DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION:
ITS EFFECTS ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION IN TAIWAN

by

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Abstract

In this thesis, liberation for women will be defined within the boundaries of the demographic transition in Taiwan. Historically, the Taiwanese family was patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal, suggesting that women were inferior in status. Their responsibilities were limited to domestic duties and childcare. However, the onset of industrialization created the basis for fertility decline. It introduced incentives for regulating fertility and thus, changed the structure of the historical Chinese family as well as the status of women. In the Taiwanese case, industrialization established employment opportunities for young men and women, allowing them to delay marriage. Postponing marriage had important demographic effects because it meant that childbearing was delayed and consequently, fertility rates declined. The introduction of family planning also contributed to the decrease in fertility rates. Worried that overpopulation would impede industrialization, the state implemented family planning programs in Taiwan with a high degree of success. For women, having fewer children or spacing births, meant the freedom to pursue interests which otherwise, would be used for childcare. Therefore, fertility decline has a direct impact on women’s autonomy. The extent that this applies to the Taiwanese case will be examined.

The status of Taiwanese women is assessed using both quantitative and qualitative evidence. It involves comparing
government implemented statistics and surveys on various areas of interest concerning men and women in Taiwan. Since data collected by the Taiwanese state is published on a regular basis, government census is used. However, this does not exclude other sources, such as data collected and surveys carried out by independent scholars. In addition to statistics, case studies are used as part of the research design.

Findings reveal that women are able to pursue personal interests, such as acquiring higher levels of education, concentrating on jobs and careers and enjoying different recreational activities. However, their freedom to realize individual potential and capabilities is challenged by those who deter women from recognizing their capacities. Women encounter antagonism at the workplace, in law and politics. Although this is the case, they do not accept it as their fate. Organized collectively in women's associations, they contest restrictions placed on their freedom. In addition, feminist works which promote the changing status of women, highlight new ideas and address social issues, also confront women's plight. Thus, although women are not fully liberated, they gradually making progress to ensure that autonomy will be the final outcome.
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Introduction

The object of this thesis is to examine the extent of women's autonomy in Taiwan. One of the aftermath of industrialization was the increase in working opportunities for young men and women, leading to delays in marriage. This in turn produced the demographic transition, or a decline in fertility rates, during 1956 to 1983. The demographic transition was also caused indirectly by other consequences of industrialization. Worried that an increasing population could hinder economic development, the Taiwanese state introduced family planning. It was extremely successful, as the majority of Taiwanese couples accepted and used birth control products. As women postponed marriage and couples had fewer children, this meant that women were able to pursue their own interests, such as working outside the household, obtaining higher levels of education or simply enjoying leisure activities, such as dancing or singing.

Historically, Chinese society in Taiwan was patriarchal. The status of women was inferior, burdened with household responsibilities and most importantly, childbearing. As children, girls were trained in domestic chores and childcare. They learned to serve their future-in-laws by cooking and cleaning. Young girls for future maternal responsibilities by taking care of younger siblings. Lastly, young women, especially those belonging to noble families, did not venture beyond their natal homes. Most married women were forbidden
to work outside the home, except in peasant families, where wives helped their husbands in the fields.

Women were pressured to have many children. Having abundant numbers of children was auspicious for Chinese families. However, although having children was important, it was essential to have sons. In historical Chinese male-dominated society, sons continued the family name, inherited property and worshipped ancestors. A woman was accepted into her husband’s family if she bore a son. A male child also guaranteed that she would be worshipped after death. Therefore, it was imperative for women to bear a male child.

However, industrialization began to alter some of these characteristics in Taiwan’s patriarchal society. Japanese colonialism in 1895 to 1945 led to the advance of the Taiwanese agriculture economy. In 1945, Taiwan came under Chinese jurisdiction after the Japanese abdication in World War II, but regained independence after siding with the Chinese Nationalists in a 1949 revolution against the mainland communists. With the help of U.S. aid, Taiwan began to mature economically, developing its industrial sector. There is no doubt that Taiwan is considered as a economically advanced nation.

One of the outcomes of industrialization is the transition from high to low birth rates. As a result of economic development, the demographic transition occurred in Taiwan.
Therefore, the objective in this thesis is to examine the demographic process within the Taiwanese cultural framework which has been recently influenced by rapid economic changes.

**Analytical Framework**

Ron Lesthaeghe and Philip Aries define liberation within the boundaries of the demographic transition. In a western context, emancipation is a historical process consisting of three stages: the postponement of marriage, the notion of the "child-king", (Aries, 1980:647) and finally, liberation.

Industrialization brought about great changes in the family system. As the family cannot provide economically for the household, family members leave for the cities in search of employment opportunities. The limelight falls upon individual objectives rather than attaining communal goals for the common good in agrarian society. Industrialization produces new jobs for people in the cities, enticing young people into leaving the family farm or business and migrating to urban areas in search of employment. They "...gained greater independence as the family ceased to be the predominant unit of economic production." (Lesthaeghe, 1983: 429) Young people, especially women, delayed marriage in order to work. "...The opening up of new employment opportunities...allows individuals to be more self-reliant and more independent..." (Lesthaeghe, 1983:430) Marrying at a later age meant that individuals were able to do things which would not be possible, had marriage taken place earlier.
Therefore, the first stage towards emancipation is attaining more independence, achieved through the delayal of marriage.

As the family ceases to be economically productive and no longer provides labor training for its household members, its "...activities become more concentrated on emotional gratification and socialization." (Smelser, 1963:37)

The following traits of the family after industrialization can also be observed: marriage is no longer preordained by parents, authority ceases to belong to the elderly as the nuclear family takes precedence over the extended family and finally, women gain independence socially, politically and economically. (ibid)

Therefore, industrialization situates the family in a different light. Instead of being the unit of production, as the case was in peasant societies, the family plays an important role in nurturing and socializing its members. It is able to do this even more effectively with the introduction of reliable contraceptives. Couples can space births between children, restrict the number of offsprings and delay reproduction. As they are able to monitor their family size, couples "...turned inward...and organized (themselves)...in terms of (their) children and their future." (Aries, 1980:646)

Consequently, with the decline in fertility rates, the focus shifted from quantity of children to the quality of childcare. Children were no longer valued because of their abilities to contribute economically to the household, as it was with
peasant families. Instead, parents provided children with better education and living standards. This was essential because the family was no longer economically self-sufficient; therefore, children had to acquire more skills before adapting to a complex division of labor in the work force. Since the labor market was beyond the control of the family in an industrialized society, parents could only provide the necessary prerequisites, such as education, for their children. The term "l'enfant-roi" (Lesthaeghe, 1983:413) or "child-king", (Aries, 1980:647) is hence, applicable to the second stage, because children received exceptional nurturing from their parents. Aries explains that: "The child was king and gave every indication of being desired as he (sic) was fawned upon." (Aries, 1980:648)

The third stage occurs after industrialization, as individual interests become the leading priority in a person's life. When this becomes the case, complete liberation is achieved. Liberation will be brought about with the prevalence of contraceptives, as couples plan their children around their lives and not the other way around. They will have children if and when they wish to and childbearing will not readily interfere with their individual goals and plans. Aries describes liberation as when: "couples - and individuals no longer plan life in terms of the child and his (sic) personal future...This does not mean that the child has disappeared from such plans but that he (sic) fits into them
as one of the various components that make it possible for adults to blossom as individuals." (Aries, 1980:650) Less concern with children and childcare allows more freedom to pursue other goals. According to Aries, this is the meaning of liberation.

Applications to Taiwan

Chinese Authority: 1683–1895

From 1683 to 1895, Taiwan was under the jurisdiction of China. An agrarian society, Taiwan consisted of farmers who migrated from Kwangtung or Fukien province. It was largely neglected by the Chinese government until 1874, when threats of Japanese invasion compelled them to execute defense tactics. In 1887, Taiwan was finally admitted as a Chinese province and led by General Liu Ming-ch’uan, prepared to face Japanese attacks. Incorporated within their defense strategies was the entire reconstruction of Taiwan’s infrastructure, communications and education system, all of which had economic significance. Liu conducted the building of a railway, roads, the construction of a telegraph link, harbor, the establishment of a postal service, electricity and schools. (Gold, 1986:30) Not only were these security measures, but at the same time, modernized Taiwan. Unfortunately, due to the incompetence of succeeding officials, many of Liu’s projects were left incomplete. In 1895, Taiwan finally fell under Japanese control and undertook the task of supplying Japan with its resources. It was under
Japanese authority that Taiwan fully developed its agriculture economy and paved its way towards industrialization.

**Japanese Colonialism: 1895–1945**

The Japanese were prepared to invest in Taiwan for two reasons: first, they required a steady supply of rice and sugar, and secondly, to show that they were equally competent in order "...to convince the Westerners to grant Japan big-power status and restore full sovereignty to it." (Gold, 1986:33) To achieve these two objectives, the Japanese government first completed and improved upon Liu's infrastructure, including transportation routes and communication lines, as well as developing its human resources, such as the education and health system.

The Japanese understood that a sound transportation system was essential for optimizing an agriculture economy. In 1920, they built 637 km of public railways and increased this to 907 km in 1940. In 1920, there was 3,553 km of roads, but this multiplied to 12,076 km in 1940. (Ho, 1978:35) A solid transportation structure in Taiwan was essential for exporting resources, such as rice, sugar, camphor, oil, coal and alcohol, to Japan. In 1900 to 1909, Taiwan exported 76.2 percent food products to Japan. This percentage increased to 77.3 percent in 1910 to 1919. In the period 1920 to 1929, food exports rose to 82.9 percent and during 1930 to 1939, 84.5 percent. (Ho, 1978:30) In turn, the transportation system meant that Japanese manufactured goods, such as cloth,
machinery and fertilizer, or Japanese food, could be imported into Taiwan. During 1900 to 1909, Taiwan imported 70.8 percent Japanese manufactured goods and 29.2 percent food products. In 1910 to 1919, this increased to 61.8 percent and 38.2 percent respectively. In 1920 to 1929, manufactured goods consisted 58.4 percent of Taiwan's imports; 41.5 percent were edible products. Finally, during 1930 to 1939, 65.9 percent of imports were secondary goods and 34.1 percent in food. (ibid)

Moreover, incompletely telegraph lines were successfully finished by the Japanese, joining Taipei and Tainan, Tamsui and Foochow, Anping and Penghu. (Ho, 1978:23)

Under the guidance of the Japanese Government-General, or Sotokufu, the agriculture sector flourished as technological innovations were brought into Taiwan. For instance, high-yield seeds and fertilizers were introduced to farmers. (Gold, 1986:37) Furthermore, farmers' associations were created which "...made working capital available to peasants." (ibid) All of these measures created surplus as the agriculture sector grew at a rate of 2 to 2.5 percent annually until 1920. After 1920, the rate increased to 3.8 percent each year. (Ho, 1978:28)

Aside from successfully developing the agriculture economy, the Sotokufu also paid special attention to developing Taiwan's human resources. Elementary schooling in Japanese was mandatory in order for Taiwanese children to
foster allegiance to the Japanese emperor. Further schooling was a viable option available to gentry families because of expenses. Consequently, progress in human resources ensued. Literacy (in Japanese) rates increased from 1 percent in 1905 to 12 percent in 1930 and 27 percent in 1940. (Ho, 1978:33)

The Sotokufu was also devoted to improving health care during this time. In 1897, the availability of health care professionals were limited to 259 doctors, 30 pharmacists and assistants and 9 midwives. In 1917, there was an increase to 610 doctors, 49 pharmacists and assistants, and 345 midwives. Twenty-one dentists and dental assistants also became available. (Ho, 1978:320) As a result, mortality rates decreased, with the crude death rate at 33.4 per 1,000 in 1905, 23.9 in 1925 and 19.4 in 1940. (Ho, 1978:313)

The beginning of the Great Depression in 1930 frightened Japan into finding some means of avoiding the impacts. It did that by invading China for its resources. Eleven years later, Japan began to attack Southeast Asia. The Japanese invasions were ironically, an economic blessing for Taiwan. Taiwan assumed the new role of supplying goods for the warfare, hence not only increasing its productivity, but also its self sufficiency.

It is evident that as a Japanese colony, Taiwan prospered economically and socially. The Japanese introduced measures and formulated an infrastructure that encouraged economic development. As well, mandatory schooling and improved health
care stimulated social development. This had economic repercussions, as an educated, healthy population became more productive and had the ability to develop new skills. (Ho, 1978:35) Finally, even Japan’s warfare benefited Taiwan, giving it the chance to strive for economic independence. Consequently, Taiwan was able to experience recent and rapid economic development because of the Japanese conception for "dependent capitalism". (Ho, 1978:45) In other words, Japanese colonization gave Taiwan the potential to develop into an industrialized nation.

Postcolonization: 1945-1973

The surrender of Japan after World War II on August 1945 meant that once again Taiwan came under the jurisdiction of China. However, Chinese authority was unstable and threatened to disrupt the Taiwanese economy. Fortunately, Taiwan’s agriculture economy had developed under Japanese colonialism and it did not suffer greatly during the transfer of power. Taiwan survived because it had a developed agriculture sector, literate population, organizations that were helpful to development, such as farmers’ association and credit cooperatives, and finally, social stability. (Ho, 1978:104)

However, evident progress did not emerge until 1949, as the Communists gained control of mainland China and forced the Nationalists, otherwise known as Kuomintang (KMT), to seek refuge in Taiwan. The KMT would eventually, "establish a new relation with Taiwanese society and make a united stand
against the communists." (Gold, 1986:57) Led by Chiang Kai-shek, Taiwan became known as "Free China". (Gold, 1986:58) At this time, the United States decided to ally with the KMT "...in the crusade against communism." (Gold, 1958:73) The alliance was a blessing for Taiwan, as a surge of refugees from the mainland required a quick solution to overpopulation problems. The only answer was "...rapid economic development"; this was "obvious and urgent." (Ho, 1978:105) Taiwan managed to do this with the help of U.S. aid.

One of the immediate problems was the immense size of the military. As of 1949, a large army was maintained to defend themselves from the communists, as well as to achieve the KMT dream: "...eventual reoccupation of the Chinese mainland." (Ho, 1978:106) However, from 1955 to 1965, 12 percent of Taiwan’s GNP annually was used to sustain their military. U.S. aid in the amount of US$2.4 billion from 1946 to 1967 was the only reason Taiwan could have managed to maintain such military expenses. (Ho, 1978:109-111)

Taiwan also received an additional US$1.7 billion for developing its agriculture sector, because "...Taiwan’s agriculture was strengthened as a base for industrialization." (Ho, 1978:106) The goal was to shift from an agriculture to industrial economy. However, there were two culprits that were hindering industrialization: inflation and an overabundance of imports. Inflation was caused by an unexpected increase in population. Therefore, Taiwan
regulated foreign exchange and enforced an import substitution approach. To replace imported products, the production of domestic goods was encouraged. Import substitution was successful in developing the industrial sector of Taiwan. However, this lasted until the mid-1950s, when the economy took a turn for the worse. This compelled Taiwan to establish a labor intensive strategy in the 1960s to compete globally. The Nineteen-Point Program of Economic and Financial Reform was created to accelerate industrialization in Taiwan. For instance, it freed regulations on trade and industry, encouraged exporting, inspired domestic and foreign investment. (Gold, 1986:77) To motivate private investment in 1961-64, the Third Four-Year Economic Plan merged with the Nineteen-Point Program of Economic and Financial Reform as well as the 1960 Statute for Encouragement of Investment and emerged with immense economic consequences, as General Instruments established its electronic factory in 1964, becoming the first of many foreign investors in Taiwan. (Gold, 1986:78-79)

On June 30, 1965, U.S. declared termination of financial aid for Taiwan. Frightened by the prospect of endangering its present economic development, the Taiwanese government was forced to look for alternatives in order to keep the economy strong. Measures included the initiation of the Statute for the Establishment and Management of Export Processing Zones (EPZ) in 1965. Foreign companies that operated in these areas
would enjoy tax reductions and import duty exemptions. Consequently, many transnational corporations (TNCs) established themselves in Taiwan. Furthermore, Taiwan offered cheap yet skilled labor as an incentive for investment to overseas companies. For instance, in 1972, Taiwan boasted monthly wages of US$73 for competent workers, while in comparison, the same worker in Hong Kong required US$122, in South Korea; US$102, Japan; US$272 and Singapore; US$183. (Gold, 1986:79)

It is evident that U.S. aid had tremendous economic impacts in Taiwan. From 1953 to 1973, the overall economy grew at an annual rate of 8.6 percent. Agriculture increased at a rate of 4.6 percent each year and industrial output, at an annual rate of 15 percent. (Ho, 1978:121)

Industrialization in Taiwan had an important side effect: it changed fertility behaviour. Industrialization fueled the demographic transition, or the transformation from high to low birth rates. As men and women worked outside their homes, marriage was delayed. It also created opportunities for women to increase their education but most importantly, introduced contraceptives to the Taiwanese. Therefore, it is of interest to examine the effects of the demographic transition in Taiwan, especially its impacts on Taiwanese women. Moreover, the theoretical framework for emancipation provided by Lesthaeghe and Aries will be used, but only as a guideline, on the rationale that it is based on a western model.
In chapter one, the historical status of single women in Taiwan will be examined. In their natal households, daughters of peasant and gentry families engage in different activities, but in general, they are still taught to be good wives and daughters-in-law.

Chapter two reviews the origins of the demographic transition in Taiwan. The decrease in fertility rates resulted as one of the aftermaths of industrialization. Industrialization created job opportunities for young, single women and they delayed marriage in order to work. The postponing of marriage was one of the reasons for fertility decline. The other reason attributed to the concern that a growing population could pose as a threat to economic development. Therefore, the Taiwanese government introduced family planning. State intervention was extremely successful, as couples readily accepted contraceptives. Success was due to several reasons: the lack of religious stigmas for using birth control products, decline in children’s contribution to family finances; therefore, children became financial liabilities and not assets, increase of nuclear families; meaning young couples were not living with their elderly parents and therefore, free from pressures to have children, and finally, education; as people learned more about the perils of overpopulation, they tend to be more receptive towards contraceptive usage.

The current situation for single Taiwanese women in rural
and urban areas is explored in chapter three. What gives them reason to delay marriage? Generally, it appears that single women consider education and working outside the home as essential elements of life. Many do not want to marry at an early age because it would disrupt their commitments to advanced schooling and careers. They may relocate to attend post-secondary institutions or for promotional opportunities. In addition, single women engage in shopping, enrol in various courses, play musical instruments, travel, volunteer, and frequent karaoke bars and nightclubs.

Chapter four analyzes the plight of married women in the past. The new bride not only had to cater to her new in-laws, but was also under pressure to produce children. In addition to childbearing, she was also responsible for having male children. When she has produced a male child, only then will she be accepted in her new household.

The status of married rural and urban women in contemporary Taiwan is explored in chapter five. With the availability of contraceptives, married women have the freedom to choose the number of their children, postpone childbearing or space births. Time and energy that was previously reserved for childbearing and childcare, are now being used for establishing businesses, working, dancing, gambling, performing religious ceremonies, volunteering, exercising, engaging in different community services and organizations.

Although women have made progress in gaining freedom to
pursue their own interests, they encounter resistance from those who try to deter women from realizing their goals. In chapter six, limitations to women’s liberation will be investigated, including discrimination in the workplace, legal system and politics. However, Taiwanese women do not relent to such prejudices; instead they retaliate. Chapter seven shows that through women’s groups, they expose injustices, lobby for women’s rights and promote awareness of changes in women’s status. The media also plays a vital role in publicizing women’s social and political stance. Finally, chapter eight will determine the progress that women have made in achieving liberation. The applicability of Lesthaeghe and Aries’ formulations will also be explored.
Chapter I
The Demographic Transition in Taiwan

The widespread availability of contraceptives drastically changed the role of married women. In Taiwan, family planning programs were readily accepted and approved. The demographic transition in Taiwan; that is, the transformation from high birth and mortality to low birth and death rates, occurred between 1956 and 1983. (Freedman et.al,1994:264)
Furthermore, the total fertility rate, or the "number of children each woman will bear if she lives through the childbearing years subject to the age-specific fertility rates for the specific year in question", (Freedman et.al,1994:267) decreased by 72 percent, from 6.5 to 1.8 births per 1000 women (ibid) between 1956 and 1990.

Causes of the Demographic Transition: Postponement of Marriage

The origins of the demographic transition first came about with the increase in the age of marriage. Delaying marriage meant postponing childbearing and simultaneously decreased women's fecundity. Consequently, the age-specific general fertility rate (number of births per 1,000 women of childbearing age) began to noticeably decline. For women between the ages of 15 and 19, the general fertility rate was 51 in 1956, decreasing to 36 during 1965, 34 in 1975 and dropping to 33 in 1980. (Freedman et.al,1994:270) At the same time, the marriage rates fell for this age cohort, with 11.4 percent married during 1956, 8.6 percent in 1966, 5.5
Likewise, the general fertility rate declined for women in the age group 20-24. During 1956, the age-specific fertility rate was 265, 261 in 1965, 191 during 1975 and finally, falling to 180 in 1980. (Freedman et.al, 1994: 270)

At the same time, the percentage of married women in this category also decreased, with 70.6 percent during 1956, 59.5 percent in 1966, 43.3 percent in 1975 and 41.5 percent during 1980. (Lin et.al, 1994: 204)

Causes of the Demographic Transition: State Action

Aside from delayal of marriage as a contributor to the demographic transition, government interference also played a major role.

During 1951-56, the rate of natural increase in Taiwan grew to 36.7 per thousand annually. (Collver et.al, 1967: 329) With a population of 10 million, this would mean an increase of one additional million people each year. (ibid) These statistics were enough to cause distress for the Taiwanese government. The state recognized that a large and growing population size would hinder economic development and cause social problems. In response, the state decided to examine overpopulation issues in depth and to lend support for family planning programs. To fully determine the best method of resolution, the state first consented to the enactment of a survey in Taichung between October 1962 and January 1963, employing 3,000 public health nurses to interview 2,500
married women. (Berelson and Freedman, 1964:5) The results showed that many women wished to control the number of children in the family, accepted the idea of contraceptive usage and would be willing to try birth control products. With this in mind, the most significant family planning program was implemented in Taichung during mid-February 1963. In educating the public on the virtues of population control, it was one of the most successful family planning programs executed through circulation of posters and personal appointments to various households. Selected married women between the ages of 20 and 39 years old were counselled on family planning matters with nurse-midwives. (Berelson and Freedman, 1964:6) The program outlined clearly the advantages of spacing births or controlling fertility with updated contraceptive methods. Success was defined in terms of contraceptive acceptance by couples and the decline in the total fertility rates. In November 10, 1963, it was calculated that 3,968 couples, including 764 non-Taichung residents who were accepted into the program, (Freedman and Takeshita, 1965:242) adopted some form of birth control. This number increased to 6,188 couples by May 2, 1964. (ibid) A wide variety of different birth control products, the most popular being the IUD with an acceptance rate of 78 percent, were provided at below-cost. (Berelson and Freedman, 1964:10)

Based on a survey after the execution of the family planning program, case records and fertility statistics,
Taichung experienced an exceptional decline in its total fertility rate, which dropped 6.3 percent during 1963-1964. (Freedman, 1965:434) In comparison, the total fertility rate in Taipei decreased only 2.6 percent, in Keelung; 2.2 percent, Tainan; 3.7 percent and in Kaoshiung; 3.9 percent. (ibid) Their moderate declines were due to urbanization, while Taichung had the advantage of both urbanization and a family planning program.

The Basis for Success of Family Planning Programs

Religion

Why was the Taichung experiment and the many family planning programs implemented afterwards, so effective in terms of acceptance by Taiwanese couples? Several reasons contributed to the success of family planning programs in Taiwan, which led to the demographic transition. First, there were no religious stigmas involved with limiting reproduction, which meant that men and women "did not believe that the number of children should be left to 'fate' or 'providence'". (Berelson and Freedman, 1964:5) Having fewer children did not go against religious rules or regulations. In 1965, only 1 percent of the married women aged 22-29, felt that it was "up to the gods" or "up to fate" (Freedman et.al, 1994:286) on the number of children that they were to produce. This percentage did not change until 1980, when none of the respondents felt that reproduction was predestined. The results were likewise for married women who were in the age
Industrialization and Urbanization

The initiation of family planning programs coincided with industrialization. Since economic development increased the degree of urbanization, this meant more working opportunities in the cities. It also indicated that people did not need to rely on children as income sources, as it was when Taiwan was mostly rural. Prior to industrialization, children were needed on farms to help with chores and agricultural work, and contributed to the family income. After urbanization, living in cities meant that children's labor were no longer required and they did not bring in money to the family finances. Children were no longer regarded as old age security and even if parents felt that having sons were necessary to act as caretakers for them in old age, it was perceived that one son was enough, although two were preferable. "The stem family requires one married son, and one son can continue the family line, care for the family tablets and photographs and express his filial duty and feelings by caring for his older parents." (Freedman et.al,1994:317) During 1965, 6 percent of the married women in the age group 22–29 indicated in a survey that they preferred less than 2 sons, while 72 percent wanted 2 sons. (Freedman et.al,1994:286) In 1976, 29 percent wanted less than 2 sons, while 57 percent desired 2 sons. Women wanting less than 2 sons in 1980 increased to 35 percent, while those who preferred 2 sons decreased to 55 percent.
Although the results are less drastic for married women aged 30-39, there still appeared to be an inclination for having no more than two sons. In 1965, 4 percent indicated that they wanted less than 2 sons, while 61 percent preferred to have 2 sons. (ibid) During 1976, 19 percent desired to have fewer than 2 male children, and 65 percent wanted at least 2 sons. (ibid) Finally, in 1980, 25 percent indicated that they wished to have less than 2 sons, while 66 percent preferred to have 2 male children. (ibid)

In fact, the popularity of birth control products only increased as people recognized that having more children was financially disadvantageous, when children became economic burdens instead of assets. In 1969, a survey asked Taiwanese husbands whether they thought large families were advantageous or disadvantageous, and whether small families were positive or negative. Large families were defined as having five or more children, while small families were interpreted as having two or fewer children. With respect to large families, 36 percent of the respondents felt that there were only disadvantages involved, while 47 percent felt that only small families had advantages. (Mueller, 1972:385)

Urbanization also meant that many couples did not live with the older generation. First, young people left home for the cities in search of employment opportunities and therefore, did not expect to live with parents after marriage. In a 1973 survey, 53.2 percent respondents who lived in the
urban areas indicated that they expected to live with their parents at some time after marriage, but in the rural areas, more than 65.1 percent said that they would cohabit with parents after marriage. In 1980, the percentage for those living in the cities dropped sharply, with only 27.8 percent respondents indicating that they would reside with elderly parents after marriage, while in rural areas, the percentage did not declined as drastically, to 51.3 percent. Many married couples were not co-residing with elderly parents for the same reason. (Weinstein et.al,1994:322) In 1973, 62.6 percent of the respondents in a survey indicated that they did not reside with the husband's parents because they did not live in the same city or township, while in 1980, this percentage increased to 64.3 percent. (Weinstein et.al,1994:324)

Secondly, living in the urban areas did not allow sons and their wives to live with their parents because of limited space. During 1973, 70.6 percent of the elderly lived with their son and wife, while during 1980, this percentage dropped to 67.7 percent and in 1985, 63.1 percent. (Chang and Ofstedal,1993:15)

Thirdly, the number of female participants increased in the workforce with unexpected effects. The private sector consistently employed more women than men after 1974, with over 50 percent women working in private establishments during 1978 and close to 60 percent in 1983. In contrast, only
approximately 40 percent of the private sector was made up of male employees during 1978, and 45 percent in 1983. (Chi, 1992:165) With more women working, a wife's additional income may eventually allow a young married couple to set up a separate household. Moreover, studies show that married women who worked, were more likely to use contraceptives and had fewer children on the average. During 1969, 57 percent of the married women who worked full time and 53 percent of the part-time female workers responded that they used contraceptives, while 49 percent of the unemployed women practiced birth control. (Mueller and Cohn, 1977:336)

Research showed that the longer a couple was married, the more likely they were to establish a separate household. A newly married couple may live with the husband's parents during the first part of the marriage, but with savings, are able to eventually set up their own household. During 1979, only 11.6 percent newly wed couples (married one year or less) set up their own nuclear households, while 30.8 percent of those who have been married two years had moved out of the extended family. (Chi, 1992:160) Approximately 48 percent of the couples married for five years and 65.3 percent of those married for eight to nine years, were living in a nuclear family. (ibid)

As a result of living apart from parents, the older generation cannot pressure daughters-in-law to have children, allowing women to accept contraceptives without remorse.
An increase of education occurred for both men and women with the onset of urbanization. The educated residing in the cities were more likely to read newspapers and use media services. By doing so, they became aware of overpopulation and its dire consequences, increasing their acceptance of family planning programs. A study also revealed that between 1965 and 1970, urban women with a senior high school education level or higher, preferred to have an average of 3.0 children, whereas those with primary school education wanted an average of 3.8 children. (Freedman et al, 1972:286) Women with more education; senior high or higher levels, also used birth control to a greater extent (79.2 percent) than their primary school counterparts (53.7 percent). (ibid)

There were fears that a fast growing population would hinder economic development. "Taiwan is one of many low income countries where rapid increases in population thwart economic development and threaten to slow further improvements in the standard of living." (Berelson and Freedman, 1964:11) This concern also contributed to the acceptance of contraceptive usage.

Such reasons led to the widespread popularity of family planning programs. Acceptance of birth control products meant that women were willing and able to regulate their fertility. The most popular forms of birth control included the IUD, with 71,696 users among married women aged 20-44 during 1965, 415,043 in 1975, 615,853 for 1985 and finally, 615,000 during
Sterilization, which did not begin until 1975, recorded 39,673 users, but increasing at a phenomenal rate to 537,859 in 1985 and 687,945 during 1988. Less popular methods of birth control included the condom, which did not become common until 1970 but with only 14,995 users, increasing to 51,533 in 1975, 233,156 during 1985 and 253,204 in 1988. The least popular form of contraceptive appeared to be the Pill, which became available in 1970 and attracted 31,214 users, 64,006 in 1975, 88,790 during 1985 and decreasing to a paltry 76,707 in 1988. It is estimated that during the period 1965 to 1988, approximately five million births could have been prevented with the widespread availability and acceptance of such birth control products. (Freedman et.al, 1994:298-300)

After 1983, the birth rate continued to decline. Contraceptive usage is still practiced. As of 1994, the birth rate is below-replacement levels at 1.6, and the total fertility rate is only 1.7 births per woman. (Obregon, 1994:7) In 1991, 91 percent of the rural married women and 92 percent of the urban married women, both in the age group 22-39, are using or have previously used contraception. (Freedman et.al, 1994:323)
Chapter II

Single Women in Chinese Society

The historical family in Taiwan was extended, patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal in nature. It incorporated ideology and values that influenced daily life, including denying young Taiwanese women the opportunity to experience adolescence.

The ideal family was composed of men and women; a structure that consisted of "five generations under one roof". (Gates, 1987:104) It included grandfather, father, sons and grandsons. There were also wives, unmarried daughters and granddaughters. Authority was assigned to a male member of the family. Property was allocated only to the male descendants, in order to keep it within the family. Hence, it was necessary to produce male children not only to continue the family name, but also to inherit the family property. Sons provided for their parents in their old age and performed religious rites for them after death.

However, in accordance to the patrilocal nature of the historical family, single women were not permanent nor actual members of their natal households. If young women die before marriage, there will not be a tablet for them in the ancestor worship hall. Instead, women belonged to their husband's families. This is especially symbolized during marriage rituals, as a bride's father or brother shuts the door firmly behind the wedding sedan chair as she leaves the house and
water is then cast on the ground. Like spilt water, a married woman cannot return to her natal household. After death, married women were worshipped only if they had a son. Their contribution to the continuance of the family name were rewarded with a tablet in the ancestral hall.

Most marriages were labelled as the "major form of marriages". (A. Wolf quote in Wolf, 1972:171) This meant that the bride came from an outside family and therefore, required a bride price, engagement cakes and a feast. (Wolf, 1972:178) However, in some cases, families adopted a daughter or sim-pua as the future wife for their son. This was known as the sim-pua form of marriage or "minor marriage" (Wolf, 1972:171) A sim-pua marriage was desirable for several reasons: it was inexpensive because the family did not have to pay a bride price, they did not need adjust to an outsider or worry about the bride's reputation, the sim-pua does not need to be trained because she already understands how the household operates, the sim-pua would not side with her husband nor attempt to upset the mother and son relationship because "...her loyalties were those of a daughter." (Wolf, 1972:179) However, adopted daughters were generally treated harshly and given strenuous chores. Adopted as a sim-pua at an early age, a respondent in a study conducted by Margery Wolf exposes the hardships of a sim-pua: "My foster mother was always beating me...As soon as I came home from school, I went to work...I was always trembling with fear." (respondent quote in Wolf,
Therefore, in a patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal society, the socialization of female children differed vastly from that of males. They were taught domestic duties and childcaring, as early as five years old. (Wolf; ed. by Freedman, 1966:47) In addition, those belonging to peasantry families were taught to make clothes, shoes and worked in the fields with harvesting and cultivating. Little girls of affluent families also learned shoemaking, although their motivations were different from those of peasant girls: "...for gentry girls shoemaking assumed more symbolic than economic importance. A gentry girl was expected to make all the shoes for her husband’s family during her first year in it, but the functional importance of this in all probability lay largely in her symbolic subjection to and production for her new family." (Levy, 1949:78)

Female status was that of inferiority because eventually girls marry out of their families and would belong to another household. "Beyond learning a few chores...a preschool Taiwanese girl learns her first subtle lessons about the second class status of her sex. She has heard from the time she could understand words that she was a ‘worthless girl’..." (Wolf, 1972:66) The difference, however, was that daughters of the noble were less of a financial liability on their families than those of the poor. "The feeling of impermanence was more strongly brought home to peasant girls than to gentry girls.
It is true that both were prepared to leave their families, but in gentry families the girl did not feel herself such an economic burden." (Levy, 1949:79)

Foster daughters not only occupied an inferior position in the household, but were often treated with cruelty because the majority join the family only when there has been a tragedy. For instance, circumstances that would involve the adoption of a sim-pua include the sterility of a wife or the death of a child. (Wolf, 1972:173)

As a result of their secondary status, schooling opportunities were denied to women because it was considered wasteful to educate them. "A woman too well educated is apt to create trouble". (Wang, cited in Lang, 1946:47) Prior to Japanese colonization in 1895, the majority of Taiwanese girls did not attend school at all. Instead, they were taught domestic chores and childcare, and were trained to be obedient daughters-in-law. Class did not signify any differences. Although there were some exceptions, girls born in the upper classes were as illiterate as their lower class peers.

During the following fifty years under Japanese administration, elementary level schooling for six years was made compulsory among Taiwanese boys and girls, to propagate Japanese values and teachings. (Gold, 1986:38) However, girls were not encouraged to pursue schooling, and if they were educated, it did not extend beyond the primary level. In most cases, the reasoning was due to the "..older generation’s
counsel against educating girls so highly that they are troublesome to match when it came time for them to marry...it was senseless for a girl who could be helping at home or even earning money in a factory to be in school getting an expensive education that will only benefit her future husband's family." (Wolf, 1972:92) Rewards that education would bring, such as fame or wealth, would not be reaped by their natal families as women married into other households. Adopted daughters were not given the luxury to attend school for a lengthy amount of time. Instead, daughters and sim-pua began to compensate their parents for their guardianship almost as soon as they were able to speak. "It is not unusual for a four year old girl to be put in charge of her two year old brother." (Wolf, 1972:65) The reasoning for this, depicted by Susan Greenhalgh, is that the relationship between daughters and parents revolved around an "exchange" principle in terms of resources. Using Marshall Sahlins' model, there are three means of exchange within human relationships: balanced, generalized and negative. (Greenhalgh, 1985:269) A balanced exchange is when one immediately received something of equal value for what was given. Generalized exchange refers to a transaction that would be compensated through a longer period of time. Finally, negative exchange occurs when something was given and nothing received. The Chinese parent-daughter relationship most closely resembled that of a balanced exchange, while the parent-son relationship
paralleled that of the generalized exchange. Since daughters married out of the family, they had less time to pay back their parents for investing resources in them. In terms of education, the longer daughters remained in school, the shorter period of time there would be for chores, such as cooking and cleaning, which would compensate their parents for raising them. Therefore, daughters were discouraged from attending school because they had to work during the period prior to marriage, to repay their parents, while sons took their time paying this "debt" on the account that they remained with their parents for the rest of their lives. Parents financed their children's education with the expectation that they would be compensated in the future, which meant that their children's wages would be contributed towards the family budget, or that their children would care for them in their old age. Daughters were unable to fulfil this duty, because not only were employment opportunities limited for educated women to take advantage of and provide for the family finances, but marrying into another household meant that they had to attend to their husbands' parents instead of their own parents in their old age. Even if they were educated, the benefits from schooling would profit their husbands' household. Therefore, it was not surprising that as children, women were trained earlier to help with housework and childcare, so that they could pay back their parents for the resources spent on feeding and caring for them.
"Daughters, being expected to leave home in any case at marriage, are best used in their early years to make a contribution to the natal home..." (Fricke et al., 1994:125)

In the case of foster daughters, since they are not considered to be the equals of daughters, they work to pay back their parents for adopting them.

The patrilineal system established early marriage and high fertility for economic and ritual reasons. The emergence of industrialization shortly after Taiwan gained independence from Japan in 1945, began to alter the patrilineal system and subsequently, changed the lives of young women. As American and Japanese investors established factories in Taiwan, they required inexpensive and disciplined workers. However, they were usually disinclined to employ married women because childbearing interrupted work. (Sutter, 1988:20) Young, single females fulfilled their requirements and they became increasingly involved in the labor market. During the late 1960s, Robert Sutter observed that: "About half of all factory workers are between the ages of fifteen and twenty four. Young women make up one-third... (of factory workers)..." (Sutter, 1988:19) Working in factories meant postponing marriage and therefore, procreation. Consequently, women found that they could devote themselves to non-reproductive activities. They were now entitled to be "ch'ing nien"; (Levy, 1949:75) as they, too, could explore options that previously only young men had. Now, single women were free to
do something else other than facing marriage as their only option.

Simultaneously, attitudes toward marriage have also changed. Young women want to explore alternatives and many are not concerned with marriage. Most importantly, *sim-pua* marriages have died out. In 1910, 70 percent of girls were given up for adoption. In 1931, this decreased to 44 percent and finally, the practice ceased. (Wolf, 1972:180) This is attributed to industrialization, as young men began to work outside their homes and with economic dependence, decided that they had the right to "...reject a marriage that was repugnant to them." (Wolf, 1972:181) Many young men were reluctant to marry their foster sisters because it "...felt incestuous..." (ibid) to them.

With industrialization, it is now acceptable to postpone marriage and even fashionable, not to marry. As one factory worker said in Lydia Kung's study: "Women (sic) should not marry early. Once married she has less freedom, she can't do as she pleases, such as going out. All she ends up with is housework and taking care of the children...", (Kung, 1983:133) Tsai Yao-tuan, a supermarket supervisor says: "If the right person doesn't come along, I guess I will be a single noble..." (Chang, 1993:12) The concept of a "single noble" (ibid) celebrates being unmarried; "...it implies that a life alone is the best human choice." (Chen, 1988:18)

The older generation finds it difficult to accept the
fact that they no longer have strong influence over the marriage of their daughters. Yet, there are various reasons which prompt parents not to marry daughters at an early age. For instance, some need the income that daughters contribute to the family budget. Mrs. Yang says: "No, I can’t do that; if I let my daughters marry now, that means losing their earnings. I wouldn’t let them marry so early [at twenty-one and eighteen]." (Kung,1983:140) For others, it means that their daughters are more likely to find a husband with high status, with respect to career and salary. "With a high school degree, she can expect to marry a college graduate. With a college degree, she may be able to marry a returned student from abroad with an M.A. or Ph.D, or go to America herself and marry a promising Chinese graduate student." (Diamond,1973:223) Wives with schooling are preferred because they are able to guide their children academically. Diamond explains that the "...role of the educated middle class mother is to include intensive coaching of the children...(spend) at least an hour a day going over lessons...it is the raison d’etre for a woman’s education." (Diamond,1973:224) Most importantly, it is becoming increasingly common that daughters, and not sons, are now supporting parents in their old age. Men often attribute financial difficulties and high costs of living as justifications, as Wang Liang-i, a real estate agent in Taipei puts it: "I’d love to if I had the money...But it’s going to be very hard with living expenses so
high in Taiwan." (Chang, 1993:10) Moreover, a popular trend is that one puts oneself before others is emerging. Wang Liang-i feels that: "You have to take care of yourself before you can help someone else, right?" (Chang, 1993:11)

It is evident that single women are deferring marriage and during this period, many invest in this newfound freedom by obtaining more schooling. Hao Pei-chih says: "I made up my mind to enter a normal college when I was still in 11th grade because I wanted to teach." (Leu, 1987:44) Comments such as: "...the shrine of knowledge can be entered only through a door provided by a college education, and "...she desperately wants to earn an MBA degree..." are not rare amongst young women in contemporary Taiwan. During 1940-49, on the average, women only had 3.8 years of schooling. (Parish and Willis, 1993:873) However, during the following forty years, women were educated not only beyond the high school level, but were also enrolled in post-secondary levels of schooling. During 1970, only 35.1 percent of the women had completed senior high school, but in 1988, this number more than doubled, to 79.7 percent. (Hermalin et al., 1994:68) The differences can also be seen for schooling at the college level. During the early stages of economic development, only .3 percent of the women were enrolled in courses beyond senior high school in 1952, but this number steadily increased to 19 percent in 1970 and 32.7 percent in 1988. (ibid)

Other women work outside the home, not only for economic
reasons, but also to experience independence. "...some women have translated economic obligation into an opportunity to see the world outside..." (Kung, 1983:52) Finally, there are those who pay for the cost of education with their salaries, often from factory work. "Factory work offers young people from poor families an opportunity to earn money for various purposes, including their own educations. The goal of completing high school at night while working to pay the fees...is common especially among woman workers." (Gates, 1987:72)

It can be concluded that Taiwan corresponds to the criteria for the first stage in the emancipation process for women, as depicted by Phillipe Aries and Ron Lesthaeghe. This first stage, the delaying of marriage, meant that women were not having children at an early age. A prolonged period of being single meant experimentation with non-reproductive activities, such as working outside the home in factories and increasing their schooling. For Taiwan, this earliest stage has been actualized, evident by women marrying at a later age and consequently, declines in the fertility rate.
Chapter III

The Single Female: Rural

Previously, rural single women were eligible for marriage between the ages of 15 to 19 years old, but it is now acceptable to be married between the ages of 24 to 29 years old. Therefore, they are free to shift their attention to other endeavors, such as furthering their education to a minimal high school level or working outside the home. In the past, these would have been unacceptable alternatives to marriage.

Generally, men and women in rural areas tend to receive less education than their counterparts in the cities. As late as the 1960s and 1970s, farmers considered female members of the family equally vital for production as males. Therefore, farmers' wives were not exempt from harvesting, which meant that daughters were needed to care for younger siblings and household chores, as well as learning farming skills, so that they are able to help their husbands in the future. School meant that the "...family will be deprived of the potential income of the student and of help in daily chores or jobs around the village." (Diamond, 1969:39) Illiterate farmers felt that attending school was a waste of labor, money and time. Children recognised this negativity as "...the growing feeling of obligation and guilt...the feeling that their education is a privilege and luxury..." (Diamond, 1969:38) At most, daughters were educated to a primary level in order to
ensure that they were marriageable, as "...girls will make more advantageous marriages if they have completed primary school or are at least literate." (ibid)

Moreover, schooling was expensive for some families. Sometimes, tuition was charged, and there were other extra expenses to be taken into account, such as uniforms, books, pens and paper. "Books, paper, and pencils were paid for by parents, and for some families, even these few dollars become a drain on their limited resources. The parents must also provide uniforms for their children, dark blue skirts and white blouses for the girls..." (Wolf, 1972:81) In cases where parents were illiterate and uneducated, they failed to understand the relevance of schooling, and many terminated their children's schooling at the primary level. The further pursuit of higher education was a luxury, especially for daughters.

Lastly, employment outside the home in rural areas did not require abundant education. Often, a daughter contributed to the family income by working in a local factory as soon as possible. Her wages not only supplemented household earnings, they also paid back the money which was borrowed for her schooling. In one case study conducted by Margery Wolf in Peihotien during 1959, an elderly grandmother refused to allow her grand daughter the opportunity of attaining a teaching career, even though it did not cost anything because "...if she goes to Normal High School for three years, then she will
be nineteen and ready to get married. The school may not cost anything, but she won’t bring home any money either.”

(Grandmother quote in Wolf, 1972:92-93) However, if the granddaughter was to work at a nearby factory, "...she can earn NT $300 per month...the family will have enough. The money she is using to study now is all borrowed. I have to return it little by little. It really isn’t that I don’t want her to study, but I don’t have the money." (Wolf, 1972:93)

Education

In its attempts to facilitate industrialization, the Taiwanese government enforced compulsory education. A "modern" era emerged in 1968, as schooling to a minimal grade nine became mandatory. From then on, single women began to break free from former constraints, as they were allowed to stay in school longer. Not only did school prolong the period young women were able to remain single, but at the same time, permitted girls to be somewhere else other than at home. In former times, a girl’s place was in the household.

Education and Work

Occasionally, families of young rural women insist that they cannot support their daughters’ educational costs. It is not uncommon then, to find these young women willing to work and pay for tuition themselves. This seems to be particularly the case for single women employed at factories, because working there does not require much educational background. In the early 1970s, women with primary schooling could fill
over sixty percent of the 367,000 factory job positions posted at the employment guidance centre. (Kung, 1974:41) Hence, many work during the day and attend night classes in order to upgrade their educational skills. "Women who work the day shift attend classes from approximately six to ten o’clock in the evenings and... take only a few minutes for a quick snack... before rushing to catch a bus." (Kung, 1983:155) The reverse is also true; those attending day classes work the evening shift with little time to spare in between. "Other women who attend school during the day are up before seven to be on time for classes that usually begin at eight and last till three in the afternoon, rushing back to the factory for the four p.m. to midnight evening shift." (ibid) It is also critical to emphasize here, that the concept of a "marriage market" has emerged, whereas previously, parents chose husbands for their daughters. Women are now free to select their marriage partners. More schooling means creating a more attractive image for potential husbands, as well as a prestigious image: "It’s understandable that they are willing to put themselves through this because education is so important; for a girl it sounds much better if one is a high school graduate than if one only completed lower middle school, and it’s a factor that men (boyfriends) will take into account too." (Kung, 1983:156)

Furthermore, there is the feeling that everyone is more educated which creates incentive for young women to further
their schooling, despite a grueling schedule, where there is hardly a pause between working and attending classes. One of the most important reasons that women ardently pursue education is due to peer pressure. As one Sanhsia factory worker remarks: "Whenever I run into former classmates who are now in college, I feel too embarrassed to even greet them." (Factory worker quote in Kung, 1983:156) Education means upgrading one's social position; being uneducated means that one is uncouth, unrefined and ill bred. These feelings of inadequacy are caused by the young women's own peers. Peer pressure is a relatively new concept which did not exist for women in earlier times, when their entire world was within their households. As the world of women extend beyond their household, they are free to meet and become friends with people of their own age, in school, at work and during extracurricular activities. Their personal attributes are under the mercy of friends and coworkers, who may dictate how they behave, whereas before, confined to within their households and under the authority of their parents, this would have been impossible.

Aside from peer pressure, another important reason that young women in the rural areas are becoming increasingly educated is that it becomes easier to find work with status outside their homes. Employment is being perceived differently as education influences the association of prestige with types of work.
Work: Factory

The acceptance of working outside the home began with industrialization and the emergence of factories. As parents realized that working daughters meant more income for the family, they gradually allowed them to leave home and work in the factories. Sometimes factory employment required women to relocate. Many feel that this is a good chance to explore the outside world and learn to be independent. Chen in Sanhsia says: "At home one depends on one's parents for everything and there is alot one can't learn at home...I wanted to prove that I could manage on my own...to acquire more experience..." (Kung,1974:52) Although parents are reluctant, they eventually give permission for their daughters to move into a different area for the sake of working. "Chen's parents were initially opposed to the idea of their youngest child being so far from home (Chiayi in the south) but her father eventually consented..." (Kung,1974:52) Moving out of the home for reasons other than marriage before was unheard of; employment now provides sufficient reason to do so.

For many rural young women, factory work is perceived as more prestigious than many other types of employment. Women workers tend to shun waitressing, working on a bus and sales in favor of factory jobs because the former three occupations impose long and unpredictable shifts, working with the public, while the latter allows more leisure time and involves much more simple tasks. Although these jobs are not abundant,
nevertheless, the service sector does exist to serve the local residents. For her 1974 study, Lydia Kung noted that Sanhsia had markets, clinics, two movie theatres and temples (Kung, 1974:xii) that catered to locals as well as nearby agricultural villages. In her interviews, various female factory employees in Sanhsia said that they would rather work in a factory than in restaurants or stores because: "Most people regard salesgirls the way I do - it's work no one really wants to do...their reputation isn't as good..."

(Factory employees quotes in Kung, 1983:55) In the same study, a former busgirl observes that being a busgirl entitled her to: "...two days off a month.." (Busgirl quote from Kung, 1983:55) and that "...girls who are in such work have a reputation of being loose in the way they behave. It is for this reason people consider it a low prestige job." (ibid)

Another Sanhsia factory employee interviewed, says: "...the best part [of working in a factory] is that one does not need to deal with strangers; in fact you don't need to spend much time or expend much effort in dealing with people at all."

(Factory worker quote in Kung, 1983:55)

Education and Work

This is not the case for all factory women workers. For those simultaneously working and studying, they do not want to stay at the factories permanently. Employment in the factories is spurned by more educated women, because the work is simple and to them, does not offer prestige. According to
a female clerk in Lydia Kung's study, factory work is "...work even elementary school graduates can do...factory work sounds bad, because then a person is classified as a manual worker." (Kung, 1983:157) A high school graduate in the same study remarks that factory employment is "...a job where you cannot hold your head up high; it is a low status occupation and does not give a person any face." (ibid)

Therefore, it is evident that with an advanced education, young women are not only able to search for more impressive jobs but they also want prestigious jobs to correlate with their education levels. High in popularity is office work, because it is prominent in prestige and gives women the opportunity to evaluate others. Lydia Kung interviews one particular factory employee who bitterly says: "The women in the offices really think themselves something special, and this can be seen in the airs they assume, even in the way they talk and act." (factory worker quote in Kung, 1983:158)

Association of Work With Education: Return to the Farm

Not all educated rural women work in offices; some return to villages with their newfound knowledge and contribute to the family business. Li Mei-yuan, the "Pasture Queen" (Wang et.al, 1983:46) of Miaoli County, central Taiwan says: "I quit my trading business because I could not fulfill my potential there. I was brought up in the village and was deeply influenced by rural life. Cattle were my companions when I was a child and I missed the fields and crops." (Li quote in
Wang et.al, 1983:46) In the past, women helped with harvesting but never with the administration and management of a farm. In contemporary times, educated daughters are taught how to operate the farm by their fathers. Moreover, male relatives are now in the assistant roles, helping with daily procedures. Researcher Betty Wang and her staff noted that: "Her staunchest supporter...was her father...the elderly farmer passed on all his farming experience to his daughter...at that time, one of her nephews, just graduated from junior high, was looking for work...He became an indispensible helper to his aunt." (Wang et.al, 1983:46) For young women, education combined with a farming background is an important aide for business success. Education not only provides them with a solid foundation to meet the demands for managing a business, but also the self-esteem to undertake such challenges. "She has great confidence in the economic future...she has carefully calculated the 'cost and effect'..." (Wang et.al, 1983:47)

Leisure Time

In addition to upgrading their education, working outside the home or maintaining the family business, contemporary young women in the rural areas are involved in many different activities during their leisure time. Many keep a portion of their salary for their own pleasures. A twenty three years old factory worker reported to Lydia Kung: "As for me, I still take money home, but I retain some for myself - for going out,
movies and clothes." (Kung, 1983:84) Their ventures might include swimming and dancing, as was the case for one new factory employee in Sanhsia: "She gave no sign of hesitation or shyness...she mentioned with enthusiasm her interest in swimming and dancing..." (Kung, 1983:82) Other young women might enrol in sewing and typing classes. In Hsin Hsing, a rural village located in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua Hsien, sewing classes were available for daughters of members in the Farmers' Association. (Gallin, 1966:199)

The Single Female: Urban

Like their rural counterparts, the postponing of marriage and childbearing has given Taiwanese young women in the cities the liberty to conduct other affairs. Urban women have consistently pursued education to a greater quantity and higher level. It is no longer unusual for them to enrol in junior college and university. They are also encouraged to work by their parents, not because their financial contribution to the family is required, but simply for the sake of having their own career and independence. For recreation, they occupy themselves with activities that enhance their knowledge and sharpen their minds, such as enrolling in yoga, recreational cooking, acting and computer classes, as well as travelling for pleasure.

Education

Women residing in urban areas are usually better educated than their rural peers because they do not need to help with
harvesting on the family farm and there are fewer domestic chores for them to do. Generally, parents accept the fact that their daughters might have to move out, for the sake of attaining the best schooling possible because occasionally, it is necessary for students to relocate near better schools. One such case is Hao Pei-chih, a 17 year old Taipei high school student. She moved out: "because her family lives on the outskirts of Taipei, a one hour bus ride from campus, she daily saves almost two hours for additional reading by living away from home during the weekdays." (Hao quote in Yu, 1987: 53) Daughters who do not reside with their family learn to be even more independent.

Work and Education

Coinciding with their rural associates, many urban young women work part time for school tuition. Part-time jobs are not restricted to those enrolled in post secondary institutions; many high school students are also engaged in various types of employment. Hsu Chin, a junior in the Department of Chinese Literature at the National Taiwan Normal University is one example. "Since senior high school days, Hsu has been working during the vacations to support herself...she worked once as a housekeeper...now she is a tutor..." (Leu, 1987:45) Not only does this show that they will not allow a lack of finances to deter their desire for schooling, but they also strive for and value their independence. This is especially the case for night school
students who work during the daytime. Chen Mei-ling, a junior in the Department of Accounting at Soochow University is "...used to independence...she wants to live by her own efforts...works five or six hours a day as a gas station attendant near her university." (Leu, 1987:46)

Post-secondary and Post-graduate Studies

College or university studies after high school for women are no longer exceptional. In 1990, a total of 213,429 (Executive Yuan, 1990:535) single women attained a college or university degree. In fact, many strive beyond the undergraduate level, engaging in post-graduate studies. During 1990, 12,051 (ibid) single women held graduate degrees. A senior at National Taiwan University, Ong Sheehoi's "...first priority after graduation is to enter a graduate program in Chinese literature..." (Leu, 1987:46)

Employment

After graduation, the majority of single women work. Approximately 24.13 percent (Executive Yuan, 1990:748) of single women in the age group 15 to 19 years old are working. Between the ages of 20 to 24, 64.94 percent unmarried women are employed, while 77.83 percent in the age group 25 to 29 years old have jobs. (ibid) The majority of single women are employed in public administration, social and personal services, with a total of 580,889 or 63 percent in 1990, (Executive Yuan, 1990:790-791), while ranking second in popularity is commerce, with a total of 497,043 or 54 percent.
Many rank their jobs first in order of importance. For Alice Kao, the director for the United Daily News, one of the largest circulating Chinese language newspapers in Taiwan, it seems that "...work...has always seemed to be the most appealing priority." (Martin, 1987:25) Furthermore, there are those who would even sacrifice marriage for career. Chen Mei-ling asserts: "I will insist on working, even at the price of being single all my life." (Chen quote in Leu, 1987:47) They have good role models, with proven records that a strong educational background and hard work mean a successful career. For instance, Alice Kao, graduated from the Taiwan National Normal University and enrolled in classes at Harvard. 

Leisure Time

To complement their liberated lifestyles, travelling is an extremely popular activity for young women in the cities. With money earned from their own jobs, many make annual trips to different countries for pleasure. Cheng Shuang-li, manager for a family-owned convenience store announces: "...I travel abroad once a year as a kind of reward and educational investment. I have been to Indonesia, Hawaii, and the U.S. mainland." (Chang, 1993:12) Others combine two types of entertainment at one time, visiting another city or country for shopping purposes. Wong Jo-hua, a travel agent in Taipei, "...spends much of her earnings on traveling abroad...makes four shopping trips to Hong Kong each year and vacations to Europe every eighteen months..." (Chang, 1993:7) Other
recreational activities range from visiting karaoke bars and night clubs to taking language and paper cutting classes. They have discovered music and art seminars, yoga classes and volunteer work. In a 1991 survey, 27.2 percent of the unmarried female respondents participated in community activities involving children, youths, senior citizens, the needy, the terminally ill, and various women's movements. (Yang, 1991:27) Their lives have incorporated religion, folk dancing and playing musical instruments. Ong Shee-hoi "...found that sitting in meditation or listening to Buddhist sutras being expounded, plus playing the ku-cheng, a Chinese stringed instrument, brought a better balance to her life..." (Leu, 1987:46)

How do working or professional urban single women spend their salaries? Some give a portion of their wages to their parents. Others like to spend money on themselves, particularly on clothing. Jacqueline Chang, a secretary in Taipei in "...one recent buying spree...dropped NT$17,500 (US$700) on five pairs of Italian-made shoes – more than half her monthly salary... [because]...Everyone is doing this..." (Chang, 1993:18) Many urban single females believe money is for personal enjoyment and to satisfy personal needs. Salaries are most often spent on clothing and shoes, because it is believed that one is judged by appearance. He Ming-wei, the owner of a makeup and facial massage shop in Taipei, says: "I think money is important...No plan can be realized without
money. With money in hand, you can go anywhere; without it, you can go nowhere." (He quote in Chang,1993:17) In a 1987 KMT Study of University and College students, respondents indicated that high income and financial security ranked 5.5, on a scale with 7 being extremely important. (ibid) Like their rural counterparts, urban women experience peer pressure, but in terms of displaying, even flaunting their status. There are certain standards that one must live up to. For instance, they are forced to dress a certain way or to purchase status symbol commodities such as cellular phones. Again, this indicates that women are now free to socialize and to make friends outside their homes, whereas previously, they were confined to their households under parental control. Parental influence has been replaced by peer pressure.

Regardless of whether single women reside in the city or rural areas, the current trend is that they place their own desires prior to those of anybody else.
Married Woman in the Past

In previous times, the most important event in a girl's life was marriage. From a young age, the peasant's daughter was socialized into an economic role within the household and family farm in preparation for her position as a wife after marriage. She learned to cook, clean, sew, care for children and harvest. The noble's daughter was also taught the responsibilities required of her. Although her duties were economically significant for the family, they were not intrinsic in economic value as was the case for her peasant counterpart. She learned a minimal amount of intellectual skills including reading and identifying the classics, but more importantly, performing the administration work in maintaining a productive household and managing the servants. In simple terms, both were instructed to be good daughters-in-law. Aside from domestic duties, a woman's foremost aspiration after marriage was to produce a son for her husband. Moving out of their natal household, they had to establish affiliation into their new family by producing the next generation. Furthermore, having children was an important filial act in all Chinese families.

The norm for married women was to also have abundant numbers of children. A villager in Hsin Hsing revealed to Bernard Gallin that: "...rural people still want many children. Even if a couple has ten children, if they have
another, they are still so happy. The villagers just like children." (villager quote in Gallin, 1966:189) It was a tragedy to be childless, especially to be without sons because they were guardians of the family name and old age security for elderly parents. "A husband and wife without children are people without a future." (Gallin, 1966:188) In addition, newly married women were pressured not only by their in-laws, but also by other women in the village. "The watchful eyes of the village women with few interests take note of any swelling of her breasts or expanding of the waistline and as the months go by comment questioningly on the absence of such symptoms." (Wolf, 1972:149) Moreover, young married couples resided with the husband's parents, and sometimes, the extended family, including brothers, their spouses and families, unmarried sisters and perhaps even grandparents. Living in close proximity with her in-laws meant that daughters-in-law often felt pressured to have children from the older generation. It was not surprising then, that pregnancies were celebrated and ended the anxious anticipation for newly wedded women. A pregnant woman had "happiness in her body" (Levy, 1949:114) and received special attention. 

After birth, a new mother was given preferential treatment. She was catered to and pampered, in order to ensure that she would be healthy enough to produce more children. "According to a tradition that goes back two millennia, a new mother is expected to...doing little more
than sleeping, eating...Her mother-in-law or other relatives bring her meals, attend to her comforts and even help change the diapers." (Leu, 1994:52) They would be given hearty foods to eat, such as "...chicken, pork, liver, noodles, ginger and bananas...often cooked with strengthening herbs." (Diamond, 1969:31) Consumption of such "good and rich foods" (Gallin, 1966:191) allow for lactation and regaining of stamina. Furthermore, a new mother was expected to relax and she did not do chores for approximately one month after birth. Postpartum treatment demonstrated the significance of childbearing.

It is relevant to note that although sons were desired, daughters were not neglected. Villagers in Hsin Hsing said, "When a married couple has no children, they just want a child, be it a boy or a girl, and when they have a boy, they want a girl. But if the parents have too many girls, they say they don't want any more girls because too many girls are no use. The difference is that people don't ever say too many boys are no use." (villagers quote in Gallin, 1966:189)

With such relevance placed upon having children, women were punished for sterility. According to historical civil laws, the inability to produce children automatically qualified for divorce. It was legitimate for husbands to abandon wives in cases of barrenness. Furthermore, if the wife could not produce a male child, her husband had rights to annul the marriage. Therefore, having children was not
enough. It was equally as vital to bear a male child. Young married women gained acceptance in their new households through the birth of a male heir because sons would pass on the family name, inherit property and perform the rituals of ancestor worship.

The status of male children was important because they continued the family name and therefore, inherited property to keep it within the family line. Daughters married out of the household and could not be given property since it would no longer belong within the family.

The rituals of ancestor worship were essential because the Chinese believed that the living and dead complemented each other. The dead brought about good or bad luck in the living world, depending on the actions of the living. Living descendants offer deceased ancestors four necessities: food, clothing, shelter and money. (Fricke et.al, 1994:30) Incense is also burned daily at the family altar. However, to be worshipped in such manner, an individual must have descendants, and must provide them with the means of subsistence, mainly land. Since only sons could inherit land, they were then rightfully, the ones who could perform ancestor worship.

Women could not own or inherit property, and therefore, did not have the means for subsistence. However, as mothers of sons, women would be attended to in their elderly age, both in financial and physical terms. Moreover, their male
children would perform rituals for their souls after death because: "all the important ceremonial roles could be fulfilled only by men...a Chinese woman...never played a central role in such ceremonials until she died, and even not unless she died as a mother of sons." (Levy, 1949:151) Given that sons were the only ones who could worship their deceased ancestors, it is not surprising that both men and women feared that they could not produce a son and risked being "hungry ghosts" (Hu, 1984:159) after death.

In short, a woman's membership in the family depended on her having sons, in life and after demise. "A wife who had borne a son had gone a long way toward her complete incorporation into the family, for she had produced its means of continuance." (Levy, 1949:114) Consequently, women's lives revolved around reproduction and they were discouraged from participating in activities outside the household. Working outside the home disrupted their commitment to domestic and reproductive activities. Women's responsibilities were inside the household, while their husbands' duties were outside the family. "Nan wai, nu nei"; (men go out, women stay in) was a popular expression which described this arrangement. (Farris, 1991:290) Employment for women was unheard of in gentry families and generally not encouraged in poor households, with some exceptions, when women were needed to assist the men in the fields during the busy harvesting seasons. "...peasant women...often labored outside the
household at peak periods of labor demand. Such labor never
carried far, however, and work outside the household never
became the principal productive work of Chinese women..." (Levy, 1949:153)

Having children was not limited to reasons such as
proving the wife's fertility, continuing the family name, or
having someone to burn incense for the ancestors. On farms,
children were useful labor sources and more children meant
additional helping hands in times of harvesting and cropping.
In addition to field work, they also helped with other farm
chores, such as taking out the buffaloes to graze or weeding
the fields. (Wolf, 1968:88)

A married woman's success was derived from the
accomplishments of her husband and children. She was to be
warm, supporting, self-controlling, nurturing and self-
sacrificing. (Li, 1985:454) These were the the expectations
for women until 1945, when Taiwan began to develop
economically and socially.

As overpopulation became an imminent threat to economic
and social development, family planning programs were enacted
by the state. The success of family planning programs was
highlighted as couples began to time births, restrict the
number of offsprings and delay reproduction through the usage
of contraceptives. This translated into increased personal
freedom and the advantage of choice for couples and especially
women. Simultaneously, it also meant that they were able to
provide their children with better education and living standards. Inevitably, quality of childcare replaced quantity of children during the demographic transition.

A 1973 survey showed how attentive mothers were to children during this period. Married women were asked whether they preferred to spend excess money on the needs of their children or on their husband’s parents. The results showed that 30 percent of the respondents preferred to spend it all on their children, while only 3 percent indicated that they would spend it on their husband’s parents. (Weinstein et al., 1994:331)

To further demonstrate the importance placed on children, a study conducted between 1969 and 1971 showed that some mothers still dressed their eight and nine year old children and others continued to bathe their children even at the ages of ten or eleven. (Diamond, 1973:222) In one extreme case, Norma Diamond’s research assistant during her fieldwork in 1969-1971 "...became upset at the prospect of having to wash her own hair. At age 21, she has never had occasion to do it by herself, since her mother always did it for her." (Diamond, 1973:241) Children did not need to contend with housework tasks such as "...straightening up their room, putting clothing away...". (Diamond, 1973:222) Instead, they occupied their time with more valuable pursuits, such as dancing, music, or art classes.

In addition to being offered the finest educational
environment, children are not neglected when both parents are working during the day. Urban dayschools provide meals and childcare for eleven or twelve hours each day. (Wang et al., 1983:48) Private kindergartens may be supplied with luxuries such as television sets, pianos and lavish playrooms. Moreover, children are encouraged to run about to "...remove the pressure..." (Wang et al., 1983:44) from being confined in apartments. (The majority of the urban Taiwanese live in apartments.) Thus, there are gardens for the children to frolic in and pools for swimming.

Children in the cities are not the only ones who enjoy many luxuries and receive quality time from their parents. Chiu Pi-hua, a farmer's wife in Tungshiao, bought pheasants for her daughter as playmates. Lin Su-yun, a dairy farmer's wife in Hukou, buys large numbers of books for her sons to enjoy, including encyclopedias, children's stories and fairytales. (Wang et al., 1983:48)

Chu Feng-Tso, an auto mechanic, complains that parents have overindulged in their children, even to the point of spoiling them. He says: "You can see the cars lined up in front of the school gates waiting for the kids (after school). At noon, the parents also deliver lunch to their sons and daughters...parents treat their kids as (guardedly as their) grandparents..." (Chu quote in Sheng, 1995:29)

However, these sorts of extravagance and attentiveness Taiwanese parents offered their children were only possible
because they planned and controlled their family size. Family planning allowed couples, especially women, to plan children around their lives and not the other way around.

Being free to choose when they would like to have children in their lives, gives women a chance to become involved in non-reproductive activities, such as working outside the home. Jobs created as a result of industrialization opened employment opportunities to women in areas such as manufacturing and services. In 1956, 639,000 or 52.93 percent married women (including common law) worked outside the home, in 1962, 964,000 or 51.65 percent, and in 1971, 1,218,000 or 51.74 percent. This meant that there was a steady increase of approximately 5.1 percent of married women entering the labour force between 1956 and 1971. (Hsing Cheng Yuan Ching Chi Chien She Wei Yuan Hui, 1983:32) Not only were married women becoming active participants in the work force, but they also entered different areas of employment. During 1966, 18.45 percent were employed in manufacturing for the Taiwan area, [all counties and cities of Taiwan Province and all the districts of Taipei and Kaohsiung Municipalities], (Census Office of the Executive Yuan, 1992:Notes) while 12.93 percent were in commerce and 18.74 percent were in the tertiary sector. (Chou, 1987:10)

Given these previous circumstances, what are contemporary Taiwanese women doing that would allow them to further enrich and enhance their lives? What are their goals and what types
of activities are they most interested in pursuing? These questions will be examined for married Taiwanese women, both in the city and the village.
Rural Married Women

The contemporary period which spans approximately from the early 1980s to the present, reveals that rural women are having fewer children and consequently, have time for non-reproductive activities. The total fertility rate or the number of children each woman will bear if she lives through the childbearing years subject to the age-specific fertility rates for the specific year in question, (Freedman et.al, 1994:267) was 6.1 in 1961 when family planning programs were first initiated, but decreased to 1.9, twenty-five years later in 1986. (Freedman et.al, 1994:275) Their non-reproductive activities include: working on the family farm or business, working outside the home, establishing their own business in the form of grocery and candy stores, or raising farm animals. When they are not working, many dance, watch operas, gamble or perform religious ceremonies.

Work

Previously, women's place was designated within the household and they did not work outside their home. Historically, women in elite families did not work because it was inappropriate to have contact with the outside world, and there was no need for them to do so. They managed the household and supervised the care of children. Peasant women may have helped with farm work, but they too, were mostly confined to the household and dedicated to childcare and
domestic duties.

With industrialization, men began to seek employment outside the farm to supplement their income, as agriculture work was no longer sufficient. Husbands may have worked in factories or became self-employed in non-agricultural areas, leaving their wives to care for the family farm or business, including taking on previously male dominated managerial duties. During the initial stages of industrialization, Myron Cohen noted in the rural village of Yen-liao that some wives were in charge of the family farm and were also allowed to supervise workers. This was the case for Families C2 and C9, with both being large cultivators of tobacco. (Cohen, 1976:92)

In other circumstances, the wife may be busy caring for her children while the husband is working elsewhere, and the wife gives orders to workers in order for things to run smoothly on the farm. "In family C12, the woman plays a larger role than her husband (who has a full-time clerical job) in supervising daily farm activities. The woman has no one else to care for her small children and so cannot participate directly in most farm work. She gives directions to the workers...oversees their activities." (Cohen, 1976:92)

Furthermore, wives increasingly control the family budget, especially in cases where it is necessary for money to be available to both partners. "...the operation of family C13's grocery store requires that sizable sums of money be accessible to husband and wife..." (Cohen, 1976:93)
Currently, rural women have taken over previously male dominated types of work. For instance, in Meinung, women could be found in transplanting rice seedling, carpentry and masonry work. (Wang et.al, 1983:10)

Besides attending to the family farm or business, many rural married women are employed outside the home. They are involved in various types of occupations, including hairdressing, factory work, operating fruit and vegetable stands and managing their own grocery or candy stores. (Hu, 1984:70) Many women feel that working outside the home gives them more freedom, and in particular, avoids conflicts with the mother-in-law, as Chiu from Sanhsia in Lydia Kung’s study who says: "Staying at home would be boring, especially for someone who’s been outside and exposed to more. Although factory work is 'bitter', it’s still better than staying at home...And a woman who works may not have as many problems with her mother-in-law. If a woman has to be with her mother-in-law day in and day out, there will be more conflict and friction." (Chiu quote in Kung, 1983:144) In addition to freedom from potential family conflicts, there is the advantage of monetary freedom; as women earn money and spend on it on themselves or however they wish. A married factory worker at Sanhsia comments: "...it’s better if you have a job; he makes money but you earn money too, and don’t have to ask for handouts." (worker quote in Kung, 1983:145) Lok, a hairdresser in Sanhsia says: "It’s good to be able to earn
some money, then one need not rely on one’s husband for everything... there’s more money to spend and more freedom...” (Lok quote in Kung, 1983:145) Lee, a Sanhsia factory worker justifies working with this reason: "My husband gives me very little money for clothes, so almost all my clothes were brought with my earnings...As the children get older, they’ll need more money for tuition." (Lee quote in Kung, 1983:145) Moreover, women who earn money, have more authority at home, as was the case for working wives in K’un Shen: "If the wife works, it is assumed that the money she earns is spent on household needs. However, income earners have more of a say in household affairs and more independence...are outspoken and aggressive...It is their outside labor which sometimes maintain the household...when fishing is meager." (Diamond, 1969:66) Similarly, they have more control over their husbands because the family may rely on the wives’ income. "The father’s authority is tempered...he is not the sole support of the family...he recognizes his dependency..." (ibid) Lastly, many women view work as an opportunity to socialize with coworkers and friends on a daily basis, which is regarded as a pleasant alternative to the monotony of staying at home. Wu, who works in a Sanhsia factory puts it this way: "I wonder if I can bear to stay at home with two children and housework....Besides one’s mood is better if one has a job; a person can talk with friends at work." (Wu quote in Kung, 1983:147)
Women who earn money, especially through their own business, may eventually establish loaning privileges to others, forming a "hue-a"; or "short term loan associations that meet well the borrowing needs of a community in which everyone knows everyone else and always has." (Wolf, 1972:223) The hue-a is particularly essential if large sums of money are needed for weddings and funerals.

It is important to mention that many rural married women still find pleasure in taking care of their children. In some cases, women try to balance work in favor of their children, such as working at home in order to be with their children. Those who are reluctant to leave their children alone, engage in home based occupations, such as weaving flowerpot hangers and sewing winter stockings. (Hu, 1984:70) This helps generate extra income for the family, but at the same time, allows the women to stay at home with their children.

Leisure

Having fewer children translates into freedom for women to do other things with their time which was previously allotted to childcare. Aside from working, rural women have many forms of relaxation and entertainment. Sometimes, chores and socializing are performed simultaneously. That is, women combine work and pleasure, such as washing clothes at the village river and gossiping with neighbours at the same time. This is the case for women in Peihotien who "spend most of the morning washing a few pieces of clothing so they can gossip
with the busy women who come down to the river with full baskets." (Wolf, 1972:222)

In Chung Hsing New Village, housewives gather for various types of dancing including traditional folk dances and New Wave, in the basketball court three times a week. (Wang et. al, 1983:15) They dance mostly for exercising purposes. Women in Meinung perform dragon dances, which used to be exclusively male dominated.

Chinese opera is an immensely popular form of entertainment. In Peihotien, women have the option of watching operas on stage, whereas they would travel long distances to enjoy an afternoon, evening or both performances, or they have the choice of watching it on television. Many women reserve time exclusively for watching opera.

Gambling in the forms of mah-jong or cards, comprises as one of the most popular methods of entertainment for many women. Sometimes they may even become addicted to gambling, as was the case of several woman in Margery Wolf's Peihotien study: "...she was greeted with the news that her mother has lost over NT$700 in two nights of gambling...almost a month's income for the average family..." (Wolf, 1968:104)

Religious celebrations give women the opportunities to meet with friends and socialize. In Hukou, dinner parties are held to commemorate the birthdays of local deities. Likewise, in Hsin Hsing, women prepare feasts to honor various birthdays of the village gods and to feed visiting friends and
relatives. Neighbour villagers will return the good deed when
it is their local deities' birthdays. "The villagers
generally prepare so much food for the occasion...they talk
for months about the number of people they entertained...")
(Gallin:1966:253)

Unmistakably, rural married women find their own sources
of interest and take on endeavours that they enjoy. This is
possible because they reduce the number of children that they
have had and use the time previously reserved for childbearing
to focus on other activities.

Urban Married Women

As in the rural situation, urban married women are
increasingly involved with other activities because they are
having fewer children and do not need to spend so much time on
childcare. Their acceptance of contraceptives was even more
prevalent than rural married women. In 1985, 90 percent were
practicing contraception. (Freedman et.al,1994:281) Like the
rural situation, the total fertility also declined in the
urban areas. In 1961, the total fertility rate for Taipei was
4.5. In 1986, this had dropped to 1.4. For other urban
areas, the total fertility rate was 5.6 in 1961, and had
plummeted to 1.8 in 1986. (Freedman et.al,1994:275) After
1986, the total fertility rates in urban areas remained at a
consistent level. In 1994, it was recorded at 1.7. (Obregon,
1994:7)

Evidently, women are having fewer children and can devote
their attention to other types of activities. With their free time, many work outside the home and some have even established their own careers. Others are involved in volunteer work, establishing and engaging themselves in various community services and organizations. When they are not working or volunteering, urban women take many different academic and non-academic courses, exercise and enrol in singing lessons.

**Work**

Urban women are inclined to work more outside their home because they do not have to work on the family farm. They may work for somebody else but a minority have also established their own business.

In 1990, over 33 percent or approximately 2.5 million urban married women were employed in the Taiwan area. (Executive Yuan, 1990:738-739) The labor market has not only expanded to allow more female participants, it has also changed structurally to accommodate women in various positions. In 1966, 18.45 percent worked in manufacturing, which increased to 35.32 percent in 1976, and to 39.86 percent in 1986. In commerce, only 12.93 percent were employed in this area during 1966, which increased to 14.02 percent in 1976 and to 20.36 percent in 1986. (Chou, 1991:317)

Why do women in the cities work? A 1985 survey in the Taipei Metropolis indicated that 31.2 percent of the respondents worked to supplement the family budget, 49.9
percent worked for the sake of interest and 18.9 percent said that they worked for both reasons. (Cheng and Liao, 1985:402) In 1988, 79.72 percent of the respondents for a study, indicated that they would continue to work even if financial circumstances did not require them to do so. (Nei Chang Pu T’ung Chi Ch’u, 1989:88)

Hsi Yu-ying is a street cleaner, employed because she needed the money to pay for her four children’s school tuition. However, Hsi also works because it is something to keep her occupied. Hsi says: "It keeps me occupied and I wouldn’t know how to spend the day if I retired." (Tseng, 1988:15-18)

Some women dream of having a career instead of being merely employed in a job. They work their way up the corporate ladder, seeking out opportunities and putting in long hours at the office. Mary Chou is one such example, starting out as secretary of a yacht building company but eventually through hard work, is now vice president supervising a staff of 45 employees. (Martin, 1987:27) Chou says that she "...did everything...(she) help(ed) paint, drill and sand." (Chou quoted in Martin, 1987:27)

Women are also beginning to take over unconventional jobs that were formerly dominated by men.

Sung Fu-mei is one of the 1,450 female taxi drivers in Taipei. (Tseng, 1988:14) She likes her job because it is accommodating and allows her to spend time with her children.
Sung notes that "...the hours are not enviable, but at least they are flexible. I won't drive if I don't feel like it." (Sung quoted in Tseng, 1988:14) Furthermore, it allows a fair amount of independence, as well providing a good income. Sung likes the fact that "I'm my own master...I can drive whenever I want... besides my usual monthly income of * US$800 supports my family all right." (ibid)

Pu Tsui-lan delivers newspapers, also formerly an exclusively male domain. Delivering newspapers supplement her income and her dream is to buy her own apartment, so that she will have property under her own name because her husband subscribes to the belief that property only belongs to the men in the family. Pu worries that she might have to live with her son and his future wife but not get along with them. She explains: "We all work for money...I have a secret wish that I haven't told my husband. He thinks all our property should belong to the whole family...I can't have any individual property...my son will grow up...He'll get married...If I don't get along with my son and his wife...I hope I can have my own apartment to stay in if I don't get along with them." (Pu quote in Yuan, 1995:9)

Chen Pei-yu delivers the mail and is extremely satisfied with her career choice because she is able to interact with different people and feels that she benefits her community. Chen says: "I really like meeting the people on my routes, and * This salary is given in 1988 terms.
terms I feel as though I am serving the public interest." (Chen quote in Tseng, 1988:27) The hours are flexible, which is advantageous for Chen, since she has children. She is quite satisfied with her monthly salary of NT$20,500 (*US$700) and as a bonus, there are chances of promotion. Chen notes that: "The post office offers a sound system of promotion, and as soon as I pass the interior exam, I’ll be promoted to desk work..." (Chen quote in Tseng, 1988:29) She plans to use the extra money from the anticipated promotion to give herself and her family a better living environment.

**Choices For Spending Money**

Working women often do not supplement their household incomes. They tend to spend their salaries on themselves, for their children or other luxury items. In a 1986 survey, 35 percent of childless married women indicated that they saved their money for themselves or spent it on personal use. (Fricke et.al, 1994:130) However, after having their first child, only 25 percent of the respondents used their salaries for their own purposes. With the arrival of their first baby, 69 percent of the respondents replied that they used their income for family expenses. (Fricke et.al, 1994:133)

**Self-Employed Women**

Self-employed women range from street food vendors to corporate presidents. Some women work from their homes. Before marriage, Lu Yu-shu worked as an administrative

* This salary is given in 1988 terms.
assistant, but resigned after having her second child. In 1988, she began working as a babysitter and takes care of children in her home, six days a week. She likes babysitting, because children give her "...joy and happiness...(she) has a good time with them." (Lu quote in Yuan, 1995:15) Childcare also provides Lu Yu-shu with a steady income of NT$27,000 or US$1,000 per month. (Yuan, 1995:14)

There are women who start their own companies, such as Jo Huang. Huang is the owner of an ad agency in downtown Taipei. She feels that there are many advantages to being self-employed, including more time to spend with her family and friends, as well as the freedom to pursue other interests. She notes that "...it was common to be in the office until midnight." (Huang quote in Leu, 1993:18) but now she has a nine to five schedule and also finds time to enrol in courses.

Professional Women

Aside from women who work regular jobs or are self-employed, there are those in the professions who are often labelled as "strong women". (Yin, 1987:21) In a study conducted by Esther Yao during 1981, thirty five professional women were selected based on their popularity and reference by superiors. The respondents consisted of professional women such as: a former chief of the police, college instructors, TV program producers, judges in the supreme court and chief of flight service at an international airport. (Yao, 1984-85:46-47) These women were self-confident and did not hesitate to
voice their opinions in the workplace. Their ethics towards women in the professions include beliefs such as: "Women are harder workers and more realistic and careful than men," and "Successful women are forced to pay a double price for their achievements, handling both family and job efficiently in order to be recognized. However, this dual role enables them to enjoy a richer life than men." (Yao, 1984-5:49-50) The majority also indicated that their family life did not usually interfere with their careers and it was crucial for their husbands to be supportive. The results showed that "over half of the women interviewed admitted that their husbands had given understanding and support during their career advancement." (Yao, 1984-84:52)

Education

Marriage does not necessary entail the end of schooling for some women. Education continues throughout marriage, not only in academic studies, but courses that upgrade existing occupational skills or merely for pleasure, are high in priority. Wang Pei-ling is a lecturer at the Kaohsiung Junior College of Technology, with a M.A. degree, but hopes to further her education because her college is starting to hire instructors with Ph.D degrees. She worries that her M.A. degree will not be enough to guarantee job security. Wang says: "If I study again, I want to get a doctorate in teaching English as a second language. Recently, the college recruited more than thirty professors with Ph.D degrees. The school no
longer recruits those with only an M.A. degree. I feel strong pressure to continue my education." (Wang quote in Chang, 1993:11)

**Leisure: Working Women**

Aside from working, employed women are enrolled in music and art programs, learning new languages, taking vocal lessons or practicing Chinese exercises, such as nei tan kung. Ku Yen-ling and Chiang Lan-hung work out every day in order to "slow down the arrival of old age." (Chiang quote in Yin, 1987:23)

**Homemakers**

Although homemakers do not work outside their homes, they do not stay at home. Many enjoy many different types of recreational, social and cultural activities during their spare time. Hsu Hsen-shu is one such homemaker, reserving two afternoons weekly to do whatever she pleases. Since homemakers are not actively pursuing a career, they contribute their spare time most often towards community activities. They have various concerns and this is reflected in the many associations that they initiate. One of the most active organizations is the Homemakers' Union and Foundation.

Originating in 1987, the Homemakers' Union and Foundation (HUF) is a public interest group with most of its 800 members in Taipei and Taichung. It is geared towards solving public dilemmas, most commonly related to environmental issues. For instance, they promote recycling and publish reading materials
to encourage people to do so. In addition to this, they have also fought for equal opportunity rights for pregnant women, the elimination of teenage prostitution, abolishment of pornography and awareness of sexual abuse of children. (Chang, 1991:32)

Most women join for a simple reason, as explained by 1991 HUF President, Chen Lai-hung: "As mothers, we want to give our children a wonderful childhood." (Chen quote in Chang, 1991:32) These homemakers make their concerns known through picketing, protests, petitioning, lectures and arranging educational sessions. They feel that they have gained much from involving themselves actively, as Chen Lai-hun says: "... (I have)...learn(ed) to communicate and deal with large issues and many sorts of people...my concerns have expanded to include all of society..." (quote by Chen in Chang, 1991:35)

Also high in popularity are groups known as the Lioness clubs. The Lioness clubs are support groups for women, providing chances to socialize and volunteer for community events, helping special needs groups, such as those who are mentally disabled. Mrs. Louise Li, the consultant to District 300 A-2 International Association of Lioness Clubs, and previously chairman of the Lioness Committee of District 300, Taiwan and District 300, Taipei, as well as president of the Taipei Capital Lioness Club (Martin, 1987:28), enjoys being actively involved with the Lioness clubs and explains: "...I got to know many people and that was helpful... (for my
husband's) business...I'm gradually cutting down time in (my husband's) business so I can devote time to my special interest - social service." (Li quote in Martin,1987:28)

In addition, macrame is being hailed as fashionable, a craft revived by many urban women. They have even formed their own group, the Lan-yi Society, which is dedicated to rekindling this ancient art. (Wang et.al,1983:54) Women meet on a regular basis and have had their artworks on display.

It is irrelevant whether married women are housewives or working outside their homes, because they are pursuing their own interests and fulfilling their own desires. Some may be working regular jobs, while others try their hand at self-employment. Professional women dedicate time to their careers and homemakers involve themselves with social, political and environmental issues. Many devote time to hobbies and courses which enrich their lives. Therefore, the second stage in the process of individual autonomy as depicted by Lesthaeghe and Aries, seems to hold true for Taiwanese women. They are having fewer children and time previously reserved for childcare, is now used for their own interests. At the same time, they do not neglect their children because they spend time with them, buy various goods and provide luxuries for them. As individuals, it appears that Taiwanese women are well on their way to achieving complete autonomy.
Chapter VI

Limits to Women’s Liberation

For many Taiwanese women, the freedom to pursue their interests is an ongoing struggle and they face many obstacles. Many encounter antagonism by their male and female counterparts at the workplace and in legal and political matters. In fact, these limits to individual autonomy challenge the third stage for emancipation as described by Lesthaeghe and Aries.

Work

Despite the increasing participation of women in the labor force, many encounter hostility. During 1987, the Taiwan Police Academy rejected a female applicant because she had a scar on her knee. A representative official explained that scars on the knees of policewomen were unattractive because: "Policewomen have to wear skirts above their knees as part of their uniform." (quote in Martin, 1987:29) In addition, women’s competency is often questioned. Alice Kao, director of an international Chinese newspaper reveals: "They (men) respect women in the office but they are not used to it...they are not used to dealing with women as equals. They are used to having women as subordinates." (Kao quote in Martin, 1987:24)

In terms of salary, despite having the same skills and education as their male counterparts, an overwhelming majority of women are still paid less. In 1983, the survey of Family
Income and Expenditure indicated that women with graduate degrees were paid only 88.09 percent of the wages given to men with the same level of schooling, while those with college diplomas collected 65.6 percent of the wages received by their male college educated colleagues and at the primary school level, 49.98 percent. (Chiang and Ku, 1985:11) In 1991, women earn about 60 percent of men's salary. (Chou, 1991:29) Lin Tien-chu, a male general manager of a trading company justifies this by claiming that women co-workers are paid less than their male co-workers on the grounds that husbands are the breadwinners and wives only supplement the family income. He says: "When deciding on men's salaries, I take into consideration that men use their salaries to support their families. For women's salaries, I put the company's cost element before everything." (Lin quote in Chang, 1991:33)

Furthermore, he believes that since women eventually marry and will want to have children, their commitment to the company could be terminated anytime. Therefore, Lin is reluctant to promote women, because: "An unmarried woman very possibly will quit when she marries. Second, a woman will certainly be pregnant someday and when she starts having babies, her time and attention will no longer belong to the job alone. Of course, these considerations influence my judgement about promotions... most women see their jobs as a short term pursuit while men see them as careers." (ibid)

Moreover, professional women find themselves ignored or
ridiculed by men in the work place. Grace Yuan, owner of a consulting company, explains why she resigned from her position as a manager and began to work for herself: "I never saw any women included in the board of directors. I realized I was not competing with people who were as capable as I was, but against people called men." (Yuan quote in Chang, 1991:5) She noted that men were also given more opportunities for promotions. Ho Shu-yun, a special assistant to the general manager of a construction company, feels that sexual discrimination exists because women are rarely in managerial positions. She says: "Take the company I used to work for as an example. Women made it only as far as section chiefs, but the men could fill the managerial posts." (Ho quote in Chang, 1991:31) In 1990, only 16 percent of the business executives were female, in contrast to the 84 percent that were men. (Executive Yuan, 1990:806)

Therefore, it is evident that there is a limit to women's success in the labor force because advancement and promotions are limited by men, stereotypes and women's fertility. It is difficult for some employers, especially male bosses, to recognize that women are as capable as men and having children would probably not restrict their capabilities.

Legal Matters: Divorce

In Taiwan, the law has yet to protect women's rights and equality. One of the best examples concerns divorce.

As more women are able to achieve economic independence
through employment, they no longer tolerate an unhappy marriage. They find that they are able to support themselves and marriage is no longer a means of financial reliance. Thus, there is an increasing number of women consenting to or initiating divorce. In addition, the rules for divorce have changed, allowing women equal grounds for terminating a marriage. In the past, the main criteria for divorce included infertility, inability to bear a male child, talkativeness and laziness, but in contemporary times, the reasons for terminating marriage involve bigamy, adultery, abuse, abandonment, attempted murder, insanity, terminal diseases and incarceration. (Hsieh, 1988:24)

In 1976, the divorce rate in Taipei was 1.8 percent, but in 1990, this number rose to 4.8 percent. (Chang, 1991:9) In 1993, 60 percent of the divorces in Taiwan were filed by women. (Holton, 1995:49) Although the cases of divorce are increasing, there are still many women who are reluctant to even think about annuling their marriage, because of the inevitability of financial difficulties that follow a divorce. Rose Chi, the director of Awakening Foundation, a women's support group, feels that she had the choice of a divorce because she: "...(has) a good profession and...(is) financially self-supporting. However, a woman with little income or education is likely to find her situation more difficult." (Holton, 1995:469) The reason is because Taiwan's Book of Family, which contains marriage and divorce civil
laws, allege that in the event of a divorce, the wife is responsible for her husband's debts. Moreover, the husband automatically obtains custody of the children. In order for the wife to have guardianship or even visiting rights, she needs her husband's approval. According to Hsiao Yun Tai, a volunteer at Warn Life Association which assists divorced women, some women have resorted to paying their husbands for their children, as in one case where the wife gave $76,000 to her husband in return for custody. (Holton, 1995:49) Even if she acquires custody of the children, she will not receive alimony or child support. L.H. Huang knows the difficulty of this; without monetary support from her husband and with two children to raise, she worked as a vendor, saleswoman, waitress and is now currently a newspaper editor. (Tseng, 1988:30)

Any property that a woman owned before marriage and acquired after marrying, is allocated to her husband after divorce. Even if she worked on the land and as a result of her labor, reaped economic returns from the property, she is still not entitled to any ownership rights.

Such rules were revised after 1985, but they still hold true for women who married prior to that period. This means that women married before 1985 cannot receive alimony and do not have custody or property rights.

Divorce becomes even more problematic if the husband does not wish to terminate the marriage. In a society that
emphasizes the importance of families, sometimes a wife is ordered to reunite with her husband when she, and not her husband, initiates a divorce. The judge may be reluctant to 'break' up the family and claims that the wife's situation was not intolerable enough to grant a divorce. Such a case was documented on March 24, 1985 from the United Daily newspaper: "Mrs. Yao was married to her husband 15 years ago through a matchmaker. Although she discovered that he was an irresponsible husband, she still carried out the wifely duties faithfully and bore him three children. Yao had the habit of raping her in front of their children and would resort to violence if she did not yield to him. She committed (sic) suicide once in 1983. While being unconscious, she was raped by her husband again. Deserted on the scene, she was later sent to the hospital by her landlady. After being saved from a second suicide (attempt) in 1985, she filed for a judicial divorce. The court instructed the couple to reconcile and ordered Yao never to damage his wife's dignity again."

(United Daily excerpt in Chiang and Ku, 1985:18)

Even after divorce, women endure hardships. They must face social stigmas, the wrath of their ex-husbands, as well as humiliation from both men and women. C.Y. Tsun, a divorcee, works in the hospital to support her oldest son and is extremely unwilling to reveal her marital status. She says: "Often, when I finally gain enough confidence in a female friend to tell her about my life, she suddenly stops
treating me as an ordinary woman. She becomes very reluctant to introduce me to her family, and certainly her husband." (Tseng, 1988:29) Furthermore, her estranged husband has guardianship of the younger son, yet refuses to allow Tsun visiting rights to see him.

Evidently, the law has yet to protect women's rights, especially in divorce.

**Politics**

"The field of politics belong to men." (Chang, 1991:7) An attributing reason is that women are reluctant to run for office. Moreover, few women take part in political activities, such as voting. Lastly, female politicians are either encouraged to carry out menial tasks, such as domestic related issues, as opposed to major crises such as war. In 1985, a survey with a sample taken out of 1400 voters indicated that many felt women are better suited for resolving domestic problems and not emergencies or disasters. (Hong, 1985:613) Furthermore, they believed that women should concentrate at grass roots level, participating in "women's associations, nonpartisan organizations, political party activities, and making or executing decisions of public officers...rather than...at the elite level." (ibid)

Taiwan's reserved seat system, which guarantees 10% of the seats in the National Assembly, Legislature and local councils for women, is considered an anti-discriminatory measure. The purpose is to ensure that female candidates are
represented in the government. However, this can be regarded as a discriminatory act against women because the quota also dictates the maximum number of women elected for legislative bodies. Dr. Shirley W.Y. Kuo, the only female Cabinet member echoes this sentiment by saying: "...it (the 10 percent quota) was created as a floor for the number of women, but in reality, it is used as a ceiling. It has not promoted women." (Kuo quote in Underwood, 1994:39) Legislator Hsui-lien Annette Lu also feels that the quota system is unfair to women and in addition, discourages women from running for office: "The quota system... was meant to set the minimum number of seats for seats for women, but it in fact sets the maximum number of seats for women...women interested in running end up competing against each other for the few reserved positions... the quota system has become a trap preventing women from running for office." (Lu quote in Underwood, 1994:43) Furthermore, the reserved seats system does not apply to executive positions at the national level which incorporates an increase in power and duties. This is because officials are appointed instead of elected and thus, women occupying government positions at this level are scarce. Dr. Jeanne Tchong-koei Li, the deputy secretary-general for the Kuomintang, says that in some cases, even if a woman was offered a position at the national level, she would refuse to accept it because her husband or family was not supportive: "...sometimes a woman does refuse to take a position for
family reasons, or because her husband doesn’t want her to have a position higher than his...if we want to send someone abroad, usually a wife follows a husband even if she has to quit her job. Rarely does a husband follow his wife." (Li quote in Underwood,1994:43)

Women in politics encounter many problems and obstacles for promotions because the political arena is dominated by men. Women participating in politics is likened to "...having a hen crow at dawn." (ibid) It is widely believed that women should focus on the family and household instead of directing their attention to outside matters that do not pertain to domestic issues.

It is evident that there are limitations to women’s freedom with respect to work, legal matters and political issues. Women are constantly challenged by both their male and female counterparts. However, they do not subject themselves to such antagonisms; instead, they confront and contest them.
Chapter VII

Challenging Restrictions on Freedom

The struggle for emancipation is met with many faces of opposition, but Taiwanese women do not accept this as their fate. For instance, there are increasingly more women's movements that examine and question the status of Taiwanese women, with respect to educational and employment opportunities. Consequently, they campaign for women's rights and also offer various services to assist women. Moreover, the media, short stories and novels have contributed to encouraging awareness for improving women's status and reflecting their changing roles in society.

Women's Movements

Organizations established for and by women date back as far as 1946 in Taiwan. These women's associations were either affiliated with the state or with religion. A minority were internationally organized. They offered education, homemaking courses, counselling and medical services to women.

Women's groups organized by the state included the Women's Department of the Central Committee, the Taiwan Provincial Women's Association, and the Chinese Women's Anti-Aggression League.

As the predecessor of women's groups, the Taiwan's Provincial Women's Association was formed during 1946, attracting over 200,000 members. It offered free education, training in household skills and family counselling for women.
In 1950, Madame Chiang Kai-shek formed the Chinese Women’s Anti-Aggression League, recruiting over 252,555 members. (Chiang and Ku, 1985:32) Since the aim of the Chinese Women’s Anti-Aggression League was to reclaim Mainland China, its activities were usually associated with the military. For instance, members had to make clothing for troops and entertain soldiers in the military bases. They also provided services and employment training for women, such as offering courses in childcaring, typing and hairstyling.

The Women’s Department of the Central Committee was founded in 1953 to "direct the activities of women and to provide them with various kinds of assistance." (Women’s Department; Central Committee quote in Chiang and Ku, 1985:27) Led by Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the Women’s Department was determined to preserve feminine qualities in Taiwanese women by encouraging them to be "...loving mothers, obedient daughters-in-law, dedicated patriots and charity workers..." (Chiang and Ku, 1985:28) Their goals were to ensure that women were capable of tending to their domestic duties, as well as contributing to the family resources. Hence, the Women’s Department offered lessons on social etiquette, homemaking, handicrafts and sewing.

Aside from governmental organizations for women, a second major benefactor of women’s associations was the church. In 1967, they began to provide inexpensive housing for women, such as the Hua Teh Woman Dormitory which accommodated 1,000
female factory workers. These organizations also offered counselling services, including: Peace-line, Medical-line, Suicide Prevention Centre and Family Counselling Centre. (Chiang and Ku, 1985:33)

Although international organizations have a smaller membership as that of the state or the church, nevertheless, they still offer vital services and options for Taiwanese women. The International Women's Club, established in 1981, consisted of an elite circle of women who raised money for charity. In 1949, the YWCA first began to offer medical and household training for women. The Zonta Club has encouraged and supported women as participants in politics since 1963.

Women's groups underwent a remarkable transformation in the 1970s, when the pioneer of feminist ideologies and women's movements in Taiwan, Lu Hsiu-lien, introduced the concept of "New Feminism" to Taiwanese women. Holding a Master's degree in Comparative Law from the University of Illinois and credentials from Harvard University, she found fault with the submissive and subordinate roles of women in Taiwanese society. As a result, Lu began to promote "New Feminism", or in her own words, a "thought which emerged from the demand of society along with the tide of history; a belief that the prosperity and harmony of androgynous society shall be founded on the basis of substantial equality between men and women; and a power that will abolish the traditional prejudice against women, reconstruct a new and sensible value system,
create independence and dignity for women, and foster the realization of the true equality of the sexes." (Lu, 1991:347) It incorporated three basic principles: "be a person, then a man or woman, be what you are and let your potential be developed." (ibid) Lu spread her feminist beliefs through speeches and written articles in the *China Times* newspaper such as: "What is More Important, Life or Chastity?". Her initial attempts at forming a women's organization called the "Contemporary Women's Association" were rejected by the Social Bureau of Taipei City in 1972, but Lu continued to campaign for services which would benefit Taiwanese women. In 1976, she founded the Pioneer Press, which produced and distributed feminist reading materials, including her own books, *Their Tears, Their Sweats* and *Sex + Violence = Rape*. However, both of these books were banned by the Taiwan Garrison Command. She went on to establish a telephone counselling service named "For Your Protection", which was designed to help abused women. Lu's revolutionary tactics were met with resistance and revulsion; on December 10, 1979, she was jailed for "illegal campaign activities" (Chiang, 1985:40) and sentenced to twelve years of imprisonment. However, she inspired many other women, who continued Lu's quest in advocating for women's rights.

Following the footsteps of Lu, Lee Yuan-chen published the first feminist magazine in 1982, *Awakening* which was designed to: "...awaken women... support women...establish a
society where both sexes are equal and harmonious." (Wang, 1987:33) The articles in *Awakening* advocated women's legal rights and brought to attention unconventional subjects, such as sexual harassment. In 1987, the staff of *Awakening* began its initial active involvement with social problems. They linked with 32 different organizations to form the "anti-population trading". (Wang, 1987:34) This movement, designed to boycott teenage prostitution, successfully compelled police to take special action against the selling of sex. *Awakening* not only won the support of many women, but it also created ardent admirers out of those who were previously reluctant to associate with a feminist oriented organization.

Serving as a role model, *Awakening* inspired the establishment of various other women's organizations. In 1987, the Homemakers' Union and Foundation (HUF) began its crusade to combat environmental and social problems, promoting issues such as recycling, equal employment opportunities, and fighting against pornography, sexual abuse and prostitution. Boasting a membership of over 800, married housewives and working women form six committees which oversee different issues. They include: environmental protection, education, women's personal growth, publications, public relations and project development. They voice their concerns through rallies, lobbying and public addresses.

A similar organization is the New Environment Housewives Association, (NEHA) established in 1987 by Hsu Shen-shu. Its
400 members target environmental problems from the grassroots level, educating families to refrain from using environmentally hazardous products, such as plastic bags. NEHA does not limit their activities to solely environmental issues; its endeavours include female oriented issues with respect to population, culture, human rights, and international society.

Organized during the same time as HUF and NEHA were two other outspoken feminist groups, Taiwanese Women's Rescue Association which counselled child prostitutes and the Warm Life Association, which gave guidance to divorced women.

As for Lu Hsiu-lien, she continued her feminist activities after serving her sentence. In 1991, Lu established the National Organization for Women, designed to improve women’s economic and political ranking. To confront sexual harrassment, they publish information, as well as hold seminars to educate women. Lu was elected to the Legislative Yuan in 1992. Since 1994, she has presided over the Foreign Affairs Committee as co-chair and also directed the Global Summit of Women during February 1994 in Taipei.

Women's groups are evidently, a counterattack to the restrictions on women’s freedom in Taiwanese society. It means that Taiwanese women do not passively accept limitations on their freedom to pursue their interests, dreams and ambitions. They organize into interest groups, which would allow them to contest for their rights.
Media

Aside from the formation of women’s groups as an means of defiance against restrictions on freedom, women’s magazines, short fiction and contemporary novels, serve the purpose of promoting awareness for women’s rights. They provide information that would allow women to pursue their interests, which would otherwise be unattainable. Finally, they reveal women’s desires, hopes, fears and aspirations.

Women’s Magazines

Some of the most noted examples of women’s magazines in Taiwan include the noted feminist magazine, Funu Xinzhi or *Awakening*, and popular magazines such as Mademoiselle and Woman ABC. The latter two magazines are not classified as feminist works, but they still offer information that would benefit women with respect to improving their status and calling attention to their virtues.

Labelled as a radical magazine, *Awakening* is not an easily accessible magazine. However, it deals with matters that would "...awaken women...aid women...build an equal and harmonious society of the sexes." (Farris,1991:293) Hence, it addresses relationships between men and women, women’s capabilities and inner self-development.

*Mademoiselle* published its first monthly issue in 1966 for an intended audience of working women. During its circulation, it has changed to correspond with the changing roles of women in society. In the 1960s, working women were
mostly factory employees and Mademoiselle was designed to appeal to them. However, the current Mademoiselle has been modified in order to fit the ideal contemporary women. According to Chin Hui-chu, Mademoiselle's editor-in-chief, modern women are "...aged 20-30... independent thinkers with strong career goals...family bread-winners..." (Chin quote in Yun, 1987:39) Consequently, Mademoiselle publishes articles which not only answer to women’s concerns, but would also help women expand their horizons with columns such as "Female Viewpoint", "Intellectual Living", "Fashion" and "Art Activities". (Yun, 1987:39)

Woman ABC stands for "Assertive, Beautiful and Creative" and its aim is to help women upgrade their knowledge and improve self-perception. (Yun, 1987:41) For instance, Woman ABC highlights intellectual articles which feature environmental issues, Confucianism and relationships with children. (ibid)

Short Fiction

In addition to women’s magazines, another outlet for feminist ideas is in short fiction. Shih Shu-tuan (pen name for Li Ang) illustrates her feminist stance in "An Unmailed Love Letter" by claiming that: "...feminist consciousness is inevitably related to whether women are able to march toward the road of liberation. Only when women can pose questions, no longer believe that women’s fate is completely determined by physiological, psychological and economic situations...can
women take their first step..." (Shih quote in Chu, 1994:223)

Liao Hui-ying, the author of "Behind the Shadow" depicts her female characters in non-stereotypical roles. In the story, the female lead is an emotionally strong woman with a craving for independence and consequently, leaves her husband. In addition, she becomes sexually and morally liberated, by inviting her ex-husband to adopt her illegitimate child. (Chu, 1994:222)

Liu Wu-hsiung’s "A Sequel to 'I Love the Black Pupil'" illustrates the changes in women’s status. Her female character, Ch-ing-tzu, blossomed from a bashful salesgirl to an emotionally strong feminist who tells her ex-husband that she is: "...no longer a weak woman, nor a mere salesgirl who has to study the facial expressions of the boss..." because "...what men can do we women can also do." (Liu quote in Chu, 1994:223)

Contemporary Fiction Stories

In contemporary fiction, novels reproduce feminist themes with respect to economic independence, sexual liberation, self-interest and patriarchy.

Industrialization in Taiwan meant crucial changes for many women because they were able to improve their status and achieve economic independence. Women are no longer just involved in domestic chores because they have the ability and potential to do well outside the home. For instance, in Chiu Hsiu-chua’s The Strong Woman, the female leading character
fails academically, yet succeeds in business.

Often, stereotypes of women are challenged in novels, as "...the idea of gender as a cultural construction is brought up..." (Sung,1994:279) The apprehensions, yearnings, ambitions and anxieties of women are exposed. In the end, women come out of their ordeals as stronger and more powerful individuals, able to reverse the tables on their male antagonists. Liao Hui-ying depicts Ssu Ho in The Face of the Morning as a "strong woman" who rejects all typecasts of women, including dependency, submissiveness and sentimentalism. (Sung,1994:279) Ssu Ho holds a master's degree and is an economically independent business woman. A sterile woman in Yuan Ch‘iung-ch‘iung’s A Sky of One’s Own gets her revenge after her husband is unfaithful to her. She divorces him and begins to operate her own business, becoming eventually, economically self-sufficient.

Moreover, romantic love and conventional marriages are shunned by many authors. Women are victimized by male dominance in relationships. Therefore, "...women need to liberate themselves from the romantic illusion which proves fatal to their psychic and material well-being." (Sung,1994:282) In the novel Eleven Women, women are shown to be subordinates when they submit to romantic love and inevitably, male control. For instance, a wife is forced to support her family because her husband is financially incompetent. Another woman prostitutes in order to maintain her boyfriend's
gambling habit.

Patriarchy, commonly in the form of filial piety and "wifely conduct", (Sung, 1994:287) is attacked in novels. For instance, the competence of women is not solely defined by her ability to bear sons. In Yuan Ch’iung-chiung’s A Sky of One’s Own, a woman’s husband abandons her for his pregnant mistress because she cannot bear children. Despite this, she becomes economically self-sufficient and is avenged when she encounters her ex-husband again, while holding a friend’s male infant. Her ex-husband assumes the child is hers and is stricken because the second wife bore him two daughters. (Sung, 1994:287)

Conclusions

The emergence of women’s groups in Taiwan has given women an active voice in Taiwanese society. Their participation in these interest groups show that they do not submissively accept the limitations placed upon them by both men and women in society.

Women’s magazines, short fiction and contemporary novels are outlets for new ideas and promoting social issues which influence men and women. In short, they "...promot(e) and reflect... social awareness of women’s changing roles in society." (Farris, 1991:292) Magazines lend a helping hand to women’s interest groups because they offer information which would enrich and enhance women’s knowledge and current social status. In addition, they also address concerns of women.
Short fiction and novels acknowledge women's fears and concerns and at the same time, bring attention to circumstances that affect women negatively.

It is clear that women are making progress to realize their capabilities and do not passively accept limitations. Participation in women's associations combined with various media works which focus on the plight of women, are essential elements in the struggle for autonomy.
Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, the issue of concern involves Taiwanese women and the degree of their individual autonomy. The status of women in the patrilineal and patrilocal extended family, as well as in sim-pua marriages, was examined from pre-industrial to post-industrial Taiwan. As they were not permanent members of their natal family, the positions of daughters were inferior. The patrilineal and patrilocal family system dictated that after marriage, women belonged to their husband's family. Hence, since sons did not leave the family, they carried on the family name, inherited property and performed ancestral rites. This patriarchal structure created incentives for early marriage. Since daughters were to eventually leave the family, early marriage meant that they would use fewer of the family resources. In addition, it was also the grounds for high fertility, because one of women's main responsibilities were to produce children and especially, sons. Hence, the socialization process of daughters differed vastly from sons. Early in their lives, they learned to perform domestic chores and care for siblings. These responsibilities trained them to be a good daughter-in-law, wife and mother. However, sim-pua, or adopted daughters, received worse treatment because they usually enter a family during a tragedy, such as replacing a dead child or in the event the wife is sterile. In some cases, since they are not
true daughters, they are given the worst of chores in the household.

However, the emergence of industrialization began to erode the historical family system in Taiwan. Under Japanese control from 1895 to 1945, Taiwan’s role was to supply Japan with rice and sugar. Taiwan was also to be used as evidence that Japan was as competent as Western countries in the administration of its colonies. To prove this, Japan improved upon Taiwan’s existing infrastructure and human resources. Roads and railways were extended, telegraph lines were completed. Farming technology was introduced to farmers and farmers’ associations were created. Elementary schooling in Japanese was made compulsory and health care was improved. These endeavors had positive effects on Taiwan’s economy. Even Japan’s invasions on China and Southeast Asia benefitted the Taiwanese economy. Taiwan supplied goods for the warfare and increased its productivity and self-sufficiency.

As a Japanese colony, Taiwan flourished economically and socially because the Japanese created an infrastructure that encouraged economic development. Furthermore, improvement of human resources stimulated social development which in turn, had economic impacts because a healthy, literate population was more efficient. Taiwan was able to industrialize because of Japanese colonization.

After Japan’s abdication in 1945, Taiwan came under Chinese control. Despite a shaky transfer of power to an
politically unstable China, Taiwan survived because it had developed its agriculture sector and human resources under Japanese colonization. Progress did not ensue until 1949, when the KMT retreated to Taiwan, prompting the United States to offer financial aid for developing Taiwan’s economy. With U.S. aid, Taiwan’s industry sector thrived. When U.S. aid ceased in 1965, Taiwan established incentives to ensure the continuance of economic success by offering privileges such as tax reductions and cheap labor to overseas companies.

An outcome of industrialization was its effect on fertility behaviour. Using the assumptions by Lesthaeghe and Aries as a guide, industrialization is the leading cause of the demographic transition. As young women and men take advantage of employment opportunities, they delay marriage in order to work. The postponement of marriage is only one explanation for fertility decline. The introduction and acceptance of contraceptives also contributed to the lowering of fertility rates. In the Taiwanese case, the initiation of family planning programs was indirectly attributed to industrialization. The state feared that overpopulation would have devastating consequences for economic growth and therefore, encouraged population control. One of the most successful family planning programs was initiated in Taichung, but overall, contraceptives were readily accepted by Taiwanese men and women. Elements contributing to the popular acceptance of birth control products included the lack of
religious stigmas and the effects of urbanization. Women and their spouses could choose the number of desired children and were able to space births with the usage of contraceptives. For single women, delaying marriage meant simultaneously postponing or having fewer children and therefore, more time to pursue their interests. For instance, many attend college or university, travel, shop and enrol in courses of interest. Similarly, the options of having fewer children or spacing births, give couples, but especially women, more time to concentrate on their careers, support opera and other cultural activities, enrol in various courses, participate in religious activities, establish their own businesses, gamble, and exercise. Therefore, in Taiwan, industrialization invariably deteriorated the historical patrilineal and patrilocal family system. The extended family was replaced by the nuclear family. Women no longer married at an early age because they are working and able to contribute to the family resources. According to Lestheaghe and Aries, this is the first stage in the liberation process. In Taiwan, it has been fulfilled.

Fertility rates declined as contraceptives were readily accepted by Taiwanese couples. As couples had fewer children, they began to be more attentive to them. Industrialization created a society involving a complex division of labor. Since the family was no longer the economic unit of production and parents could not apprentice their children, they did the next best thing: provide children with the education to
survive in the developed economy. Hence, the second stage in the liberation process has also taken place in Taiwan, as children assume a "l’enfant-roi" (Lesthaeghe, 1983:413) stance. The concern over the quantity of children has been replaced by the quality of childcare.

Relieved from a fate of early marriage and childbearing, it appears that Taiwanese women are working towards achieving individual autonomy, or the third stage of the emancipation process, as described by Lesthaeghe and Aries. When single women are not concentrating on their jobs or working towards higher levels of education, they spend their leisure time on travelling, shopping and other activities for their own pleasures. Married women are able to space or delay childbearing with contraceptives, and therefore, at the liberty of pursuing careers or updating their skills. They also volunteer for community and social activities, become involved with women’s organizations and occupy themselves with the arts, music and dancing.

However, Lesthaeghe and Aries have not taken into consideration the antagonisms that women encounter from other men and women. In other words, women’s endeavours in Taiwan are met with opposition. They encounter hostility from others whose motives are to deter women from pursuing their interests, goals and objectives. In the workplace, women are not promoted to managerial or supervisory positions because it is believed that they will not stay within the company for a
long period of time, owing to the possibility of childbearing. Influenced by stereotypes of women, others discriminate because they question women’s competency. Moreover, women are often paid less than men, despite having equivalent skills and educational backgrounds.

Legally, women do not have access to equal rights and privileges. Divorces that were proceeded prior to 1985 meant women acquired custody of children only with the husband’s permission and even so, they do not get any alimony or child support.

Sometimes, the judge may not wish to terminate a marriage because Taiwan still emphasizes the importance of families. If a woman wishes to initiate divorce, she may find herself ordered to reunite with her husband because her situation was not insufferable enough for divorce. After divorce, women endure social wrath and humiliation from both men and women.

Hostility extends to politics for women in Taiwan. Few women involve themselves in the political scene, because they are not given important issues to deal with. Furthermore, the quota system is unfair to women and simultaneously, discourages women from running for office. Moreover, the reserved seats system does not include positions at the national level because officials are appointed instead of elected. There is the ongoing belief that women should concentrate on the family and household instead of directing their attention to outside matters, such as politics.
However, women do not succumb to such antagonisms. Instead, they battle for their rights and to eradicate inequalities in women's groups. The history of women's associations can be categorized into two periods, before and after the 1970 "New Feminism" movement led by Lu Hsiu-lien. The earlier women's organizations were mainly concerned with the welfare of women, in terms of their medical, education and household needs. Subsequent women's associations, dubbed "New Feminism" in the 1970s, directed their attention towards attaining women's rights and battling social problems. Women's magazines, short fiction and novels have also helped convey new ideas and recognition of changes in women's status.

Lesthaeghe and Aries have assumed that the emergence of industrialization will free individuals because reproductive activities and childcare will no longer be major issues in an individual's life. People are free to pursue their interests and reach their potentials. They do not take into account the hostility and resistance that may occur during the individual's strive to reach their capabilities. In this case, Taiwanese women encounter antagonism from men and women in society, yet they do not accept this. They feel that women are not passive beings. Instead, they contest the restrictions and stigmas placed on their social, political and economic objectives.

In conclusion, Taiwanese women have not yet achieved individual autonomy in accordance to Lesthaeghe and Aries'
definition of the liberation process because there is
resistance from others. However, they are in the midst of the
transition itself because they choose to contest this
opposition. Although women have not achieved complete
liberation, they are moving towards this goal by challenging
restrictions.
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