

## 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

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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.<sup>1</sup>

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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.<sup>2</sup>

Imperial China's first famous female TCM gynecologist was Yi Zhuo (義灼). 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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup>

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).<sup>5</sup>

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.

庶使後來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.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup>

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*).<sup>8</sup> Other female TCM doctors included an ophthalmologist whose natal family name was Peng (彭氏), and a clinical TCM doctor whose natal family name was Han (韓醫婦).<sup>9</sup>

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*).<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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

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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.<sup>14</sup>

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 Jiangsu Province (江蘇泰興), Mainland China.<sup>15</sup> Wu Yuxiang moved to Taiwan at the age of 70 in 1947, and passed away at the age of 79 in spring 1956.<sup>16</sup> He published a book entitled *Jifu yihua* (吉甫醫話 *Medical Descriptions of Jifu*) because he also called himself Jifu (吉甫).<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
台北市中 醫師公會 Taipei City Branch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
高雄市 醫師公會 Kaohsiung City Branch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
基隆市中 醫師公會 Keelung City Branch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Qiu Qiuyue (邱 秋月 Chiu Chiu-yueh)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	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	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
新北市中醫師公會 New Taipei City Branch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
桃園縣中醫師公會 Taoyuan County Branch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
新竹市中醫師公會 Hsiunchu City Branch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Xü Lifeng (徐麗鳳 Hsu Li-feng) (連任 two Terms)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
新竹縣中醫師公會 Hsinchu County Branch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Fu Shijing (傅世靜 Fu Shih-ching) (連任 two Terms)	<input type="checkbox"/>
苗栗縣中醫師公會 Miaoli County Branch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				

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.<sup>21</sup>

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 (張白愷 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.<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup>

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
唐娜櫻	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	20160201	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

(continued)

(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
賴榮年	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 stably 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.<sup>24</sup>

Year	Author	Topic	Advisor
1990	Chen Rongzhou (陳榮洲 Chen Jung-chou)	薛己, 張介賓調經理論治療不孕症之研究 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),<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup>

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"<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup>

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 sexuality—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 academics, 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 (陳鈞藝 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](http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_708f631b0102w9q3.html) (retrieved in August 2016). <http://www.jjemilishi.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: 情夙性不敏,幼慕玄門,煉志吳爲,栖心淡泊,覽《黃庭》之妙理,窮碧簡之遺文,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,次說修行,并引病源,吐納除疾,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](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 (陳雅瀆) was able to speak with these senior Kaohsiung TCM doctors via phone. Chen Chaozong also assisted Chen Ya-chen (陳雅瀆) 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 (陳雅瀆) 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](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: 清光緒以前,行中醫。光緒以後,西醫傳入。民國38年(1949年)統計,全縣有中醫985人,西醫92人,計1077人。著名西醫,有時子元,王鶴鳴,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,陳鶴鳴,李鍾林,樊養源,王廣德等。貢生出身的吳毓祥,“不作良相,寧為良醫”,醫術精湛,著《醫學心得》13篇。陳鶴鳴善治疑難雜病,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](http://wap.goodweb.cn/news/news_view.asp?newsid=5098) (retrieved in August 2016).

17. See Wu Yuxiang's *Jifu yihuain* 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.

授教副		別 等		私立中國醫藥學院六十一學年度兼任教員名冊
吳華清	姓 名			
女	別 性			
9	年	出	生	
1	月			
川四	貫 籍			
中醫師	職 機 現	關 任 專	職 稱 職	
系學中醫	別 系	院		
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/IMOE6qYnc8> (website retrieved in August 2016)

From: C.Y.

Date: Wed, May 30, 2012

Dear Professor Mau (茅聳燾),

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。...茅聳燾高我二三屆,是我的琵琶啟蒙老師,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...張鴻仁為指揮,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,范二人為「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,與葉一同通霄影印相關資料攜回,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?盧麗華(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? c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: 陳雅瀟博士  
 發文日期: 中華民國 105年6月 1 日  
 發文字號: 衛部醫字第 1051663905 號  
 速別: 普通件  
 密等及解密條件或保密期限:  
 附件:  
 機關地址: 11558 台北市南港區忠孝東路 6段488  
 傳真: (02)85907087  
 聯絡人及電話: 王咪咪 (02)85907413  
 電子郵件信箱: md2834@mohw.gov.tw

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，中醫師領證人數為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，本部款難提供女性中醫師姓名及第一位女中醫師等資料。

正本：陳雅瀆博士

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 Burmose award from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, First Prize for his contribution to academia from the President of the Republic of El 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** 陳雅滢 陈雅滢 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*.