History	0	0	0	2	1	1	33	14	12
Media	0	0	0	2	2	2	12	18	10
Anthropology	0	0	2	2	1	2	4	2	3
Sociology	0	0	1	5	0	13	36	38	40
Law/Politics	0	0	0	0	7	9	61	18	18
Education	0	1	0	1	0	3	272	283	252
Social Work	0	1	0	0	6	6	94	112	126
Public Health	0	0	1	1	0	0	63	60	32
Urban Planning	0	0	0	0	1	1	5	2	8
General Education	0	0	1	0	23	18	348	362	370
psychology	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	52	59	32
Culture/Ethnicity	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	31	38	31
business management	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	19	2	6
Art	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	7	6	4
Engineer	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	2	NA	NA
Total	1	2	5	20	88	92	1197	1207	1116

*Data sources same as Tables 8.4 and 8.5

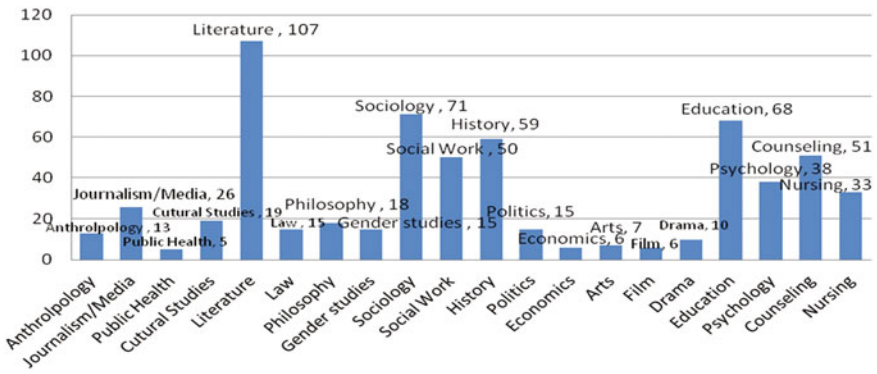

Fig. 8.1 Distribution of gender studies scholars by disciplines (Data sources: WRP, NTU: http://ccms.ntu.edu.tw/～wrp/index.htm APEC website: http://www.apecgender.org/ExpGender_Show.asp (Oct. 2004) Gender Equality in Education, MOE: http://wrp.psc.ntu.edu.tw/Human/Web (Oct. 2004))

scholars (58) in Taiwan. On the contrary, the number of anthropologists and philosophers who self- identified as gender specialists was relatively small, only 13 and 18 respectively. These figures provide further support to the earlier interpretation about the agents of feminist transformation of the curriculum. Undoubtedly, this distribution of gender scholars among disciplines reflects the differences in the overall size or the total number of scholars among the disciplines in Taiwan higher education. Since anthropology and philosophy are two smallest disciplines, and thus can only contribute fewer gender scholars. What is rather unusual would be the case of sociology to emerge as the second largest concentration of gender scholars, given the fact that sociology has not been a large discipline in faculty size or many in terms of number of establishments (Fig. 8.1).

The difference in the number of scholars engaged in feminist pedagogy between anthropology and history needs to be discussed within the context of these two disciplines respectively. That is, the size of the discipline matters. History, in terms of number of department among all the universities, is one of the largest academic disciplines, while anthropology is one of the smaller in Taiwan. While there is a department of history in almost every university, only selected few public universities has anthropology department. While history courses have been the required subjects of general education curriculum, anthropology was a specialized field and elective course. Taking this difference in the scale or size of disciplines into consideration, the difference in the feminist orientation between the disciplines may turn out to be less than it appears. Furthermore, given the gender composition and politics of these two disciplines as being male dominant, women faculty is likely to be young and junior, rather in senior, decision-making position. Consequently, even though their numbers of women faculty are not the least unfavorable compared with other departments of liberal arts college, the effect of their effort on the transformation of gender knowledge did not measure up to their

number. However, the contribution of these feminist scholars when measured against such structural barriers of these disciplines should not be underestimated.

On the other hand, sociology as a discipline or feminist sociologists as a group stands out among all the actors of this gendering of curriculum. That is, sociology, and the feminists within, has played a rather active role in leading this project of feminist transformation of knowledge in Taiwan. This is more the remarkable if it was put within the academic context of Taiwan. Sociology is a relatively small discipline in Taiwan in terms of number of departments among universities, and the total number of sociologists is relatively small compared with other disciplines. There were only thirty-three (33) sociology-related departments and graduate programs among all universities (168) in Taiwan; the total membership of Taiwan Sociological Association is 223 in 2014. Thus, sociology, even if defined broadly to include social work and social welfare, did not attain a prominent position within the academic community of Taiwan's higher education. Then, why is it more active than others? Several factors may be proposed to explain why sociology constitutes a more conducive environment for feminist pedagogy. First, it may be explained by its theoretical orientation developed in the recent decades. Unlike the positivism tradition of sociology in the US, sociology in Taiwan was more oriented toward Marxist theoretical tradition and interpretative analysis in methodology in the late twentieth century. These epistemological orientations of sociology not only emphasize on the critical perspective of social theory and analysis of power but also mandate the social relevancy and liberating effect of knowledge production. These characteristics, in turn, lead to a more sympathetic environment for feminists and more receptive attitude to gender courses and teaching. Or, conversely, a critical sociological orientation offers less legitimacy to resist feminist claims. Secondly, the marginal position of this discipline in Taiwan academic politics may also help to lessen masculine or malestream dominance and create more space for feminist innovation in the curriculum.

Of course, the democratic transition of Taiwan's political culture also plays a significant role in facilitating the awareness of the situation of women and the reception of feminist discourses. Not only sociology was frequently nick-named as a discipline of social movement, many sociologists, including women sociologists, were organizers and participants in many social protests or grass root movements, including women movement, in the democratization process of Taiwan. Prevalence of social protests and activism certainly facilitates a more permissible atmosphere and provides ground for the legitimization of incorporating feminist challenges to traditional male-centered curriculum. Another indication of the leading role played by the feminist scholars of sociology came from the data presented in the institutionalization of gender studies (Table 8.1). Among the 12 institutes of gender/women's studies and Taiwan Feminist Scholars Association as well, many of the founding and active members at the early stage of its institutionalization were scholars sociology with a strong critical and social orientation.

Finally, since theories and theorization were accorded a special status in any project of knowledge transformation, examination of the contents of courses of feminist theories can provide a window to view the ideas behind the feminist

movement of knowledge transformation. A preliminary classification of all the courses titled "feminist theories" by their subject matters was attempted (data was not shown). A few points may be observed from these data. First, feminist theories were used liberally to denote a wide array of topics and issues redressing women status and gender social relations as well as addressing the various discourses of the different feminist theories. Two of the most frequently addressed gender issues were gender inequality and gender and power/politics. However, for the literature scholars, psychoanalysis and cultural analysis appeared to be the dominant interest of their feminist theories courses. Of particular significance is that there is certain theoretical sensitivity and awareness of "difference" among women by local feminist scholars. Not only the classical and contemporary western feminist theories but also gender theories of the third world and colored women were included in the theory courses. Finally, there were also the postmodern, radical strain of feminist theories courses such as French feminist theory, postcolonial feminist theory, and queer theories offered. In addition to feminist theories, courses of feminist methodology and epistemology were incorporated into the curriculum as part of the knowledge transformation.

8.7 Summary and Conclusions

Among the many distinguishing features of this second wave women's movement, the establishment and institutionalization of women's studies program in higher education was agreed among many as one of the most defining and significant characteristics. Despite its late start, the development of women's studies and, likewise, women's movement in Taiwan has been impressive among Asian societies. Over the past 30 years, women movement and women's studies program in Taiwan have come a long way. Women Studies has been expanded and renamed Gender Studies. Currently, there is a total of eleven such programs: three gender studies graduate institutes offering MA and PhD degrees and seven interdisciplinary gender/women's studies programs. These serve as platforms for integrating faculty from various disciplines to promote and offer courses on women and gender in all universities. In view of the importance of the feminist reform of curriculum for the contemporary women liberation movement to achieve gender equality, and yet there has been no systematic investigation of its development in Taiwan available, this chapter thus attempts an analysis of the process of the development of women's and gender studies in higher education as a reflection of women's movement in Taiwan. It also tried to identify the actors shaping up the unique path of the engendering of higher education in Taiwan and emphasize its relationship to the political democratization in general and women's movement in particular.

Literature review of women's transformation of knowledge system was approached from the following two aspects: (1) feminist research and (2) women and gender curriculum. While there have various analyses of the development of feminist research available, systematic investigation of the process of the gendering

of curriculum in higher education in Taiwan was limited. This chapter, therefore, focused on the analysis of the process of the development of women's and gender studies curriculum in higher education as a reflection of the feminist transformation of knowledge and women movement in Taiwan. The paths and ways by which women studies developed as an institution had been various and diverse. In general, two major models of institutionalization practiced in the West, especially in the US, may be identified. They were referred to as the integrated and separatist models. The most common model turns out to be an interdisciplinary program of women/gender studies consisted of faculty from different departments of humanities and social sciences and offered a combination of minor, major, certificate and/or degree for students interested in gender/women/feminist studies.

To delineate the mapping of Taiwan's women movement as manifested in the process of gendering of college curriculum, data collected from various academic sources and government agencies were used as bases of analysis to examine the following three dimensions. The first one is the institutionalization of women's studies program within academics; the second one is the mainstreaming of women/gender courses; and the third one is the transformation of feminist knowledge.

Although the publication of New Feminism by Annette (Hsiu-lien) Lu in 1972 was viewed by many scholars as the beginning of contemporary women's movement in Taiwan, there was no organized effort focused on women's issues on university campuses until a decade later. The first women research program within university, Research Program on Women (WRP), was established unofficially in 1985. And the first "official" Gender and Society Program designated to teaching women courses was established in 1989. There is a total of seven (7) women/gender research programs or centers ever established over the course of last three decades from 1985–2015. More importantly, in terms of feminist pedagogy, there are only three formal graduate institutes offering MA and PhD degrees for gender studies among all of the higher education institutions in Taiwan since 2000. For undergraduate studies, there was not yet any department offering gender or women studies as a discipline of undergraduate major or BA degree. At most, there has been a total of 12 interdisciplinary teaching programs offering a certificate for undergraduate students who are interested in gender/women/sexuality studies by providing courses through various departments of humanities or social sciences. The process of the institutionalization of women/gender research centers may be divided into three stages: the sprouting; the rooting; and the formalization stages. These three stages of the process of institutionalization were roughly parallel to the stages in the political democratization in Taiwan.

Gendering of the higher education may be ascertained by how the subject of women or course of gender was integrated into existing courses or introduced as new courses into the curriculum. In terms of the number of universities, which offered courses on women and gender, there seems impressive increase, from a minimum of 14 in 1988 to 87 in 2005; a sixfold growth in two decades. However, if examined in terms of the ratio of the number of universities offering women/gender courses to the total number of university, the rapidity of increase was not

particularly encouraging. It was a moderate increase of 28% in two decades, from 36% in 1988 to the highest level (60%) in 2005. The accelerated increase in the number and ratio of universities offering women/gender courses at this point of time may be attributed to the passing of Gender Education Equity Act which requires all schools to include gender equality education in the curriculum in 2004.

About gendering of the curriculum of higher education, there is one more interesting dimension to be noted. Most of the gender/women courses were offered in general universities or colleges through liberal arts departments. For students of professional and teacher colleges, gender courses were available mainly through general education curricula and they become more available only after 2000. When based on a more inclusive definition of gender, the number of gender-related courses although increased steadily, but only slightly, among all types of universities between 2005 and 2013. Moreover, gender courses were offered to fulfill the regulations of Gender Equality Law, particularly in professional and technical colleges, rather than to engender the curriculum or to incorporate feminist knowledge.

As the subjects of gender courses, there was a clear trend of diversification and specialization of feminist knowledge production in terms of the subjects of courses. That is, the subject matter of gender courses started from the general course of women (i.e., "add the women and stir") and the discussion of "relations between two sexes" (liang xing guan xi) to progress gradually to more specific topics of women and critical analysis of gender relations. Currently, the four leading subjects of gender curriculum are feminist theories, gender and education, gender and culture, politics and society, in addition to the general courses on gender/women, which still constituted the largest proportion of all gender courses in 2014. Unsurprisingly, economics remains a field immunized from feminist transformation. The development of the course of feminist theories deserved special notice. It is one of the courses, which has gained substantial growth and remained important over the entire period. This development reflected the impact of "postmodern transformation" experienced among feminists in Taiwan.

Agents of mainstreaming feminist knowledge: In terms of the specific disciplines which were the more active and thus more contributive to this process of feminist transformation of curriculum, education, sociology and social work/welfare, literature, English literature in particular, and psychology appeared to be the leading departments over the last 25 years. Among them, literature and sociology were the pioneers, education and psychology were late comers. In contrast, the least enthusiastic disciplines were anthropology and philosophy. If accessed by the distribution of feminist scholars across disciplines, literature and sociologists remained as the two leading groups. On the contrary, the number of anthropologists and philosophers who self- identified as gender specialists was relatively small. Undoubtedly, this distribution of gender scholars among disciplines reflects the differences in the overall size or the total number of scholars among the disciplines in Taiwan higher education. When interpreted within the academic context of Taiwan, what is rather unusual would be the case of sociology to emerge as the second largest concentration of feminist scholars, given the fact that sociology has not been a large discipline in faculty size or many in terms of number of establishments.

Conclusions: From the above analysis of the development of women's/gender curriculum, it seems clear that women's movement has achieved a minimum level of success in terms of its efforts in gendering liberal arts education of university and mainstreaming feminist pedagogy. In the two and a half decade from 1988, women's and gender courses were available in more than half of the institutions of Taiwan's higher education. Gendering of the curriculum was achieved not only through traditional departments and disciplines, there was also significant progress through general education curricula and interdisciplinary programs. This reflects the vitality and versatility of feminist scholars and women's movement in Taiwan. However, in terms of the acceptance and prevalence of gender studies as an independent academic institute or discipline, especially in the prestigious public research university, there remains much to be desired by feminist ideals.

Finally, as to the disciplines or agents which were most active in leading this academic feminist transformation, literature and sociology, both defined broadly, were the most visible. In contrast to the conclusions based on the U. S. experiences, feminist scholars in the field of sociology not only were the most likely to assume the organizing roles in initiating various women/gender programs to practice feminist transformation of knowledge and education. They were also most likely to be active in other women's organizations. Much different from their counterparts in the U. S., the disciplines of history and anthropology were rather lagging in their feminist transformation project. In short, while there is a global project of feminist transformation, there are also many local differences in the process.

Notes

1. Joan Korenman: http://userpages.umbc.edu/~korenman/wmst/programs.html; Kate Golden: http://kategolden.com/artermisguide/.
2. Renamed as Forum in Women's and Gender Studies after issue no. 66, Dec. 2003.
3. The Graduate Institute of Human Sexuality of Shu Te University was also established in 2000. Although this MA program is nontraditional in the sense of focusing on sex and sexuality as the subject of study, it takes medical and biological approaches toward the understanding of human sexuality. It does not emphasize the promotion of feminist analysis of sex and sexuality in its mission. It was not generally considered as a feminist gender studies institution.
4. In other words, while there was real increase in the number of university, the magnitude of this growth was relatively small. They were a result of the upgrading process of junior college moving into college and the professional college to become 4-year university.
5. However, due to upgrading of junior college resulting in the rapid increase in the number of university in late 90s, there was a reverse trend of increasing proportion of general course after the new century. Fast growth of in the number of university, as compared to junior vocational college, is likely to result in the increasing demand for gender courses as required by law in general education curriculum for technology and engineer types of university.

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Chapter 9
From Women in Taiwan's History of Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) to Recent Case Studies of Gender Practice Under the Academic Glass Ceiling

Jaung-gong Lin, Liang-wen Tsai and Ya-chen Chen

The glass ceiling that women encountered in Taiwan's traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) has remained chiefly unchallenged, with only a few individual women's exceptional success in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Even in the twenty-first century, most of Taiwan's prominent TCM experts and scholars of Taiwanese history are ignorant of or resistant to the significant value of women in Taiwan's TCM history as well as in women's studies, gender studies, and sexology. This chapter aims to compensate for this failure to highlight women in Taiwan's TCM history, and to unveil statistical data from CMU (China Medical University, the first medical school to feature TCM in Taiwanese history) about gender practice. In addition, the chapter shares anonymous female interviewees' personal experiences of gender practices under the academic glass ceiling of Taiwan's twenty-first-century administrative politics.[1]

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9.1 Ancient Traditions of Women TCM Experts in Mainland China

Mainland China's TCM history does include a few women experts and female doctors early in the Han Dynasty. Most scholars believed that the foundation of TCM gynecology (產乳醫) was initiated in China's early dynasties, was strengthened by Sun Simiao (孫思邈) in the Tang Dynasty, and became complete after Chen Ziming's (陳自明) gynecological arguments in the Song Dynasty.[2]

Imperial China's first famous female TCM gynecologist was Yi Zhuo (義妁). She was a female doctor of Empress Wang, Emperor Wu's mother (漢武帝之母王太后), in the Han Dynasty. She taught herself TCM by watching her adept father Xu Shanyou (許善友) practicing TCM. Her brother Yi Zong (義縱) and her brother's friend Zhang Cigong (張次公) benefitted from her medical contributions to the royal family and left stories of their governmental and military positions in historical records. Historical records of Yi Zhuo's story stopped in the year of Empress Wang's death in 126 B.C., however.[3]

Chun Yuyan (淳於衍) was also a female TCM gynecologist in the Han Dynasty. She was the female doctor for helped Queen Xü Pingjun (許平君) of Emperor Xuan (漢宣帝). However, she poisoned Queen Xü Pingjun right after the the queen gave birth to a baby in order to help Huo Chengjun (霍成君), General Huo Guang's (霍光) sister, be promoted from royal concubine to royal queen.[4]

Baogu (鮑姑 approximately 309–361 A.D.) was a female TCM doctor good at acupuncture in Canton during the Jin Dynasty. China's first female acupuncture expert in TCM history, she learned and practiced medicine because her husband Ge Hong (葛洪 284 A.D.-?) was an alchemist and published *Zhouhou beiji fang* (肘後備急方 Emergent Clinic Prescription).[5]

Hu Yin (胡愔) was a female TCM doctor in the late Tang Dynasty. Her medical publications included *Huangting neijing jing* (黃庭內景經), *Huangting waijing tu* (黃庭外景圖), *Buxie neijing fang* (補瀉內景方), and so forth. She drew pictures of internal organs according to the contents of *Huangdi neijing* (黃帝內經 *The Yellow Emperor Inner Cannon*) in 848 A.D.. According to her own preface to the pictures of internal organs, she wanted her pictures and publications to become textbooks or teaching materials for future generations of TCM learners.

> 庶使後来學者披圖而六情可見,開經而萬品昭然
>
> I envision that this enhances future learners to see and understand everything after opening and studying my pictures of internal organs.[6]

Historical records about the Song Dynasty mentioned at least four well-known female TCM doctors. One was gynecologist Kuo Jingzhong's (郭敬仲) mother, whose natal family name was Feng (馮氏). She cured the disease of Empress Meng, Emperor Gao's mother (宋高宗之母孟太后). The other one was Mrs. Junior Zhang (張小娘子). She specialized in surgeries. Another one was Madame Wang (汪夫人). Her TCM expertise was gynecology. One more female TCM doctor had Xing as her natal family name (邢氏). She was famous for her accurate diagnoses.

Zhou Mi's (周密) *Qidong yeyu* (齊東野語) praised her medical skills and clinical stories.[7]

In the Ming Dynasty, the royal family summoned the renowned TCM doctor Xu Mengrong's (徐孟容) wife, whose natal family name was Lu (陸氏), to travel from Wuxi, Jiangsu (江蘇無錫), to Beijing in order to serve as a female TCM gynecologist for female royal family members, and did not let her return home until she was old. In Anhui (安徽), Cheng Bangxian's (程邦賢) wife, whose natal family name was Jiang (蔣氏) and daughter-in-law, whose natal family name was Fang (方氏), specialized in the pediatrics branch of TCM. Tan Yunxian (談允賢 1461–1551) was probably the most famous female TCM doctor during the Ming Dynasty because her stories were romanticized and adapted to a popular Mandarin language TV drama throughout Chinese-speaking areas. Her son recorded her TCM knowledge and clinical experience and edited *Nüyi zayan* (女醫雜言*Female Doctor's Miscellaneous Words*).[8] Other female TCM doctors included an ophthalmologist whose natal family name was Peng (彭氏), and a clinical TCM doctor whose natal family was Han (韓醫婦).[9]

A well-reputed female TCM doctor in the late Qing Dynasty, Zeng Yi (曾懿) was born in 1837. She published four influential volumes of *Yixue pian* (醫學篇 *Articles of Medical Learning*) in Changsha, Hunan (湖南長沙), in 1907. Her medical books were reedited and republished by Suzhou guoyi shushe (蘇州國醫書社 National Medical Bookstore) in 1933.

Most ancient female TCM doctors in Chinese dynasties specialized in gynecology or pediatrics. This meant that the people they looked after were mainly women, mothers, and children. Among all the female TCM doctors during the late Qing Dynasty and early Republican era, Zeng Yi was probably the only female TCM doctor to publish feminist advocacy. She wrote *Nüxue pian* (女學篇 *Women's Education*).[10]

Except for only a few female individuals, such as the above-mentioned female TCM doctors who were mentioned and included in historical records, the glass ceiling restricted most Chinese heritage women in ancient dynasties with regard to literacy, education, job market, financial independence, political participation, and marital choices. A few women's success in breaking away from the glass ceiling did not equate to all women's escape from the same glass ceiling, however. In other words, the glass ceiling remained largely unchallenged in the case of most ancient Chinese-heritage women in spite of the TCM women doctors' exceptions.

9.2 Differentiation Between Mainland China and Taiwan

All of the above-mentioned female TCM doctors were Chinese Mainlanders in ancient dynasties and never included native-born women in Taiwan. Although native-born women in Taiwan were linguistically and biologically of Chinese heritage, Mainland China's exclusion of grassroots Taiwanese women from the overall history of Chinese heritage and Chinese-speaking women inevitably

resulted in the differentiation between Mainland Chinese women's history and grassroots Taiwanese women's history.

9.3 Three Waves of Women's Movements in Mainland China

Western feminist scholars divided global feminist history into three waves: the first wave from the 1830s, the second wave from the 1960s through the 1980s, and the third wave beginning in the 1990s.[11] Nonwhite and nonheterosexual gender issues were not included until the post-1990s period in the third wave, as if Chinese-heritage or Chinese-speaking women had never fought for their rights or gender equality before the 1990s.

To rectify this Euro-American bias of Western self-centeredness and to counteract Westerners' ignorance of women's movements in pre-1990s Chinese-speaking areas, a number of Chinese-heritage or Chinese-speaking feminist scholars proposed the framework of three waves of women's movements in Mainland China. The three waves of women's movements in Mainland China include the first wave beginning with the May Fourth Movement in 1919; the second wave, beginning with Chinese Communists' establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949; and the third wave, beginning with the United Nation's World Women's Congress in Beijing in 1995.

In other words, Zeng Yi's publication of *Nüxue pian* (女學篇 *Women's Education*) as a female TCM doctor represented the undeniable fact that female TCM doctors were neither completely indifferent nor absent in the first wave of Mainland Chinese women's movements. At least one of the female TCM doctors cordially participated in the first wave of women's movements in Mainland China. In her feminist manifesto, Zeng Yi proposed three goals of women's education: first, to provide better family education for future generations; second, to maintain households; and third, to upgrade hygiene and medical levels. The third goal that Zeng Yi set up for Mainland Chinese feminist education noticeably featured her biomedical standpoint and professional role as a female doctor with career concerns of public health.

9.4 Three Waves of Women's Movements in Taiwan

While Chinese Mainlanders might joyfully hail for their female TCM doctors' participation, they essentially exiled Taiwanese-born women from Chinese Mainlanders' three waves of women's movements, as if Taiwan had had no advancement of women's rights before Mainland China's three waves of women's movements. In order to right this wrong, three waves of grassroots women's movements for Taiwan were identified. The first wave took place in Japan's half-century colonization of Taiwan, from 1895 to 1945. The second wave began with the Nationalist Party's retreat from Mainland China to Taiwan as the ruling

party in Taiwan from 1949 to 2000. The third wave started with the Democratic Progressive Party's status as the ruling party in 2000.

In the first wave of women's movements in Taiwan, Japanese colonizers could not help but modernize grassroots Taiwanese women in order to gain those women's assistance in the colonization and Japanization of Taiwan. For example, Japanese colonizers established prestigious girls' senior high schools in Taiwan, such as Tainan First Girls' Senior High School (台南第一高等女學校) in July 1919 and Tainan Second Girls' Senior High School (台南第二高等女學校) in June 1921, and opened some job markets so Taiwanese women could have careers, such as the female journalist Yang Qianhe's (楊千鶴) career in mass communication. Japanese colonizers also founded some college-level schools in Taiwan, such as Taipei Imperial University (台北帝國大學) on March 16, 1928, and Tainan Advanced Industrial School (台南高等工業學校) in 1931. Although Taipei Imperial University had a medical division to train and license grassroots Taiwanese medical doctors (not including TCM doctors), midwives, and nurses, the Japanese government did not institutionalize TCM training in Taiwan during the 1895–1945 colonial period.

Japanese colonizers held a local Taiwanese governmental level examination to qualify or license Taiwanese TCM doctors in 1901. Unfortunately, no Taiwanese women passed this examination. This sort of examination stopped after 1918. Liu Shiyong (劉士永 Liu Shih-yung), Deputy Director of the Taiwanese History Institute in Academia Sinica, verbally mentioned that he found no Taiwanese women's successful records in pre-1945 local Japanese governmental level examinations of TCM doctors. That is to say, during Japan's 1895–1945 colonization of Taiwan, no Taiwanese women broke the glass ceiling to become licensed female TCM doctors in Taiwan's first wave of women's movements.

Taiwan's second wave of women's movements did witness several female licensed TCM doctors who successfully challenged the glass ceiling to practice TCM in Taiwan. According to Zhang Yongxian (張永賢Chang Yung-hsian), some female Mainlanders passed Mainland Chinese examinations, became licensed female TCM doctors in Mainland China, moved from Mainland China to Taiwan around the year 1949, and worked as licensed female Mainland-Chinese-born TCM doctors in Taiwan in the post-1949 era without taking any local Taiwanese TCM examinations. For instance, Shen Shuwen (申書文 Shen Shu-wen) was Taiwan's female Mainland-Chinese-born TCM doctor with specialties in acupuncture, and passed away at a Buddhist temple in Tainan in April 1997.[12] Xia Jichun (夏霽春 Hsia Chi-chun) was also a female Mainland-Chinese-born TCM doctor in Taiwan. She learned TCM and became a doctor in Shanghai. Later on, she moved to Taiwan, and had a TCM clinic in Taipei.

Native-born Taiwanese female TCM doctors did not show up until the second wave of women's movements. According to Cai Liangwen's (蔡良文 Tsai Liang-wen) statistical data from the Examination Yuan of Taiwan (台灣考試院), a native-born Taiwanese woman successfully passed the Nationalist governmental-level examination and became Taiwan's first licensed female TCM doctor in 1955.[13] From 1955 to 1980, only 49 native-born Taiwanese women passed examinations and became licensed female TCM doctors.

Years	Passed governmental-level examination to be licensed native-born TCM Doctors in Taiwan		Total
	Male	Female	
1950	40	0	40
1955	24	1	25
1964	8	0	8
1966	69	0	69
1968	25	1	26
1970	94	2	96
1972	26	0	26
1973	208	10	218
1975	50	4	54
1977	93	9	102
1978	79	7	86
1979	142	15	157
1980	76	16	92
1981	73	12	85
1982	199	30	229
1983	100	40	140
1984	161	44	205
1985	87	21	108
1986	148	61	209
1989	74	30	104
1990	33	21	54
1991	65	38	103
1992	70	30	100
1993	48	25	73
1994	45	23	68
1995	85	33	118
1996	58	33	91
1997	19	10	29
1998	29	8	37
1999	99	55	154
2000	86	43	129
2001	12	3	15
2002	125	42	167
2003	17	8	25
2004	19	8	27
2005	14	13	27
2006	99	68	167
2007	3	11	14
2008	6	9	15

(continued)

(continued)

Years	Passed governmental-level examination to be licensed native-born TCM Doctors in Taiwan		Total
	Male	Female	
2009	4	9	13
2010	34	19	53
2011	15	32	47

Almost every year, from 1953 to 1978, fewer than 10 new female TCM doctors were licensed. After 1978, almost every year, more than 10 new female TCM doctors were licensed

9.5 Taiwan's First Female TCM Professor Wu Huaqing

Taiwan's first TCM department began at the CMU (China Medical University) in 1958, but its first female TCM professor did not appear until August 1972. In other words, Taiwan's first female TCM professor was CMU's first female TCM faculty member: Wu Huaqing (吳華清Wu Hua-ching). At that time, the CMU was not sensitively aware of its challenge to the glass ceiling of women's college-level TCM professorship so no campus news reports and no details of alumni's clear memories were well kept (see Appendix 1).

Born in Sichuan, Mainland China, in January 1920, Wu Huaqing was hired as a 3-year adjunct associate professor by the CMU in August 1972. In that year, Wu Huaqing published *Zhonghua fuke xue* (中華婦科學 *TCM Gynecological Studies*). She taught TCM gynecological courses at CMU for three years. Wu Huaqing's CMU students in the TCM Department included Su Guangzhong (蘇貫中Su Kwang-chung), the first chair of the TCM gynecological department in not merely the CMU but also Taiwanese TCM history, and Lin Zhaogeng (林昭庚 Lin Jaung-geng), the first Taiwanese TCM doctor with Ph.D. in acupuncture. According to Su and Lin's memories, their TCM courses were originally taught by Wu Huaqing's older brother Wu Haifeng (吳海峯Wu Hai-feng). Wu Huaqing continued teaching their TCM classes after Wu Haifeng's move from Taiwan to Canada. Unfortunately, Su and Lin recalled no more details about Wu Huaqing's teaching, such as her textbooks, teaching materials, teaching methods, class notes, handouts, teaching styles, employment details, interactions with colleagues and students.

Wu Huaqing's birthplace, Sichuan, is Mainland China's TCM cradle. So far the earliest Mainland Chinese models of acupuncture have been unearthed in Sichuan. Sichuan is also famous in Mainland China for its production of traditional Chinese herbal medicine. Wu Huaqing learned TCM from her grandfather, father, and older brother, all of whom were reputed TCM doctors. Wu Huaqing had a TCM clinic in Kaohsiung. It was located on Dayi (大義Ta-i) Street, Yancheng (鹽埕Yen-cheng) District, Kaohsiung City, Taiwan.

Several senior Kaohsiung TCM doctors can still remember Wu Huaqing's name now. For instance, Chen Zhengxiong (陳正雄Chen Cheng-hsiung) recalled that Wu Huaqing did not socialize very much with local Kaohsiung TCM doctors and reported that Wu Huaqing died in the 1980s. Huang Daoyuan (黃道原Huang Tao-yuan), He Longyang (何隆洋 Ho Long-yang), Su Congming (蘇聰明 Su Tsung-ming), and Wu Shuisheng (巫水生 Wu Shui-sheng) also remember Wu Huaqing's name and even the old address of her TCM clinic.[14]

Wu Huaqing's grandfather was a TCM doctor for the royal family in the palace of the Forbidden City, Beijing (Peking), in the Qing Dynasty. He wrote a book entitled *Jingzhi* (京治). Wu Huaqing's father was Wu Yuxiang (吳毓祥 Wu Yu-hsiang). Born in 1877, Wu Yuxiang was a famous TCM doctor in Taixing County of Jiangxu Province (江蘇泰興), Mainland China.[15] Wu Yuxiang moved to Taiwan at the age of 70 in 1947, and passed away at the age of 79 in spring 1956.[16] He published a book entitled *Jifu yihua* (吉甫醫話 *Medical Descriptions of Jifu*) because he also called himself Jifu (吉甫).[17] Currently, Wu Yuxiang's book can be found in the library of Academia Sinica, Taipei.

Wu Huaqing's older brother Wu Haifeng (吳海峯Wu Hai-feng) passed the governmental examination and became a licensed TCM doctor in Mainland China in 1946. Xia Jichun (夏霽春 Hsia Chi-chun) learned TCM with Wu Haifeng as his junior schoolmate in Shanghai. Wu Haifeng moved from Shanghai to Taiwan in February 1949, and served as a TCM doctor for CKS (蔣介石Chiang Kai-Shek) and CCK (蔣經國Chiang Ching-kuo) in the Presidential Palace, Taipei, for 20 years. Wu Haifeng was elected to be the President of the TCM Association in the Republic of China (ROC) from 1962 to 1973. He requested that the Nationalist government in Taiwan restart governmental examinations to qualify and license grassroots TCM doctors in 1962. He also taught TCM courses in the CMU, and left Taiwan for Toronto, Canada, during the 1970s. Wu Haifeng established his own TCM clinic in Toronto. According to what Chinese heritage patients said, Wu Haifeng charged 50.00 Canadian dollars for every diagnosis.[18] A lady named Ann Ji (紀安俐) mentioned that she worked on plants in Wu Haifeng's Toronto garden, and her children also enjoyed Wu Haifeng's medical service.[19] Wu Haifeng passed away in Toronto in 2012.

According to the information from Wang Zengfang (王增芳Wang Tzeng-fang), Xia Jichun's (夏霽春 Hsia Chi-chun) daughter-in-law, Wu Haifeng's son is named Wu Songnan (吳松南Wu Sung-nan), but Wu Songnan is not a TCM doctor. So far, Wu Songnan's contact information has not yet been found because Wang Zengfang and her husband have not been in touch with Wu Songnan for a while. Whether Wu Songnan is alive, remembers his aunt Wu Huaqing, has any descends and whether Wu Songnan's children recall anything about Wu Huaqing are all unknown.

Wu Huaqing had a son named Xü Tingxi (徐廷西Xü Ting-hsi). He graduated from National Taiwan University, worked as a TCM doctor, and had a TCM clinic in Kaohsiung (see Appendix 2). Senior Kaohsiung TCM doctor Chen Zhengxiong (陳正雄Chen Cheng-hsiung) reported that Xü Tingxi participated in the Kaohsiung TCM Doctors Association, married twice, had no offspring, and died in the 1990s. Chen mentioned that he got Xü Tingxi's obituary from Xü Tingxi's

second wife and attended Xü Tingxi 's funeral. Some other Kaohsiung TCM doctors, such as Huang Daoyuan (黃道原Huang Tao-yuan), He Longyang (何隆洋 Ho Long-yang), Su Congming (蘇聰明 Su Tsung-ming), and Wu Shuisheng (巫水生 Wu Shui-sheng), also still remember Xü Tingxi.

9.6 Taiwan's Female Administrative Heads of the TCM Doctors' Association

In the 1910s–1990s era, Taiwan had two female administrative heads of the TCM Doctors' Association.[20] In 1991, Huang Shumei (黃淑美 Huang Shu-mei) became Taiwan's first female administrative head of the Changhua (Chang-hua) County Branch of the TCM Doctors' Association. Lai Huichun (賴惠淳 Lai Hui-chun) followed her footsteps and became the female administrative head of the Chia-I City Branch of the TCM Doctors' Association in Taiwan in 1994. These were the only two female administrative heads of the branches of Taiwan's TCM Doctors' Association during the 1990s. Before the 1990s, the association had no female administrative heads.

女中醫師擔任各縣市公會理事長統計資料
Statistic data about female administrative heads of TCM Doctors' Association

縣市別 County or City Branches	1991	1994	2002	2003	2010	2013	2014
全聯會 Taiwan TCM Doctors Association	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
台北市中醫師公會 Taipei City Branch	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
高雄市中醫師公會 Kaohsiung City Branch	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
基隆市中醫師公會 Keelung City Branch	□	□	Qiu Qiuyue (邱秋月 Chiu Chiu-yueh)	□	□	□	Li Yueshen (林月慎 Lin Yueh-shen)

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女中醫師擔任各縣市公會理事長統計資料 Statistic data about female administrative heads of TCM Doctors' Association							
宜蘭縣中醫師公會 Ilan County Branch	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
新北市中醫師公會 New Taipei City Branch	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
桃園縣中醫師公會 Taoyuan County Branch	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
新竹市中醫師公會 Hsiunchu City Branch	□	□	□	□	Xü Lifeng (徐麗鳳 Hsu Li-feng) (連任 two Terms)	□	□
新竹縣中醫師公會 Hsinchu County Branch	□	□	□	□	□	Fu Shijing (傅世靜 Fu Shih-ching) (連任 two Terms)	□
苗栗縣中醫師公會 Miaoli County Branch	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
台中市中醫師公會 Taichung City Branch							
大台中中醫師公會 Great Taichung Branch						Cai Shuzhen (蔡淑真 Tsai Shu-chen)	
南投縣中醫師公會 Nantou County Branch							
彰化縣中醫師公會 Changhua County Branch	Huang Shumei (黃淑美 Huang SHu-mei)						

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女中醫師擔任各縣市公會理事長統計資料 Statistic data about female administrative heads of TCM Doctors' Association							
雲林縣中醫師公會 Yunlin County Branch							
嘉義市中醫師公會 Chia-I City Branch		Lai Huichun (賴惠淳 Lai Hui-chun)					
嘉義縣中醫師公會 Chia-I County Branch							
台南市中醫師公會 Tainan City Branch							
大台南中醫師公會 Great Tainan Branch							
大高雄中醫師公會 Great Kaohsiung Branch				Huang Laiying (黃蘭瑛 Huang Lai-ying) (連任 two Terms)			
屏東縣中醫師公會 Pingtung County Branch							
花蓮縣中醫師公會 Hualien County Branch							
台東縣中醫師公會 Taitung County Branch	□	□	□				

Needless to say, the Taiwanese TCM Doctors' Association's number of male administrative heads was incredibly larger than that of their female counterparts from the 1910s through the 1990s. It was such a dramatic disproportion that Taiwanese female TCM doctors established their own association on January 15, 1989.[21]

女中醫師協會
Chinese Medicine Women Doctors' Association R.O.C.

年度屆別 Years	姓名Names of Administrative Heads	備註 Notes
1989	Hu Xiuqing (胡秀卿 Hu Hsiu-ching)	連任 two terms
1992		
1995	Xü Huiyin (徐慧茵 Hsu Hui-yin)	□
1998	Lü Zhangque (呂張却 Lü Chang-chueh)	□
2001	Chen Suchan (陳素蟬 Chen Su-chan)	□
2004	Yü Lijin (俞麗錦 Yü Li-chin)	□
2007	Lin Shuzhen (林淑真 Lin Shu-chen)	□
2010	Chen Yueqin (陳月琴 Chen Yueh-chin)	□
2013	Liao Yuexiang (廖月香 Liao Yueh-hsiang)	□

Although the number of female licensed TCM doctors was coincidentally growing a few years after the island-wide college joint entrance examination began in the 1970s, the number of female licensed TCM doctors was extremely lower than that of their male counterparts. During the second wave of Taiwanese women's movements from 1949 to 1999, the number of female licensed TCM doctors as administrative heads of the Taiwanese TCM Doctors' Association was extraordinarily smaller than that of male counterparts even after female TCM doctors initiated their own association. In other words, except for a tiny number of female TCM doctors' success stories, such as that of Wu Huaqing as Taiwan's first TCM professor of gynecology and a few female TCM doctors as administrative heads of the Taiwanese TCM Doctors Association, most female Taiwanese TCM doctors only slightly challenged the glass ceiling by participating in and passing Taiwanese governmental examinations for TCM doctors' licenses, yet they did not have a complete escape from the glass ceiling of the 1949–1999 Taiwanese TCM doctors' job market in terms of their competitions with male counterparts for administrative positions of power.

Readers might wonder whether the TCM gynecological division would treat female licensed TCM doctors better than did other TCM divisions because gynecology features women and gender-related aspects. The answer tended to be negative. Take the first-hand information from Su Guangzhong (蘇貫中 Su Kwang-chung) for instance. The CMU Hospital initiated Taiwan's first TCM gynecological division in 1980. Su Guangzhong served as CMU's first

administrative head of the TCM gynecological division at that time, but moved to Taiwan's first all-TCM hospital, Kaohsiung Municipal TCM Hospital (高雄市立中醫院), as its first administrative head of the TCM gynecological division in 1982. After Su Guangzhong, CMU had three more male administrative heads of TCM gynecology: Chen Rongzhou (陳榮洲Chen Jung-chou), Zhang Baixing (張白惺 Chang Pai-hsing), and Cao Rongying (曹榮顯Tsao Jung-ying). Its first female administrative head of TCM gynecology was Chen Yayin (陳雅吟 Chen Ya-yin); Su Shanyu (蘇珊玉Su Shan-yu) replaced Chen Yayin as the CMU's second female administrative head of TCM gynecology. In other words, from 1980 to the 2010s, the number of male administrative heads of TCM gynecology has been twice more than that of women under the academic glass ceiling in the CMU institutional system.

9.7 The Third Wave of Taiwanese Women's Movements in the Post-2000 Era

The feminist interpretation of native-born female Taiwanese TCM doctors' history did not attract the attention of Taiwanese TCM doctors, such as the contributors to *Taiwan zhongyi koushu lishi zhuanji* (台灣中醫口述歷史專輯 *The Oral History of Taiwanese TCM Doctors*) at all. This book included only two chapters about female TCM doctors in Taiwan: one about the establishment of Chinese Medicine Women Doctors' Association, and another about the Mainland-Chinese-born female TCM doctor Xia Jichun.

Lin Zhaogeng's (林昭庚Lin Jaung-geng) article "To Investigate and Analyze the Current Status of Chinese Medical Physicians in Taiwan" did not specify the disproportion of native-born female Taiwanese TCM doctors to their male counterparts though it contained information about the male population and female population. Lin's female advisee, Zhou Peiqi (周佩琪Chou Pei-chi), completed her TCM doctoral dissertation, *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan zhongyi yanjiu* (日治時期臺灣中醫研究 *Taiwanese TCM Research in the Japanese Colonial Era*), in 2010. This TCM Ph.D. dissertation was turned into a coauthored book entitled *Rizhi shiqi de Taiwan zhongyi* (日治時期的台灣中醫 *Taiwanese TCM in the Japanese Colonial Era*) in 2012; however, it placed little emphasis on Taiwan's female TCM doctors.

Taiwan's Ministry of Health and Welfare (MOHW) seemed to share the same indifference for feminist concerns about female TCM doctors in Taiwan. It confessed that it lacked such statistical data related to native-born female Taiwanese TCM doctors. This dearth implied that Taiwan's MOHW never paid special attention to gender differences when collecting or analyzing statistical data related to Taiwan's native-born female licensed TCM doctors and their male counterparts. (see Appendix 3).

Take CMU's local Taizhong (台中Taichung) records or information about Taiwan's first female TCM professor, Wu Huaqing, for example. Almost no CMU alumni recalled sufficient details about their first female TCM professor. Almost no CMU alumni showed a strong willingness to be videotaped or photographed in interviews about their memory of Wu Huaqing. In May 2016, CMU's TCM department office manager Zhang Meiling (張美齡 Chang Mei-ling) and Registrar's office administrative staff member Lin Yufeng (林玉鳳 Lin Yu-feng) confessed that all of their official records about Wu Huaqing had been abandoned or thrown away because these records were more than 30 years old. At the moment when administrative staff members deserted these records, the CMU had noticed no feminist values in these records, and had not felt it would be a great pity to lose these records. CMU's library currently has Wu Huaqing's book entitled *Zhonghua fukexue* (中華婦科學*TCM Gynecological Studies*), but it does have no alumni records pertaining to Wu Huaqing's teaching at all.

What did the job advertisement say? Who were the search committee members? How was the job interview? Did anybody compete with Wu Huaqing for the teaching position? What qualified Wu Huaqing for this position as Taiwan's first female TCM professor? How was the rank of teaching position decided? Was there any check of Wu Huaqing's TCM doctor's license? These questions were left unanswered by both the TCM department and Registrar's Office at the CMU. Was the CMU aware that it had broken the glass ceiling of women's Taiwanese TCM professorship when it hired Wu Huaqing? How did Wu Huaqing interact with colleagues, students, supervisors, and patients? How were Wu Huaqing's relations with her son, her elder brother Wu Haifeng, her father Wu Yuxiang, and her grandfather? How did Wu Huaqing manage her Kaohsiung clinic and her CMU teaching job? How did Wu Huaqing balance her housework and child-raising in the private sphere and her medical job as a licensed TCM doctor in the public sphere? The CMU's first female human resource director Wang Jiashao (王家韶 Wang, Chia-shao) seemed unsure and hesitant about the possibility of being interviewed or answering the above-mentioned questions. The administrative staff member in charge of CMU alumni did find memories or anything traceable from alumni.[22]

Current Taiwan has many more than just one female TCM professor, yet has the glass ceiling for female TCM professors disappeared? No, it remains above female TCM professors' heads. Because the CMU is Taiwan's first medical college to exclusively highlight TCM, the following statistical analyses focus on problems of CMU gender practice during the post-2000 era.

According to the statistical data from the TCM department of CMU in late spring 2016, there were 11 female full-time TCM faculty members, and 33 male full-time TCM professors. At the level of full-time TCM full professor, the male-to-female ratio was 13:2. At the level of full-time TCM associate professor, the male-to-female ratio was 15:6. At the level of full-time TCM assistant professor, it was 4:3, and at the level of full-time TCM lecturer, it was 1:0.[23]

Name	Sex	Initial working Day yyyy/mm/dd	Starting time of Salary yyyy/mm/dd	Working years to Spring 2016	Job title
林慧茹	F	20020801	20020801	13.92	Professor教授
王玟玲	F	20160201	20160201	0.41	Assistant Professor 助理教授
江素瑛	F	19980915	19980915	17.8	Associate Professor 副教授
林靖婷	F	20080801	20080801	7.92	Associate Professor 副教授
鄭慧滿	F	20040801	20040801	11.92	Assistant Professor 助理教授
虐娜櫻	F	19810801	19810801	34.93	Associate Professor 副教授
周珮琪	F	20110801	20110801	4.92	Associate Professor 副教授
林麗娟	F	20071018	20071018	8.7	Associate Professor副教授
靳子蓉	F	20080801	20080801	7.92	Associate Professor 副教授
林應如	F	20050901	20050901	10.83	Professor 教授
張鈺孜	F	20160201	120160201	0.41	Assistant Professor 助理教授
馮嘉寶	M	20100113	20100113	6.46	Lecturer via Special Project 專案講師
馬培德	M	20100113	20100113	6.46	Assistant Professor via Special Project專案助理教授
賴學洲	M	20100201	20100201	6.41	Associate Professor 副教授
黃升騰	M	20160201	20160201	0.41	Professor 教授
高尚德	M	19870801	19870801	28.93	Professor 教授
陳清助	M	19970801	19970801	18.92	Associate Professor 副教授
蔡昆道	M	20100201	20100201	6.41	Assistant Professor 助理教授
孫茂峰	M	20090801	20090801	6.92	Professor 教授
林昭庚	M	19850801	19850801	30.93	Chair Professor 講座教授

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(continued)

Name	Sex	Initial working Day yyyy/mm/dd	Starting time of Salary yyyy/mm/dd	Working years to Spring 2016	Job title
林景彬	M	19790301	19790301	37.36	Associate Professor 副教授
蔡育勳	M	20060601	20060601	10.08	Professor 教授
李世滄	M	19950801	19950801	20.93	Associate Professor 副教授
陳世殷	M	20090201	20090201	7.41	Associate Professor 副教授
黃俊發	M	20080801	20080801	7.92	Associate Professor 副教授
羅瑞寬	M	20010801	20010801	14.92	Professor 教授
李建興	M	20160201	20160201	0.41	Associate Professor 副教授
陳賢德	M	20100201	20100201	6.41	Associate Professor 副教授
何宗融	M	20080801	20080801	7.92	Associate Professor 副教授
程錦宜	M	20140201	20140201	3.41	Assistant Professor 助理教授
洪宏杰	M	20020801	20020801	13.92	Associate Professor 副教授
楊仕哲	M	20090201	20090201	7.41	Associate Professor 副教授
李德茂	M	19960801	19960801	19.92	Associate Professor 副教授
黃毓銓	M	20090801	20090801	6.92	Associate Professor 副教授
鄔哲源	M	19960801	19960801	19.92	Professor 教授
萬磊	M	20040801	20040801	11.92	Professor 教授
蘇奕彰	M	19930801	19930801	22.93	Professor 教授
侯庭鏞	M	19990301	19990301	17.34	Professor 教授
陳方周	M	19991001	19991001	16.76	Associate Professor 副教授
禤榮年	M	20160311	20160311	0.3	Professor 教授
蔡輔仁	M	870801	19980801	17.92	Professor 教授

(continued)

(continued)

Name	Sex	Initial working Day yyyy/mm/dd	Starting time of Salary yyyy/mm/dd	Working years to Spring 2016	Job title
彭慶添	M	19910801	19910801	24.93	Professor 教授
顏宏融	M	20140901	20140901	2.83	Associate Professor 副教授
林武周	M	20140201	20140201	3.41	Assistant Professor 助理教授

According to the data, the number of male full-time full professors was 6.5 times more than that of female counterparts; associate professors, 2.5 times; assistant professor, 1.3 times. The higher the ranks were, the larger the male-to-female ratio became. The lower the rank was, the smaller the male-to-female ratio was. This proves that female TCM faculty members' heads still bump into the gender-oriented glass ceiling in the CMU academic workplace.

Even the TCM Ph.D. dissertation topics show that gender issues did not stalwartly interest doctoral students in the TCM Ph.D. program in the CMU. From 1990 to 2014, only two TCM Ph.D. dissertation topics looked to be closely related to women's and gender studies according to the TCM department's records.[24]

Year	Author	Topic	Advisor
1990	Chen Rongzhou (陳榮洲 Chen Jung-chou)	薛己, 張介賓調經理論治瘀不孕症之研究 Infertility Research via Xue Ji and Zhang Jiebin's Theories to Fine-Tune Menstruation Cycles	Wang Yizhi (王逸之 Wang I-chih)
2014	Jiang Peirong (江佩蓉 Chiang Pei-jung)	中醫病因學說:六淫之臨床研究 The Clinical Study of the Chinese Medicine Etiology: Six Excesses Theory	Su Yizhang (蘇奕彰 Su I-chang)

Faculty members influence students deeply; therefore, such a TCM faculty-level disproportion undoubtedly worsened students' insensitivity to gender-related research topics. From 1990 to 2014, the TCM Ph.D. program had 130 doctoral dissertations, but only two of those were related to women's and gender studies. That is to say, the CMU's proportion of gender-related TCM Ph.D. dissertations in that 15-year cycle was around 1: 65, approximately 1.5%. This demonstrates that the TCM Ph.D. studies in CMU from 1990 to 2014 did not merge well with sexology or women's and gender studies, though sexology or women's and gender studies was deemed as an interdisciplinary or cross-field research area.

9.8 Verification from Anonymous Female Faculty

Anonymous female faculty also verified the existence of the academic glass ceiling in their Taiwanese workplaces of the twenty-first century. To protect these 12 anonymous female interviewees, they have been named A, B, C, and so on. Except for the information that has been already published or publicized, such as lawsuit cases mentioned in news reports, any affiliations and identifying details to identify them have also been deleted.

Anonymous interviewee A disclosed that a senior female faculty member with good research records and a junior male faculty member with insufficient publication records were once both taken into their male administrative supervisor's consideration for an administrative position on the editorial board of an academic journal managed by their academic institution. Professionally speaking, the priority should have been given to the senior female faculty member with good research record. Unfortunately, sexual inequality and preference for the male sex played influential roles in decision-making. The male administrative supervisor chose the junior (at the level of assistant professor) male faculty member with only limited publications without an explanation for why the senior female faculty member with a good research record was not selected.

Anonymous interviewee B exposed the disparate academic treatment she witnessed. Both a female faculty member and a male faculty member cited rules and examples of prestigious US universities to support their arguments in administrative meetings. Nothing bad happened to the male faculty member after the meeting, in which the male faculty member cited cases in top-ranking American schools. However, the female faculty member encountered public humiliation and immediate insults from at least two male colleagues right after she cited rules and examples of prestigious US universities to support her argument during the same administrative meeting. These two male colleagues said, first, that the citation of examples from prestigious schools was "immature" but there came no elaboration of why it was "immature" to cite cases from prestigious universities to support her argument. Second, the male colleagues said that anyone citing examples of high standards from prestigious academic institutions was simply a troublemaker.

Anonymous interviewee C complained that sometimes even female colleagues showed no awareness of female faculty members suffering from gender inequality or disparate treatment and offered no help. She divulged that the female faculty-level victim of disparate treatment, whom anonymous interviewee B mentioned, asked for support and assistance from her senior female colleague who taught gender-related courses for the entire university, assuming that the instructors of gender-related classes would be more sympathetic to disparate treatment, but the senior female colleague simply commented, "You are so excellent that you thought you would encounter no sexual inequality or disparate treatment."

Anonymous interviewee D highlighted the fact that some administrators in charge of note-taking or minutes of administrative meetings skillfully forgot, pretended to not have heard, or omitted what female faculty members expressed so that

the official minutes of administrative meetings contained no verifiable records of female faculty members' opinions. This was how they "shut women up." The female faculty members pointed out the fact that their voices were not officially recorded in the minutes, the administrators in charge of note-taking or minutes of administrative meetings refused to add the female faculty members' ideas to the official records about the meetings. Instead, those administrators simply told the female faculty members that the imperfect version of meeting minutes, which excluded the female faculty's statements, would be used as the officially authorized records. The meeting minutes were supposed to be in the form of audiotapes to honestly record everyone's arguments in the meetings but became discriminatory mufflers targeting female faculty-level participants in the meetings.

Anonymous interviewee E experienced a similar kind of disparate treatment. When she was a new hire, her senior female colleague told her to "shut up" and say nothing about her views in administrative meetings. This senior female colleague critically highlighted that new hires did not know the entirety of the institution and hence should express nothing in administrative meetings. At the end of the same semester, however, a junior male colleague who was also a new hire was selected as the representative or mouthpiece in school-level meetings. Anonymous interviewee E felt that this was so unfair that she questioned the senior female colleague why the male new hire, who also did not know the entirety of the institution, had not been "shut up." This senior female colleague was unable to justify herself; therefore, she turned outrageously from shame to, accusing anonymous interviewee E of being difficult to communicate with and telling anonymous interviewee E that the communication between them would be terminated from that moment on.

Citing Xiaoye's (小野Hsiao Yeh) article "Schools Are Units to Effectively Strengthen the Conspiracy" (學校就是一個鞏固共犯結構的有效單位),[25] anonymous interviewee F described a senior female faculty member publicly criticizing the school's lack of good sports fields, gyms, and auditoriums. The senior female faculty member's outspoken style was intolerable for the accomplices in the overall administration system and resulted in administrators' conspiratorial decision to stop her teaching. The senior female faculty member won the lawsuit and was later reinstated and awarded back pay.[26]

Anonymous interviewee G also knew of the case that anonymous interviewee F mentioned, yet she did not believe that every female faculty-level victim of disparate treatment, sexual inequality, or injustice would be lucky enough to find a good judge to right the wrong.

Anonymous interviewee H divulged her female colleague's experience in being requested to leave before any official evaluation because her viewpoints were different from those of male administrative heads'. Regardless of the necessity for a truly good university's inclusion of diversity, the decisions were made long before the institutional deadlines of official evaluations, so official evaluations were utilized by decision makers as only excuses or scapegoats. This is like a pupil's final examination grade being decided before the final examination questions are given to the pupil.

Anonymous interviewee I delineated that her two female colleagues were requested to use their own money to sponsor students' financial needs in preparation for their classes. None of her male colleagues were required to do so, however. She asked the male administrative head and male colleagues why the institution had not provided full sponsorship for this sort of when the male administrative head had decided to offer such types of performance-oriented classes to students. The answer was that they feared other faculty members would request the same sponsorship for every class. However, they were afraid that other faculty member would regard it as unfair if the male administrative head offered the full sponsorship to the two female faculty members' classes but no sponsorship to other classes. However, they forgot that it was equally unfair for them to request that only these two female faculty members to financially suffer and not require male faculty members to provide the same amount of money from their own pockets to sponsor their own classes. For instance, if each of these two female faculty members had taken 5000NTD (new Taiwan dollars) from her personal banking account for her course, the male administrative head and the institution should have also required each male faculty member to take the same amount from his own banking account for his course. Otherwise, it would have been disparate and unfair.

Anonymous interviewee J outlined male administrative heads' broken promises to female faculty members. She explained at least two cases in which male administrative heads recorded their own written promises to female faculty members in emails or official documents yet did not feel it was wrong to simply eat their words and break their own written promises later on. The female faculty members talked about these two male administrative heads' broken promises to other male administrative heads, but the conspiratorial relations or "boys' club"[27] of male administrative heads resulted in male administrative heads' mutual support for one another:

> Women… are only given day passes to the [boys'] club, never full membership. They only renew the day pass when they believe you can be helpful to them.[28]

The ending of these two cases was, of course, that these two female faculty members were requested to shut up and the male administrative heads suffered no punishment or no administrative correction for breaking their promises.

Anonymous interviewee K avoided specific cases of individuals and directed interviewers to overall statistical data. She questioned the male-to-female ratios in ministers of education, university presidents, provosts, deans, department chairs, program directors, and administrative assistants. Similar questions could also have been asked in TCM clinical aspects, such as the ratio of male-to-female TCM residential doctors, TCM nurses, directors of TCM gynecology, directors of TCM pediatrics, and so forth. The higher the level, the more men; the lower the level, the more women. The same glass ceiling, though alleviating, has existed without disappearing from ancient dynasties to the present.

Anonymous interviewee L concluded that even Taiwan has had a female president and a female vice president appeared in the twenty-first century, these two women's individual cases have not completely eliminated the glass ceiling.

9.9 Conclusion

Female Taiwanese TCM doctors' history has not yet attracted many TCM doctors and researchers' attention since the era of feudalist dynasties, though a few individual Taiwanese women became administrative heads in the Taiwanese TCM Doctors' Association in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Even in the twenty-first century, however, the glass ceiling still exists for Taiwanese female TCM doctors. Unawareness of or resistance to the monumental value of women in Taiwan's TCM history—as well as in women's studies, gender studies, and sexology—still pervades Taiwan's twenty-first-century TCM, which is why this chapter underscored women in Taiwanese TCM history, deciphered statistical records, and shared 12 anonymous female interviewees' personal experiences and insights pertaining to the academic gendered glass ceiling.

Notes

1. This chapter was written by Chen. Lin and Tsai offered valuable data to Chen so Chen was able to digest and organize the data to turn them into this chapter. Because the intended readers of this book chapter are Western native English speakers without strong background knowledge about Taiwan's history of TCM, Taiwanese women's and gender studies, and Taiwanese academies, the following keypoints have been specially prepared for them:

   (1) Institutionalization of TCM at Taiwanese College and Postgraduate-Level Academic Institutions: Before Japanese colonization, Chinese medicine was truly popular and easily accessible for most Taiwanese people while Western medicine was rarely seen and difficult for local people in mainstream Taiwanese society to access; however, the Qing Dynasty, which ceded Taiwan to Japan, and the Chinese government before the Qing Dynasty never institutionalized Chinese medicine in their official Taiwanese academic institutions, including the Confucius Temple in Tainan City, which is Taiwan's earliest academic institution (全臺首學). Since Japanese colonization, western medicine has enjoyed an extremely higher preference than TCM. National Taiwan University's medical college and hospital have served as an influential example of how Taiwan institutionalized Western medicine. Most academic institutions in Taiwan have been excluding the institutionalization of TCM because of Western medical experts' hostile attitudes toward TCM. For example, the stymie that Dr. Tu Tsung-ming (杜聰明) encountered when proposing that National Taiwan University (NTU) establish a Chinese medical department was so terrible

that he left the NTU to found the Kaohsiung Medical College in order to secure the opportunity to academically institutionalize TCM. China Medical University (CMU) was Taiwan's first college and postgraduate-level academic institution to officially institutionalize and focus on TCM. CMU is also Taiwan's first medical college and hospital to have a separate unit of traditional Chinese gynecology. This success of institutionalizing TCM represents the recognizable value of long-term persistence and efforts to support the academic institutionalization of TCM, though many experts of Chinese medicine still suffer from Western medical experts' discrimination or disrespect. Chen Youyi (陳鈾藝 Chen You-i), for instance, wrote articles to advocate for the equal and nondiscriminatory treatment for doctors of Western medicine and of TCM. Without this background, it would be impossible for Western readers to fully appreciate the value of Taiwan's earliest female faculty member of TCM and Chinese gynecology.

(2) Taiwanese College and Postgraduate-Level Academic Institutions as Women Faculty Members' Professional Job Markets and Public Sphere in the 1970s: In the 1970s, the number of female faculty at Taiwan's college or postgraduate-level academic institutions was limited because most well-educated Taiwanese women, including graduates from prestigious girls' senior high schools or universities, were affected by the gender bias against women's exclusive focus on professional career so that they concentrated on their marriage and family life, and regarded professional jobs, especially teaching positions at colleges and universities, as properly secondary or even insignificant pursuits. From the 1950s to 1979, Taiwan's college entrance examinations disallowed female and male examinees to share the same topic of compositions, insisting that female examinees worked on compositions about family, marriage, art, children's education, and so on while male examinees dealt with compositions about politics, international relations, economics, governmental policies, social problems, technology, and science. The number of female faculty and students in departments of natural science, including Chinese medicine, was certainly smaller than of their male counterparts at that time. Even now, in the 21st century, the ratio of female-to-male faculty in the research fields of TCM at the CMU is around 1:3—not well balanced in terms of sexual differences. This demonstrates how rarely seen and how valuable it was for a Taiwanese academic institutions or a Chinese medical department to hire a female faculty member in the 1970s.

(3) Taiwanese Feminist History: Feminist history in the West is usually divided into three waves: first, from the late 19th century to the 1960s; second, from the 1960s to the 1990s; and third, from the 1990s to the 21st century. Because Western feminists did not pay special attention to nonwhite women and nonheterosexual concerns until the third wave began, Taiwanese women's movements are usually counted as part of third-wave feminism by Western feminists. To stage a dialogue with Western feminists, feminist scholars of

Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan define their own three waves of feminist history. Mainland Chinese feminist scholars believe that their first wave began in the May Fourth movement in 1919, their second wave started when the Chinese Communist Party established the People's Republic of China in 1949, and their third wave initiated when the United Nations held the World's Women's Congress in Beijing in 1995. Taiwanese history has its own three waves of women's movements. The first wave was initiated in Japanese colonization; the second wave started around the time of the Nationalist Party's retreat from Mainland China to Taiwan; and the third wave rose to prominence when the grassroots Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) became the ruling party, especially with Taiwan's first female president in 2016. Taiwan's feminist movements did not help Taiwan break career women's glass ceiling by assisting Taiwan in producing its first female TCM professor until Taiwan's second-wave feminism began. One of the most important factors was probably the Nationalist Party's college entrance examination system being open to male and female examinees who graduate from high schools. In 1954, National Taiwan University, National Taiwan Normal University, National Chung Hsing University, and National Cheng Kung University started their first joint entrance examination in Taiwan. This successful joint entrance examination resulted in all the Taiwanese colleges and universities' participation in the joint entrance examination in 1955. From 1955 to 2000, the joint entrance examination fairly increased the female-to-male ratio of Taiwanese high school graduates' entrance into colleges, graduate institutes, and professional careers, including Taiwan's first female TCM professor at the CMU.

(4) No Separation between Medical Practice and Pharmacy in TCM: Currently, the Western medical fields in Taiwan and the West have a clear separation between medical practice and pharmacy; however, TCM in Taiwan currently does not have such a division of labor in terms of doctors and pharmacists. In other words, many TCM doctors in Taiwan serve as their own pharmacists in the same TCM clinics.

(5) Taiwanese Health Insurance Covers TCM: In the West, not every health insurance agent covers TCM and therapy though Tu Youyou's TCM research benefited numerous people all over the world and successfully won world-class recognition at Nobel Award Ceremony. Current Taiwanese health insurance, however, does cover TCM, acupuncture, and Chinese herbal therapies.

(6) Assistant Professors in Taiwanese Higher Education: Taiwanese higher education did not have any assistant professors until the final years of the 1990s or the 2000s. When China Medical University hired Wu Huaqing in August 1972, Wu Huaqing's teaching position was at the level of associate professor. Except for at women's colleges or universities, through the 1970s, the number of male faculty members was much larger than that of female faculty members, not only in China Medical University but also in other universities all over the world.

(7) Taiwanese Women's Departure from Education or Careers: In Taiwan's pre-1980s mainstream patriarchal society, it was frequently seen that Taiwanese women stopped their education or professional careers because of family life, marriage, or children.

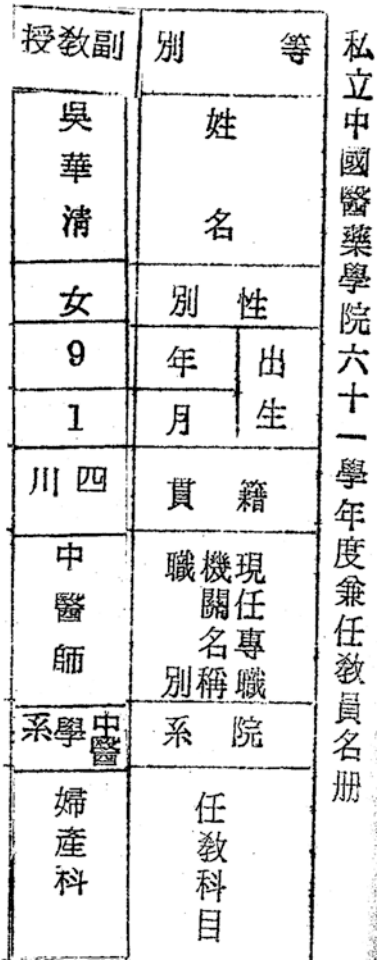
2. Consult Robin Yates's chapter in Angela Ki Che Leung's edited book *Medicine for Women in Imperial China, pp. 19-73*. Lin Boxin (林柏欣 Lin Po-hsin) kindly provided his background knowledge about TCM history via verbal expressions during a face-to-face meeting.
3. For details, see the news report in *NOWnews* on August 13, 2016.
4. Consult Zhang Yong's news report in *Yangcheng Evening News* on February 24, 2016.
5. See the following websites: http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_708f631b0102w9q3.html(retrieved in August 2016). http://www.jiemilishi.com/lishirenwu/2622.html (retrieved in August 2016).
6. Consult Gai Jianmin's article in *China Taoism*. Here is the Chinese language citation of the entire paragraph in the Preface: 愔夙性不敏,幼慕玄門,煉志吳爲,栖心淡泊,覽《黃庭》之妙理,翫碧簡之遺文,焦心研精,屢更歲月。伏見舊圖奧密,津路幽深,詞理既玄,蹟之者鮮指以色象,或略記神名　諸氏纂修異端斯起,遂使後學之輩罕得其門　差之毫釐,謬逾千里　今敢搜羅管見,罄竭　·聞,按據諸經,別爲圖式,先明臟腑,次说修行,并引病源,吐纳除疾,旁羅藥理,尋引屈伸,察色尋證,月禁食禁　庶使後來學者披圖而六情可見,開經而萬品昭然
7. Consult the contents of the following websites: http://big5.huaxia.com/sh/zyzy/zywh/00097114.html (retrieved in August 2016). http://www.timetw.com/5036.html (retrieved in August 2016).
8. See Qin Xiangye's *Wuxi jingui xianzhi*, p. 20b. Also consult Charlotte Furth's *A Flourishing Yin*, pp. 285-297, Wu Yi-li's *Reproducing Women*, pp. 18-22, and Academia Sinica's *Zhongguo shi xinlun* (中國史新論 *New Discourses of Chinese History*), p. 242.
9. http://big5.huaxia.com/sh/zyzy/zywh/00097114.html (retrieved in August 2016).
10. http://www.360doc.com/content/08/0926/15/66968_1679690.shtm (retrieved in August 2016).
11. Consult the brief summary of three waves in Western feminist point of view: https://www.progressivewomensleadership.com/a-brief-history-the-three-waves-of-feminism/ (retrieved in August 2016). Also consult Ya-chen Chen's *The Many Dimensions of Chinese Feminism*.
12. For details, see Kan Zhengzong's *Tour Guide to Buddhist Temples in Taiwan*, p. 89.

13. Zhuang Shiqi (莊淑旂Chuang Shu-chi, 1920-2015) claimed that she was Taiwan's first grassroots female licensed TCM doctor. Consult her memoir published by Yuanliu (遠流) Publishing House in November 2001. However, Liu Shiyong (劉士永 Liu Shih-yung) informed that the Research Institute of Taiwanese History, Academia Sinica, was uncertain about whether she was truly Taiwan's first grassroots female licensed TCM doctor and hesitated to publish academic books about her claim. The official records that Cai Liangwen (蔡良文Tsai Liang-wen) obtained in the Examination Yuan of Taiwan showed that the surname of Taiwan's first grassroots female licensed TCM doctor was Xie (謝Hsieh), instead of Zhuang (莊Chuang).
14. Thanks of Chen Chaozong (陳潮宗 Chen Chao-tzung) and Zhang Lide (張立德Chang Li-te), Chen Ya-chen (陳雅淇) was able to speak with these senior Kaohsiung TCM doctors via phone. Chen Chaozong also assisted Chen Ya-chen(陳雅淇) to reach several Taipei TCM doctors, such as Li Zhengyu (李正育 Li Cheng-yu), Cai Xinfu (蔡新富 Tsai Hsin-fu), Huang Bisong (黃碧松 Huang Pi-sung), and Xia Jichun's daughter-in-law Wang Zengfang (王增芳 Wang Tzeng-fang). Huang Bisong told Ya-chen Chen's about Wang Shuyou's (汪叔游 Wang Shu-you) old Toronto contact information because we wished that Wang Shuyou knew and recalled Wu Haifeng after both of them moved from Taiwan to Toronto. The old Toronto contact information longer worked, and therefore Chen Ya-chen(陳雅淇) was unable to reach Wang Shuyou. Ya-chen Chen dialed the old Toronto phone number, but the person who answered the phone calls said that nobody named Wang Shuyou was there.
15. *Anhui Fuyang xianzhi* (安徽省阜陽縣誌*Historical Records of Fuyang County in Anhui Province*) documented a TCM doctor with exactly the same name Wu Yuxiang (吳毓祥 Wu Yu-hsiang), but there is no specific detail to verify whether the Wu Yuxiang in Fuyang County of Anhui Province was the same as the Wu Yuxiang who fathered Wu Huaqing. For details, see the websites: http://60.166.6.242:8080/was40/pdf/dshx/22/02_pdf_22_25.pdf (retrieved in August 2016) http://60.166.6.242:8080/was40/detail?record=5&channelid=52646 (retrieved in August 2016). Here is the Chinese language citation: 清光绪以前,行中醫。光绪以後,西醫傳入。民國38年(1949年)統计,全縣有中醫985人,西醫92人,計1077人。著名西醫,有時子元, 王鹤鳴, 陳文孚, 尚健民, 周惠民, 臧振寰, 楊杰, 連立武等。著名的中醫,有吳毓祥, 陈鹤鳴, 李鍾林, 樊養源, 王廣德等。貢生出身的吳毓祥,"不作良相,寧为良醫",醫術精湛,著《醫学心得》13篇。陈鹤鳴善治疑難雜病,曾受聘於京華。王廣德的膏藥,可治各種惡瘡,名揚遐邇。
16. For details, consult the following information: http://phy0033a.myweb.hinet.net/bbb/aa/a11/a11index.htm (retrieved in August 2016). Also consult the following publication by Chen Boda (陳柏達 Chen Po-ta): http://wap.goodweb.cn/news/news_view.asp?newsid=5098 (retrieved in August 2016).

17. See Wu Yuxiang's *Jifu yihua*in 1962.
18. http://m.yorkbbs.ca/forum/parenting/1475307.aspx?page=2 (retrieved in August 2016).
19. Consult Ann Li's article in *The World Journal* on August 1, 2012.
20. Thanks to Cai Chunmei (蔡春美 Tsai Chun-mei) and Lin Zhaogeng's (林昭庚 Lin Jaung-geng) efforts, the statistic data can be accessible and included in this chapter.
21. Thanks to Cai Chunmei (蔡春美 Tsai Chun-mei) and Lin Zhaogeng's (林昭庚 Lin Jaung-geng) efforts, the statistic data can be accessible and included in this chapter. Also see the official web-page of this association: http://rocafcm.blogspot.tw/p/blog-page.html (retrieved in August 2016).
22. Thanks to the CMU's first female human resource director Wang Jiashao (人力資源主任王家韶Wang Chia-shao) and alumni manager Zhang Liming (學務處校友資料管理人張黎明Chang Li-ming), this part of information could be known.
23. Without the help of Zhang Meiling (張美齡 Chang Mei-ling) in the TCM department of CMU, this statistic data would not be accessible.
24. http://cmucms.cmu.edu.tw/Medical-Paper.html
25. See Xiaoye's article in *Yahoo News* on November 20, 2013.
26. Consult the news report in *Liberty Times News* on March 19, 2011.
27. See Maura O'Neil's news report in *Huffington Post* on April 7, 2015. Also see Jason O'Mahony's article in *The Times* on September 23, 2015. Double-check Anushka Asthana's 2016 Philip Geddes Memorial Lecture: "Breaking into the Boys' Club– Why British Politics Needs More Women" at Oxford University on March 4, 2016.
28. This is Maura N'Neil's citation of what Jennifer James said to her.

Appendix 1

The following information was provided by Liu Yanyi (劉沿佚Liu Yen-i) at the Human Resource Office of China Medical University to Lin Zhaogeng (林昭庚Lin Jaung-geng) in early summer 2016.


私立中國醫藥學院六十一學年度兼任教員名册

副教授	等別	
吳華清	姓名	
女	性別	
9	出生年	
1	出生月	
四川	籍貫	
中醫師	現任專職機關名稱職別	
中醫學系	院系	
婦產科	任教科目	

Appendix 2

Google Records about Wu Huaqing's son Xu Tingxi as a participant in the classical Chinese Music Orchestra Club of National Taiwan University

吳華清之子徐廷西就讀台灣大學期間曾經參加台灣大學國樂社的谷歌郵件紀錄

https://groups.google.com/forum/#!topic/ntucmc/IMOEs6qYnc8 (website retrieved in August 2016)
From: C.Y.
Date: Wed, May 30, 2012
Dear Professor Mau (茅聲燾),
Welcome to our 薰風校友 (NTU Chinese Music Club Alumni) group!
抱歉! 很久沒有講中文, 打中文也是打了半天才弄上一句…
希望您不介意我用英文與您溝通 (如果方便, 請您盡量用中文與我溝通:-)
We are so happy to reconnect with you (see the following email from Prof. Uang 汪家銘)! I will introduce you to everyone and add you as a member of our Google Email Group & Shutterfly photo-sharing group soon (see P.S.). Please reply to me with the following information (and any other story/information and/or any old or recent photos you would like to share with everyone): What year did you graduate from NTU & what's your major? In this email, I also Cc: (抄送副本) some of old friends 「薰風老友」 you may know (so you may communicate with them directly): 瞿海源(1967心理, 1963–64社長), 黃國師, 陳裕剛, 王正平, 陳仲桐, 趙秦育(1969動物), 周鳳丹, 陳端安, 張華克, Ken Chang (張慶麟 - "台大薰風榮譽校友",南胡), etc. Also attached is a scan of a list of 「薰風老友」 handwritten by Prof. Chen (陳裕剛) during one of our Taipei reunions. Below are some comments Professor Chen made (about this list) at our Shutterfly website:
打圈者:比瞿海源高一二屆 [note: 瞿海源(1967心理, 1963–64社長)] 半框者:與瞿海源同屆;其餘比瞿海源低一二屆。…茅聲燾高我二三屆,是我的琵琶啓蒙老師,隨孫培章不定時學習琵琶,回來後轉教我,等王正平就讀台大後,我轉向王正平學習他從香港帶來的許多小曲, 大曲…張鴻仁爲指揮,當時(民國五十四年乎?)好像在彰化八卦山大佛下參加比賽。其中一曲是王沛綸的《靈山梵音》。那一年好像是楊光中當社長。可以問黃國師或陳仲桐。徐廷西在高雄繼承母業當中醫,四十餘年未再聯絡;劉宛然, 張玉花在花蓮,我有聯絡;羅正平(太太也是國樂社同學,一時忘了名字,罪過之至), 馮篤銘在馬來西亞,久未聯絡,王正平也許知道;林豐和在高雄,與羅業勤, 謝清佳, 范碧玉常有聯絡,謝, 范二人爲「中國樂刊」最實際之工作小組人員之一,一切雜務都靠她們,黃國師筆名「菜昂」,筆法犀利,重要的主筆之一。徐龍曾隨錢思亮校長訪韓演奏古箏(這是我聽來的,可請沈冬順便查證);。李芳綿高一屆的揚琴學姐,接下來是李小林彈揚琴;潘榮培, 王靜華是古箏組,蘇世明好像也是;葉靖亞拉中胡,我民國六十年左右隨「山東古樂團」(由梁在平老師帶領,一行八人)赴美演出,到葉的學校,與葉一同通宵影印相關資料攜回,後來葉回國,似在東吳或東海任教,一直沒有聯絡。謝傳剛也拉中胡,是李小林的先生。石堅從香港來,文質彬彬,精三弦,目前應在香港吧?唐麗華(南胡)數年前回臺,最近好像又離臺了。林衡一(南胡)畢業後沒聯絡。其餘各人,尚待大家幫忙尋找了。謹此奉告大家。[請幫忙記起 您當時的社長 &指揮?]
(1961–1962) 社長?; 指揮?

(1962–1963) 社長黃展南; 指揮?
(1963–1964) 社長瞿海源; 指揮?
(1964–1965) 社長唐麗華?;指揮?
(1965–1966) 社長楊光中?; 指揮? ç張鴻仁 (1965–1966指揮?)
(1966–1967) 社長?; 指揮? <- 石堅? (196?–196?社長)
(1967–1968) 社長?; 指揮? <-謝傳剛 (196?–196?社長, 中胡,是李小林的先生)
(1968–1969) 社長?; 指揮?
(1969–1970) 社長?; 指揮? <- (陳仲桐社長??) 陳仲桐(政治1970, 揚琴, 社長19??–19??)
(1970–1971),社長?,指揮?
(1971–1972),團長俞鳳嬌?,指揮王正平? <=== ***(won the 1st place in the group national competition)
(1972–1973),團長?,指揮?
(1973–1974),團長張華克?,指揮張華克?…
Looking forward to hearing from you!…
P.S.
To: Prof. Chen (陳裕剛)
Can you forward this email to 劉宛然 &張玉花 (and Cc: me)? I would like to invite them to join our group. Thanks! [Notes]薰風校友在臺聯絡人: 石佳相
Current 薰風指導老師: 沈冬Upon receiving your reply, I will add you to our groups. You should receive invitation emails soon from our Google Email Group & our Shutterfly (photo-sharing) site.

Appendix 3

衛生福利部 函
檔號:
係存年限:
受文者:陳雅淇博士
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主旨: 所請提供每年通過中醫師考試之男女比例, 女性中醫師姓名及第一位女中醫師等資料一案。,復如說明,請查照
一, 復台端105年5月20日(本部收件日)致本部醫事司函辦理。
二, 經查本部醫事管理系統,39年到104年12月31日止,中醫師領證人數爲1萬3,065人。至於每年通過中醫師考試之男女比例,本部並無該類分析資料。又依據「個人資料保護法」相關規定,本部歉難提供女性中醫師姓名及第一位女中醫師等資料。
正本:陳雅潰博士
副本:

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Author Biographies

Jaung-gong Lin 林昭庚 Jaung-geng Lin a chair professor at the China Medical University, with certification to practice both Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) and Western medicine. Ever since qualifying, he has been engaged in medical teaching and clinical research in TCM and has opened up Taiwan's medical diplomacy with TCM and acupuncture. The main topics of his research include evidence-based medicine in acupuncture, acupuncture analgesia and acupuncture safety. He has published over 325 articles, including 201 SCI articles, and 43 books on TCM and acupuncture.

Dr. Lin is also a medical history expert and has published several important books, including, "A History of Acupuncture & Moxibustion", "History of Chinese Medicine in Taiwan", "A General History of Chinese Medicine - Heritage Map" and "A General History of Chinese Medicine - Ancient volume". Dr. Lin has performed acupuncture on many world leaders and has received numerous awards, such as the Golden Burnoose award from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, First Prize for his contribution to academia from the President of the Republic of EI Salvador, Yanni Christopher, and two Taiwan presidential awards by Presidents Teng-Hui Lee and Shui-Bian Chen, in recognition of his significant contribution to the country and TCM.

Important appointments held by Dr. Lin include Chairperson of the Taiwan Traditional Chinese Medicine Association, National Policy Advisor at the Office of the President, Taiwan, Professor at the College of Medicine, National Taiwan University, Chairperson of the Acupuncture Research Center at the China Medical University, Chairperson of the Graduate Institute of Chinese Medical

Science at China Medical University, Chairperson of the organizing committee and President of the 14th International Congress of Oriental Medicine, and Honorary Professor and Academic Professor of over 30 domestic and overseas colleges and universities. In 2008, he was invited to be a keynote speaker at the Chicago Annual Conference on Complementary and Alternative Medicine. Dr. Lin was also invited to attend several important meetings held by the subsidiaries of the United Nations, including the "WHO Working Group Meeting on Clinical Studies on Phytotherapy" held by WHO (World Health Organization) in Milan, Italy in 2009, "Workshop on Implementation of the Regional Strategy for Traditional Medicine in the Western Pacific 2011–2020" held by (World Health Organization) in Hong Kong in 2012. Dr. Lin was appointed as an expert and consultant by NESCO (United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization), and was invited to participate in 9th, 10th, 11th Session of the "Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage" in 2013–2015 and delivered a lecture in the ICHNGO Forum held in Paris, France in 2014. Currently, Dr. Lin is also the Honorary Chairperson of the Chinese Medical Association of Acupuncture and the Chairperson of the Taiwan Association of Traditional Chinese Medical Literature and History (TATCMLH), Taiwan.

Liang-wen Tsai 蔡良文 Liang-wen Tsai is currently a senior specialist of the Examination Yuan, Taiwan. He finished a doctoral degree in public administration and administrative law at the Sun Yat-sen Graduate Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities, National Cheng-chi University, Taiwan.

Ya-chen Chen 陳雅禎 陈雅祯 is an associate professor at the College of Humanities and Technology in China Medical University. With almost two decades of teaching experience in US higher education, she had research experience as a post-doctoral researcher at Stanford University as well as a visiting scholar at Harvard University and Columbia University. Her academic books include The Many Dimensions of Chinese Feminism; *Women in Chinese Martial Arts of the New Millennium: Narrative Analysis and Gender Politics; Women and Gender in Contemporary Chinese Societies: Beyond the Han Patriarchy; Higher Education in East Asia: Neoliberalism and Professoriate; Women in Taiwan: Sociocultural Perspectives; Farewell My Concubine: Same-Sex Readings and Cross-Cultural Dialogues.*