# Acting 'Otherwise'

*The Institutionalization of Women's/Gender Studies in Taiwan's Universities*

Peiying Chen

ROUTLEDGEFALMER STUDIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

*Edited by*

Philip G.Altbach

Monan Professor of Higher Education

Lynch School of Education, Boston College

*A ROUTLEDGEFALMER SERIES*

# ROUTLEDGEFALMER STUDIES IN HlGHER EDUCATION

PHILIP G.ALTBACH, *General Editor*

SCHOLARSHIP UNBOUND
*Assessing Service as Scholarship for Promotion and Tenure*
Kerry Ann O'Meara

BLACK STUDENT POLITICS
*Higher Education and Apartheid from SASO to SANSCO, 1968–1990*
Saleem Badat

RESOURCE ALLOCATION IN PRIVATE RESEARCH UNIVERSITIES
Daniel Rodas

A DREAM DEFERRED?
*Examining the Degree Aspirations of African-American and White College Students*
Deborah Faye Carter

STATE GOVERNMENTS AND RESEARCH UNIVERSITIES
*A Framework for a Renewed Partnership*
David J.Weerts

FEDERALISM AND LÄNDER AUTONOMY
*The Higher Education Policy Network in the Federal Republic of Germany*
Cesare Onestini

RESILIENT SPIRITS
*Disadvantaged Students Making it at an Elite University*
Latty Lee Goodwin

I PREFER TO TEACH
*An International Comparison of Faculty Preference for Teaching over Research*
James JF Forest

THE VIRTUAL DELIVERY AND VIRTUAL ORGANIZATION OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION
Daniel M.Carchidi

BARELY THERE, POWERFULLY PRESENT
*Thirty Years of U.S. Policy on International Higher Education*

Nancy L.Ruther

A CALL TO PURPOSE
*Mission Centered Change at Three Liberal Arts Colleges*
Matthew Hartley

A PROFILE OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE PROFESSORATE, 1975–2000
*Charles Outcalt*

POWER AND POLITICS IN UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE
*Organization and Change at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*
Imanol Ordorika

UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION SINCE PERESTROIKA
Olga B.Bain

THE CALL FOR DIVERSITY
*Pressure, Expectation, and Organizational Response in the Postsecondary Setting*
David J.Siegel

SCIENTIFIC COMMUNICATION IN AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES
*External Assistance and National Needs*
Damtew Teferra

PHILANTHROPISTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION
*Institutional, Biographical, and Religious Motivations for Giving*
Gregory L.Cascione

THE RISE AND FALL OF FU REN UNIVERSITY, BEIJING
*Catholic Higher Education in China*
John Shujie Chen

UNIVERSITY-INDUSTRY PARTNERSHIPS IN MIT, CAMBRIDGE, AND TOKYO
*Storytelling across Boundaries*
Sachi Hatakenaka

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND THE POLITICS OF CHANGE AT A WOMEN'S COLLEGE
*Jill Ker Conway at Smith, 1975–1985*
David A.Greene

# ACTING ‘OTHERWISE’

The Institutionalization of Women’s/Gender Studies in Taiwan’s Universities

*Peiying Chen*

ROUTLEDGEFALMER
NEW YORK & LONDON

Published in 2004 by RoutledgeFalmer 29 West 35th Street New York, NY 10001

RoutledgeFalmer is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group.
This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005.
"To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge's collection of thousands of eBooks please go to http://www.ebookstore.tandf.co.uk/."



**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data** Chen, Peiying, 1966– Acting 'Otherwise': The institutionalization of women's/gender studies in Taiwan's universities/Peiying Chen. p. cm.—(East Asia) Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 0-415-94859-2 (alk. paper) 1. Women's studies—Taiwan. 2. Feminism—Taiwan. I. Title. II. Series: East Asia (New York, N.Y.) HQ1181.T3C54 2004 305.4′07′051249–dc22 2003022408

ISBN 0-203-46378-1 Master e-book ISBN

ISBN 0-203-47179-2 (Adobe e-Reader Format)
ISBN 0-415-94859-2 (Print Edition)

# Contents

# Foreword

The environment of universities has changed perceptibly and steadily since the 1970s, when women's studies programs, and later gender studies programs, began to emerge in the academic world. These programs now exist in all regions of the world, functioning at a variety of levels, from undergraduate majors and minors on the subject, to graduate diplomas, to full-fledged Ph.D. degrees.

Feminist academics have made substantive contributions, redefining or expanding concepts of power, identity, patriarchy, family, sexual division of labor, domestic work, violence, control over one's bodies, sexuality, masculinities, femininities, and multiple oppression. They have also reframed such concepts as state, public policy, social movements, unwanted pregnancies, and violation within marriage. Methodologically, these programs have added finely detailed qualitative analyses such as those in testimonials, deconstruction, and case studies to the existing repertoire of methodologies in the social sciences.

Data for the U.S. indicate that by 1995 there were some 36,000 courses offered through women's and gender studies programs and about 600 undergraduate programs. There were, however, only 38 programs that offered master's degrees and fewer than 10 that offered doctoral degrees. The expansion of these programs has not been even, as the higher degrees are still very few in number. Women's studies programs are subversive of the social world through their analyses that question deeply engrained representations of human diversity and divisions of labor. These programs are subversive as well of the academic world, as they challenge the notion that disciplinary inquiry is either value-neutral or gender-neutral. Despite the many conceptual, theoretical, and methodological contributions made by women's studies and gender studies programs, these programs function in a contested terrain. While some progress that has been made in their expansion and legitimation, these programs receive a limited share of the university's budget, and often find themselves attached to and thus dependent upon other academic units.

Curiously, the examination of these programs within universities has been rather modest. We know little of their origins, evolution, conflicts, contributions, and current situation. They have been the objects of a few doctoral dissertations, only one of which attained publication in the form of a book (Gumport, 2002). The study by Peiying Chen represents the second book publication on the subject. The foresight of series editor Philip Altbach in accepting this book for publication is warmly recognized and deeply acknowledged.

This book is the product of a young scholar with extraordinary talent. It was my pleasure to serve as her program of studies and dissertation advisor. She was able to obtain very insightful data through qualitative research methods, enabling us to gain access to a crisp account that combines empirical facts within a clearly articulated analytical and theoretical frame. As the reader will realize, Peiying Chen is able to keep focused on a topic that may have many potential tangents.

The inception and evolution of the two women's studies programs in Taiwan, which are the object of Peiying Chen's research, show the influence of transnational contact and the exposure to ideas that permeate the feminist movements in many parts of our world. At the same time, her study shows the crucial accommodation of feminist responses to national context, a context that itself changes at different historical times. Building on Gumport's concept of "path finders," the study takes us through a vivid review of the women who initiated and conducted most of the work to secure the establishment of women's studies centers. We gain a glimpse of personal and family backgrounds, the impact of study abroad, the role of knowledge in one's identity development, and then the individual and collective actions that these women and some men have taken to make their ideas for a new field of study a reality in their respective universities.

Feminist academics in general have two choices for the expansion of gender-sensitive knowledge. They can attempt to influence as many courses as possible in the curriculum of the various departments that comprise the university or they can establish centers from which to act. These choices do not have to be dichotomous but in practice they have been. The first alternative, known as mainstreaming, has been found to face many problems of persuasion, alliance-building, and influence. The second alternative, institutionalization—creating one's own structures—has proven more amenable to academic change. The latter strategy, by the way, has also characterized feminist action outside the university, as demonstrated by the emergence and evolution of feminist NGOs in many parts of the world, notably in Latin America (Stromquist 2001, and forthcoming).

From Peiying Chen's account, it is clear that the acquisition of a clear identity functions as precursor to mobilizing and organizing activities. While this identity is itself subject to modification over time, there is a fundamental recognition of the inequality and subordination of women as a constant referent for seeing oneself and searching for others with similar views. Only a solidly founded identity seems able to move individuals toward the creation of structures to protect and strengthen such an identity. New allies will certainly emphasize varying and new angles, but the core idea shows great resilience.

The establishment of centers, with explicit missions, staff responsibilities, and (where possible) budget, is a subsequent task, one that calls for a great amount of patience, perseverance, negotiation, and confrontation. Again, we see how different cultural norms operate to shape what might be proper or effective in a particular circumstance. Strategies of action have commonalities such as the gaining of visibility and legitimacy, but evince variability in the degree of persistence and collision with dominant authorities in the university. Unquestionably, there is interplay between agency and structure, as feminist academics take individual and collective action, and as the institutions they create help them to attain their objectives and legitimatize their ideals.

The field of women's and gender studies is characterized by a growing complexity. While the initial focus on the reduction of inequalities between women and men has not disappeared and the equality goal is yet to be achieved, new concerns are being introduced regularly, thus increasing the plurality of gender issues. Today, they range from the inclusion of masculinity and masculinities to attention to gay/lesbian concerns, to deeper and variegated discussions of sexuality. The social construction of reality is being extended not only to the conceptualization of gender but to the conceptualization of sex and sexuality as well. Several North American scholars thus urge us to abandon the

"gender" concept and use instead the notions of masculinities and femininities. Paechter (2003), for instance, sees gender as performative, "an identity tenuously constructed through time, instituted in an external space through a stylized repetition of acts" (p. 69), which comes alive in "communities of practice." While "communities of practice" do sustain gender relations, perspectives that emphasize cultural and discursive engagements tend to minimize, and at times cast aside, the recognition of material and structural differences between women and men. This tension, also present in Taiwan (and documented in the shift from women-related curricula to feminist standpoint and performativity), is strong and unresolved in contemporary feminist studies.

It is important to notice that the "context" that influences feminist action in the university is not limited to forces linked to administrative, field of study, academic traditions and practices, and rivalry over resources. It comprises also macro-level, national contexts, as the existence of a totalitarian government and later the passage to a democracy. The potential negative relationship between nation-building ideology and social justice acquires a strong example in the case of Taiwan. It is sobering to realize how long and harsh times characterize what we now know to be one of the few newly industrialized countries.

Within the university, openness to feminist ideas has been slower and more modest than desired by many scholars in the social sciences and the humanities. In Taiwan and in most other countries the university continues to be patriarchal as it is led by men, has high-level administrative structures staffed mostly by men, and makes most of its major decisions following criteria that pretend to be gender-blind but that often simply maintain the status quo between men and women. Under those conditions, feminist agency is relegated to work from the margins, often taking advantage of whatever interstices in the structure become open to them. In the study of Taiwan, one key interstice became available when the government mandated 4–6 units of general education as a graduation requirement for all college students. A space that has also shown useful in Taiwan has been the linking of gender studies to national development. This is a country bent on modernization and the requirement of industrialization had to be heeded.

The study by Peiying Chen also documents how feminist work in the academic world takes many forms. The provision of specialized courses is undoubtedly the strongest mechanism for the dissemination of feminist knowledge and ideals, but many other tasks are essential. These include not only conducting research but also providing advice to students, participating in large and small conferences, establishing formal and informal networks.

Change in academic environments is possible even though it requires a high amount of risk-taking and persistence. Not many scholars are willing to pay this price; thus, relatively few assume a clear position vis-à-vis the study of gender. External forces fueled today by globalization are bringing both opportunities and challenges. Among developing countries, the diffusion of ideas and models of gender studies programs is quick and comprehensive. Frequent exchanges of faculty members are becoming the norm. Within industrialized countries, there seem to be more challenges than opportunities. As values of competition are increasingly endorsed by higher education institutions, most of them engaged in a race toward excellence, concerns for equity and social justice may be preempted. The response of feminist academics has proven to be creative and resilient. Peiying Chen's *Acting 'Otherwise': The Institutionalization of*

*Women's/Gender Studies in Taiwan's Universities* gives us hope that their strength will continue and grow.

**Nelly P.Stromquist**
**Rossier School of Education**
**University of Southern California**
**September 2003**

## REFERENCES

Gumport, Patricia. *Academic Pathfinders: Knowledge creation and feminist scholarship.* Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2002.

Paechter, Carrie. Masculinities and femininities as communities of practice. *Women's Studies International Forum,* vol. 26, no. 1, 2003, pp. 69–77.

Stromquist, Nelly. *Knowledge and power in feminist politics: The Experience of CIPAF*. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, manuscript, March 2001.

Stromquist, Nelly. *Knowledge and action in feminist organizations: Three case studies from Latin America*, forthcoming.

# Acknowledgments

This book is based on my doctoral dissertation. I want to express my deepest gratitude to the many people who have helped in so many ways to bring this research project to fruition. I am particularly grateful for the generous participation and support of the professors, students, and staff of the two research programs of women's studies in Taiwan at the core of this study. The assistance, candor, friendship, and life experiences feminist scholars, students, and activists have shared with me have been invaluable—both enlightening and heartwarming. Through their struggles, affections, reflections, and hopes regarding the advocacy of women's rights and the evo lution of women's/gender studies in Taiwan, I have learned about the creativity and strength of feminist values and action that underlie their commitments.

I am fortunate to have Professor Hsieh Hsiao-chin's generous ongoing support and guidance in broadening my understanding of women's studies and feminism in Taiwan and in reaching the other participants in this study. I am greatly indebted to my advisor Nelly P.Stromquist, who provided superb scholarly advice and extraordinary support throughout the entire dissertation process.

Special thanks to Joel Stocker, who has provided feedback, support, and invaluable editorial assistance during the final stages of my writing. I also want to thank my helpful friends Cathy Shibley, Sonya Choi, Willy Wong, Shelly Westebbe, Jeff Kealing, Kigan Chang, and Hong Chia-min, who have also provided editing assistance. In addition, I want to thank the Routledge editors, Kimberly Guinta and Robert Sims, who provided me essential assistance during the last stages of the book editing.

I also thank the Comparative and International Education Society's Gail P.Kelly Award Committee, chaired by Thomas Clayton, for choosing my dissertation as the Outstanding Dissertation for 2003. Special thanks to Nel-ly Stromquist, Estela Bensimon, and Philip Altbach, who encouraged me to publish and recommended this work to RoutledgeFalmer.

Finally, I want to thank my husband, Leemen Lee, who encouraged me throughout this journey. He provided intellectual insights in the preliminary development of this project. More importantly, his generous support in parenting our daughter, Helena, has kept our family life intact while I have juggled research work and family responsibilities. Special thanks to my family members, my mother Holly, my father Jia-hao, my grandmother Jieh-fang, and my two sisters Anna and Jen. They have taken good care of my daughter and me, and supported me over the entire course of my study. I could not have done it without them.

# Chapter One
# Introduction: Women's Studies Worldwide

The pursuit of women's studies in Taiwan is part of a global feminist project that seeks to promote women's rights and advocates knowledge claims for women. The emergence of women's studies at universities in Taiwan coincided with the women's movement of the 1980s, an era when many forces began to fight the suppression of civil rights in Taiwan. Women's movement activists and feminist scholars, whom I call *pathfinders*, played a central role in the struggle to establish women's studies in Taiwan. These forerunners, with little or no direct support from the international community, created their own paths for overcoming the enormous obstacles presented by the oppressive, patriarchal political system and academic institutions of Taiwan (Lee, 1986; Ku, 1989, 1996; Hsieh & Chang, 2004).

In any country, the formation of the field of women's studies has been replete with identity politics (hooks, 1984; Mohanty, 1988; Anzaldúa, 1990; de-Lauretis, 1990; Mohamad, 1994; Harding, 1996). The politics of difference is embedded in power relations that include, primarily, the social struggles between women and men, but extend to other social categories of class, ethnicity, sexuality, and nationality. The struggle to legitimize Taiwanese feminist scholarship has been a political one waged by the pathfinders of Taiwan. They, similar to what academic feminists in the west have done (Harding, 1987, 1996; Haraway, 1988; Boxer, 1998; Messer-Davison, 2002), have challenged the intellectual order of Taiwanese academic life, which has been entrenched in disciplinary boundaries and the western authority of positivist paradigms. Taiwanese feminists, similar to other "Third-World" scholars, have had to struggle with a Taiwanese nation-building ideology that has thwarted popular efforts to gain social justice and has pushed a masculine ethos of economic development that places science and technology above all other state priorities (Mohamad, 1994; Committee on Women's Studies in Asia, 1995; Miske, 1995; Hsieh, 1995). The evolution of the field of women's studies in Taiwan and elsewhere has involved the complex formation of individual and group identities and action, in addition to political desires and visions of social change, under particular social historical conditions and against certain structural forces (Gumport, 1987; Miske, 1995; Laslett & Thorne, 1997; Wang, 1997; Wang, 1999; Hsieh & Chang, 2004). As I see it, the evolution of women's studies is the result of a moving interplay between agency and structure.

The central aim of this study is to understand this interplay between feminist identity and action, and between action and structure. What initially sparked my inquiry was the realization that, despite our growing understanding of the evolutionary path of women's studies in academe (Gumport, 1987; McMartin, 1993; Miske, 1995), there remains a limited holistic understanding of the phenomenon of intellectual activism. This form of activism, it struck me, has been part of a complex process that, at its heart, involves a form of identity politics or politics of difference within a tangled interplay of feminist

networks, identities, scholarly interests, and strategies of action. And this collective interplay has had profound effects on the institutionalization of women's studies in academia.

To understand these issues more deeply, I researched the emergence and evolution of two pioneering women's studies programs in Taiwan. At the two Taiwanese universities where those programs were established, I researched the contextual meanings of individual and collective action and the strategies of action that feminist scholars have employed to initiate and successfully lay the groundwork for the institutionalization of women's studies. I argue that the form, scope, and degree of the institutionalization of women's studies and the legitimization of feminist scholarship can thus be understood as a result of individual and collective action. It is an interconnection between the formation of the identity-action of these pathfinders, and the advancement of structural changes in their struggles within and against the patriarchal systems and academic landscapes in Taiwan. In addition, in order to understand the intersection of local Taiwanese feminist action with this global emergent field of women's studies, I compare what has occurred in Taiwan to the situation in several other countries and suggest a more global view of the evolution of women's studies over the last few decades. In particular, because so many Taiwanese feminists have obtained advanced degrees from the United States, I focus on the process of the field's institution-alization in the United States as a comparative case at the national level. I believe that the local case of Taiwan confirms some general trends but also offers some tangible and poignant reminders of how the processes of intellectual activism and institutionalization differ from place to place, even within Taiwan.

## WOMEN'S/GENDER STUDIES WORLDWIDE

### *Definition*

The emergent field of women's studies is an umbrella term referring to the activities of teaching, learning, and intellectual inquiry which, on the one hand, may be conventional in all but their focus on women, or, on the other, may comprise innovative attempts to revise epistemology and methodology, create new categories of analysis, transform pedagogies, and restructure institutional practices and relations (Stromquist, 1999; Boxer, 1998). Furthermore, the women's studies has, over time, come to encompass a variety of feminist discourses. "Women's studies" now, for many, has an outdated ring to it in the light of the debates over identity politics and the politics of difference together with the emergence of newer fields and subfields in women's studies, and other subfields related to women's studies in the major disciplines of the social sciences and humanities (e.g., gender studies, feminist studies, female studies, sex and gender studies, and courses in masculinity and femininity (Gamport, 1987; Boxer, 1999). In order to evoke these more recent developments, in this study I at times use the term women's studies, and at other times I use the term gender studies. The ways in which women's and gender studies differ or overlap should become clear over the course of reading the study, as should their locations in the debates on the future of these fields and the other closely related fields and subfields.

### *The Leftward Legacy*

In its emergence as a field of study, women's studies has been inspired and influenced by the political and intellectual ferment of the 1960s and 1970s, which took place largely in western countries (Gumport, 1987; McMartin, 1993; Robinson, 1997). In fact, women's studies is often seen as the intellectual arm of the women's movement that emerged in that era (Henriquez, 1996; Levin, 1996; Stromquist, 1999; Boxer, 1998). This movement called for social justice to end women's subordination and exploitation in patriarchal and capitalist societies (Warwick & Auchmuty, 1995; Pedersen, 1996; Robinson, 1997; Boxer, 1998).[1] The political impulse of the women's studies field is manifested in a yearning to produce a body of knowledge about, for, and by women.[2] This quest for women's knowledge has thus contributed to a substantively growing body of women's studies literature supported by interdisciplinary research on a variety of women-related topics that borrows ideas from or integrates the different frameworks of traditional disciplines.[3]

### *Emergence and Growth*

Women's studies had its beginning in teaching courses initiated by academicians in the mid-1960s and early 1970s in western countries (Robinson, 1997). In the United States, the first women's studies course appeared at the Free University of Seattle in 1965, influenced by and affiliated with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (Stromquist, 2001). San Diego State University initiated the first integrated women's studies program in 1970, and granted the program full-fledged departmental status in the late 1970s (Boxer, 1998; Stromquist, 1999, 2001). In New Zealand, the first course in women's studies was taught at the University of Waikato in 1973 (Ritchie, 1994). In Western Europe, most women's studies departments emerged in the 1980s, and in Eastern Europe, the 1990s. Similar programs appeared in Latin America in the mid-1980s and a few years later in African and Asian countries (Stromquist, 2001).

Women's studies research centers appeared in an institutionalized form in 1974. Both Stanford University and Wellesley College founded centers of research on women that year, with significant support from the Ford Foundation. These two universities became models to be followed by other universities in the United States and in other countries as well (Chamberlain, 1994). A few research centers have been supported and maintained by grants and donations from foundations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and international organizations.[4] For Example, in the case of Taiwan, three pioneering research centers of women's studies were initially funded by the Asia Foundation (Hsieh, 1994). In another instance, women's research centers and programs such as the Women's Studies Center and the Center for Population Studies were established within domestic NGOs in Argentina at the time of the dictatorship there in the late 1970s.[5]

Some women's studies programs and centers of research on women evolved into departments of women's studies. For example, in Korea, Ewha Womans *[sic]* University established the Korean Women's Institute in 1977, upgraded it to a department in 1982, and started to grant PhDs in 1997 (Hyoung, 1995; Chang, 1996). Some universities began to offer a master's or doctoral degree in women's studies that was designated as a specialization of women's studies within a traditional discipline. In Germany and the Netherlands, for instance, master's degrees in women's studies have been offered mostly

by departments in the social sciences or the humanities (Levin, 1996; Jansen, 1996). In many developing countries, research programs or centers were often established as an early form of women's studies, as in the cases of Taiwan (Hsieh & Chang, 2004) and Thailand (Miske, 1995). These research centers usually acted as important agents in the creation of women's studies courses and programs, in coordinating seminars and conferences on women, and in diffusing women's studies to other institutions.

## INSTITUTIONALIZATION

As we have seen, women's studies courses and programs began to proliferate soon after the first ones were initiated in the mid-1960s. The rapid expansion of women's studies around the world has been accompanied by the process of institutionalizing the new field.[6] The notion of institutionalization in this study refers mainly to the process of formalizing women's studies as an integral part of academic institutions. The process has involved differing degrees of departmentalization, intellectualization, and professionalization of the field relative to access to departmental resources, power, rewards, and recognition, and "boundary work" legitimizing the field in academia (McMartin, 1993; Klein, 1996; Messer-Davidow, 2002). Boundary work comprises a set of "claims, activities, and institutional structures that define and protect knowledge practices" (Klein, 1996, p. 1). As legitimacy and authority are attached to a new field of study, ranking systems are created and a knowledge hierarchy is constructed. I measure the degree of institutionalization primarily based on the differences in the structural forms of women's studies. I define those differences in terms of whether or not a women's studies entity operates in the form of administrative units, and the degree to which it is recognized by the surrounding academic and bureaucratic environment. The more that an emergent field's inroads are structurally recognized by the academic and bureaucratic authorities of powerful organizations, the higher the degree of institutionalization.

In the case of the United States, Boxer (1998) points out that structural formation within any given institutional setting usually starts with lesser degrees of institutionalization: courses, a program, or a research center, all to a certain degree formally recognized in academia. Courses in women's studies, with varying degrees of formalization, range from a set of courses mainstreamed into the core curricula of undergraduate education, to an integrated program with gender-related courses listed in a university catalog or as a major or minor concentration with a certificate. As an administrative unit, a women's studies program commonly will have a director, a formal space, staff, and a regular budget shared jointly with other departments. The programs are usually cross-listed and their lecturers or faculty have joint appointments with other departments. As a women's studies entity becomes further institutionalized in a certain place, it may attain a departmental status and larger budget allocations, which would lead to more autonomy and recognition, including the ability to hire its own staff and faculty and the granting of degrees. The departmental status of women's studies is its most institutionalized form, which brings with it the formal recognition that it is a fully established academic discipline (McMartin, 1993; Boxer, 1998, Stromquist, 2001).[8]

## FUTURE CHALLENGES

Similarities can be seen from nation to nation in campus-based women's studies and research centers. For one thing, most of the initiators of women's studies have been young academics willing to work overtime to teach women's studies courses in addition to their regular teaching load (Ritchie, 1994; Woodward, 1994). Second, most women's studies and research centers have lacked funding, formal budgets, and institutional support (Hsieh, 1994; Hatton, 1994). Third, despite the fact that women's studies has proliferated for over two decades, its status continues to be marginalized in universities.[9] Women's studies has existed as a "shadow structure," a vulnerable and neglected academic margin when compared to the highly visible "surface structure" of the traditional disciplines in academe (Lemert, 1990, cited in Klein, 1996). Perhaps not unexpectedly, the surface structures that feminist scholars have sought to transform have influentially shaped the development of women's studies (Messer-Davidow, 2002). Finally, there is an important debate and dilemma in and between nations about whether or not the institutionalization of women's studies—as a fusion of political and academic work, and as an autonomous unit at universities—better sustains the development of women's studies than would the incorporation of women's studies into traditional disciplines as a purely academic subfield (Rosenfelt, 1994; Levin, 1996; Jansen, 1996; Boxer, 1998).

The fusion of activist and academic goals has brought about critiques of the supposedly non- or anti-intellectual mission of a women's studies which would favor the pursuit of political aims that are not valued by academic rewards systems or among academic members of the traditional disciplines. In the United States, some feminist scholars have reconceptualized the metaphor of the "intellectual arm of the women's movement" after four decades of collective struggle and unsatisfying achievements. They doubt that women's studies can become intellectually sound and politically powerful through a fusion of academics and activism (Brown, 1997).

The debate over institutional strategies, that is, over pursuing an autonomous vs. an integrative construct between women's studies and other disciplines, reflects the difficult position of women's studies in general due to its shadow status. Witness, for instance, the "double-track policy" that has been used in Dutch universities to carefully balance between the incorporation and the independence of women's studies and to make the best use of both for the sake of survival (Jansen, 1996). On the one hand, there are a few academics who have successfully integrated women's studies into their respective disciplines, even though their courses more than likely will disappear after they leave their present institutions. Such invaluable contributions to women's studies will quickly fade if there is no ongoing impetus to sustain women's studies in individual departments. On the other hand, an autonomous unit usually confronts the difficulty of retaining a proportion of students sufficient enough to keep the unit alive and viable. Most students prefer combining women's studies as a concentration, a minor, or a double major within traditional disciplines, all of which count toward obtaining a more established and what is commonly perceived to be a more "practical" degree.

Consequently, the process of institutionalization has twofold significance. Despite the fact that women's studies in many countries remains a shadow structure, it ultimately signifies the achievement of a worldwide project of intellectual activism mostly made up

of women academicians whom, had they been born a century or two earlier, most likely would not even have been able to go to college. Nevertheless, the debate over institutionalization has trapped women's studies in a dilemma whereby it finds its home everywhere, but nowhere a real home. The future challenges now facing women's studies are thus tied to the collective performance of feminist scholarship and globally diverse efforts to become more institutionalized in the academy. Through such efforts, it will either become more of a central force in academe by marketing itself into the mainstream, or gradually be phased out due to weak marketability or due to political hostility toward it in and outside of the academy.

As I have touched upon already, the feminist scholarship and commentary on the rise of women's studies has shown that the variation in organizational responses to the field reflects the confrontational nature of the emergence of women's studies scholarship worldwide. Its alternative ways of producing and transmitting knowledge have challenged institutional rules and norms, and transformed structural and ideological practices in different countries. Despite its diversity and complexity, one common theme is discernible in the relationship between women's studies scholars' actions, on the one hand, and institutional responses to them, on the other. The challenge taken up by this study is a theoretical inquiry into the interplay between social actors and social structure. This interplay has had an effect on the patterns and degree of formalization of this emerging field, as displayed in the field's process of institutionalization.

## THE CASE OF TAIWAN

The first women's research center in Taiwan, the Women's Research Program (WRP), was established at National Taiwan University in 1985, prior to the lifting of martial law. It was associated with the awakening of women scholars. Financial support came from the Asia Foundation (Chiang, 1995). The founders of the WRP were highly educated women who had pursued their graduate education abroad, most commonly in the United States or a European country. They successfully made contacts with international NGOs that provided financial support in the early years of the center's operation. Most of these women were influenced by the international and certain national women's movements as well as western feminist thought, while they, nevertheless, may have had only weak ties to local women's movement in Taiwan. Their feminist political and personal awakening motivated them to start formal academic women's studies communities even within the hostile political climate of the era.

The model of the WRP was then duplicated by two other women's studies centers in 1989 and 1992. The founders of the three research centers faced many challenges. They existed on shoestring budgets and within very loose structures, enjoying little financial or social support from the universities. But they gradually made progress in promoting feminist studies. By 1999, the number of research centers increased to eight. By 2003, four master's degree programs had been established on four different campuses (see Appendix C). Moreover, Taiwan's two prestigious national research institutions, Academia Sinica and National Science Council, began to fund women's studies in the 1990s. As a result, the field has emerged as a legitimate subfield eligible for national research grants.

In addition to the presence of the research centers on campuses, in the mid-1980s a number of women's movement activists and women scholars began teaching gender courses in their departments or in general education. Some employed team-teaching to cover a wide range of women's studies issues. Between 1985 and 1992, courses pertaining to women in universities totaled over 300, but 70 percent of these focused on politically safe topics, such as family and marriage, family planning, nursing, and women's health. After 1992, courses related to feminist theories gradually increased in number and began to show sizeable student enrollment numbers (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).

Women's studies is steadfastly advocated by the Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association (TFSA). The Association was formed in 1993 by a caucus group of feminists across campuses to integrate scholarly interests with political impulse. It soon became an empowering network for feminist scholars who sought emotional, social, and intellectual support for doing alternative research and feminist teaching in Taiwan's universities. The goal of the TFSA is to fuse theory with practice, and research with the women's movement (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).

Although for roughly two decades the growth of women's studies in Taiwan lagged behind its development in western countries, in recent years Taiwanese women's studies scholars have accelerated the pace of institutionalization and succeeded in gaining greater recognition (Ku, 1996; Hsieh & Chang, 2004). Their accomplishments in this regards have been quite impressive, yet institutional changes in gender equity and the receptivity to feminism remain neither exhilarating nor even satisfying. Many feminist scholars in Taiwan still feel the need to strengthen the field by broadening the feminist epistemic network, which would consolidate feminist action as well as feminist knowledge in Taiwanese academia.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

My study of women's and gender studies involves two strands of theoretical inquiry. One is the inquiry into the phenomenon of institutionalization from a sociology of knowledge perspective. The other is the sociological dialectic between agency and structure. This study's analysis of its first topic, women's studies in Taiwan, contributes to the overall understanding of how the field itself has emerged in Taiwan's socio-political context and brought significant changes to the landscape of higher education. The Taiwanese case demonstrates that the institutionalization of women's studies can succeed in tangible, meaningful ways through committed intellectual activism, even if that success originates at the margins of academic legitimacy and must involve a complex crossing back and forth between social activism in academic circles, one's personal life, and broader public life. In short, the bottom-up action and social networks of feminist scholars have been instrumental to the creation and formalization of women's studies in Taiwan. Indeed, the political nature of the field suggests a correlation between knowledge production in women's studies and larger social interests. It is apparent that the strengthening of the institutional legitimacy of feminist scholarship in Taiwan has paralleled the advancement of women's rights in Taiwanese society. The nascent field has emerged to make the invisible visible in universities and societies, by reconstructing bodies of knowledge and women's subjectivities. This set of circumstances naturally places women's studies at the

center of enduring tensions and conflicts within and between universities and larger society. At any given period of time, institutionalization thus denotes both the macro-level of the contemporary receptivity of women's rights movements in a society, as well as the micro-level of the struggles of feminist scholars' advancing women's studies in universities.

The second topic of this study is the age-old philosophical puzzle of the dialectical relationship between structure and agency. In concrete terms, I seek to understand the people who have been involved in building up women's studies, and why they have sought, and in what ways they have made possible the evolution, dissemination, and advancement of this field. I acknowledge the habitual practices that exist and are regulated by structure and power relations, within and against which, however, pathfinders or agents of social change have been able to make a difference as pioneers of the field. With this particular concern in mind, I have chosen a micro-foundational approach to disclose the meanings and patterns of the work and efforts made by the feminist scholars defined as pathfinders in this study.

## FEMINIST SCHOLARS AS PATHFINDERS

The social position of feminist scholars is both relatively advantaged and disadvantaged as a group in societies. They are, on the one hand, advantaged in the way that their academic profession renders them the skills and knowledge necessary to access resources, enjoy privilege, and obtain upward social mobility. They are, on the other hand, disadvantaged compared to their male colleagues, because they work in gender-biased institutions where they are commonly thwarted in their attempts to build a successful career. The academic position, conflated with entrenched, institutionalized gender relations, locates feminist scholars in a privileged but less powerful position relative to other members of the new middle class. The new middle class, defined by Melucci (1988), is the most powerful group among the groups participating social movement, such as marginal middle-class housewives and laborers. Feminist scholars are professionals with a higher educational status and relatively secure lives. They know how to access information and knowledge that are important for giving expression to, and possibly questioning, social norms and galvanizing available resources for action. These capacities are important to feminist scholars in defining and negotiating their identity, and in gaining access to resources that enable them to build networks and group identity. Yet, feminist scholars also represent a minority group marginalized by their gender in the academic labor market. On the bright side, the degree of exclusion and their relative deprivation in academic contexts can be used as sources of cognitive framing or emotional investment for networking and collective identity building (Gamson, 1995; Taylor & Whittier, 1995).

Feminist intellectuals, by this definition, are pathfinders who constitute their consciousness and collective identity through social interaction. As they decide to take a feminist standpoint, they politicize their values, beliefs, and interests as they reconstruct feminist subjectivity and change women's status in academic contexts and society. In this sense, their struggle is both personal and collective. Although feminist identity is constituted by different viewpoints and ideologies, their field of action is held in

common. They appropriate their knowledge and professional positions, ideally, to generate counter-hegemonic practices—that is, alternative ways of asking questions, doing research, engendering knowledge, and transmitting knowledge. These alternative ways have twofold significance. First, although most of the time alternative ways of teaching and researching are practiced by isolated individual scholars, their intellectual interests and motivation to teach, volunteer, and continue pursuing feminist agendas are more often than not developed through feminist networking. These ongoing, sometimes isolated activities thus have an impact on the formation of collective identity—they are collectively meaningful. Second, I view the institutionalization of women's studies as an accomplishment that is gained through collective endeavor through intellectual activism. The results of collective projects manifest themselves in both the degree and the scope of the change seen in conventional disciplines and in the institutionalization process and the legitimation of women's studies in academia.

## METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES

Examining feminist identity formation is the key to understanding how particular individual scholars have become pathfinders. They have applied strategies of action to construct alternative ways of teaching and research, and fought to institutionalize women's studies in Taiwan. I developed guiding questions that for analytical purposes can be separated into four themes: (1) the formation of feminist identity, (2) the feminist practices of teaching and research in the context of the institutionalization of women's studies (3) strategies of action, and (4) interaction among the above factors. The guiding research questions and interview protocol are attached in Appendix A.

I employed a multi-case research strategy, with open-ended interviewing as the primary qualitative research device, to investigate the emergence and institutionalization of women's studies at the two universities with the longest histories of women's studies research centers in Taiwan. The pseudonyms I use for these two institutions are Yushan University and Formosa University. The evolution of women's studies at these two universities has paralleled the political transitions that have occurred in Taiwanese society since 1987, when the government began to become less authoritarian. The shift in socioeconomic structural opportunities and the political climate appears to have had a dynamic influence on the formation of the feminist self-identities, networking, and strategies of action that were utilized to promote feminist teaching and research, and to institutionalize women's studies in each institution.

I interviewed thirty-five academicians for this study. The participants can be divided into two types of people. The first type numbered thirty-one out of the total of thirty-five participants and consisted of active feminist scholars and practitioners (current and former directors, staff, and faculty) from the women's studies research centers at the two selected Taiwanese universities and from centers at other universities. Seven of these thirty-one people were male academicians. Although two of these seven men were from universities other than the two selected institutions, I included them in this study because they were important pioneers of women's studies in the 1980s and 1990s. The second type numbered four out of the total of thirty-five participants and consisted of officials from the government and an NGO: three current officers in the Ministry of Education and

one former staff member from the Asia Foundation. The average interview lasted about one and a half hours, but the length of interviews ranged from thirty minutes to six hours. The longest, a six-hour interview, was conducted in the course of two meetings with the participant.

I divided the thirty-one participants who were the first type people into two generations. The year of 1994 has been intentionally selected as the dividing point between the two generations in order to reflect the changes in structural opportunities at that time due to the decline in postsecondary institutions' control over curriculum that resulted from the enactment of a new version of the University Law in that year. Moreover, 1994 was one year after the establishment of the Taiwan Feminist Scholars Association (TFSA), the first and, even now, the only professional organization declaring itself to be a feminist scholar organization. Nineteen of the thirty-one feminist pathfinders I interviewed were hired by the universities prior to 1994 and can be defined as the first generation of pathfinders. The remaining twelve scholars were what I call the second generation of pathfinders, hired on or after 1994.

In addition to interview tapes and transcriptions from research participants, I also sought other sources of data, particularly those relevant to the institutional contexts of Taiwan's universities and educational systems, and to the evolution of women's studies in postsecondary institutions in Taiwan. My research method consisted of making field notes based on the observation of sites and participating in a conference and one workshop held by the TFSA, both of which promoted my understanding of the important current issues related to women's studies. Furthermore, I talked informally to three staff members in the two research centers and consequently managed to better grasp the functioning of the organizations and to triangulate with other interviewees' narratives. I regularly read the messages posted by the email listserv of the TFSA. Although those discussions would not become citation sources, they contributed to my overall understanding of the functioning of the network, the formation of discourses, and the framing of identity and startegies within the organization.

I largely relied in on printed data to cross chack and to compose a larger picture of Tiwan's acdemic contests and society. I collected and read documents and archivs of the relevent women's studies centers and universities. Some were available in print and others were retrievable from Web sites. The data included curriculum and programs of women's studies, faculaty curriculum vitae, nubmers of students, evaluations, budgeting, meeting notes, and memos. Publacation were important sources, too. They included organizationl newsletters and magazines, and the jorunal articles, books, and theses of femimist academicians, graduate students, and reserch centers.

## OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

The study is presented in eight chaprers. Chapter 1 introduces the emergence of women's studies worldwide, including Taiwan, discusses the singnificance of the study, and depicts the methodology and data sources of this study. Chapter 2 contains two parts. The first section dicusses the emergence of fiminist scholarship and compares and contrasts the key research approaches that have been employed to study this phenomenon. The second patr introduces a mirco-foundationl apparch, proposed to grasp both the dynamic

relationship between structureand action and the political nature of the institutionlization of women's studies in postsecondary institutions. This micro-foundationl anlaysis of the pathfinders is based on a set of concepts: consciousness, identity, and action. Chapter 3 provides relevent historical background on Taiwanese society. This chapter illustraates the larger context and the particular settings of higher educationl in which Tiwanese women's studies has emerged and developed. Chapter 4 dicussesthe process of the "awakening" of the pathfinders and, consequently, of women's studies in Taiwan. I depict the experiences and perceptions of the pathfinders, who share their life histories and certain moments of awakening that moved them toward engaging in women's studies or shifted their scholarly interest from traditional disciplines to feminism.

Chapter 5 describes and analyzes a case study involving "Yushan University" (a pseudonym), where certain pathfinders formed the first research program of women's studies in Taiwan and, ever since, have struggled to survive, maintain, and elevate women's studies at the university. Chapter 6 introduces another case study of the institutionalization of gender studies, this time at "Formosa University" (a pseudonym). In this chapter, I also discuss the identity politics embedded in men doing women's studies and the tensions between women's studies and sexual liberationist ideologies, and between activism and academic life. In Chapter 7, I contrast the pathfinders' strategies of action at the two universities in the context of the institutionalization of women's and gender studies. Finally, Chapter 8 offers a summary of, and concludes, the whole study.

# Chapter Two
# Literature Review and a Micro-Foundational Approach

This chapter has two parts. The first part reviews the literature on the emergence of feminist scholarship, and compares and contrasts the key research approaches that have been employed to study this phenomenon. The second part introduces a micro-foundational approach that will be used in the coming chapters to explore feminist scholars' intellectual activism, which, as we will see, builds a bridge between micro-action and structural change.

The purpose of the first part is to discuss in the context of the emergence of women's studies the dialectic between women's subordination and women as change agents. It contains two themes: institutional sexism and intellectual activism. On the theme of institutional sexism, I introduce and discuss the feminist analyses of institutions that have attempted to unveil the relationship between gender and power embedded in practices of institutional sexism. I then examine the notion that the conjunction of knowledge-power acts to mystify the gender-neutral practices of institutions and to maintain status-quo gender relations in organizations. Based upon this critical theory, I describe and interpret the social construction of women as the second sex in society in general, and in academe in particular. The literature covered in this chapter shows how the alienated experiences of women in academe reflect women's complex status as subordinated outsiders within the knowledge production enterprise.

On the theme of intellectual activism, I highlight the dialectical relation between institutional sexism and feminist activism. It is against institutional sexism that feminists have desired to reinvent women's subjectivity through doing women's studies and through un-doing gender bias in academe. In order to grasp this move toward organizational empowerment, I introduce Bourdieu's notions of "field" and four forms of capital (economic, social, cultural, and symbolic). In addition, I employ three interconnected approaches—the first organizational approach, the second on knowledge production, and the third agency-centered perspective—to display the varying dimensions of the interplay between contextualized feminist action and the evolution of women's studies.

I also compare and contrast three comprehensive studies on the evolution of women's studies and feminist scholarship. The findings of those studies all point to one fact: feminist networking is one of the most important components of intellectual activism. I conclude by pointing out how certain strategies have been, and continue to be, important in maintaining and pro moting women's studies and in strengthening the institutionalization of the field.

In the second part of this chapter, I introduce a micro-foundational approach informed by three main concepts: consciousness, identity, and strategies of action. These concepts

are crucial to understanding the role of pathfinders in the intellectual activism that has led to the institutionalization of women's studies in academia. Furthermore, to make this approach applicable to the Taiwanese context, I reshape the main concepts of a micro-foundation—the centrality of feminist identity and perception of opportunities—from the data analysis of this study. I develop these two concepts to explore the relationship between the social contexts and feminist identity-action within which Taiwanese feminist activism can be located.

## PART I: A LITERATURE REVIEW OF WOMEN'S STUDIES

### *Institutional Sexistn*

#### *Women as Subordinate in Academe*

The academic literature on postsecondary institutions emphasizes, for the most part, academic structures, student lives, governance, leadership, management, reward systems, and organizational productivity (Blau, 1973; Birnbaum, 1988; Rudolph, 1990). This kind of research traditionally applies functionalist organizational theories to the study of postsecondary educational institutions as organizations or systems. In addition to an organizational or systemic approach, a growing body of work has applied a cultural analysis to higher education by looking at how people in institutions construct social reality through their interactions and interpretations (Smircich, 1983; Tierney, 1988). Basically, there are two lines of thought in the cultural analysis of organizations: functionalist and critical paradigms. The former emphasizes culture as the social or normative glue that holds academia together (Smircich, 1983). In its applied form, it seeks to decrease conflict, provide stability, and a sense of community (Masland, 1985). The latter accentuates how, for instance, faculty members' perception of academic settings leads them to construct identities and academic networks that may cut across departments, disciplines, and institutions (Gumport, 1991). This approach suggests the existence of ongoing conflict and disintegration in academia (Swidler, 1986), which I discuss later in the "women as agency" section.

Aligned with critical perspectives, feminist research in academe initially described and analyzed women's experiences of the discrimination and gendered social constraints embedded in organizational contexts which, in many respects, have blocked women academics from pursuing their professional ambitions (Simeone, 1987; Tokarczyk & Fay, 1993; Enos, 1996; Glazer-Raymo, 1999). Those organizational contexts include social practices and interpersonal relationships as well as institutional structures and norms. In critical thinking, organizational practices are defined as the organizational missions, rules, procedures, and power relations that are gendered and thus put women at a disadvantage in their access to resources and power; interpersonal relationships are constituted by the gendered roles and practices inherent in culture, traditions, symbolic values, language, and sexuality. These socio-cultural norms and practices are embodied in the communication and interaction that occur among members.[1]

Critical organizational studies have revealed several key factors that account for the disadvantages women face as a group on campuses. In terms of structural practices, these

factors include the rules of faculty recruitment, reward, promotion, productivity, as well as norms that do not take into account women's life cycles and their often double loads of work and family, all of which tend to limit women's choices and keep them from realizing their potential, such as aspiring to a promising career (Astin & Davis, 1993; Sagaria, 1993; Bensimon & Marshall, 1997; Howe, 2000; Messer-Davidow, 2002). The gender segregation seen in fields of academic study, jobs, and power positions results from and reinforces the structural constraints that are based on practices of gender differentiation. The gendered practices, in turn, legitimize the sexual division of labor entailed in gender stratification, and naturalize the split of public and private spheres that is deeply ingrained in the structural and normative functioning of institutions (Smith, 1988; Acker, 1990; Hsieh, 1995; Hsu, 1995; Calas & Smircich, 1996).

Gendered practices can also be observed at an interpersonal level and characterized as "micro-inequities" (Sandler, 1993). They refer to seemingly "trivial" or "unimportant" behaviors that often go unnoticed. Micro-inequities happen in the ways in which, as Sandler puts it, "individuals are singled out, or overlooked, ignored, or otherwise discounted on the basis of unchangeable characteristics such as sex, race, or age" (p. 177). In this way, individuals are not treated as persons, but, rather, as a group category for which their membership is largely ascribed.

For example, a number of studies reveal that women's abilities are more likely to be questioned, subjected to scrutiny, and ignored than are men's. Female faculty members thus have to work harder to be successful, or end up stuck in low-ranking and unstable teaching positions. At social gatherings, female professionals are usually found talking to male professors' wives while the male professors talk to one another. This phenomenon reflects an exclusive climate of "old boys' networks" in professional life. Important opportunities for the exchange of information regarding departmental and professional matters commonly occur in informal and formal gatherings where men are predominant and women are excluded. It then puts women in the position of having less access to important information that would provide them with opportunities to advance their career (Simeone, 1987; Glazer et al. 1993; Tokarczyk & Fay, 1993; Hsu, 1995; Howe, 2000; Messer-Davidow, 2002).

### *Women as the "Outsiders Within"*[2]

Gender inequality is not only rooted in institutional practices, but also legitimized by the gendered nature and practices of knowledge production. Along with the birth and regulation of modern institutions, gender systems and gender codes have been produced and entrenched in structures and practices of bureaucracies and knowledge production. The successful work of the knowledge-power conjunction, as feminists argue (Smith, 1988, 1990; Acker, 1990; Harding, 1996), helps to legitimize so-called gender-neutral institutional practices and to normalize an organizational logic of institutions that veils the ways in which the gender relations subordinate women as a group.

The conjunction of power and knowledge is thoroughly examined in Foucault's (1977, 1980, 1994) work and Smith's (1988) sociology for women.[3] Both post-structuralist and feminist critiques have pointed to the fact that the social construction of knowledge takes place through discourses carried out within a particular historical time and in a particular culture (Haraway, 1988; Smith, 1988; Lennon, 1995). Even though knowledge is partial,

historically the powerful have manufactured social forms of consciousness to maintain a consensus that favors themselves and constrains marginal groups such as women, people of color, and the lower classes from fully participating in the production of knowledge by which they can express their own experiences and claim their own identities.

One of the most salient features of knowledge-power relations is the masculinity embedded in bodies of knowledge (Bernstein, 1975; Smith, 1988; Lennon, 1995). It results from women as a group being almost totally excluded from participation in the production of knowledge over the centuries. In fact, women were unable to gain access to higher education until the mid-19th century (Solomon, 1985). Although the increase in the enrollment of women in higher education is notable in the 20th century, their participation remains within marked boundaries (Smith, 1975; Acker, 1994). Men act as gatekeepers who primarily decide the legitimacy of knowledge-claims and the parameters of study, defining what will be significant, problematic, reasonable, and researchable (Spender, 1981).

As de Beauvoir (1989) inspiringly and precisely stated, "[r]epresentation of the world…is the work of men…[,] which they confuse with absolute truth… For if woman is not the only Other, it remains none the less true that she is always defined as the Other" (p. 143). That Otherness is manifest in the gendered nature of knowledge production, which constitutes an essential part of postsecondary institutions within which gender relations in academic contexts are normalized. Women therefore have been treated as the subordinate, or the "outsiders within" in this enterprise.[4]

### *Intellectual Activism*

Before discussing the intellectual activism present in the professional practices and relations of women in academe, I will introduce Bourdieu's (1993) notions of field and four forms of capital (economic, social, cultural, and symbolic) in order to elaborate a foundation for understanding the structural constraints and enabling structures in which social actors enact their values and subjectivity. Bourdieu defines a field as a separate, independent structure; for example, there are cultural, political, and economic fields and each field is defined in terms of its own valuable resources, capital, and rules (games) of domination. A field is "the locus of struggles to determine the conditions and criteria of legitimate membership and hierarchy" (Klein, 1996, p. 5). Women's studies, one kind of interdisciplinary study, is a contested construct that comes into the academic field with border-crossing knowledge claims.

Since women's studies is located in the "shadow structure" of institutions, women's studies academicians must struggle to obtain even minimal resources, personnel, and credibility in order to keep the discipline alive. The four forms of capital that Bourdieu identifies are important in (re)structuring a field of academic studies or the field of cultural production (Klein, 1996). Economic capital refers to material resources or ownership of the means of production. Social capital is composed of social networks and relations institutionalized in professions, status, and hierarchies. Cultural capital includes education, knowledge, qualifications, and various kinds of cultural production—books, art works, and so forth—legitimized by the educational system in titles and credentials. And, lastly, symbolic capital points to certain aspects of authority and credibility. For instance, an academic reputation is a form of symbolic capital used to gain greater access

to institutional support, research funds, graduate students, and publication outlets. By using it, it is converted into economic and social capital (Klein, 1996).

For the purposes of this study, intellectual activism is viewed as action enacted by social actors—women's studies scholars taking action in the field of academia. The primary concern is to disclose how women's studies academicians have sought structural opportunities and strategized their action to generate the economic capital (organizational resources) and social capital (professional networks) vital to building symbolic capital (reputation of women's studies) and producing cultural capital (ferninist scholarship).

Activism has been an important factor in organizational enabling and the social action of women scholars who have desired to act otherwise regardless of constraints and impediments. Those pathfinders have turned the social disadvantages into an epistemic advantage for shaping alternative viewpoints and motivating people to join a collective project in order to change their social conditions. As I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, intellectual activism can be divided into three dimensions: an organizational perspective, a concern with knowledge production, and a concern with agency. Although these three dimensions can be delineated for analytical reasons, most of the relevant research in fact considers them to be integrally connected to one another and, through this connection, to be able to reveal the larger picture of gender relations deeply entrenched in the institutional-intellectual order and in the historical residuals of patriarchal practices in each society. Some of the relevant research predominately focuses on one of those three approaches (McMartin, 1993; O'Barr, 1994; Boxer, 1998; UWSWSC, 1999). Others combine several of them (Gumport, 1987; Miske, 1995; Messer-Davidow, 2002), among which a common thread is social action, which is often ignored in conventional research on higher education because it is defined as an irrelevant or external factor.

### *An Organizational Perspective*

The central issue from an organizational perspective is the evolution of women's studies and how women academicians have gained economic and social capital, and transformed them into symbolic and cultural capital. The important themes include the stages of curricula transformation and the periodization of feminist theories (Schmitz, 1985; Tetreault, 1985; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1985); the evolution of structures of women's studies, such as cross-listed courses and programs with joint-appointment faculty, which are a result of the "duality of feminist scholarship" shaping and shaped by institutional-intellectual practices (DuBois et al., 1985; Messer-Davidow, 2002); the socialization of academics across departments and institutions (Gumport, 1991); and the important debate about the autonomy vs. the integration of women's studies (Bowles & Klein, 1983; Aaron & Walby, 1991; de Groot & Maynard, 1993; Allen, 1997).

Regarding the evolution of women's studies, taking the case of the United States as an example, it basically underwent four phases of development. The first stage witnessed the growth and proliferation of women's studies programs. The second phase can be identified as a movement toward the mainstreaming of women's studies into the general curriculum (Hatton, 1994). The third phase is characterized by the so-called "difficult dialogues" that took place around the issues of difference and diversity among women. The fourth stage involved moving in "new directions," which emphasized the internationalization of women's studies and linking it to new disciplines in order to

expand women's studies into graduate and professional education (Ronsenfelt, 1994). These four phases reflect the important content and direction that women's studies has aimed to develop at particular periods in order to institutionalize the field in academia.

One of the most important debates regarding the institutionalization of women's studies is the issue of integration vs. autonomy. It is an essential issue because it addresses the material basis of women's studies within the "master's house." The debate on autonomy and integration, nevertheless, has never been resolved, due primarily to two factors. The first factor is tied to the issue of the "boundary work" required to legitimize knowledge. Many discipline-based scholars, including some women's studies practitioners, do not acknowledge women's studies as a legitimate field of study within academic research entities (Allen & Kitch, 1998). These scholars firmly believe that scholarship and professional identity should belong mainly in the firmly established disciplines. Women's studies, therefore, would be better served, according to this view, if it were to develop within and gradually become integrated into the conventional disciplines.

The second factor derives from feminist scholars' differing agendas concerning how to sustain women's studies in the future. Although the common project of these two sides—autonomy and integration—is to transform the gendered nature of knowledge production, one fears "ghettoization" while the other expresses concern over the "dilution" of the field (Bowles & Klein, 1983; Aaron & Walby, 1991). On the pro-autonomy side, developing a visible professional identity and power-base in order to secure a teaching program, staffing, budget, and an independent decision-making body are thought to be important in legitimizing feminist scholarship and guaranteeing its future. On the integration side of the argument, it is thought to be important to take steps in each discipline or department to confront gender-blindness, transform disciplinary epistemology and methodology, and include feminist perspectives in each canon (McMartin, 1993). The debate has since then revolved around the tensions that have surfaced among a multiplicity of feminist ideologies regarding the question of how to locate and promote women's studies in postsecondary institutions.

### *A Concern of Knotuledge Production*

Women's studies has emerged as an interdisciplinary field of study that aims to promote "women" as an analytical category across conventional disciplines. The early feminist research and critiques have contributed to the understanding of the gendered nature of knowledge production (Bowles & Klein, 1983; Spender, 1988; Paludi & Steuernagel, 1990; Hartman & Messer-Davidow, 1991; Kramarae & Spender, 1992). The claim that scientific objectivity in fact represents men's subjectivity is not an uncommon one in feminist literature (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1996). Some have attempted to conceptualize the inter-, multi-, and trans-disciplinary features of women's studies (Klein, 1996; Allen & Kitch, 1998; Pryse, 2000; Boxer, 2000). Some have further discussed alternative epistemologies and methodologies in order to theorize the interdisciplinarity of women's studies and to legitimize feminist scholarship (Stanley & Wise, 1993; Klein, 1996). Others have inquired into how feminism has made inroads to conventional disciplines and compared varied disciplinary responses or receptivity to feminist research (DuBois et al., 1985; Gumport, 1987; Stacey & Thorne, 1985, 1996).

For example, based on the criteria of the ability to change basic paradigms and apply innovations in traditional disciplines, Stacey and Thorne (1996) gave history and anthropology an "A-minus," sociology a "B," and economics and political science a "C." They concluded that most of the traditional disciplines have sustained their boundaries despite the fact that women's studies has challenged the intellectual inquiry in these disciplines for over two decades.

Overall, in order to justify feminist research and legitimize women's studies, feminist scholars have made efforts to generate cultural and symbolic capital for feminisms—feminist theories, black feminist theory, the U.S. Third World feminism, feminist epistemology, methodology, scholarship, and professorship (hooks, 1984; DuBois et al., 1985; Collins, 1990, 1998; Fonow & Cook, 1991; Reinharz, 1992; Stanley & Wise, 1993; Maynard & Purvis, 1994; McDermott, 1994; Haraway, 1997; Harding, 1998; Hartsock, 1998; Sandoval, 2000). Generally underpinning these efforts is a search for identity. It has become a fundamental nodal point for inventing perspectives or standpoints in epistemological projects. The collective projects are diverse, yet they all tend to cut across social hierarchies comprised of class, race, and nationality, and construct theories that provide and engage narratives about women's lives and legitimize the spaces of women's studies in academe (hooks, 1984, 1990; Collins, 1986, 1990, 1998; Mohanty, 1988; Sandoval, 1995).

Nevertheless, as a marginal field of study, women's studies together with feminist scholarship has encountered three decades of resistance and sustained scrutiny. The typical accusations from academic institutions and traditional disciplines have been that the field lacks intellectual rigor and is too politically concerned with social change. Such resistance commonly surfaces in the evaluation of scholarly work, in the public critique of scholars who promote "self-interest" or contaminate the "neutral" values of universal knowledge, and in the conflicts of norms and interests between the emerging field and traditional disciplines (Allen & Kitch, 1998).

One of the endless debates regarding knowledge and power is the nature and the future of women's studies.[5] The early debates were inherently rooted in the inner tension between activism and the academy, and revolved around the emergence of women's studies. It has now become a kind of all-out tug-of-war between activist and academic interests. The activist side has emphasized the political roots of feminist scholarship which insisted on the integration of community services with teaching and research. The academic side, however, has laid more stress on academic survival and status-building. This side aims to gear feminist efforts towards a more theoretically sound and pro fessional set of practices and away from a transformative project within educational institutions (Gumport, 1991; de Groot & Maynard, 1993).

Entering a period of setback in feminism in the 1990s, the relationship between the political and the intellectual was reexamined around the issue of whether or not to promote institutionalization and professionalization. A new emphasis was placed on detaching feminist scholarly goals from political claims in order to preserve cultural and symbolic capital in the academic field. "The personal is the political," the ethos of feminism that for decades has nurtured women's and gender studies theoretically and methodologically, entered a troubling phase in the 1990s for those feminist scholars who would attempt to preserve a fruitful future for women's studies (Allen, 1997; Brown, 1997).

In the late 1990s, the proliferation of cultural studies and the feminist theorizing of identity added further sophistication to feminist scholarship and also had a significant impact on women's movements. However, a number of recent works have explicitly criticized the practices of contemporary feminism, arguing that it has promoted a narrow identity politics and separatism.[6] Faced with various attacks from within women's studies and from the powerful organizing forces coordinated by neoliberal and conservative groups, some feminist scholars have emphasized recuperating the power of self-determined agency and a collective/feminist standpoint[7] in order to continue a feminist project of transforming the academy and society, and to effectively counter the latest setbacks (Weeks, 1998; Hekman, 1999; Sandoval, 2000; Messer-Davidow, 2002). In contrast, others have been skeptical of the possibility of successfully integrating women's studies' academic substance and feminism as a social movement. The metaphor of "the academic arm of the women's movement" lately has been heavily scrutinized. Its initial recognition "may have outlived its usefulness, at least in some of the ways it is interpreted," because the metaphor has proved that after three decades in the development of women's studies, the field remains "a rather fragile limb, an arm in a sling of institutional and identity-politics constraint" (Allen, 1997, p. 370–1).

The reality that feminism has not succeeded in transforming the academy but, on the contrary, has been disciplined by the disciplines, generates serious concerns among feminist scholars. They warn that the activist efforts will limit the future of women's studies. Thus, they propose what they consider to be a more realistic project instead—the separation of activism and the academy in order to fabricate intellectual rigor and legitimize feminist professorship (Allen & Kitch, 1998; Wiegman, 2002).

> Instead of seeing feminists working inside the academy as women's studies practitioners accountable to a women's movement *outside*, it is high time to acknowledge the complex sexual politics of knowledge and institutions undertaken daily and career-long by women's studies professionals. Outside is inside. Women's studies practitioners are as much representative of the women's movement *inside* this particular cultural site as are feminists working elsewhere (Allen, 1997, p. 370, emphasis in original).

### *A Concern for Agency*

Increasingly, contemporary feminist research on women's studies implicitly or explicitly employs, as the above quote suggests, an intellectual movement approach to study the evolution of this relatively new academic field. It includes various kinds of research work. A number of researchers have shown how feminist action has contributed to the emergence and formalization of particular women's studies organizations (McMartin, 1993; Boxer, 1998). A growing number of researchers have been focusing on the life histories of feminist scholars who constructed consciousness-raising groups to initiate women's studies and chose alternative career paths that shaped and were shaped by the structuring of women's studies and feminist scholarship (Middleton, 1993; Committee on Women's Studies in Asia, 1995; Goetting & Fenstermaker, 1995; Laslett & Thorne, 1997; Howe, 2000). Some case studies have explicated the collective efforts by librarians

to bring about a nationwide collection of feminist literature (UWSWSC, 1999), the emergence and expansion of feminist journals since the 1970s (McDermott, 1994), and the historical, comprehensive, multi-dimensional research that has illuminated the emergence and legitimacy of this field (Gumport, 1987; McMartin, 1993; Miske, 1995; Boxer, 1998; Messer-Dadidow, 2002).

One important notion in feminist intellectual activism—feminist networking—has been frequently incorporated into these kinds of research. The pioneers of the field forstered the emergent "critical mass" of feminist scholars and students on campuses contributed to the birth and growth of women's studies (Gumport, 1987; McMartin, 1993; Boxer, 1998; Howe, 2000). "Critical mass"[8] here refers to "an adequate number of individuals sharing common interests" and "an adequate number and scale of programs in terms of faculty, students, and researchers" (Klein, 1996, p. 35).[9] Early feminist awakenings of feminist students and scholars in the late 1960s and early 1970s in the United States created a form of social capital in the agenda-setting networks of women on campuses and the "women's liberation meetings" or "women's caucus meetings." They were an important form of social capital for the feminist scholars who came together to declare their identities and to forge the alternative scholarly interests that have shaped the field across disciplinary and departmental boundaries (Gumport, 1990, 1991; McMartin, 1993; Miske, 1995).[10]

The effects of these networks have been demonstrated by: the negotiation power of professional or campus women caucuses in forming a sub-field of women's studies in their disciplines; the consciousness-raising groups that helped initiate and coordinate women's studies teaching; the small groups that established women's studies research centers in each university; the librarians who collected, compiled, and circulated feminist teaching and research materials nationwide; the editorial boards that legitimized feminist scholarship through rigorous and well-organized national feminist journals. All these collective efforts were made and congealed in the 1970s in the United States.

### *Three Comprebensive Studies*

There is a wide range of feminist literature about intellectual activism. In order to sort out the components of institutionalization most germane to the role of social activism in the institutionalization of women's studies in the United States and Taiwan, next I compare and contrast three comprehensive dissertations that provide specific case studies of the formation of women's studies. Gumport (1987) studied the emergence and legitimacy of feminist scholarship at universities in the United States. McMartin (1993) illustrated the institutionalization process of women's studies programs and women's centers at three universities in the United States. Miske (1995) conducted a case study of one women's studies research center in a Thai regional university to reveal its institutionalization process, with an emphasis on its international aspects. The common theme of these three studies—each, albeit, with different analytical approaches, emphases, and levels of analysis—is the interdependence of the evolution of women's studies and the social action of its practitioners.

### *Gumport's Study*

Gumport looked at three dimensions—organizational, intellectual, and external political influences—to illustrate how a new field of study, feminist scholarship, could emerge and be legitimated in conventional knowledge production and in postsecondary institutions. She argued that a tension existed between feminist and scholarly interests in the development of feminist scholarship. Her focal line of data collection and analysis came from feminist scholars' experiences and strategies as they struggled to initiate and promote women's studies in their traditional disciplines.

Two hypotheses were affirmed by Gumport's study. First, the emergence and legitimation of feminist scholars was associated with the receptivity of individual disciplines working within a variety of paradigms (that is, assumptions of knowledge, centrality of theories, basic epistemologies, and methodologies of the fields). Three disciplines were investigated—history, sociology, and philosophy. These disciplinary settings comprised the immediate contexts in which the feminist interests of women academics could be developed or encompassed. Gumport found that history was the easiest and philosophy the most difficult discipline within which feminist scholars were able to integrate feminist thought and new subject matter into curriculum and research.

Second, the pace and degree of receptivity of each discipline varied depending on the prestige of the postsecondary institution. The more prestigious the institution, the more difficult it was for feminist scholarship to gain acceptance. For example, the first women's studies program to be integrated was established at San Diego State University, while Harvard postponed upgrading women's studies to a degree-granting program, first proposed in 1974, for 12 years. Gumport's study further found that research universities were more resistant to the establishment and legitimation of women's studies than were comprehensive state universities.

One important finding not fully articulated or analyzed in Gumport's dissertation is the social network women academics built across disciplines, departments, and institutions, although she has given further attention to, and further theorized, this aspect of her research in subsequent publications (Gumport, 1990, 1991). One possible reason could be that, since Gumport theorized the emergence of feminist scholarship as one of the "new" fields, she did not highlight the gendered nature of knowledge production, which distinguished the emergence of women's studies from other newly established fields. In other words, in my view it was not only its "newness" but also its "gendered" nature that made the emergence and legitimation of feminist scholarship unique and distinct from other "new" fields. Although Gumport pinpointed the crucial role played by the experience of women as "outsiders" in catalyzing the emergence of feminist scholarship in academic contexts, she did not clearly or from the beginning conceptualize the notion of "gender" as a central category of analysis in the social construction of knowledge. Yet feminist networking in her study was important in a dual sense. First, it was manifest in feminist scholars, organizing to develop their common feminist intellectual interests through collective activities which also further motivated them to pursue women's studies. Second, this type of collective action rendered women's studies an intellectual movement, and thus showed the institutionalization of feminist scholarship to be a political process of organizational as well as intellectual practices.

### *McMartin's Study*

McMartin (1993) chose to study how the institutionalization of women's studies programs and women's centers impacted the evolution of and relations between two organizations: women's studies programs and women's centers. She highlighted two strategies to illustrate the institutionalization process of these organizations—strategies for survival and for stability or status-building. For example, the need to survive led to the pursuit of strategies to move women's studies from ad hoc courses to an integrated program status, while the need for stability urged women's studies programs to adopt strategies by which to upgrade to departmental status. Based on her findings, McMartin concluded that all women's studies programs and women's centers alike needed institutional resources and recognition in order to survive and achieve stability as university entities. Such realities forced these organizations to evolve toward institutionalization and to become a part of the formal structures of universities.

For McMartin, the major contribution of the two types of feminist organizations was that they represented alternative models of organizational practice and less hierarchical power relations. Feminist practices in organizations not only challenged but also attempted to transform the norms and rules of bureaucracy that were institutionalized by rational and masculine discourses. The effect of institutionalization, according to McMartin, was to force these feminist organizations to make concessions and to be willingly normalized into the formal structures and practices of traditional institutions. Skeptical of institutionalization, she suggested that remaining as a margin of the center might render women's studies an important counter-hegemonic site where feminist ideas could be sustained, and as a means of questioning the gender relations embedded in institutional practices.[11]

### *Miske's Study*

Miske (1995) studied how a marginal research center of women's studies successfully established itself as a department. The research center was exclusively funded by international NGOs for training and educating rural women in the north of Thailand. The institutionalization of the center was illuminated by three perspectives of organizational studies—structural, political, and cultural—to display how practitioners of the research center, positioned at the margin, played out their resources and strategies to upgrade the research center to a department.

Alongside the elevation in the status of the women's studies research center, its practitioners maneuvered its resources and influences to negotiate for formal control over the operation of the center. These practitioners took strategic action to maintain their decision-making autonomy regarding what frameworks and topics of research and methods would be appropriate for the study of women. Miske particularly argued that an important factor was that the research center had a strong leadership from the beginning. It helped in making connections to funding sources, and to other women's organizations and women's studies, at the local, national, and international level. The opportunity to upgrade women's studies to a departmental status relied on changes in national policies and public discourses about women, international pressure on local women's issues, available resources, and the institutional support and recognition of the performance of the research center.

After the research center became formalized, a power game was then played over scarce resources. The orientation of the research center could possibly have been redirected and taken over by non-women's studies practitioners. Women's studies scholars had no choice but to enter the arena of power and learn how to play out their agenda using a number of political strategies: compliance/inaction, negotiation, and resistance.

In addition to the structural and political angles, Miske pointed to the contested nature of the cultural meanings of women's studies. As a new field of study, women's studies practitioners not only constructed their meanings and practices in opposition to those of people who were not prowomen practitioners in this new field, but also in opposition to those of western feminists, in order to establish what counts as a unique "Thai way" of women's studies. In their unique non-Western manner, they created a new definition of feminism and alternative ways of pursuing women's studies in learning, teaching and research. Based on their concerns, they developed strategies to gain legitimacy for feminist perspectives and concepts through research, to influence students through teaching, and to diffuse feminist knowledge to universities as well as to the society at large.

### *Agency as the Common Theme*

Two common themes can be found in these three comprehensive studies. First, all the studies addressed the complex and interwoven interactions among the organizational/structural, intellectual/disciplinary, political, and cultural practices of postsecondary institutions. The interdependence of the different fields of study in institutions points to the fact that gender relations existed in various forms of power relations. It is thus important to recognize that the understanding of the formation of women's studies cannot be limited merely to the internal aspects of organizations. Further, it is crucial to identify the structural forms of gender relations so that effective resistance and productive power can be developed.

Second, the authors all focused on the experiences of women academics in their research and analysis. These three researchers pointed to the dynamlcs involved in the institutionalization of women's studies associated with the social actions of the practitioners, yet they did not clearly define them as activists or change-agents who made both individual and collective efforts to initiate, shape, and promote women's studies—all of which I would term phenomena of intellectual activism. For instance, Gumport singled out feminist scholars' interests and motivations as the most important factors in shaping the feminist scholarly interests and action that accounted for the shift of disciplinary paradigms in accepting women's studies. McMartin analyzed the strategies of organizations developed by feminist scholars to achieve organizational survival and stability for women's studies. Miske described the strategies that were taken by the practitioners to strive to upgrade the research center to a department.

The proceeding discussion and analysis of the three comprehensive studies illustrated the dynamics of and complex relations between feminist action and the institutionalization of women's studies. The three studies gave us insight into specific stories of the formation of women's studies, but also illuminated the lives, identities, and actions of the women's studies practitioners in those institutions under study. They all

maintained that the institutionalization of women's studies into a formal part of the structure of institutions was key to the survival and legitimation of the new academic field. All three of the studies employed interpretive approaches to illuminate the interplay of institutionalization processes and the social action of practitioners. Strategies of social action were portrayed as episodes of seeking economic and social capital in light of the need to survive and elevate the status of women's studies for both individual careers and programs.

What remains understudied in these three studies is the phenomenon of how the individual and collective endeavors of feminist scholars have had an impact on creating and legitimating women's studies. I suggest that the dimension of social activism could supplement the stories in ways that demonstrate why and how these feminist activists enacted their identities—including worldviews, interests/needs, and motivations for social action—to formalize women's studies and to attain cultural and symbolic capital for this new field. In each case, the scope, degree, and time line of the institutionalization of women's studies depended upon the centrality of feminist values and the impact of those values on the movement projects.

Inspired by these three studies and the other work on the institutionalization of women's studies cited earlier in this chapter, the second part of this chapter takes us into the microfoundational approach of this study. This perspective is used to unfold how the feminist scholars, whom I term change-agents or pathfinders, have constructed and enacted their identities for the purpose of social action, particularly in legitimating feminist scholarship as a field of study. The institutionalization of women's studies and feminist scholarship has been the result of just this kind of intellectual activism.

## PART II: A MICROFOUNDATIONAL APPROACH

### *The Construct of a Microfoundation*

I borrow the concept of microfoundation from structuralist paradigms, agency theories, and historical sociology. It centers on social actors as an analytical category to explain social action that reproduces or transforms social structures within a historical process (Abrams, 1982; Sztompka, 1991; Emirbayer & Mische, 1998; Archer, 2000). This microfoundational approach assumes that social actors are creative, reflective, and capable of participating in society, taking on roles, committing to or disassociating themselves from social norms, and reinforcing traditions or changing social reality. This approach also attempts to bridge action and structure, an important yet endless debate over whether voluntarism or determinism constitutes social action and society.[12] The present study adopts a perspective that connects action and structure. It also gives more weight to human agents since, as Marx puts it, people "make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past" (Marx, 1977, p. 300).

### *Three Paradigms*

There exist at least three paradigms that theorize social actors and the interplay of agency and structure: rational choice theory, structuration theory, and historical sociology. Rational choice theory represents a school of instrumental rationality that emphasizes goal-seeking and calculation of cost and benefit by social actors. This theory assumes that social actors make choices according to the ends, and that their actions are thus derived from the anticipated consequences. At a micro level are purposive and utilitarian actions, which, at a macro level, aggregate into a complexly envisioned but vaguely defined and often psychologistic, social and interactive phenomenon (Coleman, 1986). The weakness of this perspective is that it sees "utility" as the only ground for all action. It fails to crack the black box of the choice-making and action-taking of social actors. In other words, the conceptual brackets of ends-means and choices-actions foreclose an understanding of how structure influences individual perception of desires, beliefs, and choices, or how actions are derived from the interaction between social actors and their situated conditions in a flow of time (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998).

Structuration theory emphasizes the duality of the action and structure in which individual practices enact and reproduce social structures (Bourdieu, 1977; Giddens, 1984; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The strength of structuration theories is that they clarify the often ephemeral and difficult-to-grasp interplay of action and structure by introducing the agential or subjective components of "habitus" and "practices." However, in the end. the emphasis on structuration leads mainly to demonstrating that the endurance of structures and the persistence of power relations have subjective consequences concerning how human actors co-produce their own existence and the world. This view leaves little room for theorizing social actors who are able to reflect upon their situations and in ways challenge the norms and order which would enable them to change the world.

The third paradigm, most relevant to the present study, is historical sociology (Abrams, 1982) or the sociology of becoming (Laslett & Thorne, 1997).[14] The core notion of this approach is "structuring," which, similar to structuration theory, is a concept used to integrate action and structure, but now within a historical process (Abrams, 1982). It accentuates process, embracing the idea of a two-sided social historical relationship between action-shaping structure and structure-transforming action. The basic assumption of historical sociology is that "history and society are made by constant and more or less purposeful individual action *and* that individual action, however purposeful, is made by history and society" (Abrams, 1982, p. xiii, original emphasis). The method of historical sociology is necessarily dialectical. It attempts to reflect "the constant interplay of social fact and meaning that constitutes, decomposes and reconstitutes social practices and personal experience," in a historical process without separating structure from action (Abrams, 1982, p. 108).

The strength of historical sociology is its ability to answer the question of why the world has become the way it is, why particular individuals made the particular choices they did, and why those individuals succeeded or failed in their projects. Some feminist scholars have employed this model to study the relationship of the gendered nature of structure to feminist action (Laslett, 1991). They have adopted the method to analyses of

life histories and autobiographies to illustrate sociology of becoming, which I also term as a microfoundational approach of becoming to unfold the moving interplay between action and structure (Laslett & Thorne, 1997). Through concrete and historical events and individual life histories, specific individual voices can provide an insightful avenue by which scholars can glimpse how consciousness changes, and how feminists formulate and implement their future projects by using the available material, political, and cultural resources to make their choices, shape their lives, and construct the social institutions within which they live, even if outcomes are unclear in the present (Laslett, 1991; Laslett & Thorne, 1997).

In sum, the microfoundational approach employed in this research attempts to explain social reality through a sociology of becoming which involves the unfolding of a moving interplay of structure and action in a historical process. Although this approach can explain both the structuration of society and social change by social actors, I tend to side with the latter, even though the effects of agency could be called "restructuration." As we have seen, this approach helps us to define and understand further the ways in which so cial actors or pathfinders take part in the linking of action with structure.

## *Microfoundation of Pathfinders*

### *Definition of Pathfinders*

The core concepts I have elucidated thus far add up to what I call the microfoundation of pathfinders, who are social actors at the "micro"-level of action but manage to work within and, at times, overcome the structural "foundation." The term "pathfinder" has been understood and constructed by different discourses according to varied concepts of social change.[15] In line with critical viewpoints of social change,[16] I define social actors who are able to act *otherwise* as pathfinders. Acting otherwise, in a broad sense, means that, when pathfinders take action, they "intervene in the world, or…refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a…state of affairs" (Giddens, 1984, p. 171). In terms of social change, they are often conceptualized as organic intellectuals (Gramsci, 1971), or public intellectuals who have obtained a critical consciousness (Fraser, 1989; Said, 1994). They represent the marginal voices of "outsiders," and their primary task is to "break down the stereotypes and reductive categories that are so limiting to human thought and communication" (Said, 1994, p. x–xi). They are expected to mold public opinion that will contest or counter hegemonic discourses, or to side with social groups beyond their own interests (Gramsci, 1971).

Feminists can be defined as pathfinders who advocate feminism as a principle of social change. Feminism, in Webster's International Dictionary, is broadly defined as "the theory, cult, and practice of those who hold that present laws, conventions, and conditions prevent the free and full development of woman, and who advocate such changes as will do away with undue restrictions upon her political, social, and economic conduct and relations" (cited by Rupp & Taylor, 1999, p. 372). There are three basic types of feminist pathfinders (Stromquist, forthcoming):

(1) Individual feminists who embrace and uphold non-traditional gender values in interaction with other people

(2) Groups of women and feminists who gather together, either on planned or unplanned occasions, to decry the lack of women's rights, or to make particular demands upon local and national authorities
(3) Organized feminist groups with the staff and resources to target specific goals and missions

The feminist action detailed in this study was found to span these three forms of feminist activism.

### *Three Features of Becoming*

Concerning the microfoundation of the becoming of social actors, three major features of the becoming process illuminate why and how individuals come to declare themselves as pathfinders and to act otherwise within and against structural constraints: stages of feminist consciousness, identity of pathfinders, and strategies of action.

#### *1. Stages of Feminist Consciousness*

Consciousness is a particular concept in the feminist practice of consciousness-raising which emerged from the belief that "the personal is the political." This feminist concept implores people to become aware and to change minds, since such cognitive restructuring is a form of, and a means to further, political action as part of feminist movements. Through a process of deconstructing and reconstructing consciousness, awareness of gender relations grows, feminist standpoints become relatively coherent, and a commitment to action may be sustained.

The process of leaping from consciousness implies a developmental model of consciousness-raising. A developmental model reaffirms that consciousness is a spiral flow that can be reflected upon, to some extent, at any particular stage or period of time. To illuminate the developmental model of feminist consciousness, I adopt the major findings of Paccione's (2000) research regarding how the life experiences and consciousness of teachers led them to commit to promoting multicultural education. Paccione constructs the model of multicultural consciousness into four stages: from contextual awareness, emergent awareness, transformative awareness, to committed action, with varying degrees of reflection, awareness of diversity, and coherent understanding of power relations in society.

Contextual awareness is based upon "habitus" or experiences of childhood, moral values of justice, and feelings of "otherness." These experiences create "a dispositional awareness" that is partial to the understanding of power relations. Emergent awareness refers to a point of departure where, or a sudden moment when, pathfinders start to realize that they indeed have experienced or observed discrimination. This awareness emerges when pathfinders stay outside their familiar social comfort zones or become immersed in alternative viewpoints over a period of time. Such situations create the need to reflect upon the past or express experiences and observations from which emerges a new layer of awareness. Emergent awareness derives from individual selective attention to particular issues during a certain period of time, reflection upon professional practices, the impact of a significant historical moment, the influence of role models and friends, and immersion within alternative cultures and values.

Transformative or critical awareness is achieved when pathfinders steadfastly take a feminist standpoint to see the world and to prioritize their life goals. The accomplishment of this awareness is typically associated with extensive learning, constant immersion in alternative knowledge, consciousness-raising activities, and the substantive influences of role models and friends. Joining a network of feminist scholars or women's movement groups, or maintaining one's exposure to feminist thinking are the most common experiences expressed by gender studies scholars who have come to declare themselves as feminists (Gumport, 1987; Howe, 2000).

Committed action is more likely to be sustained and enduring after tranformative awareness has been solidified, although sometimes the process is reversed, and enduring action heightens and transforms emergent awareness into critical consciousness. The enduring action is observable through pathfinders' advocacy of social justice.

### *2. Identity of Pathfinders*

Identity is constructed by a set of cultural values or attributes that are given priority over other sources of ideas, beliefs, and meanings (Castells, 1997). Although any person can have a plurality of identities, identity should not be confused with roles. Identity organizes meaning and involves a process of individuation, while roles are defined by function and norms of organizations and institutions. In other words, identity has a stronger and more individualized source of meaning (self-definition) than roles because of the process of individuation and deconstruction-reconstruction that identity involves (Giddens, 1991; Castells, 1997).

Identity can be defined to include both self and collective identity. Self-identity refers to self-definition, while collective identity refers to group identification. Collective identity has multiple sources of social construction and reflects a complex matrix of power relations on both national and international planes. It can be understood through three types of collective identity construction and through the orientation of action that is used to mobilize pathfinders to join in collective action.

*a. Three Types of Collective Identity.* There are three forms and origins of collective identity that are constituted by the matrix of power relations and the reaction to such power (Castells, 1997). They are "legitimizing identity," "resistance identity," and "project identity." Legitimizing identity refers to the incorporation of the predominant ideologies normalized and rationalized by the dominant institutions, such as school, church, and state bureaucracy. Resistance identity is constructed in reaction to the stereotypes and stigmas attributed to a group devalued by dominant ideologies. For example, the resistance of women is built upon resistance identities to mobilize action for survival and to construct oppositional meanings against patriarchal practices. Project identity is a strategic reconstruction of available cultural meanings in order to redefine social positions and promote action that seeks the transformation of overall social structures and institutions. The women's movement is one example of building a project identity.

*b. Formation of Collective Identity.* Collective identity is also conceptualized as an ongoing process of self-reflexive and constructing activity (Melucci, 1988, 1992, 1995). It is "an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with *the orientations of action* and the field of

opportunities and constraints in which the actions take place" (italic added, Melucci, 1995, p. 44). For example, feminist identity can be understood as a social construction of the shared definition of conditions by feminist activists, and a process of negotiating and adjusting to different situations while making and pursuing the goals and tactics of collective action. It is formed in a process in which social actors employ resources and opportunities available to them in shaping their identity, mobilizing action, and playing out their political agendas. The dynamic of identity formation, action, and structure can be illustrated by the strategies of action that pathfinders employ, which I define in the section below.

### *3. Strategies of Action*

Strategies of action are conceived as the nodal points of a moving interplay between identity-action and structure in a historical process. The basic idea of "strategy," defined by Swidler (1986), is not meant as a plan for attaining a goal; rather, it is a general and incorporating way of organizing action to achieve multiple life goals. Strategies of action are shaped by culture, by which people acquire a vocabulary of meanings, expressive symbols, and an emotional repertoire. They utilize culture as "a 'tool kit' to select differing pieces for constructing lines of action" (Swidler, 1986; p. 277).

Strategies of action are shaped within a process of negotiation between identity and environment. It is a process within which pathfinders recognize the limits of what is possible to accomplish in response to their situations. They make choices and decisions, and take actions that reflect the formation of their identity in order to achieve their multiple life targets. In order to grasp the dynamic of action and structure, I formulate the crucial elements of strategies of action into three dimensions—empowerment, networking, and confrontation.

*a. Empowerment.* Empowerment involves cognitive restructuring or consciousness-raising to construct an alternative knowing and self-valorization of social world (Weeks, 1998; Hekman, 1998; Sandoval, 2000). It is thus developed and attained through the affirmation of identity. As Weeks (1998) posits, pathfinders are able to affirm themselves through "a being of the doing" and "a being of becoming" (p. 133). For example, empowerment is an orientation of feminist action in terms of creating and sustaining women's studies in higher education. Based on this alternative site of empowerment, the pathfinders are able to seek and accumulate the economic and social capital important in the production of cultural and symbolic capital which can be used to uphold women's studies and contest conventional disciplines.

*b. Networking.* Networking, for the purpose of this study, is primarily defined as outreaching, which builds ties among friends and supporters (Granovetter, 1983). Outreaching is a strategy that helps enlarge the pool of potential supporters while the strength of resistance is weak or a women's movement struggles to survive.

A network of relationships is a strong form of empowerment. The primary purpose of networking is to make meaningful links among people in order to accumulate the social capital that is essential to social action. The benefits of social networking include information exchange, social and emo tional support, consciousness raising, identity formation, provision of services and cultural activities, and preservation of mobilization strategies (Taylor & Whittier, 1995; Minkoff, 1999). For example, the "repertoires of

contention" (Tarrow, 1995) are one of the most important forms of capital developed by a network. This form of capital comprises a set of practices and strategies for leveraging change and, in this study, for generating alternative ways of teaching and researching, holding women's studies academic activities, exchanging one's experiences in confronting institutional sexism, and negotiating with administrative authorities about formalizing women's studies in academia, among other things.

*c. Confrontation.* While empowerment and networking emphasize the positive side of strategies of action, confrontation may stress the reactive parts of action and result in negative feelings. It is associated with individual pathfinders who desire to act otherwise by grasping the emotions and feelings of being discriminated against, by deconstructing traditional values and meanings, by leaving a familiar network, and by encountering, living with, or resolving conflicts. It often requests pathfinders to prioritize some of their life goals, enact their particular identities, and shift their action orientations towards the desired future.

As feminisms become more diverse and complex in concert with the proliferation of identity politics, confrontation also entails reflection upon the contextualization and representation of experiences, voices, and interests, and encountering the power relations between women. This kind of identity politics is related to boundary-drawing actions. It thus renders feminist consciousness and identity formation full of tensions and conflicts (Weeks, 1998; Sandoval, 2000).

In addition, confrontation is associated with the tactics of feminist action employed by feminist groups or women's movement organizations to achieve their collective goal of reforming or transforming social structures. Two components of confrontational tactics are most relevant to the present study: namely, social protest and advocacy (Minkoff, 1999). Protest is defined as a reactive and disruptive means (sit-ins, teach-ins, occupation, and marches) with the objective of influencing policies and public opinion. This strategy directly confronts the dominant social order through overt and emotional actions that cast direct threats onto political authorities. Advocacy is also often reactive and implemented through lobbying, litigation, media alerts, and so forth, to influence policies and public opinion. Such advocacy attacks the intermediate level of institutional or bureaucratic norms. This kind of structural confrontation usually is used as a means to achieve collective demands of reform in policy.

In summary, what characterizes pathfinders is their reflexive consciousness and purposeful action. They reinvent their identities through consciousness-raising, create alternative values of social justice and equality, infuse those identities and values with powerful feelings, strategize their action, and enact their political impulses through joint action. Their actions then shape both their personal lives and social change. Through microfoundational observation and analysis of pathfinders' life courses and historical times, the interplay of agency and structure becomes evident. Personal desires, motivations, identity, and strategic action serve as the main concepts of the microfoundation of pathfinders.

### *Applying the Approach to the Taiwanese Context*

Contextualization of social action is needed to comprehend the specificity of identity formation and strategies of feminist action in Taiwanese universities. Keeping in mind

that although I attempt to use a microfoundational approach to explore the relationship between feminist action and the institutionalization of women's studies, I do not mean to move the influence of structural factors over action entirely out of the picture. Rather, social actors must try to perceive and take into account those factors while shaping their identity and making decisions in response to the situations and settings in which they struggle for change. The interplay between feminist scholars' action and institutional response illustrates the dynamic of structural constraints and opportunities, the organizational obstacles and the enabling, hegemonic and counter-hegemonic practices that unfold in the fields of feminist action regarding the institutionalization of women's studies in Taiwan.

In applying the microfoundational approach developed in the above section to the Taiwanese context, I reshape and refine the conceptual framework of it based on the analysis of my study data. The concept of identity comprises both static and properties. The construction of individual subjectivity can be located in two domains: one is the relatively static reference to professional identity associated with the pathfinders' identification with work-assigned roles and ethics; the other pertains to the dynamic nature of identity, that is, the formation of the feminist/political identity that might work "against the grain."

While identity and consciousness are diversely defined and often interchangeably used in feminist theorization, I differentiate the two terms as follows. Keeping in mind that the "pathfinders" in this study are the feminist scholars who sought to institutionalize women's studies in Taiwan in the 1980s and 1990s, I define the term "consciousness" as an awareness of institutional sexisrn, identification of feminist values, reflection upon personal action, a sensitivity toward identity politics, and a perception of the conflicts between the scholarly interests and political interests of women's studies. The term "identity," in contrast, refers to the individual and collective performance of professional roles and feminist consciousness. Identity encompasses one's scholarly and public practices, including the embodiment of a feminist orientation in the teaching, research, networking, and struggles in which one engages within academe and social movements. In addition, two particular aspects of pathfinders' consciousness and identity have emerged out of the recursive dialogue between the data I collected from fieldwork and the microfoundational concepts of identity and consciousness: the centrality of identity to pathfinders, and their heightened perception of opportunities; that is, their ability and drive to perceive the need for, and then to make actual opportunities for oneself and others. I have added these two dynamic concepts to my microfoundational approach in order to better portray the dialectic relation between identity and action, and between agency and structure, embodied in Taiwanese pathfinders' becoming and doing, which I will describe and discuss in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

### *Centrality of Identity*

The "centrality of identity" refers to the degree, quality, and state of identity given priority among a pathfinder's multiple life goals. The centrality of feminist identity turns out to be high among the Taiwanese pathfinders, which suggests that the pathfinders prioritized feminist values as their most meaningful project and that they were more likely to be motivated to act otherwise in their social environments. The centrality of

identity points to the fact that there are multiple layers of consciousness and competing multiple identities in any person's life. For the pathfinders featured in this study, it meant that scholarly and feminist interests were possibly often at odds, but that the tensions between them could be constructively used by highly motivated, socially networked feminists. The pathfinders dared to engage in a creative project requiring critical reflection upon one's life and society, and a prioritizing of particular aspects of one's identity, in order to create institutional spaces where feminist subjectivity could be more fully enacted and studied, and societal obstacles and possibilities could be more fully researched.

### *Perception of Opportunities*

Although in reality structural contexts are more complex and multi-dimensional, and pathfinders sometimes found it difficult to identify and describe the key structural obstacles and opportunities they faced, I was able to discern from interviews six factors that seem to be generally applicable to the emergence and growth of women's studies in Taiwan and, perhaps, other parts of the world. The six structural factors are described as follows:

1. Political climate: It refers to the repressive, non-repressive, and democratic milieu in society that has evolved in historical time. Women's studies in different countries are rnore likely to appear or emerge in either non-repressive or democratic political circumstances. The presence of critical mass usually heralds a transitional shift of political climate from a repressive to a non-repressive one.
2. Local women's movements: First of all, the current stage of development of a women's movement—for example, latent, rising, or proliferating—may impede or facilitate the emergence and growth of a women's studies in society. Second, social receptivity to women's movements and feminisms will influence the institutional support given to women's studies. Predominant socio-cultural meanings and values will play a role in legitimizing certain identities and discriminating against others. Since women's movements and feminism usually challenge traditional gender relations and female roles, they inevitably entail social reactions and setbacks. Such social responses directly or indirectly impact the social climate out of which women's studies emerges.
3. Gender mainstreaming: The presence of mainstreaming machineries such as a women's status commission or a women's bureau signals the degree to which the government commits to support women's issues and promotes women's status even though, at times, these machineries work as tokens rather than as the substance of reform (True & Mintrom, 2001).
4. Receptivity of disciplines: How is feminist studies received by particular disciplines of higher learning? The higher the degree of consensus a discipline has regarding epistemology and methodology, the less likely it is that the discipline will accept new feminist concepts and explanations (Gumport, 1987).
5. Institutional attitudes/responses: The primary institutions that have had to respond to feminist demands for women's studies programs are institutions of higher learning, and the response depends upon the mission and prestige of a college, university, or school. Gender and feminist studies are more likely to evolve and gain acceptance

from universities that are more teaching-oriented and less prestigious (Gumport, 1987).

6. International pressure: The use of international legal bodies to establish discursive norms in support of women's rights. The most frequently cited influence on the formation of gender machineries and women's studies in third world countries has been the United Nations Decade for Women (1975–1985) (True & Mintrom, 2001). A number of international NGOs provided seed funding for establishing women's research and teaching programs in nations that lacked women's movement support or other financial resources. For examples, the Ford Foundation and the Asia Foundation in Thailand (Miske, 1995), and the Asia Foundation in Taiwan (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).

These six structural factors vary depending on local conditions, such as the political economy, the presence of social movements and critical mass, the degree of the entrenchment of the socio-cultural practices of patriarchy, the degree of impact from international women's movements and human rights discourses, the authority and position of higher education systems at large in a society, and the intellectual-disciplinary order of a society. These factors may not be consistently exhibited to the same degree of support or constraint in all cases in which women's studies are established at universities in a particular place and time. Overall, these factors are perceived and assessed by pathfinders while they are envisioning their projects, making strategic plans, and taking action for change.

### *Interplay among Identity, Action, and Opportunities*

Strategies of action are the ways by which pathfinders come to heighten feminist thinking and gradually forge a collective project for feminist practices in teaching or conducting research about women and gender. Through practicing and becoming, pathfinders come to identify themselves as particular social categories that both enact their own subjectivity and reflect societal reactions to emergent women's studies or women's movements (see Table 1). What they call themselves, the social representations of themselves, is always a social construction within specific historical and societal contexts. For instance, the majority of pathfinders of gender studies in Gumport's (1987) study identified with feminist ideas and the women's movement in the United States prior to becoming advocates of women's studies, while in Miske's (1995) study, the pathfinders in Thai society, in contrast, called themselves women's studies practitioners and avoided being stereotyped as feminists affiliated with the feminist movement in Thailand.

In this study, I identify feminist scholars' three most common self-representations. The pathfinders referred to themselves as women's studies practitioners, pro-feminist scholars or liberal intellectuals, and feminist scholars. These three types of scholars were not static in their eyes, for some pathfinders shifted their identities from one type to another as the centrality of feminist values became stronger or weaker, or as feminism became more or less welcomed by the society. In general, women's studies practitioners are those concerned with women's issues in a broad sense. They agree with a human rights ideology that emphasizes realizing women's potential and improving women's human resources. They may not see women as an oppressed group disadvantaged by social arrangements and hierarchal gender relations. They identify more with their own

particular disciplinary training than with women's studies per se, but they see the latter as an expanding scholarly interest. They are less likely to join the women's movement and more likely to endorse the idea of separating women's studies from the women's movement in Taiwan. They tend to acknowledge the legitimacy of research methods and knowledge production tightly bounded by disciplinary order.

The second type of scholar can be placed in two possible groups: liberal intellectuals or pro-feminist scholars. Liberal intellectuals in this study see themselves as critical public intellectuals (Fraser, 1989; Said, 1994), representing the marginal voices of "outsiders." They are expected to mold public opinion as a counter-hegemonic voice often in conflict with their own immediate interests. In Taiwan, additional meanings are attached to liberal intellectuals; they are the ones who boldly raised their voices to counter the KMT ruling party and who endorsed democracy and human rights, issues that I will discuss in the following chapter. Liberal intellectuals may not belong to any feminist group but have the potential to become pro-feminist or feminist scholars.

Pro-feminist scholars represent the supporters and allies of feminism who may or may not join feminist networks. The feminist values may not become a central component of their identity, but they have the potential to make gender studies an integral part of their multiple scholarly interests. Feminist scholars are those who publicly declare themselves to be feminists and who, despite having to negotiate between various types of feminist groups, become assertive advocates of feminism. The centrality of feminist values is highest among this group, compared to liberal intellectuals and pro-feminists.

In general, their feminist identity becomes the most inspiring force for these pathfinders in terms of how they prioritize their life goals and construct strategies of meaningful action. These values and meanings drive pathfinders to integrate feminist values into their career choices and life paths. They usually feel motivated or even empowered to be part of the collective voices and become strong advocates of women's studies or women's issues. In addition to the subjective formation of identity, structural factors—society and academe's receptivity to the women's movement, feminism, and women's studies—exert a great deal of influence over the degree to which women scholars avoid or declare themselves to be feminist scholars.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter reviewed the literature on the emergence of women's studies and introduced a microfoundational approach to pathfinders. In the first part of this chapter, two central themes—institutional sexism and intellectual activism—were discussed to explore the dialectic between women as subordinate and women as change agents in relation to the evolution of

**Table 1:** Relations among Centrality of Identity, Perception of Opportunity, and Strategies of Action

| Centrality | | Feminist Identity Low----------High | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chance | Suppressive | Empowerment | I | Empowerment | I, II | Empowerment Outreaching | I, II III |
| | Non-Suppressive | Empowerment Outreaching | I, II | Empowerment Networking | I, II, III | Empowerment Networking Confrontation | II, III |
| | Supportive | Empowerment Networking | I, II, III | Empowerment Networking Confrontation | II, III | Empowerment Networking Confrontation | III |

Type I: Women's studies practitioners; Type II: Liberal intellectuals and Pro-feminist scholars; Type III: Feminist scholars.

women's studies in academia. Regarding the first topic, in order to make the connection between gender and power embedded in institutional sexism, I introduced and discussed feminist critiques of functionalist approaches to institutions, and the knowledge-power conjunction that mystifies and reproduces gender relations in organizations. I then discussed women's experiences of subordination in academe and as outsiders within mainstream knowledge enterprises. The discussion of the relevant literature suggested the kinds of structural arrangements and social forces that women have come to realize have kept them in a subordinate status in academia and the larger society.

I then discussed the exclusion and domination that has made women "outsiders within," that is, outsiders in the knowledge production industry. In the face of institutional disadvantages, women were able to create an "epistemic advantage" and construct a new field of study (Harding, 1996). These alternative claims of feminist knowledge were grounded in critiques by women scholars of the knowledge-power conjunction and the intellectual-institutional order, both of which have historically excluded women's voices and their representation in the world.

In my discussion of the second topic, on intellectual activism, I introduced Bourdieu's notions of "field" and four forms of capital to grasp the dialectic between agency and structure. I further divided the topic of intellectual activism into three dimensions: an organizational approach, knowledge production, and social agency. I employed an organizational approach to illustrate the process of the formation of women's studies—its incubation, emergence, structuring, and functioning. By looking at knowledge production, I explicated the emergence of feminist scholarship, the curriculum transformation, the feminist pedagogies, and the primary debates by which women's studies has evolved. I also dealt with the issue of social agency, which illuminated how feminist action has collectively created this field of study in the academy.

I further compared and contrasted three comprehensive studies regarding the evolution of women's studies and feminist scholarship. The main contribution of the three studies,

for our purposes, is that they point to the fact that identity and strategy are the key notions for understanding the institutionalization process of the field.

In the second part of this chapter, I introduced a microfoundational approach for the study of emergent women's studies. A microfoundational approach was developed for understanding pathfinders and was underlined by three main concepts—consciousness-raising, formation of personal and collective identity, and strategies of action. I introduced a developmental model of shifts in consciousness to explicate the dynamic formation of feminist identity. I discussed three types of complex formation of collective identity. I also pointed out how the notion of strategies of action, with the three important orientations of empowerment, networking, and confrontation, refer to the nodal points of the moving interplay between identity-action and structure within a historical process.

All three main concepts of a microfoundational approach were laid out to define pathfinders who initiated structural changes within a historical process. Consciousness and identity, composed of agential motivation and political impulse, orchestrated pathfinders to take action in terms of affirming feminist values and desired social change. Identity formation of the pathfinders was thus conceived as the driving force in the microfoundation, propelling action and setting off the interplay between agency and structure.

And last, I revised the main concepts of a microfoundational approach based on the data which in the following chapters will aid us in grasping the dynamic of feminist action and structural changes in the Taiwanese context. The revised two main concepts of a microfoundational approach—centrality of feminist identity and perception of structural opportunities—grew out of a constant dialogue between the research approach, the data collection process, and the data collected. These two concepts provide an implicit framework of understanding in the coming chapters as our understanding deepens regarding the shifts in the pathfinders' feminist consciousness and their efforts to effect change in Taiwanese academia and society.

# Chapter Three
# The Patriarchal State, Women's Movements, and Women's Studies in Taiwan

This chapter introduces the socio-historical context in which women's studies emerged and has developed in Taiwanese society. In order to display the connection between structural forces and social action, I specify three important forces that have worked either to construct and enforce a certain patriarchal ideal of Taiwanese womanhood or, on the contrary, to assert and reinvent a self-determined subjectivity for women during Taiwan's democratic transition in the 1980s. They are the patriarchal state, on the one hand, and the women's movement and women's studies on the other.

In the first of three parts, I depict the characteristics of the patriarchal party state monopolized by the Kuomintang (KMT), the Nationalist Party, which constructed a "legitimizing identity" of nationalism that severely limited women's role in public spheres. This nationalistic legitimizing identity was the prevailing standard in Taiwan for over four decades. It ascribed to women a role of sacrifice and submission based on duty to one's nation and family. In the second part, I discuss the Taiwanese women's movement of the 1980s, which slowly raised women's consciousness and helped them to develop a "resistance identity" against the KMT's political and social controls. By constructing a "project identity" for Taiwanese women, women activists not only weakened the prevailing patriarchal culture, but also began to construct a gender-equal society that would enable women to pursue their goals and develop into socially independent people. In the third and last part of the chapter, I sketch what I see as the three stages of the evolution of women's and gender studies in Taiwan's universities, colleges, and research institutes since 1985.

## THE PATRIARCHAL STATEIN TAIWAN

Taiwan (the Republic of China) is mainly composed of Chinese immigrants who came to the island from mainland China up to 400 years ago. Taiwan now consists of four major ethnic groups: the Aborigines, Fukien Taiwanese, Hakka Taiwanese, and Mainlanders.[1] Located in the Taiwan Strait, less than 100 miles off the eastern shores of mainland China (the People's Republic of China), the tiny island formerly known as Formosa has been an important geopolitical site, trade center and military strategic point for centuries. Dutch and Spanish explorers who controlled the island in the 17th century were the first to recognize Taiwan's strategic importance. In the late 19th century, the Japanese colonized the island. Even though starvation, brutality, and forced military conscription, among other things, were suffered under Japanese colonial rule from 1895 to 1945, it can be fairly said that many of the first modern aspects of Taiwanese society were gradually shaped during that time. An industrial economic infrastructure, commercial economy and

educational and communication facilities were developed and upgraded by the Japanese colonial government. These Japanese colonial developments in Taiwan were, we must keep in mind, singularly done for the benefit and goals of the Japanese empire, not to benefit Taiwan (Copper, 1996).

The Japanese were forced out of Taiwan in 1945 following their defeat in World War II. Chiang Kai-shek and his KMT party moved to Taiwan following the nationalists' defeat on mainland China by the Chinese Communist Party. The KMT quickly established a "State of Siege" on Taiwan to confront the perceived threat from Chinese Communists in China. This under-siege mentality was utilized by the KMT to impose many repressive laws and to suspend many civil rights. The Republic of China's Constitution was frozen and replaced by the "Temporary Provisions." Already in 1948, Martial Law had been decreed to supervise all aspects of people's lives, including the suppression of all kinds of civil organizations.

The severe control exhibited under the KMT rule was based on a pyramidal party structure that paralleled the state.[2] The exiled Chinese central government basically consisted of 1.5 million state employees, a massive army, and legislative bodies moved from the mainland, which imposed on the people a coercive legal system, an invasive intelligence agency and civilian surveillance apparatuses controlling all aspects of people's lives (Cheng, 1993).[3]

Dissidence was not tolerated. All dissidents were immediately removed. Following the unrest of the "2–28 Incident" which occurred on February 28, 1947, about 20,000 people were killed or jailed.[4] Many of them were Taiwanese elites and intellectuals. Under the KMTs system of total repression and control, the Taiwanese people were precluded from political participation. This suppressive period was called the era of "white terror" (Wang, 1994).[5]

The party not only used coercive force but also ideological apparatuses for incuicating the political loyalty of citizens. On the one hand, the party-constructed nationalist ideology, the "holy mission," which stated that mainland China had to be re-attacked and recovered, was legitimized by the KMT and imposed on every citizen. On the other hand, the party fostered Confucianism and traditional Chinese values to legitimize its power and to de-legitimize the Chinese Communists who had trashed Chinese culture and traditions.

A further goal of the Chinese cultural revival campaign of the KMT was to re-socialize and re-educate the Taiwanese people, who had been "brain-washed" by the Japanese colonial empire, into docile citizens of the KMT regime. Culture was thus used for constructing a "legitimizing identity," political and social control, indoctrination, and propaganda (Copper, 1996). Family life and relations, the educational structure, teaching and social education became integral parts of what Althusser (1971) would call the ideological state apparatuses, with the goal of purposely preaching state ideologies to the youth and converting the adults—Japanese-influenced Taiwanese—into Chinese. Teacher training, textbooks, school activities and a hidden curriculum were use to fortress the holy mission and inculcate the younger generatkm with a blind sense of patriotism, nationalism, and sacrifice (Shih, 1993; Young, 1994). Taiwanese women, who were glorified in their limited roles as wives, mothers, and teachers, were assigned as honored guardians to uphold the holy mission of the state.

Passing restrictive statutes to control the lives and actions of women, and otherwise regulating women's roles in society, was characteristic of the KMT as an authoritarian-patriarchal state. Prior to 1990, very little literature was published that analyzed this patriarchal ideology and its effect on women. Alongside the rise of the women's movements in Taiwan in the 1970s, a growing desire to rediscover women's voices caused a mushrooming of studies on women and the effects of the patriarchal society on women. A number of studies, including a few that were done before the 1990s, particularly looked at how the party state had constructed womanhood and motherhood by mobilizing women to be the guardians of the nationalist ideologies, uphold the nation, and back up the export-oriented economic development of the 1960s and 1970s (Diamond, 1973, 1975; Ku, 1989; Fan, 1990; Hsiung, 1996; Chang, 1998; Hsieh, 2000).

According to these studies, the KMT has had a long history of suppressing women. In the 1930s, the KMT regime developed ways to suppress the first wave of the mainland Chinese women's movement and its corresponding liberal ideologies, which had evolved from the May Fourth Movement in China in the 1920s. The KMT rulers then transported its techniques of complete control over to postwar Taiwan. Despite the fact that there were some left-ish KMT members and feminist advocates who actively struggled for women's rights both in China and Taiwan in the first half of the 20th century, the authoritarian KMT regime was able to effectively silence them. The KMT created a number of official and semi-official women's organizations[6] to monitor all women's activities and to "represent" all women's voices (Hsu, 1997; Chang, 1998). However, these associations represented only one voice and that was the voice of the KMT. The associations were primarily composed of elite Taiwanese women or the wives of the governmental officers and military personnel who agreed wholeheartedly with the KMT party line. These women's associations played a primary role in inculcating and mobilizing Taiwanese women to serve the nationalist ideology and state during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. The early women's movement activists in Taiwan and in China were forced to desert their radical voices following the establishment of the party women's organizations. Due to martial law, no other women's organizations were allowed to form and counter the status quo.

The ideologies of nationalism, asceticism, Confucianism, and militarism held sway to keep Taiwan intact and to face the twin threats of the Communists and "decadent Westernization." Womanhood and motherhood became important symbolic sites for addressing these twin evils and doing battle against their influences (Chang, 1998). Under the leadership of the government-affiliated women's organizations, women's roles and morals were further articulated and reinforced. Taiwan was portrayed as a nation at risk by the KMT and, under this guise, the KMT women's associations replaced the progressive character of the Chinese women's movement with the conservative ideology of "qi-jia bao-guo," meaning that women were endowed with the moral obligation to serve both the family and the state (Hsu, 1997; Chang, 1998). For example, under the KMT's ruling, the annual ceremony of Mother's Day became a ritual of giorifying womanhood and motherhood to reinforce women's domestic roles and loyalty to the regime.[7]

During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, the image of "the mother of the nation" was successfully created. It hailed women with a nationalist mission to save the nation by reproducing and inculcating the next generation with blind loyalty to the political leaders

and to faithfully serve the state. Altruism was ascribed as normal to women's nature and essence. Sacrifice, subservience, and compassion were ascribed as the essential virtues of womanhood and motherhood. Women's destiny was tied solely to marriage and family. Women's achievements and status were measured by their success in raising a good family and educating their children.[8]

In the 1970s, Taiwan underwent major economic difficulties stemming from changes in international relations and an economic recession that started with the crude oil crisis in 1973. After the United States recognized the Peoples Republic of China as the only legitimate sovereign of mainland China, Taiwan lost most of its international supporters. Taiwan became more vulnerable to the communist threat and suffered an uncertain future. The KMT's holy mission of "Fight to Win Back the Mainland," lost its legitimacy. To counter this loss of its military and ideological goal, the KMT party state made greater efforts at controlling the economic development of Taiwan to retain its legitimacy of governance.

Following the rise of the export-led economy in the 1960s, cheap labor was necessary for the fiercely competitive international market. Women, who were, so to speak, a previously untapped reserve army, became new recruits to the labor-force. Female participation in the labor-force, however, was conspicuously kept subsidiary and supplementary in character. Women's participation in the labor force in Taiwan, therefore, has remained about 45 percent since 1986. This low figure is due to several different factors, including (1) lack of childcare facilities, (2) lack of welfare policies to reduce women's burden of care work at home, and (3) sex discrimination at work which includes lower pay than men and dim opportunities of prornotion for women. In 1997, the women's labor participation rate in Taiwan remained about 46 percent, which was lower than that in Korea (49 percent), Japan (50 percent), Singapore (51 percent), and the United States (60 percent). Even today, there has been no improvement in the ratio of women in the workforce in Taiwan since the 1980s (Liu, 2002).

Although the equality of educational opportunity for girls was guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of China,[9] in reality girls' aspirations to advanced education were limited by a number of structural factors. These factors included the traditional Chinese values favoring boys, educational tracks and quotas channeling girls into traditional female fields, lack of role model alternatives to traditional norms, and gender bias found in job structures, company policies, and the recruitment of governmental bureaucrats through public exams (Hsieh, 1995). With the prevailing sex discrimination, few decent jobs were available for single and young women. Most of the jobs were immediately closed to a woman after she got married or became pregnant.[10]

In general, economic development brought changes to society and opened up a great deal of opportunities for women to participate in paid work. However, even in this process of economic change, the state purposely and actively tried to preserve its traditional value system by encouraging women to act more responsible for the sake of state-guided social progress by keeping the society stable and intact domestically rather than by working. By exploiting women as cheap labor in the work force and unpaid labor at home, the party state became a beneficial recipient of the patriarchal system and capitalist development (Hsiung, 1996).

One striking example of the state's exploitation of the female labor force is the state policy of "Living Rooms as Factories,"[11] which literally meant that "living rooms were

converted into ‘factories,’ housewives became workers, and work became domesticated” (Hsiung, 1996, p. 52). This program was created in the late 1970s in order to fully utilize married women in response to the shortage of laborers for the export-led economy but at the same time to keep the women at home and out of the work force. In this model of home-working, the women were paid for piecework and their earnings were lower than what would have been paid in a factory. In contrast, the capitalists were able to increase their productivity and at the same time reduce production costs as they did not have to pay for factory facilities, energy, or management for the easily subcontracted and laid off home-working women.

By the 1980s, Taiwan was faced with an even greater need for cheaper labor to fulfill its export-oriented industries and to work obediently in its factories. The state twisted its nationalist ideologies to reconcile the potential conflict between women’s roles at work and in the family. The government-affiliated women’s organizations played a leadership role in expounding and inculcating their version of a new modern woman by saying that the dual responsibilities of women as worker and mother/wife were crucial to economic development and societal stability. The women’s associations simultaneously created training programs for married women and continued advocating traditional feminine ethics and virtues beseeching women to fulfill their moral obligations toward promoting prosperity for both the country and families. By pushing these dual responsibilities of women, the state eschewed the increasing demand for better welfare policies and left all responsibility for the care of children and the elderly to women (Hsieh, 2000).[12]

Needless to say, industrialization and urbanization brought a host of new problems, including an increase in the divorce rate, a rise in the number of single women, youth crimes, and the neglect of the elderly. Women, once again, were identified by the state as being responsible for curing these new social problems. A Mother Workshop Program was created in the 1980s to galvanize women to serve the society. The purpose of the program, as stated by Taiwanese Provincial Governor Xieh, was to “educate mothers to help their husbands and teach their children, and to train them to become dutiful wives and loving mothers” (Xieh 1989, p. 2; cited in Hsiung, 1996, p. 49). The program was also made to reinforce the image of “the mother of the nation” by advocating women’s responsibilities in homemaking so that progress, harmony, and solidarity in the family and society could be retained.

In sum, through the government-affiliated women’s organizations that were engaged in educating and training women in the feminine skills and social services, the Taiwanese state constructed a “legitimizing identity” for women in terms of nationalism and development. This legitimizing identity of womanhood and motherhood largely restricted women’s choices and opportunities. The state declared that marriage was a woman’s ultimate destiny. Women’s identities were defined by their domestic roles as wives and mothers. As the economy developed, the state reconciled the conflict between the need for female laborers in the work force and women’s traditional roles at home by actively articulating the dual responsibilities of women in a way that reinforced traditional gender ideology. Through such pro grams as the “Living Rooms as Factories” and the Mother Workshops, the state persistently reinforced women’s dependent and subordinate positions in the family and society (Hsiung, 1996).

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN TAIWAN

Taiwanese society changed dramatically after the 38-year-long decree of Martial Law was lifted in 1987. The abolishment of the repressive Martial Law opened up new social opportunities and freedoms for nurturing an emergent civil society.[13] For the first time in Taiwanese history, diverse so cial, political and environmental interest groups were free to affiliate and pursue their individual or joint agendas. All classes, farmers, blue-collar workers, environmental protesters, college professors, scholars, and students had the freedom to rally on the streets, demanding and obtaining further reforms (Cheng, 1993).

The women's movement was one of the strongest and most active forms of social activism to take root in this era of broad social change. Although the women's movement in Taiwan can be traced back to the pre-war Japanese colonial period, most Taiwanese social movement literature defines the contemporary women's movement as having been sparked by the revolutionary rhetoric of Annette Lu in 1971, who currently serves as the first female vice president of the country. The feminist movement led by Lu died out soon after she was jailed in 1979. The women's movement then entered a period of latency in the first half of the 1980s, after which it rose again in the late 1980s and then peaked in the mid-1990s (Fan, 2000; Hsieh & Chang, 2004).

### *New Feminism*

Lu was the first female scholar to boldly criticize the gender inequities embedded in Taiwanese governmental policies and the male supremacy standard of Chinese traditions. She first learned of and became an adherent of women's rights while studying in the United States. She proposed a "New Feminism" ethos that was first and foremost a local product (Lu, 1990). The tenet of New Feminism was, "To be a human first, a woman second" (Lu, 1990). Lu believed that Taiwanese women would eventually earn equal rights by demonstrating that women were equal to men in terms of their ability to contribute to the economic and social development of the country.

Lu believed that the cooperation of both sexes was necessary to building a harmonious and just society. She thus did not encourage women to subvert their traditional roles (Ku, 1989). The main goal of New Feminism was to gain social support for women's rights in Taiwan. Lu's approach to woman's rights was, therefore, more of a liberal reformism or human rights activism than it was a part of a western-style radical feminist movement. In fact, her liberal ideals were part of the legacy of the May Fourth Movement, which signified a bold leap forward, especially in the hostile climate of the 1970s in Taiwan.[14] Her strategy was to adopt human capital and national development paradigms that would be compatible with the mainstream ideologies of the ruling state; this framework would, she reasoned, secure the right of social participation for all Taiwanese women.

Lu formed the Pioneer Press to recruit like-minded women and set up a telephone hotline to provide counseling services for women. However, her critical efforts and leadership did not last long. In 1979 she was jailed for her political activities opposing the ruling regime (Wang, 1999; Fan, 2000).[15] After that, the government prohibited all activities of the New Feminism movement in the 1970s and 1980s. The women's movement was, moreover, distorted by the government-controlled media, which

stigmatized Lu as an extremist who advocated "open sex" and polygamous marriages (Chang, 1998).

### *The Awakening Magazine*

Following the crack down on the New Feminism movement by the state, the second stage of the women's movement in Taiwan proceeded cautiously. This new women's movement was characterized as an inward-looking network or "the latent abeyance" period (Taylor, 1989), which primarily practiced consciousness-raising and self-development for women. One of Lu's followers, Lee Yuan-chen, a college literature professor, founded the *Awakening Magazine* in 1982 to continue the movement.[16] Due to the extremely antagonistic climate in Taiwan between 1982 and 1986 towards the women's movement, Lee and her associates adopted a low profile method of advocating gender equality (Wang, 1999). The organization's primary activities included recruiting new members, occasionally circulating the organization's magazine that introduced and discussed western feminist thought, and regularly reporting on local and international women-related events. During this period, educational workshops were regularly held to raise women's awareness of their legal rights and to press for equality of opportunity.

### *Relations with New Social Movements and Political Movements*

As the influence of industrialization and urbanization on Taiwanese society increased, the emergent new middle class envisioned and demanded toleration of civil, economic and social freedoms, which, needless to say, came into conflict with the KMT's tightly controlled ideological rule. New social problems erupted due to uneven developmental policies that resulted in over-exploitation of the land and a diminished quality of life by the 1980s. As public critique and outrage over land pollution problems and the low quality of life soared, new social movements developed to address these concerns, including the consumer rights and environmental movements. The importance of social issues gained a new social legitimacy. Hundreds of Taiwanese housewives were recruited into these two movements in a process that helped to secure and legitimate the social participation of women in social movements.

On the one hand, in order to recruit new members and secure financial resources, a number of women's organizations allied themselves with the "liberal" intellectual activists who led the consumer rights and environmental movements. These leading intellectuals fought for progress and democracy and had the influence to shape public opinion against the ruling party. On the other hand, the Awakening organization and other women's groups realized the importance of women's involvement in social action as a means of empowering women to become independent, autonomous, and self-assured persons.

Through these various forms of collective action, the new meaning of the modern woman in Taiwan was gradually emerging and progressively constructed. Although motherhood remained an ideal life goal for most women, the new professional and social activism of women created alternative channels for women to construct multiple identities in society and not just the previous singular identity of wife/mother. The social belief that the ultimate destiny of all women was marriage gradually lost its hegemonic

ground in the 1990s, further weakening the KMT's official "legitimizing identity" for women which had predominated prior to 1990 (Chang, 1995).

In addition to the periodic social activism which had begun in the 1970s, the new, middle-class educated elite, adopting western democratic ideals and equipped with organizational skills, initiated political reforms and a liberalization movement. These political dissidents who opposed KMT rule called themselves "dissidents outside the KMT party" *(dang-wai yi-yi fen-zi)* and formed the Democratic Progress Party (DPP) in 1987. Through their incessant struggles, the DPP's political reform movement weakened the control of the KMT and achieved a breakthrough when marital law was lifted in 1987 (Cheng, 1989). Their militant struggles successfully de-legitimized the KMT's monopoly and opened up new political strategies against the authoritarian control of the government.

### *Women's Movement Organizations*

In 1986, the Awakening organization, with thirty-six other organizations, successfully launched a demonstration to bring public awareness to the issue of youth prostitution, a problem that had been rampant but ignored for years. After this march, the number of women's associations and foundations mushroomed. The revision of the law in 1989 to permit the free association of people further released civil energy and resulted in further expansion of women's associations (Wang, 1997; Fan, 2000).

The women's movement consisted of a variety of groups responding to various women's needs and concerns. They ranged from self-help groups that emphasized self-growth and counseling for divorced women, to organizations that rescued and sheltered female teenagers from forced prostitution, to academic groups that promoted women's studies. For instance, the Warm Life Association was formed in 1986 to organize divorced women into support groups. The group members helped each other go through the separation process and difficulties of a divorce. In 1989, the Homemakers' Union and Foundation was established to galvanize women to participate in solving a variety of social issues, including protecting the environment, promoting public safety, improving the quality of life, and encouraging women to develop and fulfill their potentials (Wang, 1999).

Prior to 1989, the activities and strategies of these women's organizations were low-key and non-threatening. Due to the stigma attached to feminism, most of these activists rarely declared themselves to be feminists. Some organizations' activists intentionally kept a distance from Awakening, which was perceived as too "progressive" or "radical" because of its aim of empowering women through confrontation and opposition to the KMTs culturally entrenched belief in the harmony between the sexes grounded in women's compliance and self-sacrifice (Fan, 1990; Wang, 1999).

In the 1980s and early 1990s, Taiwan's society remained hostile towards the women's movement and feminism. For example, in a survey conducted at a 1985 conference on women's roles in national development, 60 percent of the women interviewees believed that they did not need a women's movement to improve their lives in the near future (Cheng & Liao, 1985).[17] Although the findings of this survey might not have precisely reflected women's real concerns due to their fear of political activities since the period of "White Terror," it did signify that the majority of Taiwanese were not yet ready to accept

western feminism, because the term was synonymous with being "anti-society" and "man-hating."

### *Identity Politics*

As Taiwan entered the post-industrial society of the 1990s, a diversification and proliferation of women's issues occurred. A cultural and symbolic turn in feminism loomed large in both the women's movement and academic circles in Taiwan, and most of the new ideas were filtered to Taiwan through recently returned academicians who had studied in the west (Chang, 1995). The politics of difference gradually surfaced and gained discursive currency. Identity politics travels across the boundaries of gender, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, party affiliation, and, of course, geopolitical states. In this climate, the women's movement in Taiwan became fragmented over identity politics and debates between the different kinds of feminisms as well as the goals of the women's movement.

The predominant women-related issues were women's welfare, policy reform, and gender equality issues, such as educational opportunities, work equality, political participation, and family issues. In the 1990s, sexuality-related issues such as sexual harassment, sexual assault, homosexuality, and the sex industry gradually gained political attention. However, due to differing standpoints on how to address these volatile issues, the women's movement experienced conflicts and split from within. This situation has posed problems among women's movement organizations and activists since 1990.[18]

These conflicts within the women's movement in Taiwan, simply put, derived from differences of political agenda on the one hand, and from competing feminist discourses divided by equality/welfare vs. sexual liberation on the other. This tension between the women's movement and women's studies is highly relevant to the history of the construction and reconstruction of women's studies in Taiwan. The friction between these two competing camps surfaced in the early 1990s. Two primary examples of the clashes between them were directly associated with the Awakening organization. The first set of events occurred in the early 1990s between Awakening activists and the founders of women's studies, and the second surfaced in the late 1990s between the equality/welfare and the sexual liberation camps. In the first instance, the Awakening activists represented a liberal and progressive ideology vs. the neutral or conservative stance underlying women's studies advocacy. In the second instance, the Awakening members were the less radical activists in comparison with the sexual liberation camp led by academic radicals of sex/gender studies at National Central University (see also the discussion of the relationship between these two camps below in the section on women's studies, and later in Chapter 5).

In 1994 and again in 1995 a large demonstration was held to protest incidents of sexual harassment on campuses and in work places.[19] These demonstrations were meant to energize the women movements into addressing the issues of body politics and sex liberation.[20] Alongside the campaign against sexual harassment, the feminist discourses of the body and sexuality being propounded by activists and countered by conservatives intensively appeared in the media from 1990, which set forth a new discursive battleground in Taiwanese society and academe. Droves of young female college students were attracted to the postmodern discourses being produced within academic circles,

particularly from foreign language, literary and cultural studies sources. The feminist voices of both activist and academic groups became more and more heard on academic campuses and in academic publishing as well as in the popular media. In addition to sexuality issues, conflicts based upon ethnicity and political parties, compounded with gender identity, further diversified both feminist discourses and women's movement organizations in the second half of the 1990s.

### *Legal Reforms and Gender Mainstreaming Machinery*

In spite of the weakening solidarity of the women's movement in Taiwan due to the proliferation and fragmentization of identity politics and feminisms, the women's movement had a significant impact on society and women's lives through its success in obtaining legal and educational reforms for gender equity (see Appendix B). The achievements in legislative reforms between 1984 and 2000 include legalizing abortion, preventing child prostitution, revising family law to protect divorced women from being deserted by their husbands without compensation, preventing sexual assault and protecting women from persistent domestic violence. The most important legislative reform act addressing women's rights was the Equal Employment Act, which was finally enacted in March 2002 after a twelve-year struggle (Wang, 1997; Wang, 1999; Fan, 2000).[21]

In 1997, through the joint efforts of all women's movement organizations, the highest cabinet-level position in the nation to address women's issues and promote gender equity was formed, the Committee Promoting Women's Rights.[22] The Ministry of Education (MOE) also established the Committee for Gender Equity Education in 1997. However, the Committee for Gender Equity Education has exhibited little effectiveness and exerts little influence on postsecondary institutions. Its gender equity policy is more rhetorical than substantial.

The new hope for the actual realization of gender equity in education currently lies with the enactment of the Educational Gender Equity Law pro posed in 2001. The law addresses all kinds of gender equality issues in learning, curriculum, textbooks, pedagogy, teacher training, hiring and promoting of female teachers and academicians, the proper procedure for handling sexual harassment and attack incidents, and rewards and sanctions enforced by the MOE and local governments of educational divisions (Chen, 2001). If this law is finally passed, gender equity will be incorporated into the teaching and learning practices of every classroom; thus, it is expected to have a crucial impact on the socialization of girls.

In general, these achievements of the women's movement have provided women with more equitable life chances in public spheres even though sex discrimination still prevails. In particular, the women's movement has successfully constructed "resistance identity" to channel women's energy toward enacting reform laws that have greatly impacted women's daily lives. "Resistance identity" has helped to tear down the KMT's traditional image of women as having the single social role of mother/wife. For example, the revision of family laws in 1996 helped to deregulate the social practices of Confucian hierarchical relations between the sexes. It helped to legitimize institutional intervention into domestic issues to protect women's property ownership rights and child custody rights, which had previously solely belonged to husbands. The legislative reforms in

Taiwan have so far addressed women's rights in the home and property issues. The Equal Employment Act is anticipated to take women's rights into the workplace and to become a rallying point for women activists to check and constantly counter all kinds of discrimination against women at work.

## EVOLUTION OF WOMEN'S STUDIES IN TAIWAN

### *Two-winged Development*

The path to women's studies in Taiwan was by no means uniform or single-minded. Women's studies in Taiwan initially developed from two major wings of the women's movement, broadly defined. Many of the people representing each wing may have had a common academic background but were at odds over what kind of women's studies should be built. One wing was the local women's movement, primarily led by the Awakening group and proposing that women's studies was inseparable from the women's movement and feminism. The other wing of women's studies was oriented toward the development of purely academic research and teaching, predominantly guided by academics who had received social science training overseas during the 1970s and 1980s, mainly in the United States. In fact, the majority of the forerunners of the two wings had obtained graduate degrees from the United States or some other western countries. Yet, the pathfinders constructed differing visions and knowledge of how to go about improving women's status in Taiwan.

The two wings had very different opinions about how to bring about social change and improve women's status in Taiwan in the 1980s. The Awakening-led women's movement, whose volunteers and operatives worked out of the city of Taipei as social activists in addition to being, in the case of many, academic students and scholars, believed that women had to organize politically and socially—on the streets, in the home, at schools and political venues and in the halls of justice—so they could be a major force for improving women's chances in life and creating new meanings for all Taiwanese women. In contrast, the university-based, formal scholarship-centered women's studies group believed that structural change—requiring objective academic analysis of the political and economic social structure—was the key to making multiple life-path options and avenues of success open to women in both public and private spheres (Lee, 1986; Ku, 1988; Chiang, 1988).

At first, in the early 1990s, the two wings were openly opposed to each other. Their main debate centered on whether women's studies should be inseparable from the women's movement and feminism. This disagreement, however, was only openly discussed in three conferences and at several small gatherings and soon died out. To some degree, the friction nevertheless remained and eventually grew once again into a major obstacle that prevented and limited cooperation between the two camps.[24] The tension between the two wings was partially resolved when the Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association, which fused intellectual interests with activism, was formed in 1993.

The two-winged development distinguishes the evolution of women's studies in Taiwan from that of the United States. It is largely associated with the differences in the

political climate on the campuses in the two countries. Another factor that affected the development of women studies in both countries was the presence or absence of critical mass (i.e., student activists, feminists, and leftists). The feminist students and academicians in the United States played a crucial role in challenging the established institutions and ideologies and in forming formal and informal networks that inspired and empowered many women. Their actions resulted in the fusion of political and intellectual impulses into their disciplines and the creation of a new interdisciplinary field (Gumport, 1987, Simeone, 1987; Laslett & Thorne, 1997; Howe, 2000). Many founders of the American women's studies programs were also social activists involved in the civil rights and the New Left (i.e., anti-poverty and anti-war) movements. These activist experiences of the feminist pioneers, especially of those women in the New Left movement, greatly contributed to the feminist movement on American campuses.

In the 1960s, the New Left activists vigorously criticized the educational establishment for serving the status quo middle classes and elites rather than the working class, minority groups, and women in the United States (DuBois et al. 1985). The African American studies programs set up to address and remedy racism in the late 1960s served as a model for women studies advocates to follow. It was during this period of social change and when New Left thinking became actively diffused throughout society and on the campuses, that women graduate students and scholars successfully started their programs for women's studies in the United States (Laslett & Thornes, 1997; Howe, 2000).

Unlike the American experience, Taiwanese women scholars' ground work advocated for women's studies took place in a more repressive environment. The governmental suppression of campus-centered unrest and the academic formalism popular at the time largely account for the divide that arose between the activism-first and scholarship-first camps during the emergence of women's studies in Taiwan (Cheng, 1993).

The academic formalism came in the form of the technocratic rationality endorsed by Taiwanese scholarly adherents to American structural-functionalist (consensus-based) scholarship. In fact, most of the high-ranking governmental bureaucrats and university professors had earned their graduate degrees overseas and had been trained in the scientific positivism in vogue overseas. They believed that the catch-up development paradigm (i.e., western modernization theories) would be the best and most effective way to build the nation. They thus had a bias toward political and socio-economic stability. The skills and knowledge of functionalist ideologies also considerably influenced the development of the social sciences, the framing of research questions, the shaping of research priorities and higher education curriculum, and the uses of the empirical approach and methodology in policy-making. It was not until the late 1980s that, countering these trends, critical studies was introduced into the social sciences and widely disseminated on campuses via student movements and student study clubs (Ye, 1995).

Despite the KMT's tight political control throughout Taiwanese society, a number of liberal intellectuals endorsed and demanded the separation of academics and politics (i.e., government propaganda). Trained in scientific positivism, most of these liberal intellectuals asserted that scientific evidence and the objectivity of research made up the legitimate terms of discourse by which to build academic credibility and to counter the political propaganda manufactured by the KMT government permeating in Taiwan's

academia. Some of these liberal intellectuals chose not to affiliate with the social movements since they perceived such political actions would taint the integrity of their scientific discourse and their academic autonomy. The forerunners of the women's studies research centers also avoided political involvement. In order to represent such a "liberal" or neutral stance, they chose not to affiliate with the women's movements in the 1980s (Cheng, 1993). They feared that engaging in politics, even if for the sake of progressive social movements, would jeopardize the reliability of the neutral and objective facts that, they believed, would have a greater impact on persuading the public to support ideas representing the "truth" rather than the political interests of the ruling party and certain groups. It was not until the lifting of martial law that these liberal intellectuals endorsed an image of the public intellectual as an essential part of scholarship, whereby their intellectual and political judgments could be integrated with and legitimized to help construct a democratic and just society (Ye, 2001).

### *Authoritarian Bureaucracy of Higher Education*

In addition, the higher education system in Taiwan prior to the reform of University Law in 1994 was an inflexible hierarchical structure in which policy-making, decisions, rewards, and sanctions were centralized at the top of the bureaucracy (Young, 1994). These features were attributed to the authoritarian and hierarchical nature of Taiwanese culture and society. The authoritarian bureaucracy of higher education in Taiwan was completely controlled, or at least predominately controlled, by male professors. Since they occupied most of the higher ranks, men were the ones with prestigious reputations, power, and privileges, reinforced by the patriarchal nature of the institutions of higher education (Chiang, 1995). In addition, Taiwan's university governance structure was very different from America's. In Taiwanese higher education institutions, there existed one sole authority: the Ministry of Education. This administrative hierarchy exerted almost total control over the enrollment of students, the curriculum, hiring and firing of staff and faculty, and budgeting of public universities. It was not until the enactment of the new university law that the control of the Ministry of Education was weakened (Chen, 1997).[25]

More importantly, the governance of universities was rigid and closely tied with the economic and political blueprint drafted by the central government in its goal of building a nation. In this plan, the national allocation of resources and power was disproportionably distributed to technology and sciences, fields in which men far outnumbered women. The centralization in the postsecondary institutions thus reproduced a masculine culture embedded in the "organizational logic" of Taiwanese academia. The masculine culture was observable through many institutional practices that historically legitimated institutional discrimination against women and were deeply rooted in the patriarchal bureaucracy. For example, many institutions had a rule prohibiting nepotism. This policy merely impeded women academicians from getting a tenured job on the same campus where their partners taught.

### *Status of Women Academicians*

It is thus not surprising to find that women academics were treated as a subordinate group and "outsiders within" in Taiwan's universities. The majority of women were excluded from the administrative ranks where policy was set, and occupied the lowest-paid teaching jobs in the universities. Despite the fact that higher education had undergone expansion in the 1980s and educational reform had occurred in the 1990s, female faculty were still stratified in lower rung teaching jobs. In 1970, about 14 percent of university professors were female, by 1990 that figure had decreased to 9 percent and climbed up slightly to reach 13 percent in 2000, which was still lower than the 1970 percentage (Educational Statistics, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000). Even today, the percentage of female professors is still lower than it was 30 years ago. Female associate professors increased from 15 percent in 1970 to 24 percent in 2000, only slightly better than the percentages for women professors.

This sex stratification in academia is also reflected in the income gap between the sexes. Although there was no pay scale difference between male and female faculty members, total income, academic performance and professional status were saliently differentiated between the genders. According to Chou's study (1992), female faculty members in Taiwan had to spend more time becoming a full professor and were less likely to reach decision-making positions than their male counterparts. The male-controlled university system also resulted in gaps between male and female faculty members in academic opportunities, promotions and other academic rewards.

In addition, the masculine ethos embedded in the prevailing "organizational logic" caused conflicts between private and public lives bureaucratically separated along functionalist lines in ways that disadvantaged women as a group. Chou's study (1992) demonstrated that married female faculty members were more likely to encounter role conflicts between their role as a wife-mother vs. their role as a scholar. Women in academia were expected to fulfill their family duties first. They had very little help in juggling a career and family. There were few social support systems in place for the working mother, such as public childcare facilities. The result was that female faculty members spent triple the amount of time as their male counterparts on all their work and duties (Hsu, 1995). Further, it took women much longer to reach the position of a full professor (Chou, 1992). Administrations even used the argument that "men are the primary breadwinner" as an excuse to delay women's promotions. Another factor impeding women was the "fear of success"; that is, many women were afraid of the social consequences of "success" if they were to outperform their husbands (Hsu, 1995).

In addition to rank and seniority, income sources other than payroll also contributed to the earning gap between the sexes. Men were more visible in the academic fields, had more access to administrative positions, community service and social networks, and therefore received more recognition and allowances from institutions and outside sources (Chou, 1992). Many women were shunned from the predominantly male fields or, if they insisted on pursuing a job in a "male" field, women faced particularly daunting obstacles to being accepted into the old boy networks or the academic circle (Hsu, 1995). Such manifestations of traditional gender roles in the academy have not changed. The academic promotion gap between men and women still existed in 1999 (Kao, 1999).

Under such stifling conditions and the antagonistic climate of academic institutions in the 1980s, it is not surprising that the women pathfinders of women's studies in Taiwan strategically decided to engage in low-profile action. To gain social capital and support, they reached out and allied themselves with a few liberal intellectuals in Taiwan. They also made connections with international academic organizations to rationalize the significance of the development of women's studies in Taiwan during the emergent period of the 1980s.

In summary, women's studies in Taiwan emerged in a hostile, repressive, and relatively unsupportive environment. Although by 1985 there were a few established women's organizations, only the Awakening organization actively advocated change to improve women's status. Awakening, with its limited resources and personnel, could, however, offer little help in developing women's studies (Ku, 1996). While occasionally there was activism on university campuses, the government's ideological control generally prevailed. In short, the women's studies pathfinders in the 1980s had little choice but to keep their distance from the women's movements to ensure their survival.

### *Development of Women's Studies in Taiwan*

It can be fairly said that the establishment of the first three women's studies prograrns in Taiwan's universities was largely due to the awakening of educated scholars and the availability of tangible funding offered by the international organization, the Asia Foundation (Chiang, 1995). The process of the awakening and heightening of the pathfinders' feminist consciousness will be fully discussed in Chapter 4. As for the Asia Foundation, it was established in 1954 and is headquartered in San Francisco, California, USA. It has branch offices in many Pacific Rim nations where it works toward its goal of promoting a liberal, democratic, and progressive civil society in the developing countries. The Asia Foundation's agenda of promoting women's status and women's studies research was boosted when the United Nations launched the first "women's decade" between 1976 and 1985. The UN not only held international women's conventions, but also actively promoted third world women's movements for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Although Taiwan was no longer a UN member after 1971, the international influence of the UN program for women was felt in Taiwan and furthered through international organizations such as the Asia Foundation (Wang, 1997).

It is a typical model for many women studies programs in developing countries to begin with women's research centers inside or outside university gates (Miske, 1995). A fledgling women studies program is typically founded by women scholars who have earned their graduate degree abroad, usually in the U.S. or Europe, and who know how to obtain financial support from international NGOs during the early years of operation of the centers. These women's research centers might not have a close-knit relationship with local women's movements. Nevertheless, most women's research center pioneers have been influenced by international and domestic women's movements and western feminist thoughts. Their awakening motivated them to start their women's studies despite and maybe because of the hostile political climate in which they lived. Some viewed women's studies as part of the broader women's movements in their countries (Bonder, 1994; the Committee on Women's Studies in Asia, 1995).

The emergence of women's studies in Taiwan can be broken down into three different periods[26]: the stage of latency prior to 1985, the stage of emergence between 1985 and 1994, and the proliferation period since 1995 (Hsieh & Chang, 2004). The periods are arbitrarily divided according to the availability of feminist literature and publications as well as the degree of institutionalization of women's studies in Taiwan's universities.

### *Stage of Latency*

Women as a subject had not been developed in the mainstream academic research until 1985. During this latency period, only a small number of feminist publications from abroad had been translated and introduced to Taiwanese readers (Ku, 1996). They included *The Second Sex* by Simone de Beauvoir, *The Female Eunuch* by Germaine Greer, and *Sex and Temperament* by Margaret Mead. In the early 1970s, women's studies and research issues were limited to research regarding women's lives in Taiwan, women's history and women's movements in China. [27]

Women's studies in the 1970s and 1980s was mostly descriptive and seldom critical of the patriarchal structures in Taiwan. Most research in women's issues concentrated on child health and family planning. In the late 1970s, with an increasing number of women entering the labor force, research about women changed and began to focus on women's psychological adjustments in the workplace, types of work, and the degree of satisfaction with their lives (Hsieh & Chang, 2004). These studies took a human capital perspective on national development, population control, and social stability. It can be fairly said that women became a research subject only because the government defined them as a source of social problems which could jeopardize collective efforts to achieve national development goals by the mid-1990s (Johnson, 1992).

### *Stage of Emergence*

Between 1985 and 1994, the institutionalization of research centers marked the second stage of searching for and defining women's subjectivity. Conferences on women's roles and social issues about women began to appear after 1985 (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).[28] The term "women's studies" had just been introduced to Taiwan. However, the "quiet" campuses, quiet due to the constrictions and tight political supervision, gave little support to the new emergence of women's studies. Additional suppressive factors, such as the scientific positivism dominating the social sciences and the fact that few women were tenured professors or in the administrative ranks, resulted in a lack of support for the emergence of women's studies or the women's movement on campus. The founders of women's studies strategically used objective and quantitative methodologies to carry out gender research in pursuit of academic credibility. But their association with positivism was tentative and perhaps inconsistent.

Since women's studies were loosely defined in the beginning, it included various research on and by women. As women's studies emerged in more tangible forms, most research about women continued to emphasize marriage and family planning, parenting education, women's adjustment to their conflicting roles as housewives and workers, hygiene, health, and home economics. The research sought to solve the new social problems stemming from industrialization and urbanization. It was compatible with the

KMT's mainstream ideology which justified national development and the dual responsibilities of women (i.e., in the home and at work). Yet their eclectic positivism and tepid commitment to women's social issues placed these early women's studies scholars in a dilemma, for by the late 1980s they faced major challenges from the academic community and the women's movement activists.

For many students and teachers of women's studies in Taiwan, the academic circle was perceived as ostensibly patriarchal and masculine. Female scholars were not yet confident of their scholarly identity and were less recognized as intellectuals endowed with independent, critical, and moral judgments compared with their male counterparts (Young, 1989; Chou, 1992). The gatekeepers in academia either ignored or bashed women's studies. Some even publicly criticized women's studies research as "wrecking" or "trivializing" academic rigor. For instance, at the 1989 National Development Conference, the sole female speaker, discussing domestic violence, was derided for giving a talk about "grannies and mamas" *(po-po ma-ma)*. Her research was deemed worthless by male scholars or was seen as a trivial topic compared to the serious theme of national development (Ku, 1996).

In such a milieu, feminist voices were rarely heard in public. Those who spoke out were usually ridiculed. Women who had insisted on pursuing feminist research might have suffered a blow to their academic career. They received little support from their departments or professional associations. In fact, it was not until 1993 that the only professional association of feminists was formed to support feminist scholars socially and intellectually, and to strengthen feminist scholarship in Taiwan (Ku, 1996).

Teaching gender courses under the name of general education started in the mid-1980s (Hsieh & Wang, 2000). In addition to the institutionalization of the research centers on different campuses, several women's movement activists started teaching gender courses in their departments or in general education in the mid-1980s. Some employed team-teaching to encompass a wide range of women's studies issues. Since the courses of general education were easily defined, it readily provided an expedient avenue for co-teaching women's studies courses under this umbrella (Hsieh & Wang, 2000). Some integrated women's issues into departmental courses. Among the various collegial disciplines, sociology and foreign (i.e., English or American) literature have been the most receptive ones to women's studies. Between 1985 and 1992, courses pertaining to women in universities totaled over 300, but 70 percent of these focused on family and marriage, family planning, family management, nursing, and women's health. These courses rarely took critical perspectives or discussed gender power relationships, and some of them hardly fell into the common understanding of women's studies curricula. After 1992, courses related to feminist theories gradually increased in number and have been highly demanded by students (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).

A library collection of gender studies was established in National Taiwan University in 1985. The *Bulletin of Women and Gender Studies* and the *Journal of Women and Gender Studies* were circulated nationally by 1990. Three research centers for women's studies had been formed by 1992, two in the north and one in the south. These centers took cautious steps in order to survive in the masculine culture of academia. They faced many challenges as they had a very loose structure, little economic support and no social capital, but they gradually made progress in promoting feminist studies. The three centers regularly held luncheons, workshops, seminars, lectures, and conferences to reach out to

their audiences and build their social capital. To justify the importance of women's studies, these research centers kept connected to the international academic community. They invited feminist scholars from other countries to lecture and help raise awareness of the significance of women's studies and to help gain financial support from different sources (Ku, 1996; Hsieh & Chang, 2004).

### *Stage of Proliferation*

Women's studies entered a stage of proliferation in 1995, which was also a peak period for the women's movement. The proliferation of women's issues was coincided with student activism, the growth of women's organizations, the liberalization of universities, and the diversification of feminist discourses.

*1. Student Activism.* Beginning in the late 1980s, student activism increased, causing unrest on the campuses. The students were demanding academic freedom and institutional autonomy, which was mirrored by a general liberalization movement in society as a whole. Meantime, a number of feminist studies student clubs were formed on university campuses. Some female founders were also student movement activists. Disappointed by the male supremacist attitude of the leadership in student activisms, young female college students formed separate feminist study groups and widely read the works of western feminist writers (Wang, 1999). Some of them joined Awakening to gain internship experience. They asked young faculty members to join their study groups. One of these student groups even successfully lobbied and opened up a sub-field of gender studies in their home department.

These female student activists then formed a cross-campus league, the "Action League of National College Female Students," to exchange movement experiences, study feminist knowledge, and develop leadership skills. They also made connections with women's movement organizations to gain leadership training. They successfully initiated a variety of activities to gain visibility on campuses, such as "Taking Back the Night for Safety" and "Little Red Riding Hood" *(xiao-hong-mao)*[30] to protest sexual harassment on campuses. They initiated and coordinated two larger demonstrations against sexual harassment in 1994 and 1995. Also in 1995, the feminist student club at National Taiwan University took the startling action of showing an erotic film to symbolically claim the liberation of sex and self-control of the body for young college women. The rhetoric of sexual liberation drew young female college students into the movement. The sexual liberation movement was also strengthened by the postmodern discourses recently popular on campuses, which were stimulated and stylized by new scholars in foreign literature fields during the mid-1990s (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).

*2. Taitvanese Feminist Scholars Association.* Among the newly formed women's organizations, one of the most important was the Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association (TFSA), which was formed in 1993. The association was not officially registered until 2002. The delayed registration was intentionally made in order to remain a flexible movement that would not be disturbed and restricted by governmental regulations. Members who were female scholars formed a caucus group across campuses to integrate scholarly interests with political impulses. The goal of the TFSA is to fuse theory with practice, and research with movement (Wang, 1999; Hsieh & Chang, 2004). The feminist scholars aligned with female students and feminist student clubs to confront

and negotiate more effectively with university administrations regarding actions on behalf of women, such as "Taking Back the Night for Safety" campaigns and the handling of sexual harassment cases. Since its establishment, the TFSA has successfully deployed its resources and knowledge to produce public discourse on feminist issues. The scholars have also employed the mass media to significantly amplify feminist voices. For instance, it started by lobbying the MOE with a proposal to change the course "Nursing and Health" from a requirement for all female college students to an elective in the curriculum that could be taken by either sex. The Association also demanded that the MOE remove other stereotypical gender roles from university curriculum. Moreover, it provided long-term legal and psychological counseling for a female college student who encountered sexual harassment from a male professor at the National Taiwan Normal University in the early 1990s.

The TFSA soon became an empowering network for feminist scholars who sought emotional, social, and intellectual support for doing alternative research and feminist teaching in universities. The repertoire of TFSA's collective action included co-hosting gender conferences with other universities, seminars, an annual event informing the public about women's situation held on Women's Day, and publishing feminist research and books. Two important publications have resulted from the organization's collective research efforts. The first book, published in 1995, investigated and analyzed the subordinate status of women and the gender bias embedded in governmental policy-making and hiring in public service jobs. The second book, published in 1997, reviewed and discussed the relationship between women, the state, and care work, and proposed changes to the welfare policies of the government that would take into account Taiwanese women's needs and concerns (Wang, 1999).

*3. Deregulation of Higher Education.* The liberalization and deregulation of universities in the early 1990s resulted in relaxing the complete control of the MOE and its administrative authority. This change granted universities greater academic freedom and institutional autonomy. Among the deregulation policies was the design of curricula and courses by the departments and schools rather than the MOE. In response to the growing feminist movement on campuses since 1995, women's and gender studies research programs and gender-related courses have mushroomed, and research issues concerning women have also multiplied. Since 1997, two new programs for gender studies were formed and allowed to grant certificates for both undergraduate and graduate students. Between 2000 and 2004, three graduate programs of women's and gender studies were formed at two universities in the south and one in the north. They all grant MA degrees in women's studies (see Appendix C).

Within a more open environment, feminist discourses and feminist publications have proliferated. Feminist research methods were introduced in workshops, seminars, courses, and conferences in the 1990s. Research topics, including body, public health, medical science, identity, sexuality, migrant workers, and women's movements, have gained considerable academic currency. Moreover, after 1995, the gender equity movement galvanized public concern and interest to such an extent that it forced the political parties in Taiwan to address women's issues. Feminist scholars were invited to join all kinds of gender committees and to become involved in policy making. Nevertheless, the diversification and proliferation of feminist discourses sophisticated feminist action and, even more so, the political alliances of women's studies scholars

have had some unfavorable consequences in terms of feminist scholars' relationships with local women's movements. It is still an ongoing issue and concern among feminist scholars in Taiwan.

*4. Institutional Legitimation.* In addition to the institutionalization of women's studies at some universities, the two prestigious national research institutions in Taiwan began to fund women's studies in the 1990s. They are Academia Sinica and the National Science Council, both powerful, legitimate, government-financed entities in academia. They play crucial leadership roles in promoting research related to national needs and funding cutting-edge studies in the natural sciences, engineering, biology, medicine, agriculture, the humanities, social sciences, and science education. In 1992, the Institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica initiated a research project on women's history in modern China. In 1997, the National Science Council, primarily responsible for allocating national research funding and monitoring research quality, officially acknowledged women's and gender studies as academic sub-fields eligible for research funding (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).

### *Achievement of Women's Studies*

Although the emergence and growth of women's studies in Taiwan lagged behind western countries for about twenty years and also behind some Asian countries such as Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and India, the pace of its institutionalization has accelerated and the field of study has gained recognition in recent years. Women's studies has gradually journeyed from the margins toward the center of academia. Despite somewhat impressive accomplishments in institutionalizing women's studies in Taiwan, the institutional changes in terms of gender equity have been neither exhilarating nor satisfying. At TFSA's 2002 conference, feminist scholars devoted their collective efforts to examining the gender bias embedded in undergraduate college textbooks. They concluded that the patriarchal and male-stream ideologies, disguised as functionalism and the so-called neutral values of positivism, predominate in the social sciences and stand as official knowledge in universities. One presenter explained:

> As I found out how scientific objectivism shores up the patriarchal structure in teacher-training programs, and how academic socialization made me believe in neutral values endorsed by sciences, I became outraged by the fact that I had learned and internalized too much "wrong" knowledge. I was also very angry while discovering that I had also conveyed the wrong knowledge to my students prior to my feminist awakening. I felt guilt and shame…. My commitment to women's studies thus became a self-healing process. I hope through this process that I can share my genuine reflection on gender relations and knowledge with my colleagues…so that we can work together to move gender issues from the margin to the center, and empower ourselves by means of advocating gender equity (Hsiao, 2002, p. 3, translated by the author).

Far from making a breakthrough in teaching and research, the feminist scholars of TFSA realized that they needed to continue demonstrating the significance and academic rigor

of feminist research, to legitimize feminist knowledge as an independent field of study while at the same time retaining the political impulse in feminist research and teaching.

## CONCLUSION

In summary, the evolution of women's studies in Taiwan has shown the specificity of Taiwan's historical condition from which this emerging field of study has grown. The nascent field was formed in the process of complex interactions among state forces, social movements, and intellectual activism in academia. While the description and analysis of structural changes enriches us with different layers of understanding of institutional influences on the evolution of women's studies in Taiwan, it reflects merely a portion of the whole story. The crucial part of the entire picture lies in the question of how this new academic field started and has been advanced. It is the primary inquiry of this research and the very reason that we now turn to a microfoundational analysis of the interplay between the agency and structure that have guided the institutionalization of women's studies in Taiwan's academic contexts.

# Chapter Four
# Multiple Paths of Becoming

Major discussion of the research findings starts from this chapter. Working from the interview data and the primary concepts introduced in Chapter 2, in this and later chapters I develop three themes for weaving the participants' experiences into meaningful narratives. They are multiple paths of becoming (Chapter 4), being through doing (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6), and a moving interplay between identity-action and structural change (Chapter 7).

In this chapter, I first describe the shifts that occurred in research participants' perceptions of their identities. I then proceed to describe and interpret how the participants in this study became women's studies scholars. I include particularly cogent episodes in the participants' life histories that serve to illustrate the multiple paths by which they turned into scholars affiliated with women's studies and feminism. These life histories, including their life choices, identity formation, and life-course transitions, serve to highlight the ways in which the pathfinders came to identify with feminist values, became pro-feminist or feminist scholars, and participated in the creation of women's studies in Taiwan.

## THE BACKGROUNDS OF THE PATHFINDERS

The Taiwanese women scholars defined as pathfinders in this research have gained a rich repertoire of experiences in the process of participating in the establishment of women's studies and becoming pro-feminists or feminist scholars. Their experiences reflect those of a particular group of highly educated women who have had opportunities to live and study abroad and have been able to obtain a privileged social status as intellectuals. They have equipped themselves with the professional knowledge and skills that have given them an elite status and made them highly recognized in Taiwanese society. However, since they are women, they have been relatively handicapped by an institutional sexism in society that has systemically treated women as the Other. Women have thus been constrained from pursuing higher levels of education, from specializing in traditionally male-oriented disciplines, and from gaining due rewards or promotion. Although gender relations in modern Taiwan have improved considerably since 1945, generations of women scholars have witnessed much institutional sexism, which has negatively affected women's life chances and careers in the country's social history. Their awakening experiences have led some of them to become feminist scholars committed to advo cating women's and gender studies in the Taiwanese academic context.

Thirty-one participants were identified as the pathfinders at the center of this study. They represented two generations of early and young feminists who came to teach in universities at different times, divided by the year of 1994. Among them seven were men,

and one of the men had never been involved in women's studies. In the present chapter, the process of their identity formation and transformation is analyzed in terms of the degree to which they grew to identify with a feminist position that perceives women as a disadvantaged group and promotes ways to advance gender equity. Identity is defined in this study as the primary "trigger" that sets off the interplay between action and structure. This interplay, in turn, affects the emergence and institutionalization of women's studies. Thus, the shifts in pathfinders' consciousness and identity demonstrate what kind of gender consciousness and values have been raised and enacted in the process by which they came to advocate women's studies.

Prior to 1994, women's studies practitioners were the ones who had been involved in women's studies in a more hostile climate. In contrast, most of pro-feminist and feminist scholars were the ones who had either become social movement activists or were intensively immersed in feminist studies while pursuing graduate studies in domestic or overseas universities. At the present time, all the pathfinders identify themselves as either pro-feminist or feminist scholars. The majority is composed of twenty-four scholars who identify themselves as feminist scholars, while the rest of the seven label themselves as pro-feminists. Among this group of twenty-four, three of the six male participants were pro-feminists and the other three were feminists. This change in numbers shows that at the present time there is a greater chance for those who are interested in women's studies to become feminists. In addition, the academic environment and structural opportunities are perceived as more supportive of women's studies when compared to the past. See Table 2 for a breakdown of participant's shifts in self-identification.

**Table 2:** Shift in Participants' Identities

| Types | **Beginning (1985 onwards)** | | | **Present (2002)** | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Women's studies practitioners | Profeminists | Feminists | Women's studies practitioners | Profeminists | Feminists |
| Number | 9 | 10 | 12 | 0 | 7 | 24 |

The following section discusses how participant identity shifts happened and how the research participants came to identify themselves as feminist scholars in Taiwan.

## BECOMING PATHFINDERS

Research efforts in the west increasingly focus on life histories in an attempt to unfold a multitude of meanings previously covered by the predominant language of "interests" in the social sciences. The growing body of life history studies provides an alternative mode of knowing about the complex construction of self, desires, motivation, and meaning within one's life course of childhood, family relationships, personal experiences of discrimination and identity, visions of alternative career paths, and action oriented toward social change. The emotions and alternative thinking associated with all of these things have become an important source of inspiration for many feminist scholars. They have responded by creating new research approaches and pedagogy, and supporting the growth of feminist associations as well as the emergent feminist scholarship of the last three

decades in the west (Laslett & Thorne, 1997). This kind of alternative knowing and action is also found in the formation of feminist identity and the emergence of women's studies in Taiwan.

The narratives of the pathfinders in the following section demonstrate how diverse, multiple, conflicting, and ambiguous meanings of gender relations have evolved alongside political and socio-cultural changes in Taiwan. Overall, the main sources of the pathfinders' reflection and cognitive restructuring have come from their experiences of specific gender relations, exposure to non-traditional female role models, extensive immersion in alternative discourses, such as feminism and critical theories, discriminatory experiences in other countries, and establishment of important connections to informal or formal groups of feminists. All of these experiences and sentiments led these pathfinders to identify with alternative values involving the pursuit of women's studies, participation in feminist movements, and so forth.

The individual awakenings of these pathfinders in my study occurred over a long period of time rather than in a momentary spark, although some particular points in time may have provoked intense feelings and functioned as epiphanal or breakthrough moments. Nevertheless, the long-term emergence of gender awareness and the moment of revelation are both constitutive of a complex process of deconstruction and reconstruction, a cognitive restructuring which has served to overlay the everyday details of these women's lives with particular meaning. The experiences that led the pathfinders to awareness of the pervasiveness of the denigration of women provided them with an "epistemic advantage" to construct a symptomatic reading of patriarchy and to seek out and produce knowledge on, for, and by women (Harding, 1996). To show the multiple paths of awakening, I illustrate and analyze the pathfinders' experiences using a sequence of brief personal life history-based stories in Taiwanese socio-cultural context.

### *Inspiration Close to Home*

Taiwanese society has undergone some sea changes since the lifting of martial law in 1987. As we learned in Chapter 3, the images and status of women have gradually evolved alongside the significant social and economic changes that have occurred in Taiwan, particularly since the late 1980s. Taiwanese culture, its state apparatuses, and the contemporary women's movement have all had a significant hand in appropriating and negotiating the roles, meanings and values expected of a Taiwanese woman. However, against the grain of those often stifling or oppressive expectations, great variation can be found in the pathfinder's personal stories about their experiences, setbacks, hopes, and growth as women in Taiwanese society.

During the feminist awakening of one particular pathfinder, her thoughts turned to the affection and adoration she held for her grandmother. She told me that from all the early childhood stories she had heard, she knew that her grandmother had attained a high level of education. The father of her grandmother, influenced by Christian preaching, had given the grandmother the gift of education rather than a dowry as a wedding present. Because of her education, the grandmother seemed very different from other women in the Japanese colonial time. She was brave enough to resist traditional social practices that discriminated against women. One telling incident was that the grandmother insisted on buying back her husband's sisters who were sold to other families not because the family

was poor, but because they preferred only boys. The grandmother then took all of those sisters and went to Japan where her husband was studying. At that time, Japan was one of the countries to which many Taiwanese men went to learn about western civilization in order to gain social privilege.

In the eyes of this pathfinder, her grandmother "was born a feminist." From early on, her grandmother had been an extraordinary role model for her. Her grandmother could take action based on her own sound judgment, rather than by blindly complying with social and cultural practices which made no sense to her. Another example of the grandmother's independent spirit was her service as a mediator in a public council. She, together with male councilors, one time had to make a decision on whether they should allow a couple to divorce. Only she had the audacity to agree with the couple seeking the divorce, and she was the only councilor to sign for them. Taiwanese society in the first half of the 20th century was still very contemptuous of divorce and saw it as a disgrace for the whole family.

The given name of this pathfinder scholar, in Chinese characters, happens to bear the cultural markings of the common practice in Chinese societies of disparaging daughters. The name connotes that the family had enough daughters, and that a boy baby was expected to come right after. There is a long history of devaluing girls in Taiwan, as in the case of the grandmother buying back her husband's sisters and, thereby, confronting the feudal practice of selling daughters, which was not uncommon in Taiwan between the late 19th century and the first half the 20th century. Many little girls were sold to families with very young sons as wives-to-be. The families of those sons could not afford to give a dowry to their daughters-in-law when they reached marriageable age. The term for a daughter-in-law adopted in childhood is *simpua*. Such girls were expected to become wives as teenagers but would serve the husband's family while they were still kids. The Nationalist Party (KMT) government in the 1950s finally discouraged this practice (Chang, 1998). It is not surprising that these daughters-in-law were condemned to a very subservient status and treated condescendingly within the extended family structure. Even in the 1970s, some daughters-in-law were not allowed to eat with male family members. Such subordinate relationships have gradually been ameliorated as young couples have moved away from parental homes to live affordably in more urban areas (Chiang, 1995).

Despite the patriarchal practices that have prevailed in Taiwanese society, there have been exceptions to the rule, cases in which the mother was the authoritative one who had more say in the family. Those tough or strong mothers have had a significant influence on girls who would grow up with the belief that there is nothing wrong with being a strong woman. Four out of the thirty-one pathfinders in my study said they developed their gender consciousness in such a family, where their mothers had exerted more influence over their identity formation than had their fathers. These scholars were more likely to harbor resentment toward the sexual discrimination that has existed in educational institutions or other arenas where they have been confronted with social expectations significantly different from those they learned in their families.

One young pathfinder's experience demonstrates this social dissonance. She first consciously understood from her mother the assignment of gender roles. Although she knew that an extended family acted unfavorably toward its daughters, she also learned how a woman could become strong and determined in such a patriarchal institution. For

the sake of family survival during the politically hostile and economically depressed times of the 1980s, her mother became stronger and more competent, fulfilling the double responsibilities of earning a living and performing her domestic duties. The pathfinder learned that it was normal to have a mother/woman as the breadwinner in a family. She also connected the fact of a woman being a good provider with the belief that a woman could be a good leader in society as long as she has the talent and competence. This observation and belief led her to become one of the founders of a student feminist club at a Taiwanese university during the political unrest in the late 1980s.

### *Family Structure and Relationships*

As we have seen, family practices can both foster and impede gender consciousness. The patriarchal practices of families vary among the different ethnic groups in Taiwan (Lin, 1995). This has been linked to the mixed influences derived from different periods, geographies, and ethnicities of immigration. In Taiwan, in addition to the indigenous peoples, three different Chinese ethnic groups have immigrated to Taiwan at different times and from different regions over the past 400 years. These differences have contributed to the difference in cultural practices and kinship relations visible in Taiwan to this day. The earlier immigrants from the mainland were primarily composed of Fukien (from Fukien Province) and Hakka (from Guangdong and Guanxi Provinces) ethnic groups. Those who moved to Taiwan in the postwar period with Chiang Kai-shek's troops, who were routed by the Communist party in China, are known as "mainlanders" (*wai-sheng-ren;* "the people from the provinces besides Taiwan"). They represent numerous dialect groups originating from provinces all over mainland China. Although their familial institutions were still patriarchal, since the majority of the male mainlanders moved to Taiwan alone, their new families were usually small. The small size of their family structure was thus very different from the extended families that earlier immigrants had developed. Not surprisingly, many of the mainlanders married women from other ethnic groups and built new families in Taiwan.

Along with the industrialization and urbanization of the 1970s, migration from the rural to the urban areas changed the extended family structure. More and more women participated in the industrial sector of society. In addition, a family planning campaign officially began in Taiwan in the 1960s to reduce the number of children in each family to two or three (Chang, 1998). In the newly emerging nuclear family structure, daughters ceased to be the least desired offspring. If it happened that all the children in a family were female, they now experienced similar parental expectations as did male children and were encouraged to aspire to the highest levels of education they could reach. The period of tremendous economic growth in the 1970s and 1980s, combined with the extension of compulsory education to junior high school for both sexes since 1968, led girls' primary and junior high school enrollment in education to almost reach parity with that of boys. The economic rate of return for girls became higher in the reforming, more meritocratic social system. Although there were still cases in which girls had to quit school or abandon plans for a better education in order to earn money to support their families, or to support their brothers' higher levels of education (Hsieh, 1995), girls in general aspired to compete with boys more and to pursue education as an avenue for social mobility. The majority of my participants' histories reflect this trend.

Thanks to familial support, expansion of education, and increasing economic prosperity, many women have been able to aspire to a successful career through educational pursuits. In Taiwan, girls and boys in senior and junior high schools historically have been segregated by classroom or school building. Most of the best senior high schools were, and still are, sex-segregated. Prior to entering a college where co-education predominates, the girls' schools potentially give girls the room to compete with one another without being directly burdened by the masculine politics occasioned by the presence and nurturing of boys.

Under such circumstances, one young pathfinder built up her sense of self-reliance by excelling at her studies. She never felt that she was less talented or less competent than boys. In addition, her sense of self-worth stems from her experience since early childhood of her mother's strong will and wisdom. In her experience growing up as a female, she never felt that she had been discriminated against by the other sex. It was not until she studied abroad and joined a women's studies club overseas that she felt the need to act collectively to change sexual discrimination in Taiwanese society.

Two other pathfinders' familial and educational experiences revealed a similar storyline, and they, too, have no brothers. The girls in both of these pathfinders' families obtained all the attention, care, and expectations from their parents. Being a girl had never impeded them frorn becoming successful. They really confidently believed that they could decide their future by their own efforts. They both obtained their doctoral degrees at two of the most prestigious universities in the United States.

They both had role models and parental expectations that influenced their consciousness of femininity, gender, and the sexual division of labor, and gave them self-esteem and aspirations that were important to realizing their potential. These experiences served as grounding for "contextual consciousness" from which these women could construct an alternative female identity that differs from the traditionally ascribed feminine subjectivity. Their positive experiences of being a girl may be what led them to their feminist awakening, after they encountered sexual discrimination in society.

Educational aspirations are particularly important and empowering for girls, and parental attitudes toward education for girls have a considerable effect on how well girls do. In addition, educational performance can lead to self-esteem and empowerment, which were the most important avenues to career success and an independent life for the two pathfinders just mentioned.

### *Impact of Women's Activism*

Taiwan underwent a remarkable transition in the late 1980s during which structural opportunities grew dramatically. This period was a challenging and optimistic era for Taiwanese people, including young female students and scholars who were searching for alternative means by which to pursue their professional careers and life paths in Taiwan. The majority of the participants in this study mentioned that the political transition and the upheaval of new social movements had inspired them to see things and envision their futures differently. It was an important time span within which an "emergent awareness" about institutional sexism was incubated and cultivated. Alongside the emergent and critical consciousness, their own identities came to embody and be transformed both by their own action and social history.

Awakening, the organization of women's movement activists, became a hub for fostering collective action and disseminating knowledge on self-reliance in the early 1980s. By joining the Awakening organization, a young pathfinder came to understand her educational experience as one that was actually full of gendered meanings. She recalled that she could not articulate her feelings of alienation while pursuing doctoral study, and had not recognized that it probably had something to do with her gender. Male professors commonly developed close mentor relationships with male students and helped them get jobs in universities. She felt she was "lucky" to be treated as a "half-boy." Due to her strong academic performance as a doctoral student, she was accepted into the "boys' club" and learned how to survive and succeed in academia through working for a renowned professor. But she still could never really become "one of the boys." Upon graduation, she joined feminist organizations and took part in collective action. Her admired mentor, who endorsed democracy but was reluctant to understand why some women engaged in the struggle to make their voices heard and represented in academe, questioned her decisions. These confrontational experiences strengthened her belief that Taiwanese society still had a long way to go in striving for gender equality.

Student activism opened up many opportunities for social participation to many female students in the late 1980s. Like many feminist activists of the New Left movements in the United States, female student activists experienced sexual discrimination that was contradictory to the prevailing liberal or left ideologies. Several female students, in response, began to form and network in women-only feminist study clubs on campuses. Four young pathfinders developed their feminist consciousness through their participation in feminist study clubs while studying at Taiwanese universities.

A feminist researcher recalled a revelatory moment while engaging in feminist action:

> Prior to the lifting of martial law, I could feel the fresh air, an extraordinary energy was ready to be released from the strict control of the KMT…. I asked myself what sort of alternative thoughts I had always desired to embrace wholeheartedly…. We had environmental activism, the quest for university autonomy and civil rights, feminism, and so on. Among them, I felt I was engrossed by feminism. It was like a special calling for me…. At that time I was really disappointed by the sort of insidious sexism found in student activism…. Look, my male counterparts were not smarter than we were. They could not even articulate their thoughts better than we did. Why then was their leadership taken for granted?… Had we performed like a female steward with a smiling face to serve male leaders, we'd have rather created and owned our small shops [feminist study clubs]. We girls stuck around and felt very comfortable in an all-girls environment. We were immersed in all kinds of feminist readings we could get our hands on…. It was a very empowering moment. Feminism was righteous and empowering while we were re-reading our past systematically and collectively…. I would go so far as to say that in all my life, I would never have had another time like what I had experienced in the feminist movement; it was so rich, so dense, so intensive, and so powerful. I have learned and absorbed so much so that I

> could not digest all of it in time. I felt strongly that I was reborn as a feminist in the movement, a thorough self-transformation!

In the beginning, feminist students joined the workers' movements and learned organizational skills from the movement leaders. However, the late 1980s witnessed a dramatic change in economic structure, a shift from a manufacturing to a service economy. Many factories were removed and the infrastructure was basically shipped to other neighboring countries. Little could be done after the employers were gone. The workers' movement thus could not last long. The feminist students then returned back to their campuses. They held study seminars and feminist speeches on a regular basis. They made close ties with Awakening to obtain leadership training in order to become articulate speakers, to disseminate feminist ideas and thought, and to help other female students form new feminist clubs on various campuses. With a variety of strategies in mind, they aimed to make feminist action more visible on campuses by means of doing surveys to report sexual discrimination in their daily lives in colleges. A campaign against the dormitory curfew rules, which were seen as limiting the female students' freedom, was launched. Such consciousness-raising activities helped the female students understand the disciplined body of females. They then took collective action to question institutional controls over their behaviors and manners and to challenge the traditional images of femininity.

The feminist movement on campuses was not built in solidarity all the time; it was full of conflicts and contradictions intersecting with other socially pressing issues. Radical feminist students gave one pathfinding female researcher a hard time for not doing enough to fight both the authoritarian hierarchy of the institution and the sexism embedded in its practices. Eventually, however, she was elected as the first female leader of the student senate at a university. Despite the fact that sometimes she felt frustrated because of the challenges she faced from the feminist student club of that university, she was still grateful for the empowerment from the collective support of sisterhood in feminist circles:

> As a female leader, I was constantly bothered by the distrust of my peers about my competence or independence. They thought that there might be an invisible hand operating behind my every decision. Because I happened to have a boyfriend who was also a student activist, they thought that I was his puppet…. Why was I, as a female leader, was forced to deal with both public issues and private personal relations at the same time? Why did this challenge fall upon me but not on any of the male leaders…? Plus, I also had to face all the challenges of the feminist student club leaders who had attacked my agendas because I did not consider gender as my first priority…. But when all the political games were over,…when I underwent a crisis of breaking up with my boyfriend, feminism was my only rescue. Reading feminism indeed empowered me. The shared feelings and thoughts among my female friends made a lot of sense to my private relationships and personal lives…. The feminist discourses, they were not abstract at all. They were not merely pedantic theories or book knowledge. The discourses were really empowering.

> They implicitly conveyed alternative thinking or ideology that helped you reflect upon your life. They could really empower a person to make changes.

The feminist movement on campuses was enhanced by anti-sexual harassment campaigns. A number of sexual harassment incidents took place on campuses and at workplaces in the early 1990s. It was indicative of the victimization of female students facing the conservative patriarchal practices of universities. The failure of institutional responses spurred students to take immediate action. They launched campaigns that prompted many female students' attention and gave birth to a coalitional league to network feminist student clubs against the rampant sexual harassment on campuses. Many new female leaders came onto the scene. The feminist movements on campuses were further enhanced by the support of the first Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association, formed in 1993. This cumulative sentiment of anti-sexual harassment peaked in the years of 1994 and 1995 as two larger demonstrations galvanized all anti-sexual harassment forces nationwide. The campaigns overall have raised female students' consciousness about the politics of sex and the female body. Some of the activists turned into feminists and joined to work for the women's movement and other feminist organizations. Some pursued feminist studies in graduate programs at local or overseas universities. Discourses about sexual liberation along with the struggle of gays and lesbians then became a new battle ground for young college students in the second half of 1990s.

### *Study Overseas*

Studying abroad has become an avenue for young people from Third World countries to pursue higher education and enhance their nation's competitiveness in the world economy in postwar period. An emerging and relentlessly competitive world economy dominated by the west has generated inevitable scientific, technological, and educational repercussions. There is no doubt that higher education has a particular close affinity to science and technology that are the cornerstones of western economic hegemony. Many Third World nations, therefore, earnestly import western academic models and adapt them to local needs and conditions. In terms of the predominant catch-up paradigm, the flow of students from less advanced countries to advanced-technology countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, and France, is one of the strategies to achieve development goals (Altbach & Selvaratnam, 1989; Altbach, 1998).

Since western-style education has evolved as a part of the dominant world system, Third World nations not only have followed western educational models, but, furthermore, study at western centers of power renders elite status to those who have attained educational degrees in the west. Therefore, the degrees granted by the western universities are more valuable than those from the home countries (Goodman, 1984). These socio-economic benefits of studying abroad largely contribute to the mushroom of students' flow to advanced countries and the "brain drain" phenomenon of the Third Word nations in the postwar period (Altbach & Selvaratnam, 1989; Young, 1994; Altbach, 1998).

Taiwan's development has particularly relied upon the United States in high-skill human resources training and political support to resist any potential military attack from the Chinese communists after the war. After the United States recognized the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate sovereign Chinese state and granted it a seat in the United Nations beginning in 1971, Taiwan underwent a national crisis as a result of her isolation from the world. With less than 30 tiny nations officially recognizing the political entity of Taiwan, one way to keep Taiwan less secluded has been through civic connection and diplomatic engagement with other nations. Among the strategies employed by the government has been to send students to study in advanced countries.

Like many other Third World countries, Taiwan started its surge of study abroad programs during the 1960s. The large majority of these students went to the United States. Despite the small population of Taiwan (presently 21 million), Taiwanese students ranked as the second largest group among foreign students in the United States in the late 1970s and the early 1980s (Coombs, 1985). Between 1950 and 1990, there were about 120,000 Taiwanese students allowed by the Taiwanese government to study abroad, females comprising somewhere between 20 to 40 percent of that number (Educational Statistics, 2001).[1] Those who returned became a major force for economic and social development in terms of industrialization, modernization, and democratization in postwar Taiwan (Young, 1994).

Intellectuals and scholars are ranked as having one of the most highly valued occupations in Taiwan. Indeed, it has been a fast track for social mobility, particularly for women who found that sex discrimination was strongly felt to be a real obstacle in the political and business sectors (Li, 1989). In addition, as a reflection of the national priority of development policies, intellectuals and scholars continue to be seen as important social engineers of the society. Their statements have had a special authority and political legitimacy both during the authoritarian regime and after the political transition to democracy since 1987. Most of the leaders in politics and civil society are highly educated or have a foreign diploma. The social syndrome of the "authority of expertise" or "diploma disease" particularly prevails in Taiwan (Hwang, 1994; Young, 1994).

One unexpected consequence of foreign study is that ideologies of democracy and human rights as well as critical theories have also been learned and translated into action in Taiwan. It was not surprising that there was a tight bond between women's movements and women's studies in Taiwan and those in the west, especially in second wave women's movements and women's studies programs that had emerged in the United States. Prior to the lifting of martial law, alternative ways of seeing the world from Taiwan were usually associated with western ideologies of human rights. Most of the forerunners of Taiwan's women's movements and founders of women's studies research centers were, to some degree, exposed to western feminist literature, western women's movements, and occasionally were in contact with women's NGOs in the United States.

The awakening process, usually occurring during graduate study in foreign countries, was fairly typical of participants in my study. Although there is some difference in experience and motivation for studying abroad by era (e.g., nation building was far more emphasized in the 1970s, later being supplanted by the search for individual enrichment and social mobility, which prevailed in the 1990s), alternative discourses related to gender relations were mainly attained directly or indirectly through foreign study. This

phenomenon typically took place while pathfinders were immersed in an alternative culture and foreign society, inspired by critical theories and feminist literature to become feminist activists and even role models themselves. These experiences provoked a yearning for creating a space in which emergent and critical consciousness could be stimulated, incubated, and given a chance to grow. It was not unusual for the young pathfinders to decide to conduct feminist-oriented thesis research after being intellectually attracted to feminist thought. Such relearning and reconstructing of experiences became an essential process through which many young graduate students were transformed into feminist intellectuals. Alongside the evolution of internal motivations and incentives, the first-hand experience or observation of sexual and racial discrimination by pathfinders while studying overseas also stirred them to reflect more broadly upon power relations and their ambivalent feelings toward a Third World female subjectivity embodied in institutional sexism and racism in the First World.

It was not easy or acceptable for women, particularly married women, to take the initiative to study overseas in the 1980s. In most cases, the majority of Taiwanese women accompanied men as wives, who helped their husbands to finish their graduate degrees. Nora Chiang, who was one of the founders of the women's studies research centers in Taiwan, vividly recalled in one of her essays her experience of studying abroad: "Getting a Ph.D. is like moving a big mountain. Apart from my feelings of homesickness and guilt of leaving my family, I was aware of the critical views and curiosity of my friends and relatives toward a woman who went abroad to study without her family" (Chiang, 1995, p. 177).

Two other pathfinders in my study also took this unconventional route in the 1970s. Thanks to their husbands' support, they left their kids behind and went abroad alone to advance their study. They sometimes felt they were not normal due to the attitudes of many overseas Taiwanese students who perpetuated a Chinese cultural bias against married women who studied alone in the United States. Working harder was a way for these women to prove that they deserved such an investment. They struggled hard to balance family needs and intensive research work. The experiences they had and the accomplishments they achieved in doctoral training no doubt deepened their concerns about gender relations, female autonomy and confidence, as well as the need to assert the professional knowledge that would lay the foundation for their involvement in women's studies later at Taiwanese universities.

Intellectual awakening was a theme frequently found in most participants' reflections. One pathfinder changed her theoretical orientation after taking a women's studies course. Influenced by a feminist professor who was a pioneer of women's studies in the United States, this pathfinder systematically absorbed feminist theories and integrated them with her disciplinary interest. She then studied gender, sexuality, and medical science as her primary specialty. The intellectual enlightenment attained and the role models she adored were particularly meaningful. The experiences and reflections she obtained during her graduate study made her into a feminist prior to becoming a scholar at a Taiwanese university.

Besides the courses provided by women's studies programs, sociology programs became an important source of feminist encounter in the west. Many sociology courses had been taught and a variety of feminist schools of thought developed in sociology departments on campuses in the United States and other western countries. It was not

unusual for the young participants in my study to have had the greatest opportunities for encountering feminist thinking by way of elective or required feminist courses offered by feminist scholars in sociology departments. Three young pathfinders studied sociology and took gender studies as a minor or concentration. They went to the United States in the late 1980s and 1990s, when women's studies in American academia was already extensively developed and had to some degree changed the academic landscape.

The one male pathfinder I interviewed explained that his affiliation with women's studies began during his study overseas. He specialized in critical studies and immersed himself in the leftist ideologies that were predominant on his campus. In this university, the majority of students were composed of people of color in the United States, Third World international students, and the socio-economically disenfranchised. It was not uncommon for these students to be exposed to counter-hegemonic discourses or alternative viewpoints in a social science class. In his department, two-thirds of the faculty members were female. They either declared themselves to be feminists or at least often discussed gender issues in class. Opened by the influences of leftist ideologies, he was enlightened by feminist thinking, which became a critical resource to tap into when reflecting upon gender relations in his daily life.

One young female pathfinder, having enrolled in an elective course in critical studies that helped her systematically reflect upon her past, stated that it eventually drew her to feminist studies.

> The year I went to the United States…was the year that I was undergoing a big change in my life. I had just been through a divorce…. Because of the program I was majoring in, I selected one gender course without a particular reason. It looked interesting to me…. That course was taught by Judith Stacey, but she did not impress me much…. It was the abundant course reading at home in particular that made me think and reflect upon my past…. What captured me most was bell hooks' work…. I could really sense that I was different from those who sat beside me. I was from the Third World. You know, identity was not a thing that you made on your own. It sort of emerged out of your awareness of how the professors and graduate students treated you. Language was also a source of reflection. I had to struggle hard and hide my poor English, and at the same time I needed to keep my competence intact in class discussion…. That was the reason why I enjoyed *reading* feminist theories more than participating in discussion in the class.

Preparation for her qualifying examination in the master's program further strengthened her scholarly interest in feminism and the conversion process of becoming a feminist.

> The extensive reading for the qualifying exam was a memorable experience for me…. I arranged my time to prepare in two major fields by day and night. I studied economics in the morning and feminist theories at night. During the daytime, I felt the whole world was organized in such impeccable order, kind of like a DIY hardware store where you could find every screw in its own place, sorted out neatly on the shelves. I felt very

> easy and comfortable about placement and order. But then when I read feminist theories at night, I felt that all the shelves against the wall just fell down immediately. All the screws and parts dropped on the floor here and there. I then put all the parts back on the shelves the next morning. I felt tension but positive from the dramatic difference in my reading experience between the daytime and nighttime. For me, reading about feminism had gradually shaken my traditional thoughts and beliefs. Slowly I felt I could tolerate the reality that was blurred, uncertain, conflicting, and ambiguous—the tension that provoked the knowing that reality was never coherent or certain. The alternative way of knowing enlightened me or, I can say, it was worth embracing.

After this pathfinder finished her master's thesis, she went to another American university on the East Coast to pursue her second master's degree. It was the early 1990s. Taiwan had just lifted martial law and discussions of democratic values were extensive in Taiwanese graduate student gatherings overseas. On several occasions, she found traditional gender behaviors reproduced even in such a seemingly progressive circle. She recalled:

> There were at least three different Chinese student associations at the American university (China, Taiwan, and Republic of China)…. I found out that conventional gender roles and practices were performed in all of the three associations…. The martial law had just been lifted…. We usually gathered and chatted in the house of a scholar who was called a "liberal intellectual" by the group. In most of the time, men discussed citizen rights, freedom, progress, power, and all the brilliant ideas in the living room, while all the girlfriends, wives, and female graduate students stayed in the kitchen to prepare foodz…. I felt embarrassed in such a situation. I did not want to stay in the kitchen…. I felt that I wanted to join the boys' club. But if I left the women behind, I felt I betrayed all of them. Such ambivalent feelings were emerging all the time in social gatherings…. I was so intrigued by these experiences that I later decided to do research about patriarchal practices in Taiwan.

Another young pathfinder was glad to meet a number of Taiwanese female students on different campuses in America where they formed a women's workshop to promote and empower women's voices. She remembered that the gathering had enlightened her about the past and empowered her to reconstruct life's meanings and to revalidate her own experiences.

> Although I had conflicts with student feminists in Taiwan,…later while studying overseas, some of us had many chances to get together again. After all the politics were gone, we reflected upon our past and found something in our emotions that was deeply gendered and that was something we could share and use to come up with new meanings. Together, we cherished such newly found common feelings. We came to

> grips with the troubles and problems that we could not face before. This collective reflection enriched our experiences and enhanced our strengths. We really believed that we could overcome all the frustration and impediments in the past that had marked us. I think that these shared feelings and reflections are indeed the most essential nutrition for our women's movements.

As we've seen already, some pathfinders first encountered feminist thinking overseas. One young pathfinder felt that while studying overseas, she was lucky enough to have met many female students who showed an intense interest in gender studies on the same American campus. Their numbers were large enough to start a Taiwanese feminist study club on the campus, and its participants readily engaged in a process of consciousness-raising. The intellectual, social, and emotional support they nurtured in the club influenced them in a number of ways. According to this pathfinder, the networking of female graduate students had a positive impact on their evolving scholarly interests. Most of them searched for and enrolled in women's studies courses, and eventually became devoted to feminist study. This learning and reconstruction process motivated these female graduate students to become feminist scholars upon graduation.

In addition to the feminist study club, this young pathfinder's feminist aspirations were greatly encouraged by the faculty she met in the sociology department. During her graduate study, she learned from one female professor how to drop the façade of academic authority and to empower students by enacting an egalitarian relationship between professors and students. This professor was involved in numerous scholarly activities and really believed that the feminist community could make a difference in academia. Years later, after she had immersed in feminist readings, this young pathfinder claimed feminist studies as her minor and then conducted feminist research to complete her doctoral requirements. Her intellectual awakening and gender studies training turned this pathfinder into a feminist activist. She has moved beyond individual empowerment to collective action in her continual effort to promote gender equity in Taiwanese society after she accomplished her doctoral study.

Encountering racism in feminist circles is also a means to provoke a search for a deeper understanding of one's identity and means of changing it. One pathfinder recalled her first racist encounter in the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) conference in 1981, themed "Women Respond to Racism" (Sandoval, 1990). Back at that time, she knew little about racism and feminism. She attended the conference largely in response to encouragement from her female colleagues and friends. An event that occurred in the conference made her feel very distressed. The conference organized attendees into two groups—white and Third World women. All the participants from the Third World were assorted into groups of color. While registering, she was astounded by such an arrangement since she had never thought of herself as belonging to a people of color. Many black participants and those from developing countries complained and became angry at the host organization. This pathfinder felt disillusioned and could not quite identify her particular emotion at that time.

In 1990, this pathfinder attended another conference held by the same association. This time, the conference was politicized by the accusation of racism against the national office staff of NWSA. Racism became once again a heated topic that was discussed

throughout the conference (Gonzales, 2002). Having been exposed to critical theories in her doctoral study, the pathfinder was able to grasp what happened on this occasion and to articulate the complex identity politics within the feminist movement at large. It also reminded her of the uneasy, uncertain feelings about the "hegemonic structure of the conference" in 1981 (Sandoval, 1990, p. 57).

> In 1981, I felt confused. I thought it was very much related to my education and socialization [in Taiwan]. We were taught to believe that we were from *zhung-yuan*, the center of the world. So definitely we were not marginal. Plus we identified with the Americans and we never thought that we were categorized as Third World people by them…. The way the conference was structured made me feel confused, upset, and frustrated. It was ironic to see how white feminists were insensitive to their racist attitudes even though they made an effort to theorize their victim status as those of people of color in their confrontation with racism…. But I did not go further to reflect or follow up on the complaints or protest made by other attendees…. I could not name those feelings or discern the issue back at that time…. But I was forced to be aware of my own identity. However, it was not until I learned a lot from critical theories and attended the NWSA conference again in 1990 that I could figure out retroactlvely my experiences back in 1981, which had deeply shocked and influenced me…[and] which helped me to form the feminist identity I needed to confront differences among women.

Another young pathfinder eventually re-discovered her voice after she made an attempt to search for her identity. Upon reflection after a long journey, she came to articulate the power relations among race, class, sex, nationality, and was able to cognitively locate herself on the hegemonic map colored by power differentials among these social categories. Like the female pathfinder above, she had never thought of herself as being from a "Third World" country, until she stepped on American soil. During the course of graduate study at a prestigious university in the 1990s, she found herself voiceless in the beginning, wrestling for survival in the academy while opposing the unifying and essentializing image of the Third World countries constructed and bi-polarized by the powerful west. As she was doing research about migrant workers back in Taiwan, she had many chances to reflect upon the experiences in relation to her travels between and among cities and with the people located differently on the map of power. Her own subjectivity was gradually emerging alongside an understanding of her place simultaneously defined by the power relations between the center and other peripheral countries besides Taiwan. She felt relatively privileged compared to migrant workers from southeastern countries but also marginal to her American peers. Reflecting upon the distorted images and changes within and around her, she finally found her voice when she came to realize the complex web of power relations operating at many different sites of her daily life. She constructed her identity out of her understanding of the politics of difference that she perceived to be signified in the relatively changing meanings and power relations among the people she met.

Like many of the female pathfinders, western academic hegemony had made the sole male pathfinder of this study feel hurt and pained while studying at one of the best universities on the East Coast of the United States. He experienced racism as a graduate student and later as a faculty member on several American campuses. He found that racism was deeply entrenched in American social life. For instance, even seemingly sincere compliments contained indirect discrimination at times. He felt he had to deal with all kinds of explicit and implicit power maneuvers in his daily life. One way he used to fight against discrimination was to theorize "subjugated knowledge" in order to deconstruct the hegemonic paradigms. Alongside his assigned journey of graduate study, he also tried very hard to confront and challenge the hegemonic discourse of positivism in the social sciences. Through self-education, he managed to integrate the disciplines of cognitive and cultural psychology into his field while constructing a counter-hegemonic discourse. His struggle had not been successful until he discovered feminism. He told me:

> In 1991, on the flight back to Taiwan, I read three books about postmodern theories. I came across some feminist stuff. I was so delighted to find out how close feminist ideas were to my thinking. Then I did a lot of feminist reading. The more I read, the more I discerned the affinity between feminism and my alternative thinking. I immediately knew how to use feminist language to articulate my thoughts…. Since feminist theories were developed from critical reflections upon social sciences and grand theories, feminisms became a really useful tool for me to do my scholarly work…. I could integrate feminist ideas into my thoughts and use their language to produce alternative knowledge against western hegemonic thinking in social sciences…. I'm glad I found feminism. Feminist theories legitimized my thinking and scholarly work.

For this pathfinder, feminism is not only a scholarly interest he gladly discovered, but also a healing process as he began to feel empowered to resist the western hegemonic discourses.

In summary, these women and a few men learned their alternative ways of seeing and knowing the world from their intensive encounter with feminist theories while studying abroad. Their individual experiences of gender and racial discrimination, intellectual enlightenment, consciousness-raising, role models, feminist research, and conducting feminist research became the most important sources for their awakening and growth of gender and feminist consciousness. These sorts of experiences appear to be the most common and important ones for young scholars as part of a process of relearning and consequent transformation into feminists. It involves a process of both deconstruction and reconstruction through which an emergent awareness and transformative consciousness is achieved. Throughout their encounters, they enhanced their understanding of gender relations, came to recognize the universal plight of females and the diversity of identities among women, reflected upon the western hegemony practiced over knowledge production, and prepared to act collectively by joining feminist movements or teaching and doing research on and for women after they entered Taiwanese academe.

### *Getting a Job*

Because of the subordinate status of women scholars in Taiwanese universities, despite the social changes, economic and social prosperity, expansion of higher education of the 1980s and the education reforms of the 1990s, women faculty members are still concentrated in the lower ranks of teaching and administrative professions in postsecondary institutions. The phenomenon of women scholars being perceived as subordinates and outsiders in American academe, discussed in Chapter 2, is also applicable to Taiwanese context. However, the particular acts of discrimination embedded in Taiwan's universities and institutional constraints may have different causes and explanations.

The discrimination encountered by a number of the pathfinders in academic contexts in Taiwan provoked in them a series of emotional reactions and outrage, and a new way of perceiving social reality. Emotions, as Laslett and Thorne (1997) proposed, are more than individual psychological states. They are "social phenomena shaped by the inequalities, cultures, and institutions in which we live our lives" (p. 9). The emotions, in this case, may have led to two important responses—pathfinders' mapping power relations and provoking social action. Emotions can unveil a micropolitical phenomenon that "exposes subterranean conflicts and the minutiae of social relations" in patriarchal structure (Morley, 1999, p. 5). Understanding emotions in relation to institutional sexism provides a means for dealing with what Morley says may initially appear to be trivial matters that are actually quite significant "when located within a wider analysis of power relations" (ibid). Emotions are also implicated in the micropolitics of social relations and in social action. They are a source of energy, a reason for resistance and for cooperation.

One pathfinder suffered the limited options of a woman socially ascribed to an ultimate destiny of marriage when she started teaching in the early 1970s. At the time, a Taiwanese man commonly still felt that he would lose face if his wife worked. There was also a strong stigma against women who worked outside the home.

> I got the M.A. degree awarded by an American university…. I then followed my husband to go back to Taiwan…. That was in the early 1970s. I was really a believer and practitioner of the common saying that "marriage was a woman's ultimate destiny, the most important goal of her life."… I turned down all the good offers and possibility of teaching at universities or work in museums…. I went to the same university that my husband worked at…. They only offered me a part-time job due to nepotism rules—the unwritten law prohibiting a couple (actually a wife) teaching at the same university. It wasn't a law at all. If it were a law, I could sue the university for discrimination later on but it was not…. It seemed to me that my husband's teaching here was a sheer punishment for me…. My husband sided with the society. He thought that the family and the kids needed me more than society did.

As a part-time scholar, this woman had undergone discrimination based on sex and job hierarchy.

> Although I was the most qualified one among the faculty in the Common Courses… As an adjunct, I was exploited. They gave me petty cash. I was not eligible for a pension or benefits as a tenured faculty member was…. I apparently deserved no respect and have been looked down upon by some of my colleagues…. I was kicked out by the department where I had worked for thirty-five years and now have no departmental home.

She still feels hurt about all the humiliation and unjust attention that she has had to endure. The distress and suffering have galvanized her into social action. To heal her pain, she became involved in women's studies, conducting research to reconstruct the voices of women and the representation of women in Chinese literature.

Another feminist pathfinder encountered a sirmlar experience of sex discrimination during her first job at a private university. This bitter experience changed the nature of her scholarly interest in gender studies forever.

> I took my one-year-old kid with me and went south to a private university that offered me a job in the sociology department…. In fact, at that time, they did not have a job opening. They just wanted to hold you since the demand was higher than the supply due to the expansion of higher education in the early 1980s. In the meantime, they asked me if my husband could also come to teach here…. My husband, who was very supportive, made a sacrifice by quitting a better job and moving south…. Ironically, my husband received a contract right away while mine was pending…. Some colleagues told me that there was a nepotism rule against a couple teaching at the same campus. I did not take it seriously since I had the president's word…. I walted and waited until August 1st. Then I started to worry that there might be something wrong…. My husband and I went to the president's office and asked for my tenured contract…. Surprisingly, they reconfirmed the adjunct position and denied that they had promised me a tenure-track full-time job…. They attempted to persuade me to stay. They said that it was the better choice for me as I had double burdens—teaching and taking care of my family at the same time. They could make a compromise to pay me the same salary as a tenure-track teacher's, if I took the adjunct position and taught more hours…. I told them that my family affairs were not anyone but my own business. I refused the offering and ended up finding another job in the north…. This discrimination experience shocked me very much…. I was too innocent and nai've to believe that gender equality and equity existed de facto as the Constitution guaranteed…. I had no connections to get help…. I paid a high cost for turning down the offer. The soclology association has never invited me to any conferences or seminars since then. I then started my research on understanding the women's movement in the U.S., at a time when any kind of "sensitive" or radical research was prohibited before the martial law was lifted [in Taiwan].

Marriage has always been an issue pertinent to any woman who wants to pursue a career in Taiwan. Married female academicians have not been the only targets of arbitrary and discriminatory policies concerning a woman's marital status, for unmarried women have also been unfairly scrutinized during academic job interviews and on the job—for their supposed failure to find a husband. One pathfinder vividly recalled her first meeting with a male department director.

> I studied abroad and gradually got used to respecting the privacy of a person. I wondered why, if these male professors had also ever gone overseas, they still kept the old habits of prying into the private lives of colleagues, showing their "good" attention and care. They were all concerned about your marital status. But it had nothing to do with a person's professional competence. It was good for me that I am a straightforward person, so I cared less about such kinds of comments. Even so, I still clearly remember, the first day I came to work, what the male director of the department asked me, in a natural tone. It seemed the question was a taken-for-granted issue: "Oh! You are not married yet… Huh… I'll keep an eye out for the available men out there for you." I felt very uneasy and embarrassed…. Not only the director, but also my colleagues asked me about my marital status once in a while (some of my students avoided talking about their boyfriends or girlfriends in front of me, in case their love stories would hurt me). My goodness, you know, I do not really understand why they were saying all those things behind my back…. They all had stereotypes about single women…. They thought that either your criteria in choosing a partner were too strict,…or you might have had very terrible experiences in the past, otherwise you might want to get married and have a family…. After I reached middle age, they began to think that maybe it was my strong personality that had caused me difficulty in finding a husband…. I really think marriage cannot be a criterion to judge a person's life and achievement…. But in Chinese culture, it is always an issue.

Institutional sexism and gender stereotypes not only prevailed in universities, they also worked as a form of symbolic control in other kinds of academic institutions. One young pathfinder will never forget the discriminatory treatment she received at the most prestigious academic institution in Taiwan—Academia Sinica. It is an institution that regularly hires many new graduates with a master's degree to conduct research assistant jobs for its research associates.

> My first awareness of gender discrimination happened in the Academia Sinica when I was working as a researcher there in the 1990s. I was always mistreated as a research assistant. It seemed that only men deserved to be there. I was so surprised by the fact that the masculine professional culture in Academia Sinica extremely devalued women researchers in one way or another, and it really made me sad.

What amazed this young pathfinder was that there existed at least two kinds of gender discrimination in this institution. On the one hand, if a female researcher was outstanding, she was often ridiculed for her appearance and personal life, such as aspects of her figure, body, character, and marital status. On the other hand, if she was not such a promising researcher, she might be seen as a merely decorative "vase" exhibited to stimulate the male researchers' performance. Either way, this kind of ridicule undervalues and distorts women's academic achievements. There exists not only the masculine ethos manifested in academic institutional practice, but also the conservative ideology firmly embraced by the so-called progressive scholars in Taiwan's universities. The observation made her believe that academia was merely at the service of men.

Another female pathfinder attained her tenure-track university job after students led a strike in the mid-1990s demanding the hiring of more female faculty. It was at a time when the feminist movement on campuses was gaining momentum and visibility. She felt somewhat irritated when her colleagues attributed her position to favoritism or tokenism rather than to her qualifications. Since she was a junior faculty member and the first female faculty hired in that field, she protected herself by making herself invisible.

> The masculine culture was very strong in the school of legal and social sciences. It was the same everywhere…. As I entered the tearoom [a social space] for the faculty, I remembered the janitors always made the mistake of treating me as a graduate student rather than a faculty member. The janitors rarely served me a cup of tea like they often would to male professors. In this room, you sometimes met colleagues you knew. I often greeted them with a friendly hello, but they either ignored me or merely peeked from the corner of the newspapers they were reading to see who I was. I felt I was entirely out of their sight…. Because of the unfriendly environment, I made myself one of them. I dressed and acted like them. My relationship with the students was hierarchical. I did not think the students felt that they got a "different" professor here, nothing was new or had changed since I walked in.

She then got to realize that she could act differently after another female faculty was hired two years later.

> As the number of female faculty members increased to two, it turned the invisible into the visible. Plus, the newcomer was an avid feminist scholar. Her specialty was feminist theories and gender studies. We exchanged our viewpoints reading the daily news. We shared our feelings and thoughts on our daily experiences. Taking a feminist perspective was so natural to her. I could feel how powerful this perspective was. I learned so much from her. I discussed with her the readings we read and learned how to take a gender lens to re-read the texts…. She has become one of my best friends and colleagues since then. My feminist identity was gradually emerging. The friendship helped me turn into a feminist scholar.

However, the number of female faculty did not necessarily change the professional culture of patriarchy if the structure stayed the same (Acker, 1990). Two young pathfinders discovered that senior male professors were hesitant to socialize with young female faculty. Most of the time, female academicians were excluded from the informal circle of these senior male professors. They did not know whether it was their junior positions or gender relations that restricted interactions one way or another, but they were quite certain that, compared to their male counterparts, the institutionalized structure and practices were more likely to provide an advantage to junior male professors. At minimum, junior males' relationships with senior professors and informal networking resulted in very different benefits between junior male and female professors.

For instance, one young female professor discovered that gender was connected with seniority, that not having a male gender was a definite disadvantage in academic circles. It did not take her too long to realize that the more domineering the male professors were, the less friendly the environment was to female members. She recalled an upsetting experience at a meeting of the Research Institution of Social Sciences at which she was invited to participate. She said hello to some senior male professors she knew in the room, but no one greeted her back. She felt insulted and angry. She commented: "These old men were very rude. Their attitudes really disturbed me." She then learned and was aware of political games in the administration and faculty senate meetings that she was not fond of. Although she knew that it was a way to gain access to the power core so that one could make a difference, she decided not to play games and avoided making contact with those unfriendly senior male professors.

Confrontation sometimes works as a way to disrupt the structure that privileges one sex. A young pathfinder bravely encountered her first challenge regarding whether she should file an appeal to the university to protect her rights. It was related to a new rule regarding the entrance position of faculty. University faculty was divided into three levels: instructor, associate professor, and professor, but an additional level was added from 1994; newly hired faculty with a Ph.D. degree would begin at the position of assistant professor. This young female professor was hired two months prior to the enactment of the new rule. The institution attempted to hold her contract until the new law was exercised, which would not allow her to start at the position of associate professor. She made a decision to file an appeal to the grievance committee. This action stirred the entire institution since no single junior faculty had ever had the guts to do it. It may have jeopardized the future of junior faculty. Usually, the patriarchal culture of universities is downplayed by the seniority and apprenticeship system. Seniors have power over promotion and evaluation of junior faculty. Junior faculty members have to carefully listen to seniors and are responsible for a lot of administrative duties that are seen as a criterion of evaluation.

This female pathfinder took action because she believed institutional transformation relies largely on such confrontation.

> I thought that I should protect my rights and endeavor to gain back my due rights…. On the one hand, I heard my inner self saying that I had to behave compliantly to fit traditional roles and images for women—hadn't I followed and obeyed what authority said neatly in the past? But my feminist consciousness raised another voice: "If I did not act otherwise,

> how could I convince my students or other women that they have to struggle for their civil rights and confront their subordinate or exploited conditions?"… I decided to take action.

The pathfinder paid a cost for the confrontation. Even so, she did not regret her action and still thinks it was a necessary investment in the process of making institutions change.

> Although I finally won the case, the antagonistic attitudes I experienced at the institution made me unhappy for half a year…. But then after the MOE established the Committee for Gender Equity Education, things began to gradually change. The institution began to pay more attention to gender education…. Then a case of sexual harassment occurred…. During the crisis management process, we developed some consensus and cooperation that changed the hostile attitudes of my colleagues and the administration toward me…. From this confrontational experience, I'm pretty sure that feminist action is, or should be, embedded in daily life. It gradually turns into a cumulative effect that would manifest as both self-transformation and institutional change.

### *Becoming a Scholar of Women's Studies*

There are basically four major reasons given by participants for why they affiliated themselves or continued to be involved with women's studies while teaching at Taiwanese universities. These reasons include having a feminist consciousness, an interest in critical studies, engaging in formal organizations and belonging to informal groups. These four reasons are neither exclusively divided, nor do they cover all the participants, and moreover, each individual weighed them differently. But collectively, they represent different paths along which the shifting of identity occurred as pathfinders became interested and more involved in, and then committed themselves to women's studies, feminism, and feminist social action. The extent of the centrality of feminist values and the perception of structural opportunities varied among study participants. This diversity thus accounts for the different paths of the participants' transformation into women's studies practitioners, pro-feminist scholars, or feminist scholars.

Seven pathfinders of the younger generation who were exposed to women's movement literature and feminist theories attributed their awakening to the first reason, the formation of their feminist identity, in these cases, prior to becoming a scholar in Taiwan's academe. From the life histories of the participants presented thus far, particularly the experience of studying overseas, it is evident that the majority of the younger pathfinders declared themselves to be feminist scholars upon graduation and naturally integrated feminist thinking into their teaching and research as they entered universities as teachers. They have had no reservations in promoting gender studies and have been very much committed to advocating feminism in their professional practices.

The second reason for becoming a feminist concerns the academic training in critical studies in which many pathfinders have engaged, including Marxian sociology, Foucauldian thinking, cultural studies, and postmodernism. Seven participants

emphasized that critical studies was the main source of their motivation to initiate women's studies in Taiwan. Six out of the seven of this group are male professors. They represent a type of liberal intellectual at the beginning of engagement. Four of them eventually shifted their identities to declare themselves to be (pro-) feminist scholars, after being committed to doing gender studies for years.

One pathfinder recalled her initiative teaching in her social science field. She is considered one of the pioneers in her field for appropriating critical theories in researching and interpreting social phenomenon.

> I started to teach in a university as the transition of society was just beginning…. As social movements peaked in the late 1980s, critical theories became a powerful analytical tool for deconstructing hegemonic discourses. It became an incisive approach in explaining and analyzing the power relations and hegemony of the ruling party. Since the topic of new social movements was a new scholarly interest, I found it was easy for me to incorporate women's issues and concerns into my courses…. At that time, there was limited local research or literature available for teaching. I had to use a lot of English literature as the main sources…. The lack of teaching materials had not been solved until we held a conference that encouraged graduate students and faculty members to research and present critical studies papers. About twenty of the papers we produced from this conference became important sources for our teaching materials and the most frequently cited papers in our field.

Another male professor explained that his affiliation with women's studies originated from his affiliation with leftist ideologies and his sympathy with student activism while he was starting to teach in the early 1990s. The department was prominent for its liberal tradition and was filled with faculty members who strongly supported both social movements and student activism in the late 1980s in Taiwan. Upon his first year of teaching, he was invited to join the feminist study club run by student activists in the same department. He started to read intensively and discuss feminism with student activists and then taught gender studies two years later. In addition to teaching, his main activities were to promulgate egalitarian gender relations by giving public speeches and writing popular books regarding genders.

Foucauldian philosophy and critical studies of sexuality led two other male pathfinders to their encounter with feminist thought. One of them particularly sympathized with women's subordinated conditions and, therefore, lent his support to women's studies. In addition to intellectual interest, the other male scholar attributed his encounter with feminism to changes in his personal life. He said, "My interest in feminist thinking did not occur because I was drawn by an academic fad, but because I concurrently encountered an abrupt change in my marriage life that had drawn me into asking alternative questions about gender. At the time, I also started to study Foucault and feminist theories on my own." The sudden change in his personal life created a need for him to reflect upon his past experiences and to be interested in feminism. The change and intellectual encounter motivated him to probe the myth of gender relations and integrate

feminism into his teaching. He later became a director of a research program at one of this study's research sites.

As an abused child, another male professor was keen to investigate various kinds of power relations. His difficult childhood gave him a contextualized awareness of what it means to be exploited and subordinate. Most of his scholarly interests have been associated with making the voices of the disenfranchised heard and understood. His dissertation focused on social movements in the United States and then he expanded his interests into Taiwan's social activism. Since he is committed to promoting feminist values, he consciously integrates feminism into his teaching and prioritizes gender as an analytical category in the majority of his research.

The third major reason is related to the feminist networking found in women's movement organizations. There are two primary organizations that women scholars are usually affiliated with, one being the research programs/centers of women's studies that I discuss in the following two chapters. The other is related to two primary feminist organizations: Awakening, and the Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association. Four pathfinders of the old generation claimed themselves to be feminists. They are the ones who have engaged in either one or both feminist organizations prior to teaching gender studies in their institutions. Feminist networking heightened their transformative awareness of feminism. They became advocates of feminism in Taiwanese universities, provided with the appropriate conditions to teach and conduct research about and for women. One female scholar considers teaching her "vocation." She found that she could easily fuse her political impulse with teaching more than with research. She became one of the pioneers who integrated feminism into teaching in the late 1980s.

> I started to think about gender relations in 1988 after I participated in Awakening. It was natural for me to integrate gender issues into my teaching and to make them a component of textbooks I compiled for my department. Later on, when general education became more welcoming of gender courses, my commitment to the women's movement made me think about the question of how to use pedagogy to promote gender equity. I initiated the two gender courses; at that time there were only a number of similar courses about gender taught on other campuses. I have continued to teach these two courses to this day. For me, teaching is a crucial part of my personal interest and vocation, as well as an essential part of the women's movement…. I chose to teach rather than to do research 'cause I think the majority of women scholars are more willing to become research scholars and to affiliate themselves with women's studies, than to become activists of the women's movement…. Myself, it's very clear. Becoming an activist of the women's movement is the "gravity" of my life. It attracts me more than anything else. Of course it is my choice, my decision, and my life. I have spent more time and energy committing myself to promoting the women's movement and teaching gender equity for years, despite the fact that it cost me the delay [for over 20 years] of my tenure evaluation.

The older generation of women's movement activists have been more likely to demonstrate a stronger commitment to the women's movement and see teaching gender courses as an extended way to diffuse feminist consciousness and promote gender equity. For the younger generation who has been trained in women's studies overseas, they are also likely to affiliate themselves with a women's organization in order to keep their feminist thinking alive after they start to teach in universities. They also think that these women's movement organizations can provide them with materials concerning the latest issues in gender studies that may be helpful in their teaching and research. Seven participants represent this type of feminist scholars.

The last major stated reason for becoming a women's studies/gender scholar is the strength of informal networks, usually based on friendship. Four participants in this study clearly attribute the beginning of their connection and engagement with women's studies to the personal friendships they have built with other female colleagues. Two pathfinders described how they started with a general concern about women's plight, but had no idea that they could take a feminist perspective to understand gender relations. They became enlightened after they met key persons who shared with them alternative viewpoints and were able to validate looking at things differently. The other two searched for friendship in the beginning and were attracted to feminist studies after they felt they were empowered by a feminist perspective. Two of them finally declared themselves to be feminists after they joined a feminist network. They thought that they had transformed personal friendship into the solidarity of a collective identity after they joined Awakening and/or the TFSA.

In addition to personal ties, five young pathfinders mentioned that the friendship or solidarity of a feminist circle heightened their feminist consciousness and reshaped their personal relations. They described how, after they were converted into feminism, their primary social circle of close friends consisted of only women. Before the awakening, they used to be accompanied by men. Feminist consciousness had changed their ways of making friends and finding a home group across discipline-based departments and university institutions.

## CONCLUSION

Gender consciousness and social becoming were the main focus of this chapter. The feminist awakening of pathfinders along with other modes of consciousness emerged, grew, and became established as central to pathfinders' identities. Part of the process, for many, included being angry about the institutional sexism embedded in the prevailing order of society. Through consciousness-raising, they reconstructed a subjectivity that contained possible modes of resistance. The important insights derived from their processes of awakening helped the pathfinders to channel their emotions and other energies into individual as well as collective action.

The multiple paths of becoming of the pathfinders demonstrate that gender consciousness and identity formation constitute a complex process of deconstruction and reconstruction of self, desires, and meaning. Their subjective interpretations of events and happenings in their lives reflect a variety of ideologies and values that have been constantly contested in Taiwanese society. Gender relations for these individuals also

have intersected with other forms of discrimination, such as class, ethnicity, and nationality.

The narratives of the pathfinders show how the process of consciousness-raising occurred in their life histories. The pathfinders exhibited "contextual awareness" in their growth process and "emergent awareness" as they became exposed to women's movements and feminist literature while studying abroad and in confronting institutional sexism. "Transformative awareness" was achieved as the pathfinders fused their political impulse with scholarly interests and committed themselves to feminist action. The emergence and growth of gender consciousness could be seen as a "spiral flow" wherein the individuals developed new ways of seeing and knowing the world, and took further action, individually and collectively, to become involved in the women's movement and women's studies. Four primary reasons were given to explain pathfinders' commitment to doing women's studies: namely, feminist consciousness, critical theories, and formal and informal networks. All four reasons point to the fact that the formation of identity is important to social action since it plays the role of a "trigger" that sets off the interplay between action and structure.

Feminist agency, in the sense of taking action to make things different, was enacted through a variety of means, such as making friends, sharing ideas, theorizing, networking, creating projects, strategizing, and confronting, each dependent on the circumstances in which the pathfinders were located and the centrality of the feminist identity they had evolved in the process.

In the next two chapters, I will interpret and analyze the formation of the identify of pathfinders at two universities and examine how these women planned their actions to create and advance women's studies in the academic contexts of Taiwan.

# Chapter Five
# Women's Studies at "Yushan University"

The multiple paths of the pathfinders' journeys of becoming, discussed briefly in Chapter 4, well illustrate how feminist consciousness emerged and took form in the lives of the thirty-one Taiwanese scholars featured in this study. As we learned in previous chapters, structural opportunities largely opened up in Tawan after the decline of the authoritarian regime in 1987, and, particularly from that time on, feminist consciousness emerged and began to proliferate. Moreover, besides the differences reflected in their ages, each pathfinder's personal and social transformation, strategies of action, exploration of new identities, and pursuit of scholarly interests in women's studies varied to some extent depending on how she perceived structural opportunities and the degree to which she identified with feminism.

In this and the subsequent chapters, I will explore how women's studies emerged and was formalized at the two universities I selected for this study, which I refer to as "Yushan University" and "Formosa University," and not by their real names, Here, continuing in more detail with the analysis in Chapter 4, I am concerned with how the founders and pathfinders of women's studies came to identify with feminist values, perceive their available opportunities, and select pathways to develop and advance this new field of study in their institutions.

This chapter is divided into two parts: the founding and evolution of the Women's Research Unit (WRU) at Yushan University, and the teachings and research of individual scholars there.[1] The first part is organized around a discussion of the women's studies research program at Yushan University (YU). This program served as a model because it was the first academic entity focusing on women's studies that was accepted into a university structure. Although the WRU is located within YU, the political and academic issues its members have explored go far beyond the gates of the university. Great things have been expected of the WRU from the women's movement, and this has caused some long-term discontent in the relationship between women's studies practitioners and women's movement activists. The YU research program has also served as a model for other women's and gender studies programs that wish to gain legitimacy. The effectiveness of this model lies in its organized identity, consisting of academic structures and the enabling actions of affiliated pathfinders at YU. In addition, the concerted action of the pathfinders has created and somewhat legitimized women's studies as a hybrid product featuring an interplay of activism and academia, and local concerns with western feminist ideas.

Six study participants can be identified as the primary pioneers in the organization and promotion of the women's studies research program at YU. Four of them have developed their emergent gender consciousness through engagements with a research network. Over time, all of them have shifted from a general focus on women to taking a specifically feminist perspective by which to teach and conduct research for women. Although the

pathfinders differ in their commitments to feminist studies, their achievements and organized efforts can be seen as a collective project. The emergence and growth of women's studies at Yushan University are the result of the pathfinders' putting their different visions and political impulses into action.

The second section of this chapter focuses on pathfinders' individual experiences of integrating gender studies into their teaching and research. While the first section is based on the organizational plane, the next section rests on individual action and explores the interaction between the centrality of identity and structure. Each pathfinder is located within in the historical and structural contexts within which they have come to identify alternative values and have integrated them into professional practices. The centrality of feminist values to their lives is what has guided their actions, including declaring a certain identity, strategizing action, and finding opportunities in favor of formalizing women's and gender studies in their discipline-based departments and institutions. Although not every pathfinder has felt a need to network with the research program of gender studies at YU or other feminist organizations such as Awakening or TFSA (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 4), they have exhibited their commitment to women's studies, and this action in itself has transformed them from conventional scholars into women's studies practitioners or pro-feminist scholars. This shift of identity has been a process involving their evolving consciousness, which manifests a continuous growth through ongoing interaction between identity-action and structure.

In order to protect some pathfinders' identities, I have either identified them using a general title or made up two different names for the same person.

## PART I: FORMING THE WOMEN'S RESEARCH PROGRAM

### *Beginning*

The birth of the women's studies research center in 1985 was a groundbreaking event in a time of strict administrative control of universities. It was, for the most part, a joint project of women scholars and women's movement activists with tangible support from the Asia Foundation. The research center was expected to play an important role in enhancing feminist movements in Taiwan (Lee, 1986).

In the early 1980s, there existed neither open structural opportunities nor social movements that could provide a solid grounding for the start of women's studies research. It was during the hostile climate of this period that international organizations such as the Asia Foundation played an important role in introducing human rights issues into Taiwan. The privileged position of international organizations enabled them to support women's associations, promote women's issues, and advocate women' studies in Taiwan, all activities which otherwise might not have been tolerated by the ruling KMT(Wang, 1997).

One female scholar, Jingying, formed ties with the Asia Foundation that became an unplanned, yet important impetus for the establishment of women's studies in Taiwan. At that time, one of the Asia Foundation's agendas was to fund and promote women's issues and women' studies in Taiwan. Awakening was one of the women's associations that received the foundation's funding. The director of the foundation, Dr. Severinghaus, had

actively kept contact with various scholars and leaders of NGOs. Jingying met the director accidentally and became one of the foundation's targeted scholars. Since she had done a doctoral thesis about female workers migrating to urban cities, she represented one of the pioneers of women's studies in Taiwan. She was later funded by the Asia Foundation to visit women's NGOs in Canada during the early 1980s. From this trip, she learned the importance of women's issues and realized that Awakening was promoting wornen's rights in Taiwan. After the trip, Jingying made a formal connection with Awakening and the activists' circle.

Another female founder, Tingly, also connected with the Asia Foundation's move forward in the early 1980s to help start her research about women. After she returned from visiting women's NGOs in the United States, Tingly wrote in her report that there were three types of women's organizations in the United States: action-based organizations centered on women's services, research centers about and for women, and women's studies programs emphasizing teaching. Among these three types, she made a suggestion to the Asia Foundation in 1984 that a research center for women would be the most fundamental and the least political or controversial type of feminist organization that could work as a support base for teaching and promoting women's studies in Taiwan's universities.

The idea of initiating a women's studies research center or program was deliberated and discussed within the small circle of women scholars and women activists in Awakening during the early 1980s. The idea, however, was not realized until it gained strong support from the scholars of the first women's conference, "The Role of Women in National Development Process in Taiwan." This 1985 conference was hosted by the Center of Population Studies (CPS) of "Yushan University" and co-sponsored by the Asia Foundation, National Science Council, and Pacific Culture Foundation. From the theme of this conference, it should not be surprising to discover that women's issues were not welcomed or accepted unless the subject explicitly tuned into the mainstream interests of national development. Back in the mid-1980s, national development policies were underscored by the hegemonic discourses of the KMT's governance and academic authority (see Chapter 3).

The conference planning committee was composed of male and female scholars of Yushan University's CPS and from other universities. None of them were involved in the women's movement or in women's studies except for Jingying. The conference theme and the papers reflected, at best, the framing "add women and stir." Only a few articles in the conference discussed women's status or sex differences (Hu, 1989). Jingying understood with an implicitly political sense that women's studies needed the support of male senior professors in order to secure an academic corner for the new field. The conference organizers reached out to all kinds of scholars in the social sciences. It seemed that a friendly outreach or some other non-threatening approach toward the male gatekeepers would be the most appropriate step in starting a women's studies program.

During the conference, one incident made Jingying very anxious and upset. The experience also helped her determine her own style and ways to promote women's studies in a hostile milieu where women were still a disadvantaged group. The event occurred as a female scholar finished her presentation. A male professor who was very supportive of this conference commented on the presentation by using "improper" words, complimenting the work of the presenter but also referring to her appearance. Although

such remarks were traditionally accepted in academe, the message invoked outrage from a female activist in the audience. She stood up and spoke straightforwardly to the male professor about his unacceptable comments, which she felt conveyed some sexist connotations. After the woman had so strongly expressed her opinion, a number of male scholars left the conference and did not show up the next day. Although Jingying admired the woman's courage, she knew very well that she was not the type of person who was able to instigate a confrontation and make others "lose face" without feeling bad about herself. She even doubted that the strategy of confrontation would make people change their attitudes, especially in a society that stresses "social smoothing" and harmony in social relations. For fear of isolation and unnecessary conflict, Jingying favored the collaboration of both genders in promoting women's studies during her directorship of the women's studies research program at Yushan University.

Following the conference, the Foundation accepted suggestions from the academic community expressing a need to establish a research center for women to help coordinate and promote women's studies in Taiwan. The Foundation had several options at hand and finally decided on Yushan University (YU) as a base for the research center. According to a former staff member of the Asia Foundation, there were several reasons why the deliberations at organizational meetings led to the choice of this university. First of all, the Asia Foundation needed to find the best place to sponsor. In contrast to the United States, the best universities in Taiwan are publicly funded. The public universities can attract international donors primarily because of the quality and credibility of implementation and the scope of potential impacts. Second, although Awakening had shown an interest in promoting women's studies, the foundation wanted to diversify its funding and, therefore, would grant money to a new organization, with the aim of spreading the foundation's seeds of influence by building the institutional capacities of a variety of organizations. In the long run, these organizations would, it was thought, help to hatch an emergent civil society in Taiwan. For the Asia Foundation, YU was an ideal academic environment because it was one of the largest, most comprehensive, and most prestigious universities in Taiwan. It had a strong potential to survive, promote, and lead this new academic field (Interview with ex-staffer of the Asia Foundation).

Moreover, one of the founders, Jingying, had already become a full professor there. The professorship status legitimized Jingying, allowing her to lead a women's research program that would likely meet a variety of challenges from the administration and the academic community. At that time, only 8 percent of full professors nationwide were women. No female scholars had been hired in the sociology department at YU. It was difficult to pair up a team and a university to start what would seemingly be an unwelcome program.

Jingying recalled the exciting moment when she was asked to start this historic project. Although she was uncertain that she was the right person to start it, her success at coordinating the first national women's conference, along with the encouragement from friends, colleagues, and Awakening activists, impelled her to accept this mission. In fact, Jingying felt ambivalent to this sudden invitation:

> Prior to completing my Ph.D., I saw myself as a less confident woman, even though my academic performance was excellent. I felt that I was neither pretty enough nor competent enough. How could I launch this

> project that was totally outside my professional specialty? I knew that my colleagues saw me as being very creative and professional…in making things well-rounded and perfect,…but to tell you the truth, I was scared to death to accept it.

The Foundation consulted with Jingying several times until the project appeared to be feasible. She then contacted and invited three other women professors to join this project. Two of them came from two other universities. They specialized in different disciplines, including one who showed considerable political interest in women's studies. The arrangement of four female scholars from different campuses created a national research center instead of just a localized chapter at YU. Since Jingying was also an executive secretary of YU's Center of Population Studies (CPS), she persuaded the Center's director to secure a small free space in the building to be the office of the women's studies research unit.

The beginning of the women's studies research unit (WRU) was thus unofficially placed under the CPS. The relationship with CPS conveyed two meanings. First, it meant that this informal arrangement confirmed that the WRU was not really institutionalized yet. The WRU also did not receive administrative recognition nor any regular financial support from the university. Second, while it was because of Jingying's affiliation with the CPS and the availability of open office space at the Center that helped found the WRU, this affiliation and support of the Center ironically depicted a conservative inclination at the WRU.

The CPS was formed to help the government make policies about population control. Although a successful population control policy normally served as an indicator of modern advancement, it was an integral part of the conservative ideology held by Taiwan's mainstream patriarchal government. The policy controlled fertility rates and population growth without genuine concern for the well being of Taiwanese women. The CPS was formed to produce academic research and publications that justified the existing political agenda and the manipulation of women's lives and bodies. This negative connotation positioned the WRU as a conservative rather than liberal wing of feminist ideologies in Taiwan despite its initially strategic considerations. The liberal position was seen as movement-oriented and seeking social changes through the promotion of women's rights and legal reforms.

### *Objectives*

The Women Research Unit of YU has been and still is an important academic resource base for women's studies. It aims to promote and research women's and gender issues in Taiwan, to connect and collaborate with international scholars and institutions of women's studies, and to produce knowledge and disseminate information about women among the academic community, women's organizations, and the policy-making organs. These three foundational objectivities have not changed since its establishment, although new meanings and objectives have been subsequently added in response to socio-political changes. Following 1990, the development of gender education had become one part of the WRU's objectives. Since 1997, the interdisciplinary teaching program of women's studies began as a series of collaborative teaching and cross-listed courses. The program

became able to award a certificate for students who fulfilled 20 units of required courses. In 1999, the research unit gained institutional recognition and was renamed the Center of Population Studies and Gender Studies.

The objectives of the WRU have been defined academically from the beginning. The framing, however, has changed alongside enrichment from newly inducted researchers, who have redefined women's studies, as well as from the impact of the deepening women's movement in Taiwan. After the disputes between Awakening and the WRU in the early 1990s, events advancing "feminist" perspectives and feminism frequently appeared as part of the WRU's activities. Promoting feminist research perspectives formally became one of the organization's objectives in 1998.

The consequences of formally making feminism part of their organizational objectives were twofold. First, it showed that the campuses were getting more liberated. Women's studies in Taiwan had undergone two stages of latency and emergence (1980s and early 1990s), and had just begun entering a stage of proliferation (after 1995). Feminism was being perceived less negatively; thus, it attracted more students to the study of feminist approaches than ever before. Feminist research largely existed as an interdisciplinary study. It was gradually integrated into the academic production and transmission of knowledge even though disparaging attitudes were still commonly found at all institutions of higher learning.

Second, having feminism in the organizational objectives reflected an attempt to merge women's studies with feminist activism. The tension that existed between women's research centers and women's movement organizations had surfaced in the late 1980s. This tension stemmed from their different viewpoints over how to do women's research and over the nature of the relationship between women's studies and the women's movement. The tension has constructively moved the WRU towards integrating local women's needs and concerns into their academic activities (indigenization) and exploring new research methods that incorporated dialogues between women's studies and other disciplines while maintaining feminist perspectives (feminist research). (The call for a feminist perspective or inquiry is further discussed in the latter part of "organizing.")

In 1998, the **indigenization** of women's studies using feminist perspectives officially became one of the organizational objectives. The new framing has evolved out of the interplay between women's studies and the women's movement, between the academic community and the shifts in Taiwan's political climate, and between the local reaction and the international academic discourses that favor production of local knowledge and the politics of identity among feminist ideologies.

On the one hand, indigenization was a political movement with the implication of constructing a new Taiwanese identity separate from China. Ex-president Chiang Ching-kuo formally promulgated indigenization in the 1970s to strategically resolve KMT's legitimacy crisis after Taiwan was denied membership into the United Nations in 1971. Indigenization then started appearing on Chinese literature debates in 1980s (Wu, 2004). In academic circles, framing and meanings of indigenization had changed over time in tune with political sensibility.

On the other hand, indigeriization had to do with the yearning of Taiwanese scholars who longed to produce and develop knowledge that was epistemologically and methodologically unique by deriving ideas from Chinese contexts (Chou, 1995). The

quest for indigenizing women' studies were stated in the late 1980s by Hua Yian, Head of the Division of Humanity and Social Science at the National Science Council. In a summer camp workshop of women's studies in 1988, Hua Yian, who supported women's studies and funded a large collaborative research project dedicated to women's lives, clearly addressed the idea that the development of women's studies in Taiwan needed to be distinguished from the west. In the opening speech of the workshop, she said,

> Women's studies scholars appropriate the methods and models developed from the social science theories in the west. As we analyze a five-thousand-year Chinese history and the dramatic changes in Taiwan within the current four or five decades, we have to put the uniqueness of our culture into account. Bear this in mind: while adopting western models and theories, we must compare and contrast the values inherent in both Chinese and western cultures in order to properly respond to our concerns and needs—a quest of Sinicization or indigenization, and to produce knowledge that can collect the unique values in our literature and cultural studies (Hua, 1988, translated by the author).

Her thoughts represented the typical thinking of the gatekeepers, who placed Chinese values on top of women's studies and the social sciences so that the latter would be in tune with the KMT's ruling ideology. At best, the ideology was used to encourage the fusion of western knowledge with local needs and concerns. At worst, it implied that some ideologies derived from the west, such as individualism, feminism, socialism, were not to be allowed into Taiwanese contexts largely due to their potential for subverting the "legitimating ideologies" of the KMT. The rhetorical proclamation of indigenization, therefore, was largely used for screening those "isms" in the official knowledge that the ruling party would then legitimize.

The interpretation of Chinese contexts and indigenization, however, had also been reconstructed through the framing and articulation of the politically tense relationship between Taiwan and China. In the 1970s and 1980s, Sinicization and indigenization signified a political strategy to pacify the dissidents and the academic yearning for a Chinese way of producing knowledge. It did not show at all an attempt to separate from China. Its rhetoric merely echoed within an elite circle of politicians and scholars.

In the 1990s, indigenization was transformed to have a new meaning, an alternative communal identity aiming to construct a "New Taiwanese" consciousness. The new consciousness proclaiming Taiwan to be a political entity separate from China has become a contested ideology bubbling up into all public spheres. It has become an academic/educational movement stoked by Taiwanese scholars who desired to reconstruct a new subjectivity for Taiwanese citizens (Young, 1997). Yet it is also perceived to be a political strategy of "ethnicity politics" extensively manipulated by politicians during election campaigns since 1994 (Wang, 1998). Feminist knowledge production cannot escape this fervent discussion or its influences. The political implication raises new conflicts of identity between Taiwanese and Chinese in feminist circles. Postcolonial discourses further complicate the issue and also contribute to the assertion that indigenous knowledge should be developed to voice indigenous

experiences and to resist against both western and mainland China's discursive hegemony (Chiu, 1996, 2001).

### *Institutional Response*

The establishment of the WRU was seen as an expedited move to materialize the program at YU. Both the allocation of office space and the naming of the program were decided by the director of CPS without the need to obtain official confirmation from the administration of YU or the Ministry of Education (MOE). Since 1985, the CPS had been functioning sluggishly due largely to the success of family planning and population control in the past two decades. Welcoming the new gender studies program that had substantial support from the Asia Foundation became a rationale for revitalizing the Center itself by assimilating women's studies into the national development agenda. Consequently, this relationship partly thwarted a radical emergence of the WRU under the ideology of population studies research and supervision of the Center.

In addition, any innovative ideas and social theories in higher education were under stiff supervision by state forces. One salient example during the early 1980s was an attempt at curriculum reform to help nurture college students' independent or critical thinking. The measure, led by the liberal president of the National Taiwan University, Yu Zhao-zhung, failed to launch on the campus. Instead, the Ministry of Education mandated that every tertiary institution teach general education courses, leaving little room for the promotion of interdisciplinary understanding, especially concerning classes affiliated with leftist social theories. The main purpose was to control curriculum development and to block development of alternative or controversial courses (Huang, 2002). This mandate resulted in the formation of many less-qualified courses during the 1980s. In short, the push for general education loosened departmental and local admimstrative control over university courses. Ironically, it was during this period that women's studies scholars were able to find convenient ways to teach gender courses. At the same time, the failure of the curriculum reform at NTU revealed that any endeavor to subvert the symbolic control of the KMT was eventually futile and would risked one's scholarly career.

Not every female scholar of the WRU was sensitive or keenly aware of the political control of the KMT party-state over universities. Jingying acknowledged in her interview that she did not realize the possible consequences of instigating political challenges. She thought that growing up overseas might have contributed to this, having not undergone any of the periods of "white terror." Because of her innocence, she had the courage to move forward with women's studies. For Jingying, career promotion was a result of individual hard work and professional achievement. The recognition of academic performance relied heavily on highly qualified research and academic services. She firmly believed that as long as she gained due recognition from her excellent performance, involvement in the WRU would not jeopardize her professional future. She did not know, until she was appointed the director of her home department that almost every school dean or department director had to become a member of the KMT.

On the other hand, Jingying was in fact cued in by the director of CPS, who frequented the WRU's events in the beginning to make sure these gatherings would not bring trouble to the whole Center.

> The director was very supportive of women's studies despite the fact that he was quite patriarchal, similar to the manners other males had… He once warned me: "Don't do a women's movement here." His attitudes reflected to some degree the reaction of the university… During another occasion, he told me: "There are two units that have been watched by the university; one of them is our Center." I was naïve at that time and did not believe anything would happen to me, although I knew Annette Lu [the first activist of the women's movement in Taiwan] had been jailed… But I was not very politically sensitive. Maybe the courage I had [to get involved in women's studies] was partly due to my ignorance of politics…. Besides, I thought the WRU was a small potato; I did not really believe it deserved the careful watch of the institution.

She also recalled one event that was politically related. When the WRU obtained the research grants earmarked by the National Science Council in 1986, one of the research associates was not invited to join the collaborative research project team due to her strong affiliation with Awakening. This particular female academician then left the WRU a year later and became one of the feminist scholars who raised the question about the problematic relation between women's studies and the women's movement in Taiwan. The exclusion of this scholar obviously conveyed the control of the ruling party and gatekeepers who preferred certain types of research about women, such as the female participant rate in the labor force, role conflicts of female workers, women's health, and education—topics that produced the least conflicts with mainstream ideologies. These research questions and scientific methods were more compatible with the "legitimizing ideologies" of the ruling party. Consequently, alternative viewpoints were not allowed to develop at the WRU. In such politically hostile milieu, it was not surprising that the pathfinders of the WRU chose to build a library and information center for women's studies, a non-threatening entity to the administration of YU. The associate researchers emphasized positivistic research and neutral values and decided to stay aloof from local women's movements. All these actions could be seen as a strategy of survival and of reaching out for wide support in a strictly controlled environment.

Besides the political reasons, lack of a regular base of resources set the WRU on the edge of survival after the four-year sponsorship from the Asia Foundation expired. The university had been reluctant to fund or set aside a regular budget for the WRU even after it gained national and international recognition for its contributions to women's studies development in Taiwan. The institution totally ignored and only partially supported women's studies in exchange for the cooperation of the group. When controversial events occur on campus, the YU administration has the right to request the WRU not to partake in collective protest or sign petitions supporting women-related demonstrations (interview with ex-staffer of WRU).

In response to the unsupportive nature of the institution, several scholars initiated actions to seek and accumulate economic and social capital on their own. To overcome the anonymity of the women's studies program, Jingying insisted on outreach activities by sending the organizational newsletter to every faculty member of the university and inviting the president of YU to attend the WRU's conferences. The newsletter, which was widely distributed, announced and introduced the women's studies activities such as

national and international women's conferences. Through the outreach, they recruited potential researchers, made allies with supporters, and publicized the importance and vitality of women's studies. Jingying particularly emphasized the support of male colleagues to make the women's studies program seem less challenging to the institution.

In regard to covering the WRU's operation costs, Jingying recalled the difficulty in "begging" for money from YU. Although she has contacted the university for funding since the establishment of the WRU, there still has not been any positive response from the administration. Pingping, another core member of the WRU, did not consider the lack of institutional support as evidence of institutional discrimination toward women's studies. She remarked that all kinds of research centers typically have to find their own space and funding to survive. The institution, as Pingping recalled, did not perceive the WRU's existence to be threatening and thus occasionally funds the book collection and academic activities as a gesture of their support for the development of women's studies. Nevertheless, Pingping acknowledged that the dire financial situation put a great deal of pressure on the team of research associates during the search for funds every year. The first decade, the team relied heavily upon individual acquaintances and affiliations with governmental and private foundations. Personal connections made important contributions through access to funding information and by providing eligibility in obtaining funds.

In addition, politics at YU made the search for funding from this institution even more difficult after the deregulation of university governance. Prior to the university law reform, only the administration and the president of the university made the funding decisions. After the new university law was enacted in 1994, a committee of faculty senators from every department handled those decisions. The institutional resources and administrative power were open to competition. Those programs and departments/schools that were closely affiliated with the administration, matched national development agendas (like computer science and engineering schools), or were large enough, were able to manipulate elections by winning over the administrative powers and exchanging desired resources (interview with YU professor).

The WRU was usually excluded from this political game. The organization was too weak. Plus, at the time, only a few female scholars had entered the decision-making circle. Jingying, as the chair of her department and the director of CPS, was one of a handful of female scholars that attended these administrative meetings. But with few female colleagues at the table, Jingying was quite apprehensive in the beginning; however, she soon learned that in order to gain support for her department's interests from other senators, she needed to arm herself with confidence. The committee meetings showed that the science and technology departments held the administrative power and that any unconventional ideas were likely to be turned down or excluded from the committee's agenda.

The situation of weak academic programs in universities described above is typical of what Charles Lemert called the "shadow structure," or what Allen (1997) termed an "institutionally fragile" structure. Both of the terms illustrate the marginal status of interdisciplinary research programs and centers, where few scholars have tenure, resources are slim, and rewards rare (Klein, 1996). The shadow structure of the WRU was entirely supported by its core members, who grabbed every opportunity that would aid the survival and maintenance of the research program. As the number of structural

opportunities grew, the WRU sought to upgrade itself in order to protect against the circumstantial whims of the more powerful.

## *Organizing*

### *Stage One: The Founding*

The Women's Research Unit was founded with minimal economic and social capital. Its full initial funding was provided by the Asia Foundation, supplemented by some research grants from the National Science Council of Taiwan. With modest resources and support, the team started up this project as a library and research unit geared towards academic development rather than as a movement agenda. The unit collected both national and international publications, journals, and archives about women's studies. The library has been recognized as Taiwan's largest collection of women's studies material. The WRU held seminars and workshops, published a quarterly newsletter, and awarded an annual women's studies scholarship to promote women's studies. This enthusiastic involvement turned the WRU into a symbol of women's studies. One of the WRU's founders recollected the excitement of the first years:

> I found the work very fascinating not only because it related to my own experiences as a woman but also because it created a new place for me to meet like-minded people. I quickly realized I had to give up other research opportunities to run the unit since women's studies was entirely new to me academically. The teamwork design nurtured a cooperative climate. It facilitated sharing and caring relationships that were very different from the experiences I had in my home department. The former was humane and the latter was very hierarchical.

This altruistic spirit created a program very different from any that had arisen within the hierarchical structure of the university. Social empowerment, intellectual assistance, and emotional support could all be nurtured within the new program. According to two founders, the structure and parameters of each branch in the WRU were designed and planned by a decision-making body consisting of a coordinator and three to five other research associates. Through these teams, the WRU was able to accomplish many organizational activities, such as starting their quarterly newsletter in 1985 and the annual journal in 1990. By 1994, a network of women's studies scholars was established for collaboration and consulting.

In their first decade, the WRU functioned as a nationwide center for the development of women's studies, despite the field's narrow audience of a handful of women scholars and academic circles. Even by 1994, most research associates were trained in conventional disciplines. There was no "critical mass" of women's studies found on any campus. The WRU provided the gateway for those scholars who wished to pursue their scholarly interests in women's studies. One female pathfinder, Pingping, greatly appreciated the chance to become part of the team at the WRU.

> I was invited to join the team although I had not specialized in women's studies. Jingying convinced me by saying that I could learn by doing… The research center opened up a window for me to learn a great deal of how to understand gender relations by looking from different angles and through a variety of disciplinary perspectives… It helped me to connect my learning experiences with my life… I found a way later to integrate feminism into my scholarly research and to influence governmental policy-making in response to women's needs.

Gender has always been an important component of Winnie's social sciences specialty. She joined the WRU team in the early 1990s to help the center run more smoothly. She liked the associate researchers at the WRU and felt they shared the same thoughts, manners, and commitment to women's studies. Winnie was adept at organizing and managing and she quickly found her niche in the network. At the WRU, she became very serious about promoting women's studies and she channeled this diligence into organizing the scholarship awards program.

> The WRU was the first organization to promote gender research. Although we merely provided a small amount of the money,…the review process made a great deal of sense. The applicants were able to get extensive support from our faculty and affiliated researchers. We invited experts to constructively comment on the applicants' proposals…. Then scholarship recipients had to meet three times to discuss the comments given by reviewers, and report the progress and difficulties they encountered while doing research or writing the theses… The peer support and advice helped to solve their problems… The whole process was actually a learning process. We wanted to make sure that these students could produce the quality of gender research that reflected our organizational objectives.

For Winnie, the four most important activities of the WRU were the luncheon workshops, scholarship awards, the *Newsletter,* and the *Journal* (due to a concern for anonymity, I will use *Newsletter* and *Journal* to replace the actual titles). The *Newsletter* and *Journal* were extremely important as a means to advocate and legitimize women's studies in academe. These activities could help maintain the organization's vitality and uniqueness, even without regular funding or additional support from the institution. The functioning of these regular academic activities could help reach out to more audiences and encourage students and scholars to engage in women's studies. In addition to collaborative work, Winnie felt satisfied with the familiarity and cherished the friendship of the team. She said, "I found my generation had the same ethos. We were willing to contribute and were less concerned about our [individual] interests. We were friends and shared some common concerns and obligations. We had a sense of commitment and made things done effectively."

For Winnie, the crucial contribution of the team was that they had committed themselves to preserving a hard corner, an alternative space, for keeping the new field of

studies alive and vital despite its institutionally fragile status in a men-dominated environment. She explained,

> We had little support from the university and did extra work for running the WRU. Sometimes I felt totally exhausted…. For me, editing the *Journal* was very important but tedious. You had to make sure academic rigor of the journal even though we did not have much support from budgets or staff…. Almost all the editing and finalizing had to be done by myself. The assistants offered a little help or I had to repeat training them due to a high turnover rate. I spent a great deal of time and energy to finalize the journal and refurnish every detail.

Because of these difficult situations, Winnie thought that the contributions of such collective efforts could not be distorted by the criticism that the organization was advocating a certain kind of feminist ideology, which had happened in the debate between women's studies practitioners and women's movement activists in the early 1990s.

### *1. Conflict and Collaboration within the Women's Movement.*

*a. Pingping as the Coordinator.* Pingping was seen as an optimistic and active pathfinder among her research associates of the WRU. Her enthusiasm was manifested through her distinct disposition and leadership. During Pingping's eight-year term as the coordinator, she and other research associates made numerous contributions. They launched a large research project to enhance the understanding of women's health. They created a teaching course for gender studies and then made it into an interdisciplinary teaching program composed of twenty units of cross-listed courses in 1997. They held several large conferences concerning women's health, history of women, feminist research, and evolution of women's studies in general education. They accomplished the compilation of all kinds of women's studies research in contemporary Taiwan. Most importantly, they successfully elevated the status of the WRU to become the Center of Population and Gender Studies at YU in 1999.

Nevertheless, none of these achievements counted as academic services in Pingping's department. Moreover, much of her research was about gender and education, which were not primary subjects in her field. She has thus failed twice to be promoted to full professor in her home department. She did not make any appeals because she did not feel it was right to fight for her own rights. Neither did she like the prospect of confronting the academic politics in her department throughout the appeal process.

Although Pingping felt anguish over her failed promotioris, she was satisfied with what she had accomplished for the WRU. For Pingping, without the WRU, there would be no teaching program in gender studies would have been allowed to be developed at YU. Pingping attributed her accomplishments to teamwork and the substantive support from Jingying. She said, "I felt satisfied and happy with the WRU…. Jingying was always around me…. I knew that if anything happened I always had her to back me up. I usually discussed with her my new ideas about developing academic activities or making changes to the WRU."

In 1990, a new sociologist joined the team and brought in new ideas to edit the *Newsletter* and launched the first and largest collaborative project about "Women and Health." The new version of the *Newsletter* added a forum and made it into a platform to reveal women's disadvantaged statuses and to discuss pressing issues for women: "Let the Numbers Talk," "The Analysis of the Numbers," and "Viewpoints." In addition, alongside dramatic social changes after the lift of martial law, women's studies and feminism had grown and proliferated in Taiwan's universities. The *Newsletter* then reported current women's issues and introduced new research topics on women's studies. Nevertheless, compared to the *Awakening Magazine*, considerably controversial issues such as sexual harassment, feminist studies student clubs, and consciousness-raising activities rarely appeared in the WRU's *Newsletter*.

Prior to the new version, the primary function of the *Newsletter* was to report information about women's studies courses, research projects, conferences, and activities of women's organizations at both national and international levels. From the position of the *Newsletter*, it was difficult to know what stance the WRU had taken. For example, most the women's studies courses listed in the *Newsletter* were too broad and ill-defined. They spanned a variety of disciplines and topics: family planning, family and marriage, sociology of family, home economics, gynecology, sex education, motherhood and education, child development, preschool education, women and society, labor economics, marriage counseling, developmental psychology, women's problems in modern time, hygiene, family management, population economics, human behavior and environment, child welfare, seminars for women's studies, women and culture, ecology, nursing and practice, and so forth. From the courses listed above, it is hard to tell how these courses were related to women or women's studies. It was not surprising to hear the comment that there was an absence of a clear definition of, or focus on, women's studies in the WRU's *Newsletter*.

Since 1991, the WRU has been changed to include a more critical and proactive stance on the disclosure of sex discrimination in all spheres of society. The team gradually assumed a critical perspective to investigate gender inequity and to unveil hierarchies of social relations. However, these changes did not happen over night. The slow "progress" of the WRU did not protect it from attacks by the more progressive wing of the women's movement in Taiwan. It happened when Pingping took over the coordinatof post in 1990, at a time when the conflict between women's movement activists and academic scholars was volatile. It was one of the most challenging jobs facing Pingping during her directorship at the WRU. Instead of direct confrontation, she patiently listened to the harsh critiques forwarded by the women's movement activists. She and her team clarified different ideas about doing women's studies research, confronted the differences, and made changes to the WRU.

Pingping was trained in the social sciences at a time when positivism was still going strong. She made clear in a number of forums and conferences that appropriating objective and value-neutral methods was not wrong, and that such a strategy could even be proper for doing research on and about women. Such claims were very similar to those heard in the United States at the beginning of the women's studies era, when it was fashionable for feminist scholars to deploy rigid scientific methods in order to demonstrate gender stratification in academe and society (Stanley & Wise, 1993; Messer-Davidow, 2002). The counter-argument has been that, in order to contribute to research

on women, what is most important is how questions are asked and findings analyzed, rather than trying to come up with the "right" (i.e., scientifically verifiable) data collection methods. Although the earlier practices worked as a kind of strategy by using a master's tool to dismantle a master's house, many radical feminist scholars such as Adrienne

Rich, Audre Lorde,[2] as well as a number of progressive leaders of Awakening in Taiwan were dubious about its effectiveness.

*b. The Disputes.* The disputes began with several activists' critiques of the WRU on a number of public occasions. The critiques concerned the expectation among women's movement activists that women's studies should act as an "academic arm of the women's movement." Their aspiration was foiled due to another version of women's studies that had emerged in the 1980s. A two-winged development of women's studies was looming in the background and eventually formed. Simply put, women's studies practitioners respectively endorsed a constellation of two different but parallel ideas, rather than a collaborative way of promoting women's studies in Taiwan. While women's studies practitioners emphasized the development of women's studies as being independent of the women's movement, feminist activists indeed encouraged the fusion between academics and activism.

The early visions of feminist activism could be found in an essay written by the activist leader, Lee Yuan-chen, The article showed how the Awakening compassionately supported the first national conference on women and the establishment of the WRU. Ms. Lee even epitomized the emergent women's studies as "the third wave" of the women's movement in Taiwan, compared to the first wave led by Annette Lu and the second wave generated by the Awakening (Lee, 1986). In the late 1980s, the Awakening leaders changed their attitudes and harshly criticized women's studies in a number of meetings and conferences. The Awakening then tried to set up its own gender studies center in the early 1990s, after they were disappointed by the "neutral" stances adopted by the women's studies practitioners. In 1991, the critiques caused a public split in their relationship. From the same circle of the Awakening, women activists accused the founders of the women research centers of doing something destructive to the development of women's studies in Taiwan. It was related to two contentions—first, the WRU was too detached from the women's movement and, second, "neutral values" and objective research could not be taken as objectives or goals of feminist research.

When the social movement reached a high tide in the late 1980s, the WRU made a collective decision, after participating in one protest against sex discrimination at a workplace in 1987. The consensus was that the WRU would not collectively participate in any demonstrations, but the research associates could make their own choices in joining any movement organizations or strikes.[3] However, not one research associate was interested in taking part in the women's movement. It seemed that WRU had attracted more pure academicians than activists through a self-screening process. The impression that the WRU had intentionally kept its distance from women's movement was then affirmed.

A number of seemingly small incidents had occurred on different occasions, together adding up to a confirmation among activists of the belief that women's studies practitioners did not concern about the women's movement. The accumulated distrust led to unsympathetic critiques of women's studies scholars in 1991. The main point of such

critical views was that women's studies founders had eschewed the possibility of cooperation and rapport-building between women's studies and the women's movement in Taiwan. They argued that, without engaging in political coalition-building with the women's movement, the women's studies research would, in fact, reinforce retrograde gender relations in academe and in society. The eruption of quarreling raised the question of who should have the right to define women's studies in Taiwan.

*c. Personal Reactions.* Jingying became one of the biggest targets in this dispute. She recalled these painful encounters and attributed five factors to the conflicts.

> I think the conflicts had several sources that added up to an attack and put me as a target of the blame. First of all, I remembered the Women's Department of the KMThad invited us to lecture between 1985 and 1986…. Some feminist activists were not happy about this connection. Second, the team had discussed that we would not use the WRU to support or sign for any women's movement in 1989 or 1990. I remembered we came with a consensus that we should separate organizational activities from individual political action. We suggested that individual scholars make their own decision to join the women's movement since political action belonged to individual commitment… Given what happened to me, today I still do not regret that we made such a decision… The third factor was related to our emphasis on objective and neutral values of research. Most of us were trained in scientific positivism. We did not really understand feminism academically at that time. That was why we did not employ a feminist perspective or see women as an oppressed group from a collective standpoint…. The fourth factor may be related to their misunderstanding of us. They thought we had a lot of resources… But we were as poor as they were. We struggled every year to beg for some money to keep us alive … We had to work every day until 9 or 10 pm due to a lack of personnel support. And we had to face the hierarchical structure and the rigorous academic demand of "publish or perish." They accumulated their reputations and resources easier than we did…. The last factor might be related to academic jealousy. They thought I had reaped all the advantages related to women's studies. For example, I once heard someone complain, "How could Jingying gain all the benefits and how could she represent 'women's studies' to give lectures or do most of the visiting overseas?"

These accusations were a big, unexpected blow to Jingying when she was engaged in women's studies. The hurt has not gone away:

> I did not really know why I became a target of the attack…. It was a really painful and heartbreaking experience… I then became quiet and passive for a couple of years. It seemed that both sides [the women's movement and academic community] had misunderstood me. One called me a peddler of fake women's studies, and the other saw me as a radical activist… I then decided to take a long break…. It was Pingping who

> helped me recover from such physical and psychological pains during those years.

Because of this encounter, Jingying was still skeptical of the sisterhood proclaimed by the women's movement. Particularly after Jingying also heard similar heartbreaking stories from other long-standing feminist activists, who eventually chose to leave Awakening due to conflicting visions of how to improve women's rights. Jingying felt sad and continued to keep a distance from the women's movement. Although she had compassion toward women's studies and considered expanding her academic pursuits to a second major in the field of gender studies, she was reluctant to declare herself a feminist, if the term meant a close link with Awakening.

The disputes over the boundaries of women's studies flared up on many occasions. At one conference, the WRU was attacked by a scholar-activist who alleged that the WRU's affiliated researchers were not doing or promoting genuine women's studies, that they had actually been a detriment to the development of women's studies in Taiwan. Pingping and other pathfinders were astounded and saddened. Several research associates did not really know what had happened. Pingping recalled the shock of the experience in this way:

> I did not really understand what the attacks were about… I indeed did not think of myself as a feminist. I thought that we were doing scientific research about women, and it was fine as long as you were really concerned about women's needs…. I was confused and did not really know what had happened to me and to the program…. But my principle was that, if I did not understand, I could clarify it by discussing it with them…. My personality was not one inclined to confrontation… I did not know how to argue or criticize… My typical response to the critiques was to clarify things and make things more understandable… So we invited a variety of groups and activists to participate in a series of discussions. By these activities, we created dialogues between the women's movement and women's studies.

At one particular conference, according to the discussion among the representatives from a variety of organizations, a parallel development between the women's movement and women's studies began to manifest itself, and it was evident that little collaboration had been undertaken between the two camps up to that point. A call for making more dialogue and cooperation between the two camps in the future was made with the objective of bridging knowledge through action.

Two pathfinders who were former graduate students of YU held different views about the debate and identity politics over the question of how to promote women's studies. One took an activist viewpoint, emphasizing the necessarily complementary relation between the two camps due to the scarcity of financial and human resources for the advancement of both the women's movement and women's studies. She made a number of strong points:

> I thought the separation was due to the "cowardice" of women's studies scholars who intentionally kept themselves away from feminist circles in the 1980s when the term "feminism" was distorted and stigmatized as anti-men and anti-society…. Without connecting to feminism and the women's movement, women's studies could not help women reconstruct their subjectivity. Neither did it empower women to take action, or to liberate them from a subordinate status…. If so, why did we need such women's studies in Taiwan?

In contrast, the other pathfinder cast a sympathetic eye towards the WRU. She said,

> The emergent stage of women's studies and the women's movement in Taiwan reflected a common symptom of academia—the split of the body and the brain…. Few women scholars could integrate activism into academics very well…. I thought it was unfair to demand that the founders of the WRU should have combined the intellectual and the political. If they preferred doing solely academic research, how could you expect them to get involved in the women's movement? Doing the movement was not their strength and it made them feel uncomfortable…and you could not expect someone to do anything beyond their life experiences or their imagination. About the debate, I would say it was not realistic for the women's movement activists to criticize women's studies practitioners…. As long as they preserved the academic space, such as the library and data collection, and did not take any anti-movement actions, I felt they were with us and had contributed to the development of women's studies [in Taiwan].

Winnie, another research associate from the WRU, did not appreciate the critiques that women movement activists cast on the leaders of the WRU. Winnie argued: "Every organization has its own strategies and agendas on how to make better lives for women… What was wrong with us in making great efforts to preserve a corner for women's studies in academe?"While such identity politics had arisen in the early 1990s, she felt anguished about the antagonistic attitudes of activists who forced women academics to identify themselves as feminist or non-feminist. Compared to Pingping, Winnie is more hesitant in claiming herself to be a specialist in women's studies or a feminist, even to this date.

> I very much abhorred the way they forced people to claim themselves as feminist or not… I totally disagreed with such a critique or accusation…. If you were a feminist, you were in the same circle, otherwise you were excluded…. Such a division did not reflect a feminist spirit… It did not even reflect democratic manners… If you were a leader, you were targeted and made to declare your identity… You could not say anything or you were attacked as a conspirator of patriarchy…. We had different kinds of women and organizations in the social movement. The development of each organization and person could be far different from one another. You need not criticize them. Just let them develop…. It was

> interesting that you always heard a political calling for sisterhood. But if sisterhood was used to exclude people, it was solely to serve partisanship.

*2. Organizational Reactions and Advancement.* Along with disputes initiated by women activists, the female studies center at Awakening went its own way toward shoring up feminism for women's studies. This center held monthly lectures and discussions to diffuse feminist ideas and define what women's studies should be. However, the naming of the research center, from "Two-sexes" to the "Female Studies" Research Center, reflected the compromise of the Awakening group to public opinion against feminism. The goal of the radicalization of women's studies that the center set up was not fully achieved (Ku, 1990a, 1990b, 1996). Due to a lack of human resources and regular financial support, this center was then transformed into the association of feminist scholars in 1993 and was renamed the Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association (TFSA) in 2002.

In comparison, the WRU team responded to the critiques through out-reach. They conducted a survey on how many women's studies scholars claimed themselves to be feminists. They held a conference named "The Definition of and Change in Women's Studies, Feminism, and the Women's Movement." The team also attended a similar meeting held by the Asia Foundation, "The Positioning of Women's Studies in Taiwan." Moreover, in 1992, the WRU held a series of luncheons to discuss the topics, "Aspects of the Local Women's Movement," and "the Indigenization of Women's Studies." A series of luncheon workshops had been created and continue to take place as a forum for quickly responding to timely women's issues.

In one of the workshops concerning the women's movement and women's studies, Pingping drew an image of three partially overlapping circles to illustrate the relationship among feminisms, women's studies, and the women's movement. The partially overlapped parts indicated that there was some interconnection among the women's movement, feminism, and the women's studies in Taiwan. The three were neither fused together nor entirely separate.

In addition, on the one hand, the conflicts and critiques between women's studies and the women's movement disclosed the limits and constraints of women scholars doing women's studies in patriarchal institutions, where feminism was not readily welcomed or was even suppressed (Ku, 1996). For instance, gender was softly translated into "two sexes" in Chinese, *liang-xing,* and widely used in many universities. The first three women's studies research centers and the majority of course titles regarding gender used *liang-xing*. On the other hand, the dialogue between the women's movement and women's studies opened up new strategies for both camps integrating various concerns into organizational activities. For instance, Awakening held monthly gender studies seminars to promote feminism. And a series of workshops by the WRU took place to encourage scholars from different disciplines to connect conventional disciplines with women's studies, and to construct an interdisciplinary approach or multiple approaches for conducting women's studies research.

Consequently, the conflicts turned out to be a constructive tension for both sides to take the other's concerns into consideration and make changes. One example of this is the conference celebrating the WRU's decennial in 1995, when Pingping debuted her feminist research on public health policy. She received a round of nonstop applause from

the audience of scholars. At that moment, she realized that her coming out as a feminist meant a great deal to some women's movement activists. She said: "It was a natural process for me… I've been studying feminism and employing a feminist perspective to study women and health since 1990.1 just presented the results at conferences…. They [feminists and activists] probably observed me and waited for me to become a feminist scholar for quite a long time." Pingping then became more critical. She learned how to integrate a feminist perspective into teaching and research, and to intervene in governmental health policies.

The year of 1995 was an important moment for both women's studies and women's movements in Taiwan. Sexual harassment protests had popped up here and there on several campuses since the early 1990s and resulted in two of the largest demonstrations pleading for women's freedorn from sexual harassment and for women's safety in 1994 and 1995. Moreover, beginning in 1995, a number of feminist psychological healing workshops were held at the WRU. Six other gender studies research bases were established between 1995 and 1996. One of them was initiated by graduate feminist students. They mobilized support from several faculty members to set up a research center of gender studies in the Department of Urban Design and Planning at YU.

Due to competition among political parties for election, and the first presidential campaign in 1996, women's policies had become one of the new mobilizing issues. The two larger parties—the KMT and the DPP, issued their white papers on women's policies in 1995. They invited several women's studies scholars to join the writing teams or to review these policies. The affiliation with political parties, however, created potential conflicts within the women's studies circle and women's movement organizations, further complicating the identity politics in the late 1990s.

Feminism and gender studies became further institutionalized after the Ministry of Education (MOE) established the Committee of Gender Equity Education in 1997. The WRU was chosen by the MOE to become one of the resource centers for promoting and supporting gender equity education. After that, the MOE requested that each campus form a similar committee. It mandated that a specific taskforce be responsible for preventing and handling sexual harassment and assault on each campus. The MOE further set up evaluation criteria to supervise the functioning of the taskforce at each university as an indicator of its ranking and eligibility for public funding. Such an evaluation, according to some of the pathfinders, accounts merely for a minute proportion of the total score and thus few universities have taken it seriously. Yet, for feminist scholars who know how to leverage it, the evaluation mechanism could become a means for obtaining resources from university administrations to raise gender consciousness on campuses.

Research on and for women proliferated in the mid-1990s. Since 1992, a series of feminist and qualitative research workshops have been launched by the WRU to introduce a variety of qualitative methods in favor of gender studies. The workshops have gathered all kinds of scholars, researchers, and activists to exchange their research experiences on doing fieldwork, and their knowledge of how to construct interpretive frameworks. At the very least, those who were interested in doing feminist and qualitative research within the same disciplinary framework could exchange their experiences, clarify their ideas, and construct a common language. In addition, it was very helpful for the junior pathfinders to meet the senior ones and discuss the definitions

and methods of feminist research. Consequently, qualitative methods were gradually taught and accepted into social science methodology. One of the research associates at the WRU published a new book on feminist research that has become an important local textbook used to strengthen gender sensitivities and teaching skills in gender courses in Taiwanese universities. As gender equity education was promoted by the MOE, several large conferences concerning this issue were funded. The WRU co-held a number of national conferences for the purpose of promoting gender equity education and strengthening gender sensitivities and teaching skills of gender relation courses in Taiwanese universities.

### *Stage Two: Formalization and Networking*

*1. Elevating.* In the 1990s, higher education expanded rapidly. The number of colleges and universities increased from 28 institutions in 1986, to 46 in 1990, and to 127 in 2000, four times the growth since 1986 (Educational Statistics Indicators, 2001). The national educational expenditure has also enlarged since the mid-1980s. The percentage of public educational spending in terms of GDP rose from 4.2 percent in 1981, to 5.3 percent a decade later, reaching the highpoint of 5.8 percent in 1993, and then slightly declining back to 5.1 percent in 2000. Compared to the educational expenditure of colleges and universities in 1981, the spending in 1990 almost quadrupled, and grew over seven times in 1999 (Educational Statistics, 2000). New universities and colleges were rapidly established and expanded. New buildings were built on many campuses. New research centers were created, and some established departments were upgraded. For instance, the Graduate Institute of Journalism at YU was formed in 1991. Electronic Engineering on the same campus elevated its status from a department to a college in 1996. The Department of Sociology was moved from the branch campus under the College of Law to a new building on the main campus, where it joined the College of Social Sciences in 1996.

Observing the rapid expansion of higher education, Winnie pondered whether it was the right time to elevate the WRU from a research unit to an independent center separate from the Center of Population Studies (CPS). She proposed this idea to Pingping who was the incumbent coordinator of the WRU. The team did not seriously consider her proposal or actively sort out the possibility. Winnie therefore let her idea of separation pass. She said, “Although I had a sense of how to improve the organization, I did not insist on implementing my idea. I felt that the life cycle of every organization…did not rely merely on, or would be changed by, the effort of one or two persons. It was the result of a collective effort.” She acknowledged that it was her personal style to not take a strong stance to make things happen. The rare chance of making the WRU a freestanding center consequently slipped away. The search for independence became more difficult after the trend of budget cuts replaced the expansion of higher education in the late 1990s.

Winnie’s idea surprised Jingying in her interview. She recalled the year of 1995 when she was still the director of CPS. Jingying was not attentive to the important moment and did not know the team was considering the possibility of elevating the WRU.

> This interview process makes me rethink a lot of things during my term as CPS's director. Whether or not my position rendered me an integral part of the hierarchical structure of the institution, I was unintentionally repressed or it had unnecessarily impeded the development of the WRU. It seemed that because I was the director of CPS, Pingping became hesitant in discussing with me the idea or in taking radical action in requesting for independence.

However, it was a reality check that had shunned off the idea. Separation from the CPS, as Pingping envisioned it, would have involved a time-consuming political game. The team would have needed to figure out where to find a new home for the WRU. Moreover, to bring the issue to the committee meeting table, the taskforce would have needed to work harder and skillfully played the highly diplomatic game to gain enough support from senior faculty senators and the administration. Pingping analyzed the complex situation:

> It was not an easy task to make a dramatic change at that time. First, where could we find a new home for the WRU? It was unlikely that we could create another center under the office of president as the CPS was. Neither could we dissolve or replace the CPS. The decision was not in our hands. Another consideration was that we needed to find an affiliated department to move into. Given that the departments that Jingying and I were in, I did not think the move would be a smart strategy. Second, we reviewed all the departments that might be interested in promoting women's studies, however, we found that we would lose our autonomy we were enjoying then. The merge with any discipline based upon departments could not buffer us from the disturbances of administrative regulations or political manipulation. We were very hesitant to take such a leap.

Nevertheless, Pingping, with her research associates, started to mobilize support to form an interdisciplinary teaching program for gender studies at YU. Meantime, prior to stepping down from the director position at CPS, which she held between 1991 and 1997, Jingying asked for an outside evaluation of the center's performance. The evaluation result was that the WRU outperformed the CPS despite their limited resources. Such recognition from an outside group of experts turned into a bargaining chip for the WRU in making requests for elevating the WRU. It succeeded in renaming the program to the Center of Population Studies and Gender Studies in 1999. In retrospect, Jingying thought of her particular role in this process of change:

> My request for the evaluation of the Center was to demonstrate that the WRU outperformed CPS and thus paved the way for a proper request of elevation. At that time, CPS was stagnant, nothing happened there. Most of the activities were held by the WRU. It created the conditions in which elevating the WRU was an appropriate step to gain due recognition commensurate with its contribution and significance.

Although Jingying had left the team in 1991, she was still influential in shaping the trajectory of the WRU. For instance, after Jingying visited a number of Southeast Asian countries in 1991, she made a couple of suggestions, such as remodeling the library to make it more professional, launching luncheons, and networking scholars. All of these suggestions were gradually adopted. Pingping found herself very dependent upon Jingying's support. She attributed the status-building of the WRU to Jingying's idea of organizational evaluation. The institutional response to the WRU's request was quite supportive due to the fact that gender issues had been more accepted in universities and the MOE just established a new unit, the Committee for Gender Equity Education, in 1997. Pingping recalled, "We felt it was legitimate to have the status of the WRU be elevated. Faced with the rising concern for gender equality, the director of CPS, without reservation, accepted our agenda to rename the WRU as the Center of Population Studies and Gender Studies in 1999… I think we definitely deserved it."

However, four other pathfinders loosely affiliated with the WRU felt discouraged by the modest progress in status. They strongly stated that the WRU should be independent from the CPS in order to recuperate its feminist spirit, and to distance itself from the conservative ideology inherent in population studies. One of the pathfinders was not surprised by WRU's compromise, suggesting that it reflected the disposition of the organization. She said: "Overall I felt the leaders of the WRU were very close to the mainstream or right wing ideology…. They were always prepared to bend rather than fight for it."

Upon reflection, two pathfinders mentioned that due to the character and affinities of the leaders, the organization could solely envision a small step instead of a dramatic leap. One pathfinder attributed the modest progress to two reasons:

> I think the institution [YU] is quite patriarchal and masculine. They do not want us to have an independent research center. They ignore and are blind to the significance of women's studies…. If it happened in other countries, I think that CPS would have been closed, without a doubt. The CPS has been in decline and stagnant for years. I don't see a reason to keep it…. Don't we try hard to promote ourselves as "the world's best university?" If I were a universky administrator, I would definitely support a comprehensive research center for gender studies. The trend is out there. Why haven't they seen it?… On the other hand, if the WRU made it an issue to mobilize the support, I think faculty and students would like to back up the entire negotiation process. Such bottom-up action was very likely to happen. But obviously they lacked a clear agenda and the leaders were reluctant to confront the administration. Because of their conservative inclination, the most influential feminist scholars at YU, with little surprise [to others], haven't joined the team of the WRU to this date.

Another pathfinder weighed in on the structural constraints and the long-term institutional suppression of the WRU, by explaining the slow progress of women's studies at YU:

> The WRU definitely needs to become an autonomous center. Given the high demand for women's and gender studies, why can't the WRU form its own center comparable to the statuses of other programs such as general education and teacher education programs in our university?… YU has never taken gender studies seriously. They instead treat the WRU as a "daughter-in-law" [very subordinating], and make it invisible, unrecognizable, and insignificant…. As the WRU does not have a proper name, the efforts of these WRU scholars appeared to be worthless. Or even worse, it seemed that WRU scholars had to be sneaky to promote gender studies and were vulnerable to ridicule for their engagement with the WRU.

Two pathfinders of the WRU disagreed with other feminist scholars' perception that they were conservatives who were scared of patriarchal authority, and thus accommodated rather than fought against the administrative power. The two pathfinders felt that confrontation was not the best strategy they could use for bargaining. Moreover, they did not know how to handle conflicting situations without hurting themselves or the WRU. For them, it was more associated with personal characteristics than conservative ideology.

*2. Creating a Teaching Program.* The team of the WRU started to teach a gender relations course as one of the elective curricula of general education in 1990. Pingping was in charge of this initiative. She and her team felt that the library center was too passive in promoting gender consciousness on campus. She then designed the curriculum and invited guest speakers to co-teach the course under the general education curricula. The course was aimed to introduce and disseminate new ideas of women's studies to the student body and raise consciousness for equal relations between the sexes. Pingping has seen the curriculum as an opportunity not only to reach out to students but also colleagues who might be encouraged to teach the same course in their institutions. One pathfinder, who was once the director of the Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association, attributed her interest in feminist pedagogy to the chance of conducting a lecture in Pingping's gender class. The experience inspired this pathfinder to initiate a gender relations class in her local institution. Another pathfinder also acknowledged that her involvement in the women's movement grew out of taking Pingping's class.

The affiliated scholars of the WRU then considered designing an interdisciplinary teaching program in 1995 by means of coordinating with some other individual courses of gender studies and bundling them into a certificate program. Jingying recalled that the idea was sparked in one conversation between Pingping and her. She said, "I had been involved in forming an interdisciplinary program in my home department for years. I talked to Pingping about this and it inspired us to make one for gender studies."

The team noticed that a similar program was proposed at another university and a number of research centers had been established between 1995 and 1996. The team subsequently evaluated the possibility of creating an interdisciplinary teaching program. They felt that a proposed teaching certificate program was more likely to be passed without provoking any resistance from the Administration. Even so, according to Jingying's knowledge, the process of initiation was very time-consuming. It called for

techniques of persuasion and highly refined diplomatic skills in order to present the idea as an important issue to the senate committee.

> Pingping took an active role in lobbying. She talked to the deans of five colleges, the Dean of academic affairs, and the president. She was patient enough to persuade these "old" men to accept our proposal. I also …took a low-profile strategy to gain the support of the deans. I… stressed that it would be a loss to YU if only a few people understood the contribution of the WRU to YU as well as to Taiwan's society. The whole process was very diplomatic.

The success of passing proposal, according to Pingping, was mainly due to the trade-off rationale. The creation of the gender studies program asked for neither an extra budget nor new staff or faculty from the institution. The team provided free service and would be responsible for the entire routine work of administration.[4] At that time, many courses related to women's studies and feminism had been created and taught for a couple of years at YU. The university indeed had a stronger base of faculty members, compared to other universities, specializing in women's and gender studies in a number of disciplines, particularly in foreign literature, sociology, social work, public health, urban planning, and journalism.

This particular course of gender relations initiated by Pingping then expanded into a program of gender studies in 1997. The program was made up of three core courses and at least fourteen units of elective courses. The core course, *Introduction to Women's and Gender Studies*, was taught in team. It was designed to introduce students to a feminist perspective of knowledge and theory, to equip them with feminist knowledge, and to facilitate them to do further research in various disciplines.[5] The elective courses were divided into three groups: feminist theories, interdisciplinary studies, and issues. They were mostly cross-listed courses taught with the collaboration of feminist scholars in foreign literature, sociology and social work, public health, history, anthropology, journalism, urban planning, and political science.

*3. Specialization.* The expansion and elevation of the WRU, however, had not brought about tangible support from the institution after fundraising outside the university became more difficult. The next coordinator following Pingping, Minghui, found out immediately how challenging and difficult it was to be a leader of the WRU beginning in 1999. She faced a shrinking budget and financial crisis right after assuming the leadership post at the WRU. Annual financial assistance from two foundations was discontinued in 1998. The regular and stable funding from one governmental organ, the National Youth Commission, for hiring staff ceased in early 2000. The routine activities of the WRU had expanded without any substantial or regular funding sources. For Minghui, maintenance was quite expensive. It included keeping up the library, the *Newsletter*, the *Journal*, workshops, luncheons, the interdisciplinary program, and providing irregular services to students, faculty, different kinds of organizations, governments, and occasionally joining international projects made by international institutes of women's studies.

Minghui had been a member of the team since 1996. Her specialty was related to women's studies and she had been recognized as one of the pioneers working in the field of women's studies in the 1980s. Although she had been a member for years, she did not

have a good firsthand understanding of the organization's fiscal condition until she was in charge of the WRU. After assuming the post, Minghui found herself caught in a dilemma while running the organization. In order to keep the regular activities functioning, she had to struggle for both fiscal survival and maintenance of service quality. It seemed that quality and funding displayed a kind of catch-22 conditional bind, for quality was required as a precondition for getting funding, yet the funding was necessary to produce quality. They both were important for the survival and success of the WRU.

In facing the fiscal challenge, Minghui had to reduce the uncertain and instable operations that may compromise the performance of the WRU. She then proposed a plan to make the work more specialized and formalized.

> I had had no idea how the WRU exactly functioned until I became the coordinator. I think it is important to make every affiliated research associate understand how the organization runs so that they know how to involve in and commit themselves to this collective project… That's why I feel it is urgent to formalize the operation of the organization and to make information available and transparent to our core members… It should include redefining the organizational objectives, mapping the priorities and agendas of the organization, and clarifying job content and obligations.

In order to build a sustainable capacity for the WRU, Minghui launched several important projects to formalize its labor structure. Her main concern was to build an accountable structure by specializing jobs and responsibilities. The work included dividing administrative jobs into several parts and recruited numerous staff and part-time students to do the regular work. They were trained in helping edit the *Newsletter* and the *Journal*, building up the database that was expected to be on-line in the near future, categorizing all the library books, research publications, and writing down organizational memos to clarify the division of jobs and obligations.

To accomplish all these goals, she needed a substantial budget that she could use to hire extra staff and working students. However, a shrinking funding base made ambitious restructuring almost impossible. Minghui insisted on making it happen and she ended up loaning her own money to the WRU. Her goal was to complete part of these projects in the summer of 2001 when she could spend all of her time on the WRU. She thought it was worth trying to sustain the program.

> Given all the financial difficulties and fluctuations I am facing now, I think professionalism is the key strategy for making the WRU more effective…and gender studies sustainable in the long run…. No matter who will lead this organization after me, they will have the know-how and will not be afraid of the high turnover rate that may disrupt the routine work.

Not every research associate endorsed this audacious move. Winnie, while praising Minghui's boldness, made the following comment: "Let it be done by what resources it

has. If the WRU would be otherwise closed, I believe there will be another way to recuperate the organization." Another research associate was concerned that such formalization might put too much emphasis on the details of the jobs and thereby damage the cooperative spirit of the team and stiffen the creation and flexibility of the organization. In addition, the strong leadership that Minghui displayed might encourage a hierarchical relationship among research associates and staff and overturn the egalitarian partnership that the team had nurtured since its establishment.

Although the establishment of the WRU was already inspired by political ideals from the beginning, the specialization of the organization took it even further away from the spirit of activism that might have been nurtured by the new researchers. Regarding this concern, Minghui argued that even if she acknowledged that the women's movement had contributed to the development of women's studies, she disagreed with the idea that women's studies organizations should privilege the political over the intellectual. This is especially true under a fiscal crisis. The crucial needs of keeping the organization alive, in her opinion, should have nothing to do with any ideologies. Nor did she believe that activism could make the center function better as there were too many routines to follow in order to maintain the regular activities of the WRU, the least of which included the upkeep of the library to serve the academic community and the public. She knew she could not fail to fulfill this mission. She stated: "The WRU has become an important public asset for women's studies—a nationwide library and network of research information exchange. It is the most vital base for starting as well as institutionalizing a rnarginal field in Taiwan." Therefore, the issue of how to sustain this important base became one of her priorities.

The administrative issues faced by Minghui in fact also occurred in other women's studies programs or research centers. The trend toward professionalization of women's studies was seemingly similar in other countries despite different social and historical contexts. In Miske's (1995) study of a Thai women's studies research center, a status-building strategy was undertaken to make it an integral part of the university. In McMartin's (1993) study, the pressure of survival and maintenance had pushed the women's studies organizations in the United States toward professionalization and formalization. Within two decades of its emergence, women's studies evolved as a typical university structure, based on a hierarchy of positions and routinization of jobs. The situation is also reflected in Messer-Davidow's (2002) observation of the dialectic relationship between feminist action and university structure in the United States. After three decades of collective efforts, the overall result was that academic feminism had been co-opted by the dynamic structures it had set out to transform. Feminism had been disciplined academically and had turned itself into, at best, a discursive practice, and at worst, a ghettoized sub-field far removed from its liberatory project of transformation.

### *4. Networking.*

*a. The Teaching Program.* Networking is usually perceived as an organizational strategy for expanding the pool of supporters and enhancing the potential of action. Since its establishment, the WRU had reached out to scholars, women's movement organizations, NGOs, Taiwan's governmental organs, women's studies programs, and research centers

as much as they could in establishing at least a weak tie or to be in the web of relations concerning women's issues and gender studies.

Alongside social change, at some point networking shifts its concerns from a need for social support or empowerment to a dissemination of its influences. The prioritized action of the WRU included coordinating a teaching program, digitizing information, on-line networking with other women's organizations, making allies with the TFSA, and connecting with international women's studies communities.

The WRU's interdisciplinary program of gender studies formed one part of the organization's networking project. Throughout the coordinating effort, gender studies became more cohesive, gained in institutional recognition, and appeared to be more visible on campus among students and faculty members. Most of the enrolled students were highly satisfied with the program and evaluated the introductory course as one of the best and most demanding courses at YU. Nevertheless, the hybrid structure and status of the program had proved to be restraint to its development. Most of the curricula besides the introductory course were collected from the established ones as cross-listed courses. There was little room for the WRU to generate a systematic and deliberate design of the genders studies curricula due to the full teaching loads of the majority of the faculty members. Nor were they able to spare time to collaborate effectively with other faculty members to coordinate the overall objectives of the interdisciplinary program. Consequently, less integration was found among these courses and the program expected students themselves to integrate what they learned from various discipline-based curricula.

The problem was embedded in the design of the program structure itself, an "institutionally fragile" or "shadow" structure within the university. The teaching program was vulnerable because of its lack of essential resources, not to mention the recognition it was due. One pathfinder raised the question about the conflict between teaching for the program and for one's home department.

> The program merely offers modest interest for faculty to teach. Ideally, the program is able to design different kinds of courses such as feminist theories, methodologies, areas of interest, and so on. But in reality, who would like to teach the courses in addition to their teaching loads…. After a faculty member promises to teach a new course, it will become her/ his obligation to teach it every year. If the course cannot be counted as part of one's teaching load in the home department, it becomes a professor's extra burden.

In addition to the unfavorable structure, three other pathfinders suggested that the WRU team should pay more attention to how to network the pro gram and assist professors in exchanging teaching experiences and enhancing overall understanding of the program. One pathfinder emphasized,

> I think the WRU should be more active in promoting consciousness-raising and networking amongfeminist scholars…. As I remember, program meetings occasionally took place for us to exchange our teaching experiences and pedagogies in order to improve student learning and our

> teaching. I found that only five or six faculty members participated. I think they need to work harder to pull these professors together although I know everybody is super busy and works like a dog.

Minghui was aware of the loose participation among affiliated faculty members. She had done her best to inform the faculty via email, and sent off the quarterly *Newsletter* to every faculty member at YU, but the participation rate was still low. Minghui attributed it particularly to the typical hectic life of academicians in Taiwan. She explained, "Everybody is too busy. Not many colleagues joined our annual party. Only several took part in the teaching workshop for the program." For this reason, she raised the concern of group identity and came up with ways of targeting the committed group.

> Probably a group identity was important for keeping academicians engaged and committed. Basically, we could only identify our research associates and networked scholars as the committed group. We also invited particular guest speakers or audiences to participate in our particular activities. Beside these, one thing we always do is to inform all professors at YU and invite them to come to join us. However, the effect is little. Many of them have never showed up in our activities.

One pathfinder agreed with Minghui's observations about group identity. In addition to the hectic life of academicians, this male scholar especially attributed the low rate of participation to the culture of the WRU, which looked more like a library than a social gathering space. He said, "The space is too quiet. You won't get the idea of meeting like-minded people there at any time. You merely go there to collect some data or attend academic activities. Unless you are one of the core members of the team, you won't really get to know people."

*b. Computer-based Networking.* Computer-based communication becomes one of the most convenient and effective ways to outreach to people and organizations. It has become a primary tool of communication tying together women's movement activists and women's studies scholars in Taiwan. It is also one of many ambitious projects that WRU is working on. They are building an Internet database that includes digital information and research databases as well as a digital network of women's organizations and women's studies scholars. In 2001, the team collected and compiled a plethora of information related to women's organizations. The database will be online as long as the funding is available. Minghui anticipates that networked information may facilitate cooperation and enhance understanding among women's organizations.

The primary online forum for communication among feminist scholars was established by the Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association in 2001. This email listserv, however, is not open to the public. Only members of TFSA are able to access and exchange information through this online means of communication. The networked scholars regularly discuss a variety of issues. The discussion may have implications for policy-making and help the exchange of strategies and knowledge that are important for feminist scholars to survive and succeed in universities. Several research associates of the WRU are long-standing members of this association. Although they join the TFSA, given

the amount of work they already have and the disposition of the WRU, they regard it as a group for friendship and fellowship rather than a task force.

In 2001, the WRU invited the TFSA to co-house the *Journal*. It eventually failed, for a couple of reasons. At that time, the TFSA was not formally registered as a legal organization. The promise to share administrative work, budget, staff, had to be voted and agreed upon by all the members of the TFSA. It seemed that the division of decision-making bodies between two groups made the cooperation difficult. Moreover, other pathfinders posited that two facts made feminist scholars of the TFSA hesitant in participating in this collaborative project. The first reason was that the WRU remained affiliated with the Center of Population Studies, which conveyed a conservative agenda in the minds of progressives. The second had to do with the fact that the conflict and historical wound left by the public split between women's movement activists and women's studies pioneers had not been entirely resolved. Given all the uncertainty, lack of sufficient trust, and identity differences, formal cooperation between the two organizations turned out to be very unlikely, if not entirely impossible.

In addition to national networks, the WRU team has played an important role in connecting with other international institutions of women's studies. Since its establishment, the WRU has become a window for international exchange and cooperation. One of the latest projects was the joint production of an introductory textbook for Asian women's studies, initiated by Ewha Womans [sic] University. The Taiwanese team was led and coordinated by the WRU. The partnership has enhanced understanding and cooperation with women's studies scholars from different countries, particularly since Taiwan has been denied membership to the United Nations since 1971.

*5. Expansion.* Regular activities of the WRU, such as luncheons, workshops, *Newsletter*, and *Journal*, have reflected the broadening and deepening of women's studies in Taiwanese academia even though the organization has little economic and social clout. Team efforts made the organization expand and accumulate a certain amount of cultural and symbolic capital despite its low-profile strategies. Upon feminism's transformation into a fashionable term since 1991 (Cheng, 1991), women's issues have been increasingly visible and even commercialized in Taiwanese society. The *Newsletter* has introduced and covered a wide range of women's issues and gender studies in history, cultural studies, health and welfare, media and images, space, religion, counseling, social policy, politics, social movement, medical treatment, constitution reform, education, technology and Internet, educational equity, men studies, travel and tourism, equity and minority group, gay/lesbian, and women's rights. The observations and discussion of women's issues in the *Newsletter* have become an important source of women's studies history, in disclosing how women's studies has evolved in Taiwan's academic and societal contexts.

The *Journal* started publishing annually in 1990. It was renamed and has been published twice a year since 2002. In the first three issues from 1990 on, the editorial board was composed of "liberal" scholars from various disciplines. It was then restructured in 1993 to consist mostly of research associates of the WRU. The team attempted to publish the *Journal* as a purely academic entity divorced from political interests. A number of the pathfinders in this study were thus disappointed by the "neutral stance" of the *Journal* Some criticized the narrowness of its contents and the lack of relevance to Taiwanese contexts. One pathfinder pointed out that the composition of the editorial board did not reflect a diverse representation of scholars—for instance, in terms

of ethnicity. Another pathfinder said that since the members of the editorial board were not primarily trained in women's studies or fully upheld by the women's studies and academic communities, it therefore diminished the authority and credibility of the *Journal.*

Three pathfinders pinpointed that despite the fact that the contents spanned a variety of women's issues, the lack of political interest or policy implications made the *Journal* vulnerable to politically focused criticism, as well. The published issues encompassed women's lives, gender in mythology, women in development, health, marriage, family and work, labor participation, women's psychological adjustment, sex and gender roles, domestic violence, battered women, education, feminism in politics, the body, the Internet and women's movement, gender performance, and so on. Most of the research was derived from fields of study that were highly related to the specialties of the core research associates at the WRU.

In the first half of the 1990s, it seemed that the editorial board was passively screening articles based upon criteria of "gender sense" and research quality. They did not actively set up themes by means of calling for papers which could prioritize the timely concerns of women's issues in Talwanese contexts. The diversity of issued articles, therefore, neither reflected nor bridged the major concerns of the local women's movement. The journal manifested only a tenuous connection between pressing social issues and academic research.

The academic administrative authority additionally downplayed the *Journal* after the restructuring of higher education in Taiwan in the late 1990s. Since 1998, the MOE has initiated comprehensive reform plans to revamp the overall educational system. One of the objectives is to pursue excellence in higher education. This goal goes hand in hand with those of the internationalization of higher education, enhancing accountability and quality of universities, and promoting lifelong learning. The productivity of faculty, the quality of knowledge delivery and production, and evaluation of academic performance have been reviewed and standardized (interview with a MOE officer).

The *Journal* was ranked third in five criteria of quality. It was thus forced to change. The team made a proposal but eventually failed to form a partnership with the Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association. The team then changed the editorial board, began to issue the journal twice a year, added a forum section to promote dialogue on pressing gender issues, and made advance calls for papers by inviting conference papers and organizing themes.[6]

### *6. The New Generation and tbe Joint Role of Male Researchers.*

Luncheons, workshops, and speeches of the WRU have been enriched by the increase in the number of women's studies scholars returning from overseas and their engagement in gender studies activities since 1995. The themes of luncheons, workshops, and speeches have expanded and attracted the attention of different audiences to participate in such events. Concerns and issues have proliferated along with the consequent visibility and receptivity of feminist research made possible by students and facuity in Taiwanese universities.

One young pathfinder who minored in gender studies expressed an ethic, which she learned from her mentor in the United States, of commitment to participating in women's

studies at YU, even though she disagreed with some of the WRU's agendas. She strongly felt a need to promote feminist discourses, to go beyond the emergent stages of feminist knowledge, and to expand the issues and concerns of feminist practices and theories at this university. Her visions represent a new generation, which is equipped with feminist knowledge and training, and is eager to make advances in women's and gender studies across campuses.

In spite of Jingying's emphasis on the cooperation between female and male scholars to promote women's studies, it was not until 1999 that a male professor, James, joined the team for the first time and helped to edit the *Newsletter*. He was one of the faculty members who supported the graduate female students in establishing a subfield—the Research Center of Gender and Space—that has been housed in his office since 1996. On a trip to Northern Europe with Taiwanese women scholars and women's movement activists, James learned that there was a "white ribbon" campaign to stop men's violence against women that started in Canada in 1991. He then felt a need to promote the same issue in Taiwan's society. In 2000, James, with substantial support from the WRU, led the "white-ribbon movement" in Taiwan. This local movement aimed to raise men's awareness of their social privileges over women. It called for men to work with women to stop violence against women and to pursue gender equality in society. James also proposed men's studies[7] to disclose the discursive power of masculinity in Taiwanese social contexts.

Following him, another male professor took over the chief editorship of the *Newsletter*. Since he specialized in cultural studies and queer theory, he brought in subjectivity, masculinity, and gay/lesbian issues and made them visible in the *Newsletter*, workshops, speeches, and conferences. The diversity and proliferation of gender issues thus appeared in the *Newsletter* and the *Journal.*

*7. Generation Gap?* As new generations have joined the team and new issues have emerged, the politics of difference from within have become heightened. The two generations have found that their orientations differ over how to promote women's studies and to run the WRU. The younger generation believes that a plurality of gender issues should be reflected in their activities and agendas, while the older generation has remained emphatically centered on women-related issues. Although new issues related to men studies, gay and lesbian theory, and sexuality occasionally have appeared and been discussed in workshops, the *Newsletter*, and the *Journal*, Minghui and the old team continued to believe that the primary concerns should be given to women's issues and women's studies.

For instance, in one teaching workshop held by the WRU, the younger pathfinders comprised the majority on the planning committee. On a list of foreign scholars to invite, the older generation selected an American gender studies scholar who was not preferred by the young generation. The latter thought that the particular scholar contributed to the conference only the "ABCs" of feminism, meaning merely an introductory level of feminist theories. Such a level was too shallow and could not satisfy the younger pathfinders. In addition to the quality of this visiting scholar, the programs, formats, and presenters that the planning committee proposed could not be agreed upon between the young and the old generations. Although a compromise between the two generations was developed to dissolve the disagreement, the encounter of "differences" left them somewhat discontented toward one another.

An old-generation pathfinder referred to the disputes as "the generation gap" symptom. The difference, however, went beyond the gaps of experience and age. It was, in fact, reflective of the variety in disciplinary training, and the differences of identity embodied in the lack of consensus regarding competing feminist theories (liberal, socialist, radical, postmodernist, queer theories, etc.). While the older generation blamed the conflicts on a difference of attitudes and work ethics, the new generation attributed them to feminist knowledge and visions. For instance, the older generation harbored much nostalgia about the good old days of the team when group cooperation and collaboration was so easily developed among staff members and affiliated core members. The younger generation, in contrast, did not feel comfortable with the authoritarian attitudes frequently found in the leadership of the older generation. In addition, since the young generation had been exposed to various debates of feminism while studying in western countries and had joined the team after 1994, they were comfortably well-versed in the discourses of diversity and difference. Sorne of them specialized in gender studies and felt a need to address the difference in gender issues related to Taiwan's academic and societal contexts. The older generation generally found it difficult to appreciate the newer approaches to women's studies. These tensions and conflicts are still gradually on the rise, but have not created a chasm yet.

## PART II: DOING TEACHING AND RESEARCHING

### *Backgrounds*

As I mentioned in Chapter 3, teaching women's studies had not been possible until the Ministry of Education mandated four to six units of general education in 1984 as a requirement for all college students prior to graduation. Ironically, it was because general education was loosely controlled, neglected by academic administrations, and marginalized in mainstream disciplines, that women's studies found the invisible yet vital space where they were able to explore and innovate new curriculum and pedagogy. In the beginning, most of the women-related curricula taught between 1985 and 1992 under the name of general education were confined to the 'soft' women's issues such as family, marriage, family planning, home economics, nurse, and women's health. They displayed an overall lack of critical thinking or feminist standpoints. It was not until 1991 that feminist theories curriculum appeared and accrued over the years (Hsieh & Wang, 2000).[8] At YU, women's studies curriculum—e.g., women and culture, women's studies, gender relations—was taught in general education between 1985 and 1990. Courses related to feminist theories, queer theories, gay/lesbian and sexuality appeared after 1990.

In addition to the four main associate researchers of the WRU that I have already described and interpreted in the first part of this chapter, in this second part of the same chapter, I examine the formation of the identity and action of seven other research participants (two men) who were affiliated with women's studies at YU. These scholars entered the university in the 1990s after the shift away from the government's authoritarian policies. The repressive academic environment grew more relaxed and opened up structural opportunities within which these academicians could choose alternative paths in their professional development. The following section discusses the

professional practices of the seven pathfinders who initiated and committed to teaching and research on gender at YU and eventually identified themselves as either liberal intellectuals or feminist scholars.[9]

## *Doing Women's/Gender Studies*

### *Critical Thinking as a Link*

*1. Tingshu.* A female pathfinder, Tingshu, began teaching at a university just as Taiwanese society began the transition to democracy. Trained in critical studies, she thought it was important to add women-related issues to her teaching. One of her courses has become a prime example of the success of feminist teaching in the classroom. A course she was teaching had discussions of gender relations, which evolved into a mobilizing campaign against the objectification of women's body in an advertisement. The campaign started out as a student's presentation criticizing a company that sold cosmetic products and numerous services to promote a slim body for beauty. They used a teenage girl to advertise a woman's thin body. The commercial image quickly became a framework for explaining the nature of exploitation. This collective voice was rapidly amplified via computer-networked communication, and it escalated into a protest campaign. Hundreds of thousands of protest letters and phone calls flooded the company. It did not take long for this company to apologize to the public and stop broadcasting that advertisement.

Tingshu took ten years to become a tenured professor. On average, it takes six years to get a promotion. Tingshu attributed the delay partly to her feminist research and partly to institutional politics. She applied twice, and encountered a micropolitical process of manipulation. According to her own viewpoint, the failure was associated with her young age, duration of teaching and research, political affiliation, feminist research, gender, and structure of the peer review and evaluation committee. The evaluation team one time commented that one of her primary feminist studies concerning slim bodies was lacking academic rigor and was therefore not worthwhile.

*2. David.* Through his scholarly interest in critical studies, David encountered feminism. He had never called himself a feminist or joined any feminist collective action. His affiliation with feminist studies thus sometimes put him in a difficult situation as he started to teach gender studies in 1992. On the one hand, some feminist students and scholars were suspicious of his genuine interest in feminism. Among his colleagues, he was often joked about or even ridiculed. Although he felt that students have made a great deal of progress and acquired a new angle on the study of political science, the discipline was and still is one of the subject matters stubbornly resistant to feminism.

> When I started to teach gender, the colleagues mocked my teaching behind me. Some good friends told me that my points were otherwise fabulous without the contamination of feminism. They could accept my alternative viewpoints as long as I dropped off the gender stuff. Even in the present time, they asked me the same question before they read my paper: "Did you have feminism in your paper?" or "Hey, I smell something like feminism in your paper." They had a patriarchal

> disposition yet displayed it with a nice, and yet condescending attitude. They respected women…but they could not agree with a feminist perspective seeing the world. I have not seen any of my colleagues make any change since I have been here…. For them, the foundation of the field is to search for universal truth by means of scientific methodology. It will be too shocking for them even to merely imagine that the field might be transformed by feminism…. I've more relied on new incoming scholars, particularly on women colleagues, who have some gender consciousness, and we can become a group to do feminist research.

Because of his non-affiliation with feminist action, David encountered a test from students several years ago. It is the only dramatic classroom incident that he has never forgotten. A special group of students, members of the Feminist Study Club and the Gay/Lesbian Club, came to audit his gender studies class. In the last week of the class, they wrote offensive words on the entire black board to ridicule him. They also performed some action drama and conducted a heated debate about the meanings of his teaching right in his class. He was confused and felt awkward by what was happening.

> I was sitting there still, not knowing how to deal with the mess and let the debate and action performance keep going…. At that night, I called a female professor who was also a women's movement activist… She said she knew all of them and told me that these student activists came to supervise my teaching… She also said that my non-response was definitely right since they expected my outraged reaction. That was what they wanted…. I then recalled how well a female leader of that group was to be able to shift her standpoints constantly… She could perform and change immediately into different roles and take varying stances to make some contradictory points among her ideas… I did not know how she performed or made it. But it amazed and inspired me to look into the notion of floating and performative identity in postmodern and poststructural feminism.

### *Feminist Perspectives Are Powerful*

*1. Fonling.* A gender component was part of Fonling's rnajor specialty. She attributed her gender consciousness to her professional work, in which she observed how gender discrimination was embedded in the labor law and welfare policies. She found herself immersed in different stages of involvement in feminist teaching and practices since she started to teach in YU in the early 1990s. Back in her early teactiing career, she was a new mother and had to juggle double shifts of family and work. She did not have the spare time to join in collective action. In the first two years of teaching, Fonling searched for a better way to fuse feminism with her teaching. The most challenging task was to integrate different feminist thoughts into the curricula she was teaching. The primary goal of integrating gender components into teaching was to train practitioners to be more sensitive to women's issues, to be able to solve women's problems, to improve women's statuses, and to empower women to take action and change their lives.

Although Fonling accentuated a feminist approach, she did not stick with any particular feminist thoughts. She emphasized the know-how and saw feminism as a conceptual tool that could be utilized for sharpening analysis and searching effective ways for intervention in policies and professional practices.

> My belief in feminism has much to do with problem solving. I searched for different frameworks to help my students to think critically and develop skillful practices in counseling and intervention…. Although feminisms are quite different in their strategies and assumptions, their goals are similar…. For instances, I felt that economic independence for women was important, I then tried to integrate liberal feminism into the analysis of state power and policies and searched for effective ways of intervention…. As I discussed gender inequity at work, I chose to introduce socialist feminism to understand exploitation of women workers in patriarchal and capitalist systems…. Up until today, my teaching purpose has been to help students learn how to apply knowledge to real situations and to empower women to be independent and autonomous in their lives.

Fonling emphasized teaching. She spent most of her time in developing a gender-sensitive framework and course designs that helped students to be more competent in solving practical problems. Because of family needs and teaching load, she could only provide such courses in her home department. It was not until 2002 that she applied to teach in the gender studies program coordinated by the WRU. She found the collective project encouraging and conducive to nurturing a collective identity.

In addition to teaching, Fonling realized, from her participation in governmental committees, that many social problems were in fact derived from the gender-blind structures and policies in Taiwan's society. She then paid more attention to the higher level of structural analysis. It helped her understand how the structure had reinforced and reproduced gender division of labor and power relations. Through influences of women's movements, involving in national policy-making, and doing gender research, Fonling firmly believed that feminist knowledge was a powerful theory as well as an empowering practice to intervene in policy-making and to improve the unjust society.

*2. Dongmei.* Dongmei did not take feminist knowledge seriously until she met her colleague and friend, another young pathfinder in this study, in her third year teaching at YU. She was the first female faculty hired by a department of social sciences in the more than 30 years since its establishment. She felt somewhat vulnerable about her gender status and therefore kept a low profile in the beginning. She just followed the typical social path for junior faculty without reflecting upon the "organizational logic" embedded in the institution.

> I made myself voiceless and invisible in the first and second year at YU. I was inclined to put my ideas and thoughts aside and obeyed the authority I was well socialized into the department and took the hierarchical relationship as natural and normal…. It did not make any difference that I was a female professor. Things started to change after Tanya walked in.

The company of a new female colleague changed the way Dongmei saw the world. She was inspired by the feminism that the new female colleague had brought in.

> We reflected and affirmed our idea of the purpose of teaching. We disagreed with the elite idea that we were solely preparing a few students to become outstanding scholars. Instead, we wanted to spend time in inspiring all kinds of students, encouraging them to voice their experiences and thoughts, to care for less-advantaged people, and to put knowledge into practices in their daily lives.

Dongmei then engaged in feminist studies and believed that the powerful perspective could enrich her teaching and transform the field.

> The feminist perspective is power. We should try our best to employ a feminist perspective to understand all the facets of social world…. If I cannot take this approach to teach social sciences, I wonder what other kinds of meaningful knowledge I could be delivering. You see, gender is deeply embedded in social structures and institutions…. If I accentuate the connection of knowledge with power, and with uneven social arrangements, I cannot avoid gender issues or asking feminist questions.

### *Empowering Students*

*1. Pam.* Pam thought of herself as a feminist who preferred teaching to activism. She felt that her daily life at the university was taken up by too many "frivolous and disorienting" activities such as student counseling and sundry tasks fo her department, which left her little time for teaching. For these reasons, in her decision to participate in the women's movement, she consciously limited the amount of time and energy she would devote to it. She cornplained: "I don't get enough rest in my office. I can only do some readings and research at night. It is because I have no kids or family obligations to fulfill. It is my advantage over other female colleagues who have families and kids." Although she kept struggling to think about whether she had to allocate her time and energy to the women's movement, she really knew her strengths and interests were in academe. She explained,

> I sometimes ask myself what kind of life I want to have?… Although I have a number of ways to arrange my life, only the ones that make sense to me are the ones that have priority… I found myself to be strongly attuned to my teaching talents. I could make my students change within a semester. When I read their papers, I found how far they had traveled from the beginning of that semester. I found it satisfying and fulfilling to see their transformation…. I also found that their changes were much associated with my feminist knowledge and perspectives…. Some of my friends asked me why I did not make myself a public figure commenting on gender issues via the media. I did not think it was right for me. I could not speak well in front of the camera. It was not my strength. Someone

> else could do this job better…. I'd rather spend more time on teaching and research. They were my ultimate preferences.

*2. Tanya.* Much of Tanya's energy and commitment was concentrated on teaching and doing feminist research. She introduced feminist pedagogy into her class. She very much encouraged her students to get rid of the hierarchical relationship between faculty members and students. She particularly mentioned in the first week of class that her students could call her by first name and drop all the hierarchical titles between senior and junior students. Through this kind of name calling, students could feel how equal they could become after they made an attempt to nurture an egalitarian dialogue in the classroom. It was an entry point for empowering students. Because of this, Tanya had a chance to get closer with her students. Sometimes the students gave her direct feedback and pieces of valuable suggestions about how to teach gender issues in the classroom.

> Some good ideas were input from students… They told me how they felt and what kinds of issues they were interested in. For instance, I had quite a lot of male students and they asked me to teach men's studies so that they could reflect on their own social positions. Some gay students also passed me some handouts they read or made. These inputs have enriched my courses and discussions in the classroom.

Tanya liked teaching students outside her department. She felt it was the best way to do consciousness-raising and to diffuse feminist thoughts. One of the most challenging tasks was teaching medical science students. Although she taught an introductory course of social sciences to these students, it was not difficult for her to integrate some gender components into the course.

> One time I added the pros and cons debate on the legal prostitution issue, and the discussion became heated. Many of them reacted to my argument by saying: "Your point is too extreme. If you said that those prostitutions were sex workers, why did you accuse those buying sex as "patrons of brothels" when you should call them sex consumers?" I bought their arguments…. Later in another general education class, I found 20 to 30 students from the medical science department registering for my class. I asked them why they took this gender class, and they said that they felt the gender issues were very interesting and provocative. This made me feel very satisfied and empowered.

Tanya once attempted to expand gender studies in her department. She proposed to the head of her department the idea of creating a subfield of gender studies. The head encouraged her first to learn more about the academic politics and second to become a tenured professor prior to forming a program of gender studies. If the new program was formed when she was not ready, it might draw some scholars who knew how to manipulate and appropriate the new resources without any genuine concern for feminist studies. Thanks to the support from her home department, she was promoted and became a tenured professor in 2002.

### *Networking*

Networking is essential to a nascent, marginal field of study because it brings together faculty members from across disciplines and institutions. The significance of networking for the emergence and growth of women's studies were explicated in Gumport's and Miske's research, among others. The majority of the participants in this study were involved in networking one way or another. Most of the networking was related to women's studies research centers, women's movement organizations, and informal professional groups. Nevertheless, networking with women's organizations generated a complex relationship between individual identity and group identities.

The pathfinders chose to become networked feminist scholars for different reasons. Some needed a group for emotional and social support. Some wanted to exchange information and expand scholarly interests. Some desired to become a genuine feminist with a collective identity. Some joined team-teaching for promoting gender studies. Some, however, avoided affiliating with any particular group for reducing conflicts among colleagues or sustaining an open public space for discourse formation.

#### *Joining Groups*

Tingshu needed a community to affirm her feminist identity. After she became a tenured professor, she spent more time and energy promoting women's studies and institutionalizing feminist scholarship. She chose to be an active member in the organizations of the WRU and the TFSA. She helped with holding the luncheons, editing the *Journal* of the WRU, and concurrently served as the executive board of the TFSA. She felt that intellectual, social, and emotional supports from the feminist networks were very important in making herself a genulne feminist scholar and in finding ways to commit to intellectual activism.

Tanya was inspired by a role-model professor and had turned into a feminist while studying abroad. She immediately joined Awakening after she returned home, to learn more about women's movement and women's concerns in Taiwan. She also decided to get involved in women's studies at her institution. Although she felt a need to engage in women's movement, she had to decline a lot of invitations after her first child was born. Apart from this special group, Tanya was an active member in the TFSA. For her, it was an important association for feminist scholars to build up social and cultural capital altogether while engaging in the production of feminist scholarship. Tanya lately made her new home group in technology and gender. She felt the group very intimate and had a long-term plan and trajectory. It pushed every one to move forward and made her feel like she was always progressing.

Most of the friends and colleagues of Dongmei were feminist scholars across institutions and campuses. The informal talks between and among female colleagues were quite stimulating. Through friendship and common scholarly interest, she affirmed her new identity and adopted a feminist perspective in her view of the world. She also found that the informal network of female faculty was very different from that of the male colleagues. It not only brought intellectual support but also provided helpful strategies for female faculty to manage time and energy, to handle daily life conflicts, and to solve troubles and difficulties in both public and private spheres. As she became more attracted and convinced by feminism, she identified herself as a feminist scholar and

committed herself to feminist studies by integrating a feminist perspective into most of her teaching.

As for social action, Dongmei thought that each pathfinder had her own priorities in the allocation of her time and energy to academic and social activism. Sometimes the priority came as a result of the interaction between scholarly interests and political impulse. Dongmei identified herself more as a feminist scholar than a feminist activist despite joining the TFSA and becoming more active in recent years.

> My specialty is quite macro in scope and yet unpopular in Taiwan's academe. I was not invited to any activities related to women's movements as they did to other feminist scholars…. Plus the conflict between academe and social activism was obvious. I saw many scholars over-commit themselves to social activism and thus burned out like a candle flaming at both ends…. I chose to set my career path in the academy. It signified two meanings. First, I wanted to demonstrate that I was able to outperform in my field…. And second, I wanted to impart my knowledge to the society as most of the feminists did…. After I got tenured, I paid more attention to how to diffuse and extend my knowledge to the public. I wrote a variety of essays and gave speeches on different occasions…. I joined TFSA and became a more active member. In this association, I found my professional identity and made new friends…. Since most of us were female professors, it was very helpful for us to exchange our experiences and thoughts to survive and excel in the academe.

### *Non-Affiliated with Women's Groups*

David, in contrast, remained aloof from women's movements. He had once been invited by a women's movement activist to join in feminist activism but he declined it. He did not want to take bold action that would ruin his social reputation in the academic community.

> I carry the burden. I belong to a group in which few of them really understand feminism… I care much about their feelings and our collegial relationship even though they do not accept my points and research interests. That's why I used to make up a name to publish some gender-related articles in newspapers…. The feelings of my colleagues were very strong against feminism. For them, it was too ridiculous to appropriate feminism into the study of international relations or the issue of cross-strait relations between Taiwan and China…. Yet I did not want to publicly join a feminist action group that might hurt my good relationship with these male colleagues that I did respect.

*Leaving a Group*

Another example of collegial concern also kept another female pathfinder detached from women's movement organizations. Hers was a special case that illustrates the dynamic formation of individual and group identities. She was very aware of the different political stances or identity politics among feminist groups in Taiwan. She explained that there was a spectrum of feminist ideologies in Taiwan's women's organizations. She positioned herself slightly to the left politically. Awakening's identity was much closer to her. It represented the mainstream (in the middle) yet it was infused with progressive and liberal inclinations. She thus chose to jom Awakening after she got hired at YU. She had never thought about the possibility of being a part of the WRU since she found it was too "right." Several events made her reluctant to consider the WRU as a home organization.

> When I was a master's student, I attended a conference held by the WRU. In an opening speech, it took the speaker [one of the founders of the WRU] over 25 minutes to give thanks to many authoritative figures. The diplomatic manner annoyed me very much. I then interrupted her and asked why such an important gender conference did not spend time in discussing important issues instead of merely performing some diplomatic talks…. My observation was that they chose the research associates whom they felt comfortable with. The organization then became more homogenous. They put more emphasis on crafting academic techniques than on stimulating inspiration…. The entire disposition of the WRU very much looked like that of KMT's women's organization. It never occurred to me to think that I could belong to this group. I thought that the WRU was concerned less about how to integrate academic with daily life experiences or praxis. The academic life they endorsed was very dry and passive, without vision or spiritual enlightenment.

This pathfinder also thought that YU was quite a conservative campus and therefore lacked vision. It was evident in the ways the institution passively dealt with sexual harassment and tried to cover up "humiliating" events rather than exposing the truth of the matter. For her, something needed to be done to informally educate students about gender relations. For instance, confrontation with institutional authorities and intervention in student orientation activities could raise students' gender consciousness. She was disappointed by the WRU which had not taken an active role in initiating and implementing gender sensitive policies at YU.

This pathfinder was once a member of the TFSA. She then quit her membership due to her commitment to maintaining an open and public sphere of feminist dialogues.

> I could make friends with individuals. If I belonged to an organization, I had to adhere to the organizational agendas. Sometimes I felt there were two extremely different yet exhilarating pro and con thoughts on the same issues. They were all well argued and provocative. But as an organizational member, I had to side with one camp… Plus when I felt I

> needed to argue something, if I had to make a point against the ones I knew in the same organization, the group pressure I had would discourage me to do it. My acquaintances would say, "Why don't you deal with it in private?" But I could not agree with them. It was exhilarating to see that the robust development of the women's rights movement and women's studies had resulted in diversity and proliferation of feminist thoughts on this soil. The unique feature—diversity and proliferation of gender issues—was rarely found in other types of social movements in our society. These accomplishments belonged to the public. You should not privatize the issues by making them private affairs or dissolving the debates through personal talks just because you want to avoid jeopardizing personal bonds and relations.

### *Social Responsibilities*

The ethos of social responsibilities showed how feminist values worked as the motivation for the pathfinders to diffuse feminist thinking beyond universities and to effect on social change. Usually, they were associated with policy-making organs or nonformal educational institutions that, for instance, organized public speeches that had women's issues as a focus. Only a few pathfinders in this study emphasized social responsibilities over doing research or getting promotion.

Vincent cared less about his promotion than doing feminist consciousness-raising for the public. He spent a great deal of time delivering speeches, writing a popular book, and involving himself in different projects associated with women's issues. He considered social responsibility an important criterion for being a liberal intellectual or a feminist scholar in Taiwan during the transition from an authoritarian to democratic society. Because of his gender, he had a less difficult time persuading audiences about the patriarchal systems and structure embedded in our daily practices and social relations. Vincent was occasionally involved in the activities of the WRU and other women's organizations. He found it easier to work by himself than to network with others since every academician he knew was too busy to collaborate.

Another female pathfinder was also one of the examples. She had been involved in policy-making for quite a long time. Besides teaching and research, she kept a good relationship with the government due to her specialty. In 1995, she was invited to write the white paper of gender policies for a party. She now plays an important role as a consultant at the highest level of the governmental organ, Committee of Promoting Women's Rights (CPWR), and in the Committee for Gender Equity Education at Ministry of Education. Through her consultant experiences, she had hands-on knowledge about how difficult it was to transform whole governmental bodies and the gender bias embedded in policy-making process and bureaucratic culture.

> I remembered I was involved in reviewing all parts of laws that were against gender justice for CPWR…. In the first year, we went to every organ of the central government, I got very disappointed when I heard the officers said: "Our laws and regulations are very gender equal." These bureaucrats obviously lacked gender sensitivity. Some even complained:

> "If there was any problem, it was because we [CPWR committees] created it."… Since most of the bureaucrats did not have gender consciousness, they did not know how to incorporate women's needs and concerns into policy-making or budget allocation… They were clueless as to what kinds of gender bias and sexual stereotypes needed to be removed. They therefore did not know how to develop a national policy and priority that reflected gender equality concerns.

The involvement in policy-making and the government consultant jobs, however, occasionally stirred up trouble for this pathfinder. She was tagged as a loyal member of one party and this affected her promotion in the university. She thought she failed twice because of gender bias in the institution as well as her affiliation with a particular party. It made her realize that gender issues in Taiwan had been contaminated by political identity not only in the academy but also in women's movement organizations. Prior to 1995, it was the "green" (Democratic Progress Party) that had been repressed and now it is the "blue" (KMT) that is disadvantaged in some departmental politics at universities and in Awakening.

> Political affiliation had torn apart feminist autonomy… It weakened collective action of feminism. I feel very thwarted and upset about the situation we have right now…. We have struggled all along to create an autonomous space for women and have laid a foundation of common agendas for improving women's status. But we are losing such an important ground, sisterhood, and autonomy, splintered by ideologies of political parties. Now we see splits everywhere in women's organizations despite we still need to work together to change structural inequity based upon gender.

On the other hand, her involvement in consultation work brought friends and comrades to this pathfinder. She felt that it was easier for her to build identity and consensus among the committee members than among her colleagues, because the former had the same concerns and commitment in promoting women's status through a common task—intervention in governmental policies.

> In academia, because of the diversity of scholarly interests, it was difficult to find someone to work with. But in those committees I was involved in, I found it was easier to create dialogue. We talked about how to solve problems and to intervene in gender policies. We had common concerns and gender sensitivity in particular issues and we liked to discuss them thoroughly…. The network relationship was important since we supported one another and exchanged important information to make sound suggestions to the government.

In summary, teaching and research on women's and gender studies varied with the personal centrality of feminist values, perception of structural opportunities, and individual definition of feminist action. Overall, the majority of the pathfinders

acknowledged the contribution of both the women's movement and the WRU to the emergence and growth of women's studies at YU, in particular, and in Taiwan in general. Although contesting values generated conflicts within feminist groups, these pathfinders constructed their subjectivity through a nuanced interplay between micropolitcal struggle (action) and academic structure, and between the networking of feminists and the emergence of women's studies in Taiwan's contexts.

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have explored and discussed the emergence of women's studies at YU since 1985. The evolution of the field was realized through the formation of a research program of gender studies at YU, personal endeavors to initiate and expand women's studies teaching courses, and the networking of feminist scholars nationwide. Although the individual efforts appeared to be scattered, the pathfinders' involvement in doing women's studies could be seen as a collective project achieved by individual enactments of feminist values, however fraught with conflicts and contested discourses.

In the first part of this chapter, I discussed and analyzed the emergence and growth of the WRU since 1985. The associate researchers of the WRU started as women's studies practitioners at a time when academic institutions in Taiwan were repressive and strictly controlled. They learned by do ing and turned themselves into feminists or pro-feminist scholars while adapting to and taking part in the changes that have taken place in academic institutions and society at large. They selected particular strategies to incubate, create, functionalize, and formalize women's studies in academic contexts that they both shaped and were in turn shaped by.

The process of evolution was replete with tensions. The founders and researchers of the WRU chose a low profile in promoting women's studies. They exhibited a "neutral stance" in doing women's studies, which lessened their ability to gain wider support and separated the WRU from the local women's movement. The neutral stance served as an expedient strategy to obtain legitimacy in the academic sphere for women's studies. As a consequence, the founders shied away from any unnecessary disturbances that could be generated by the institutional administration and the male gatekeepers. This position, however, invited unsympathetic critiques from feminist circles in Taiwan. The main issue was how women's studies should define its relationship with local women's movements and western feminism. Although the tensions between the different groups stimulated the WRU to integrate local women's concerns and pressing issues of women's studies into their regular academic activities, the chasm between women's movement activists and women's studies practitioners has not been bridged to this date.

Entering a stage of proliferation for women's studies in Taiwan (after 1995), the WRU had a chance to expand and elevate itself. However, facing organizational expansion but shrinking financial support, the WRU team could not help but further formalize the structure of organization in terms of sustainability, by means of specializing job content and obligations and redefining the priorities of the WRU. In the late 1990s, newly joined researchers imported new blood and increased the diversity of the team. Generational differences have, nevertheless, loomed large, and identity politics based upon

incompatible feminist visions and action might become a pressing issue in the near future.

Other individual pathfinders at YU had various reasons to become pro-feminist or feminist scholars. Situated in conventional disciplines, they chose a variety of ways to engage or not engage in feminist networking. They exhibited varying degree of commitment to doing women's studies teaching and research. Some shifted their identities from women's studies practitioners or pro-feminist scholars to feminist scholars in the process. Some expanded their scholarly interests to integrate gender studies into their teaching and research. The various experiences of these pathfinders could be seen as an interaction of the centrality of feminist identity, structural opportunities, and social action.

Institutionalization of the field at YU was thus a product of the constant struggles of these pathfinders. The WRU team and the individual pathfinders, throughout their organizational efforts and/or personal strategies, sought economic capital, developed social capital, generated cultural capital, and accumulated symbolic capital in order to advance women's studies and legitimize the field in Taiwan's academic world.

Although there was a body of different opinions on how to construct Taiwan's women's studies, the majority of pathfinders recognized the crucial contribution of the WRU in incubating and institutionalizing women's studies nationwide. The impact of the institutionalization of the field indeed went beyond institutional boundaries. Women's studies courses and publications have increased over the years. The development of the WRU cannot be overstated. It evolved from a library-like center and a team-teaching course to a Center of Population Studies and Gender Studies, and, then, a twenty-unit teaching certificate program of gender studies. It has collected and compiled women's studies references, and continues to publish the *Newsletter* and the *Journal* to diffuse information on women's studies and to foster the growth of feminist scholarship. By 1999, almost one hundred students and researchers from different disciplines had received its scholarship awards, and about sixty-five luncheon workshops, fifty seminars, fifty speeches, and eighteen conferences had been held by the organization. In addition, the WRU has the largest collection of publications on women's studies in Taiwan. By 1999, it had over 650 booksin Chinese, 1,500 in English, 350 dissertations, 145 national newsletters and journals, 182 international newsletters and other materials. It serves on average 900 visitors per year and the number has increased over time. It is now a well-known information and consultation center that serves academic, community, and governmental bodies nationwide.

In addition to quantifiable accomplishments, the pathfinders have successfully employed feminist perspectives to empower students in their problem-solving practices. Through feminist networking, the pathfinders have obtained social, emotional, and intellectual support that has helped them to construct and validate alternative communal viewpoints, exchange scholarly information, and stimulate, enhance, and mutually shore up feminist scholarship. They have significantly extended the presence of women's studies into the political and social realms. In addition to strengthening and legitimizing feminist scholarship, these pathfinders have leveraged their knowledge and amplified their voices to intervene in policy-making and to raise gender consciousness in the public eye.

# Chapter Six
# Women's Studies at "Formosa University"

In this chapter, I introduce and analyze a second case study of the emergence and growth of women's and gender studies in Taiwan, based on my research on feminist pathfinders at an institution I refer to as "Formosa University" (FU) and not by its real name. The women's studies program at FU emerged after the lifting of martial law in 1987. With meager resources, a network of progressive scholars focused their energies on the development of an interdisciplinary curriculum with an emphasis on women's studies. The new program also made collective efforts possible, bringing together the hitherto individual academic efforts and influence of feminists on the campus. I interviewed nine out of the total of thirty-one pathfinders at Formosa University. All nine of them came out of diverse backgrounds, and their stated reasons for why they became advocates of feminist studies reflect that diversity (see also Chapter 4).

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part covers the background of the **organizing efforts** of these nine pathfinders creating and formalizing the gender studies research program at FIL In the second part, I examine the **personal motivations** behind some of the pathfinders' teaching and research on women and gender issues. I then discuss pathfinders' views in general on the issues of promoting feminist research and enhancing the quality of gender research. The third, and last, part of the chapter looks at the phenomenon of men engaging in gender studies in Taiwan; how some male academicians have, for example, identified themselves as pro-feminists or feminists, and how the female pathfinders have responded to their male counterparts' doing gender studies in Taiwan.

## GENDER STUDIES RESEARCH PROGRAM

### *Institutional order in FU*

Formosa University was established in mainland China in the early 20th century, and subsequently relocated to the island of Taiwan in the 1950s by the government of Taiwan. Historically, FU gained national recognition as a prominent graduate research institution with a focus on the natural sciences. Its reputation as a natural sciences university shaped the university culture, which was characterized by a "masculine ethic" and mainstream values of science and technology. The nationalists' intention was to use it to promote high-tech and cutting-edge scientific research, shore up the government's mainstream ideology of modernization, and ratchet up the development paradigm of "catching up with the West."

The university is located in the northern part of the island, where one also finds the hub of Taiwan's Silicon Valley, modeled after that of northern California in the United

States. In the mid-1980s period of expansion and development of universities and colleges in Taiwan, FU seized the chance to turn itself into a comprehensive university by establishing the College of Humanities and Social Sciences (CHASS). FU's CHASS was different from the traditional humanities and social sciences college or division. It was unique not only in its interdisciplinary structure, but also in its emphasis on the social implications of knowledge and its incorporation of non-traditional fields or marginalized areas of study.[1]

The establishment of CHASS came at a time of social upheaval, prior to the lifting of martial law. The very design of CHASS attracted a new and diverse genre of graduate students, some of whom had been involved in student activism and had embraced oppositional stances. The College encouraged this diversity by devising alternative ways to admit a diverse student body. One young pathfinder, a graduate student in the early 1990s and currently a doctoral candidate at a university in the United States, told me that it was the graduate program that had provided the impetus for her move to the next level of graduate study. Without that program, she said, she might not have succeeded in completing her graduate education in the social sciences, and, since she had majored in computer science and had no prior social science training, she might not even have made it through the traditional graduate screening process.

Another young pathfinder, who was also a graduate of CHASS at FU, recalled how excited she had been to be able to study so closely with the faculty there, and to be able to indulge in all kinds of social sciences readings. In the early years, with the university's abundant funding support the CHASS library had the means to purchase every book on the graduate student and faculty members' "wish list." As a result of the alternative viewpoints and training experiences encouraged by the social sciences departments at FU, this pathfinder "discovered" her identity and avocation. She committed herself to gender and feminist studies and now has become a scholar in the field.

Compared to the experiences of these two female former students, the experiences of the female pathfinders who were faculty members at CHASS were not nearly as positive. They were utterly disappointed by the unwritten rule against "nepotism," which discriminated against female academicians whose husbands taught at the same university, since men's careers were given de facto preference and used as an excuse to exclude women who happened to be married to male colleagues. Moreover, as a result of its emphasis on science and technology, all of the departments in CHASS were somewhat undervalued. Many of the pathfinders at FU felt that CHASS faculty members were treated as ornaments to shine on the success of the natural sciences at FU.

The relatively small number of faculty members in CHASS, compared to that in the natural sciences, resulted in CHASS faculty's having little bargaining power. In the 2000 academic year, the faculty at CHASS represented 22 percent of the total faculty at FU. In every department, female faculty were underrepresented, even in those departments characterized as traditionally being female-dominated, such as Chinese literature, foreign literature, history, and anthropology. In the same year, women academicians comprised 14 percent of the entire faculty at FU, 28 percent of those in CHASS and only 10 percent of those in the departments of the sciences and technology. As for full professors, the numbers were even lower; females represented only 10 percent of the total at FU (Educational Statistics, 2000).

Deelai, a faculty member at FU for over twenty years, had strong feelings about the marginal status of both women and CHASS. She had this to say about her experience:

> I had been here teaching long before the establishment of CHASS. At that time, the number of women faculty was fewer than today. One event, in particular, convinced me of the patriarchal nature of the institution. One day, the ex-president asked me about the possibility of my leaving the university in favor of my husband teaching in one of the natural science departments. My husband at that time was teaching at another university that was far away from FU… Their suggestion was that I could teach instead in a neighboring, well-known high school so that my family could get together. I got very angry and of course rejected the proposal.

Not only did the so-called nepotism rule work against women academicians, but in addition, the patriarchal culture in the humanities and social sciences further disadvantaged women. Male senior professors manipulated departmental meeting agendas and elections in favor of the men's clubs. One female participant recalled a particularly upsetting event when she supported a female colleague as the head of the department. That election failed due largely to the female candidate's inaction. She did not fight for her candidacy or speak up when a clearly less-qualified male competitor threatened her candidacy. This female participant arrived at the conclusion that male authority and representation of power was a taken-for-granted and, therefore, ironclad norm. Many women were not willing to put up a fight against male authority even with the support of female colleagues.

Deelai also confirmed that the patriarchal practices were deeply embedded in the "organizational logic" of the university and manifest in the predominant culture of the sciences and technology departments. The symbolic, cultural, and social capital of the sciences and technology generated abundant economic capital for these departments. In contrast, the resources allocated to the humanities and the social sciences, and its institutional recognition, were relatively poor.

> Our college has never gained due recognition. It has always been ignored and marginalized. We are perceived as a small potato at FU. At another university such as YU, the departments of humanities and social sciences are larger and more equally treated. On the other hand, they [the natural sciences at FU] think they are feeding us and giving us a lot of advantages. They can make grants from MOE or the National Science Council and leave some for us… They used to treat us like a decorating vase for their purpose [like garnish on the main plate].

This marginal status was evident not only in the size but also in the location of CHASS. The main building of the College was located in the rear part of the hilly campus. The students and faculty of CHASS often described their commute as "climbing the mountain" to get to work or attend classes. Its location on the campus map symbolized the peripheral position of the College. Moreover, the size of CHASS was much smaller. It had an insignificant population of undergraduate (approx. 860) and graduate (approx.

520) students (Educational Statistics, 2000), which together comprised merely 17 percent of the total student body. Given its small size, any demands made by its students and faculty members gain little notice and carry no political weight. Its symbolic existence was thus more important than its substance.

Nevertheless, the insignificant size of the College provided a stimulus for development. Xingmei, who was the Dean of CHASS, observed,

> The faculty of the natural sciences considered us troublemakers. They watched over us from the beginning… Initially, the president and his group attempted to expand the university into a comprehensive one, with a conventional design. They never expected that our development would go beyond their thinking or out of their hands. Their imagination of CHASS was very traditional and narrow; it was significantly different from ours.

Because of the small size of CHASS, the university seemed more tolerant of an alternative design for the College. Xingmei observed that "because we were so tiny and marginal and they [the natural sciences] were dominant, they believed we were not capable of becoming larger or causing significant trouble. And, as a matter of fact, we had little room or resources to develop, which had been anticipated."

In short, a whole array of factors—its small size, poor location, low recognition on campus, and poor funding—made CHASS into a marginalized College. In this situation, academic credibility became critically important as a means for the academicians of FU to gain bargaining power. Several pathfinders of FU admitted that the academic credibility the academicians gained outside the institution could enhance the visibility of individual academicians on campus, thereby transforming the newfound status into economic and social capital, which could then be wielded on campus. Within this overall structure, the situation of women's studies at FU reflected the status of CHASS at FU in general, and women's studies largely relied on the collective efforts, the bargaining power, and the academic reputations of, in particular, its faculty members.

## DEVELOPMENT OF GENDER STUDIES RESEARCH PROGRAM

### *Beginning*

The research center of gender studies at FU was established only five years after the establishment of CHASS. It was Xingmei's long-term connection with the Asia Foundation that made the project possible. In 1988, Ms. Edith S.Coliver, the new Director of the Foundation's Taiwan branch, had just assumed her position there.[2] As Xingmei recalled, Ms. Coliver contacted her and discussed with her the possibility of forming a research center for women's studies at FU. Xingmei then proposed a plan to promote curriculum transformation for women's studies. She received substantial support from the first Dean and the majority of the faculty members of CHASS, and most importantly, a three-year funding grant from the Asia Foundation. Without this external

fiscal support, the proposal would not have surmounted the formidable resistance from the FU Administration.

Xingmei's proposal signified a second stage of institutionalization of women's studies nationwide. Her goal was to create and develop "another arm for women's studies" at FU. She explained,

> My initial idea was to develop a program emphasizing curriculum design and teaching. First of all, this program would be distinguished from that of Yushan University… That is, we trained human resources to do research and to teach women's studies in the future…. While WRU accentuated development of a library center and research capacity, we chose curriculum development to create depth in the influence of women's studies on campus by means of designing interdisciplinary teaching. Second, I hoped this program would be widely rooted in the academic community of this institution. I invited those who were teaching at FU to join our program…. The program should be kept alive and vital by the involvement and support of students and faculty members at FU…. Since most of my colleagues were familiar with and supported critical studies, I had no problem…to gain support from them from the very beginning.

Some pathfinders thought that the inclusion strategy of inviting a broad spectrum of scholars to join the women's studies project would carry some risks. They worried that the participation of anyone who had previously disagreed with feminism or challenged the agenda of the research program would weaken the firm rooting of feminist scholarship at FU. Indeed, the initial proposal encountered a certain amount of resistance from the affiliated scholars, which reflected in the naming of the program. Xingmei explained the discursive politics involved in the naming process:

> Although some liberal scholars and I suggested using the term "gender," [*xing-bie* in Chinese], we eventually compromised to entitle the program Two-Sexes [*lian-xing* in Chinese] and Society. Since "gender" had not been widely and academically accepted, some of our colleagues opposed it for fear that we might invite critiques or even attacks from the administration or the whole academic community. Moreover, I had to negotiate with our donor, the Asia Foundation, which favored women's studies rather than gender studies. Eventually, in our proposal for the Foundation, we named it the Project of Women's Studies Curriculum Development, rather than "Gender" Studies, in order to secure the three-year seed funding. It was not until 2001 that we renamed our center the Research Program of Gender and Society.

Tom, one of the few long-standing male professors of the program, stated that, in the end, a number of external factors were key to the emergence of women's studies at FU. Most importantly, perhaps, the progressive climate on university campuses and in Taiwanese

society in the late 1980s contributed to the rapid emergence of numerous interdisciplinary programs in Taiwanese universities.

The support of academic leaders was also important. The first Dean of CHASS was a supporter of the RPTS (Research Program of Two-Sexes Society) and he acquired a long list of participants in the program. Although the majority of his colleagues unequivocally called themselves liberal intellectuals, they lacked genuine sensitivity to women-related issues, and their support of gender studies was not sincere. The fact that the expression "two-sexes" was chosen over "gender" in the program's name testifies to their lukewarm attitudes. "Two-sexes" implies a naturally divided yet balanced or harmonious relationship between the two genders, when in fact there is no such balanced relationship in the patriarchal Taiwanese society. The term also precludes other connotations underlying gender studies, such as sexuality and gay/lesbian studies.

Tom also attributed the appearance of women's studies to the larger intellectual innovation generally visible in interdisciplinary studies at FU. In the United States, interdisciplinary studies emerged in the natural sciences in the 1980s (Klein, 1996). It was also at this time that they were introduced in Taiwan. Tom noticed that in the 1980s, interdisciplinary programs and research centers had begun mushrooming in the natural sciences, the humanities, and the social sciences in Taiwan. CHASS followed this trend and encouraged interdisciplinary dialogues and cooperation. Five different types of research programs were formed in the late 1980s and early 1990s in CHASS. However, the status of the interdisciplinary programs was comparatively less significant in the social sciences. Tom explained:

> What differentiated research programs of the natural sciences from those of the social sciences was that the former had the physical substances such as laboratory facilities, cutting-edge projects, and abundant grants provided by the university as well as nationwide funding, while all that the latter could get was some free space provided by CHASS…. We mainly relied upon soft money from each affiliated faculty of the research program. We used to put aside some portion of funding to pay for staffing and to maintain the minimum requirements needed to keep the RPTS functioning.

The difference accounts for why interdisciplinary programs in the humanities and social sciences remain a "shadow structure" compared to those in the natural sciences at Taiwanese universities.

### *Funding*

Due largely to the lack of financial support from the university, the RPTS has remained an "institutionally fragile" program. It has constantly run into fiscal problems, especially after the three-year seed money sponsored by the Asia Foundation ran out. Xingmei complained that ever since the program was formed, its members have, non-stop, had to search for funding sources. She recalled the group's exuberance when they found a new opportunity to apply for funding at FU. In the late 1980s, the university set up a booster program, a research grant foundation, to award cutting-edge research projects that would

enhance the university's reputation among other universities in Taiwan. Xingmei believed that the gender studies research program conducted just such cutting edge research and this would be very appropriate to the institutional goals.

> I called a group to work on the grant proposal. I remember that on a trip to visit my relatives in the south, I had to steal some time from my vacation to complete the proposal. My daughter kept blaming me for spoiling her vacation…. We made our proposal look perfect. We righteously thought it was highly possible for us to be awarded quite a large sum of money to keep us going for another three years. But the proposal was rejected. The Administration suggested that we apply for one from the National Science Council instead. The administrative response made me very angry. I felt deeply disappointed…. The Dean knew my reaction. He then went to negotiate with the Administration, and eventually obtained a small amount of operating expenses for the program.

Financial security was a major concern for some pathfinders, for the regular functioning of the program relied on fiscal health. Xingmei explained the situation: "Sometimes when the funding of the College was rich, some budget was allocated to the program to acquire more books and teaching materials. We also got some from the Ministry of Education (MOE), but basically, we relied on the research capacity of each of us to apply for research grants from the National Science Council."[3]

One male pathfinder did not agree that money would make things better for the program. He claimed, rather, that it would be the combination of faculty members, students, and timing that made the marginalized field emerge and grow. He opined, "If we have a lot of funding but lack key human resources, we cannot make any difference. We will just waste a lot of the money." He did not believe that costly conferences, which might superficially encourage and advance gender studies, would serve as the mark of a successful program. In fact, he believed it was one of the poorer methods employed by the government and the National Science Council (NSC) in their effort to promote academic quality and excellence. He made this analogy: "They solely threw out some funding to feed a flock of chicken-like scholars. We scholars then raced to peck up the scarce fodder." To him, acquiring money was a far cry from what was most important in making a quality research program successful in academia.

### *An Altemative Site*

Despite institutional ignorance and resistance to their efforts, several pathfinders felt grateful to have a collective space in which to start a women's studies program, and to build a network of scholars. Lingxi felt very lucky to have had such a research program emerge at the time she became employed at FU. It became an important place for her to learn and to gain collegial support from senior faculty.

> At the time martial law had just been lifted, and hope and excitement permeated the entire society and our campus. We were surfing the tides of a new social movement. Several "big" figures from various disciplines

> joined us. The program itself seemed to signify a movement on campus … I remembered at the time Xingmei led the research program and planned to apply for NSC's research grants, we got together frequently to discuss and to draft the proposal. For me, as a junior, I learned more from this collaborative project than from any other project in the group. The RPTS provided me with an important opportunity to meet colleagues coming from a variety of disciplines, and to learn the multi-pronged approaches to conducting research…. In retrospect, I attribute the most important personal growth, which helped to shape my life, to my various engagements in this particular research program.

Gina has been a part-time faculty member at FU for 30 years. She left her home department several years ago because she insisted on teaching women-related courses. Currently, she teaches courses on women's lives and continues to make friends with affiliated faculty in the research program.

> I had no friends in my department. Being an adjunct, I was discriminated against and humiliated, even though I was a senior…. I was glad to find my group eventually. I liked being able to get along with them [the faculty affiliated with the RPTS]. We shared the same interests and concerns in teaching and doing gender research.

A former graduate student, now a researcher, recalled her graduate studies at CHASS, and expressed very positive feelings about the research program.

> We felt comfortable. It was easy to work, study, and get along with other students and faculty members in the space…. Its existence legitimized our activities and engagement in gender studies…. We felt that the research program created a spirit of learning and pursuit for alternative knowledge…. The legitimacy was generated not only by the physical existence of the research program, but also by the course, the activities, and network we had developed and all the discussions we had in this space. These performances, in turn, enhanced the authority of the research program and legitimized our learning and the gender research.

### *Organizing*

The RPTS was not formally structured. It did not have a regular budget to hire staff. Nor did it have an official director. The faculty members of the program took turns heading the organization for one or two years. A coordinator, assisted by one or two vice coordinators, usually made the plans and decisions for the operation and activities of the research programs. Among the eleven coordinators who consecutively led the research programs between 1989 and 2003, four were male professors. Although there were approximately 20 faculty members of CHASS on the list of the RPTS, only half of them were active. These academicians were usually from the departments of sociology, anthropology, psychology, literature, history, linguistics, education, economics, and

philosophy. As compared to Yushan University, more male faculty members participated in gender studies at FU.

Basically, the affiliated faculty members attended meetings, made suggestions for new ideas and activlties, and shared obligations. Some regular activities governed the operation of the program. The affiliated faculty members co-taught a general education course and organized various academic activities, such as seminars, luncheons, and conferences in each academic year. Occasionally, a larger collaborative research project was launched to promote particular gender issues and to develop an interdisciplinary gender curriculum and feminist pedagogy.

As noted earlier, the first three-year collaborative project was sponsored by the Asia Foundation. The project created an intellectual atmosphere and social space that provided an incentive for CHASS faculty members to engage in women's studies. There were sixteen faculty members involved in the project. They developed curricula with 23 gender courses at the outset. Most courses were developed in traditional disciplines with titles such as "Women and Health" and "Gender and Anthropology."[4] Several curricula were interdisciplinary; for instance, Sex and Society, Gender and Culture, Body Politics, Women/Gender and the State, Socio-Cultural Analysis of Men's Consciousness.

Lingxi was elected as the second coordinator of the RPTS and was responsible for heading its curriculum development project. The engagement in the RPTS expanded her scholarly interest in gender studies, and equipped her with the necessary negotiating skills to deal with the Administration. However, she recalled that in the beginning she did not welcome this assignment.

> At that time I was merely a junior faculty. I knew little about how to handle administrative work. But it seemed that no one was available or desired to take the assignment. I did not know how to reject an offer. So I accepted it…. There were two reasons that made it difficult for me to reject the assignment. First, in 1990, I made visits to various women's organizations in the United States, courtesy of the Asia Foundation. And second, my specialty was related to curriculum development. For these two reasons, my colleagues made me to believe that I was one of the best candidates to lead the program. In fact, I was half forced, and half delighted to accept the position.

Annie, a new faculty member, remembered how the collective project galvanized energy and enthusiasm from faculty members and students alike, creating a climate in which people were eager to learn and develop gender studies at FU. In the absence of support from the institution, she thought this collective effort was the next most effective way to promote gender studies.

In addition to the intellectual climate, a spirit of social activism also helped to promote gender consciousness on campus. According to interviews with two former graduate students, student activism created a symbolic space by means of disrupting the normalized practices embedded in the predominantly masculine and technology-driven culture. During the first half of the 1990s, sexual harassment cases at FU, which created campus-wide unrest, became an important source for developing gender consciousness. Students held public meetings that made the issues of sexual harassment visible on

campus. They organized the campaign known as “xiao-hong-mao,” or “Little Red Riding Hood” to fight against sexual harassment. Such campaigns, in fact, had already been underway at Yushan University for several years and the network of feminist studies clubs had been set up. They exchanged experiences and attended summer-camp workshops for leadership skills training supported by the Awakening. The student activists at FU took up the symbol of the “xiao-hong-mao” in their effort to channel into a full-fledged campaign the emotion, anxiety, and outrage felt by female students. By disseminating everything from leaflets to email messages, the discontent was widely communicated. It became an intensely heated issue attracting many participants. During this period, gender issues became highly visible. In order to seek support from the faculty, the students went to the RPTS.

At that time, Lingxi was the coordinator of the RPTS. She decided to support the student activists, despite some opposition from her team. She helped students organize a series of public discussions. Most importantly, she backed up the students in their demand that the Administration stop sexual harassment and sanction the sexual harassers. The negotiation process was quite successful. The student activists continued to work with Lingxi by compiling a brochure, titled *The Pamphlet of the Xiao-hong-mao* (hereafter, the *Pamphlet*). The *Pamphlet* was produced to help students prevent sexual harassment and to allow victims of sexual harassrnent and/or assault to protest, based on their own experiences, the unjust conditions of society. Although the university did not fund the publication of the *Pamphlet,*[5] due to the success of the protest and wide circulation of the *Pamphlet,* the Administration later agreed to form a taskforce to deal with gender discrimination and violence on campus. Both the *Pamphlet* and the taskforce became the first important sources of information and examples of sexual harassment prevention, ones that other universities would later imitate. While talking about and reflecting upon these experiences, Lingxi vividly recalled the intense feelings and excitement of those tumultuous days.

> As a coordinator of the RPTS, I felt both the right and the obligation to play the role of a mediator between the students and the Administration…. I remembered that one of my interventions was especially meaningful. It happened when a TA began posting e-mail messages, with the intent to harass female students who had signed up to support the sexual harassment campaign…. When I learned about this act, I requested the Dean of the Secretariat to address it. He initially refused on the grounds that it would damage the university’s reputation. In a fit of rage, I raised my voice to him in the meeting. I exclaimed: “Good reputation does not come from inaction, but from how the university handles embarrassing events and these crises.” I was glad he listened to me and stopped the TA from continuing to send out the messages of harassment…. From this experience, I learned one way to make gender discourses visible, significant and public. I needed to shed light on the magnitude of the case, to raise the level of seriousness, and then to publicize a sound statement for it. This is the only way to prevent an Administration from simply ignoring a problem or being evasive. Since

> this incident, it became easier for us to propose gender-related policies and to gain widespread support from the faculty senators.

Student activism indeed increased the Administration's attention to gender issues and thus helped leverage the bargaining power of the RPTS in university policy-making. Lingxi reflected that it took a while for the administrators to realize the additional effects of the proper handling of gender issues on campus.

> The campaign against sexual harassment was successful…. The rarnifications of this event gradually escalated and began to have an influence on the Administration…. The taskforce in charge of handling gender discrimination and violence on campus had been passed in faculty senators meetings without any resistance in the mid-1990s. In fact, later we found that the success of the Administration in handling sexual harassment cases became one of the stepping-stones for that ex-president to be promoted to a department minister of the cabinet post in 1993. Because we had helped the Administration resolve sexual harassment cases quickly, the central government was highly impressed by the ex-president's leadership performance. Thus, he was immediately promoted. He set an example for his successors to deal with gender issues carefully…. His success thus made it easier for us to raise our voice and to request the Administration take further action regarding gender issues.

After its establishment, the function of the taskforce was still limited due to the lack of material and financial resources. It then gained substantial support from the Administration after a terrifying homicide on campus in the late 1990s. A female graduate student, who the police commented was an intelligent criminal, committed the murder. The tragedy was the result of a three-way relationship between one male and two female graduate students. One of the two women could not tolerate the other's intimate relationship with her boyfriend. One night, a fight broke out between the two women. During the brawl, one of them "accidentally" killed the other. The killer, in an attempt to hide her crime, dissolved the body with chemicals and cleverly planted evidence to show that the victim had been raped and killed by the boyfriend (United Daily News, March 3, 1998). The case created a maelstrom of public shock.

The FU taskforce used this very public case of sex and murder to lobby the Administration and the incumbent President for money to promote gender equity education. As a result, the university earmarked a portion of their budget to hire a staff member. The taskforce office was able to start functioning as a commissioned organization to intervene actively in cases of sexual harassment and assault on campus.

Mike, one of the few male pro-feminist allies on campus, was dubious about with the formation of the taskforce. He thought it served as a kind of a trap set up by Administration to hinder, rather than to promote, gender consciousness on campus.

> It is a typical reaction to and resolution by our national bureaucracy. After a noticeable incident occurs, the standard reaction of administrations is to form a council or committee, assign a coordinator and several faculty

> members, and maybe hire a staff to function as a regular body…. You see, although the taskforce has had a lot of accomplishments, they also have spent a great deal of time responding to the administrative rules and regulations. It was a time-consuming and administrative struggle. We rarely knew what happened and what they had done about gender issues on campus…. Yes, the taskforce made the gender issues specialized but they also made them less visibie to the students and faculty. In addition, it rendered the RPTS no more than academic, no longer movement-oriented. Prior to the taskforce, students concerned with any gender-related issues came to us and asked for advice… We then held seminars and public meetings, and circulated our ideas… Now our research program has become solely academic. We are more and more detached from the gender issues on campus. We dribble down our existence to holding conferences and some minor academic activities.

Mike attributed the success of the program to the participation of the students and the political climate nurturing "critical mass" on campuses. He thought that the students were the most important part of the RPTS. They enabled the research program to grow, fostered the diffusion of feminist ideas, and attracted a wide variety of audiences and participants. In Mike's view:

> Although I knew that Xingmei and Lingxi emphasized curriculum development, not every coordinator continued on the same path. During my term as coordinator, we spent a lot of time discussing sexual harassment and social events related to sexual politics. We held seminars, workshops, and meetings. We wrote short essays for newspapers. We published our book reviews. At that time, feminist studies student club was very active. The students actively contacted us and engaged in our activities. Several graduate students of mine were involved in searching and translating sexual harassment documents from English into our language.

### *Diversifying*

The RPTS peaked in the mid-1990s. The year 1995 not only marked the third decade of the promotion of women's rights worldwide, but also the first decade of women's studies development in Taiwan. It was also the year in which a gender studies Web site was launched by students and faculty at FU. The scholars affiliated with the RPTS had also just completed a research proposal for an interdisciplinary certificate program for gender studies to begin in 1996.

Xingmei stepped down as the head of her department in 1995 and assumed a new position as the Dean of CHASS in 1996. The leadership of Xingmei positively conveyed the notion that feminist scholars were not deviants in the academic community; instead, her leadership implied that gender studies were an academically sound field of study.

> As I took the post of Director, my performance became a conduit by which to discredit those who…stigmatized feminist scholars as "man-haters" or [as persons] "against the system." I disapproved of this kind of thinking…. But, on the other hand, I also reminded myself that my leadership needed to have feminist practices such as being sensitive to power relations among faculty…. I stressed open discussion and consensus in the faculty meetings. I learned not to impose my ideas on policy-making… One of the benefits that resulted from my position was that any discussion about gender studies, such as in teaching and curriculum development, would be embraced. And I felt that the gender curricula were more easily legitimized and accepted by our colleagues.

Xingmei attributed the growth of the RPTS to the collective efforts of faculty members at FU, rather than to any individual charismatic hailing. In some research (i.e., Miske, 1995), strong leadership has been emphasized for its effectiveness and the strength required in operating a marginal field. Xingmei, however, did not appreciate this type of display of strength. She never believed that the RPTS or the gender studies program should be considered her own "baby" or that it was her sole responsibility to make it grow and keep it healthy. She believed that "a collective project must contain different colors and communal meanings." The program should not be painted merely in her favorite color. Nor did she attempt to dominate the trajectory of the gender studies programs at FU.

The upper-administration support of CHASS and the climate created by the social movements helped to shape the RPTS peak period in the mid-1990s. One of the male pathfinders at FU became involved in the Internet project, as worldwide Web sites began to be more frequently used at colleges. This pathfinder recalled:

> There were quite a lot of students who were interested in the Internet. We then designed a Web site for the RPTS. I got some funding from the MOE. We started an Internet study group of feminist readings and held eight Internet camps. We published our G-zine. The activity was quite appealing to students. However, it lasted only for a number of years. After these students graduated, new students did not show the same interests. The Web site stopped running…. I would say that much of the energy of the RPTS derived from students, plus the climate and the timing. As they wanted to spend time and energy on gender studies, we became their partners. We made some good projects, held appealing activities, and thus attracted public notice and many participants.

Besides the Internet, the *Bulletin of Book Reviews* was published in 1994 and in 1999. Some book reviews were initially published in a newspaper and on the G-zine, and then compiled into three issues of the *Bulletin*. In 1996 and in 2000, the RPTS held two large international conferences, "Gender and Cultural Construction" and "Women's Studies Curriculum." The former was a product of an early collaborative research project while the latter resulted from accumulated teaching experiences as well as the development of an interdisciplinary teaching program (discussed later in this chapter). Each of the two

conferences attracted over 200 students, academicians, and researchers. The conference presenters demonstrated the achievements of teaching and research of women's studies at Formosa University.

Mike affirmed that the RPTS had played an important role in fostering the legitimacy of gender studies at FU. While the field has not been accepted in CHASS, the resources and activities of the RPTS gave each pathfinder an incentive and a venue by which to convince his/her colleagues of the significance of gender studies in academia. They thus gained the legitimacy to teach gender-related curriculum in their home departments. Mike analyzed two stages of the development of RPTS:

> The first stage was to maintain the basic function of teaching and creating academic activities. The RPTS had played "the pushing hand" and fulfilled its mission. It had done its best to legitimize this field in our College…. Now at our College, no one would dare question the rationale for teaching gender studies, or ridicule feminist research. We now have a number of faculty members in different departments who have taught gender studies for years…. A number of my graduate students have chosen to do research related to gender topics… For the second stage of enhancinggender studies, it needed some open opportunities and extra resources to make extraordinary things happen. For instance, it might raise gender consciousness on campus, network with other gender search programs, and strengthen the quality of research…. So far, gender studies has entered and been accepted into Taiwan's academia, yet its research credibility has not been established and it has not been recognized as one of the leading fields in the social sciences…. The possible reason is that the present conditions are not supportive enough to generate a power base for strengthening feminist research. We don't have gender studies majors or doctoral students…. Teaching or learning gender studies for faculty and students alike is an extra burden. We all have our obligations to fulfill in our home departments…. One possibility would be that we wait for new faculty, who have specialized in gender studies, to make it happen.

### *Designing a Certificate Program*

In order to bind academic obligations with institutional rewards, more efforts in formalizing gender studies was needed at FU. Thus, in the late 1990s, the pathfinders created an interdisciplinary program of gender studies, a package containing the existing women- and gender-related courses at FU. The emergence of this teaching program was possible due to the changes made in higher education policies in the mid-1990s, when the MOE started to promote and fund interdisciplinary teaching programs in Taiwan's universities (see also Chapter 3 and Chapter 5). The team investigated, and reported that a lack of integration was the primary weakness in the majority of women- and gender-related courses. Integration thus became a sound rationale for the RPTS to request funding. The RPTS then obtained a three-year project grant (1999–2002) from MOE to develop comprehensive gender studies curricula and feminist pedagogy.[6]

The objectives of the project were to collect and integrate various established discipline-based curricula into a package of gender studies that would be based upon the criteria of interdisciplinary integration, diversity, and connection. The project also attempted to indigenize gender studies by installing women's concerns and the sociocultural dimensions of Taiwanese gender relations into the curricular design. The team tasked on three parts for developing the program curricula: the important issues of gender relations that should be covered, the teaching materials that should be utilized, and the pedagogies for developing critical thinking skills.

The 18-unit gender studies certificate program at FU comprised three core courses and five areas of study. The required courses are "Introduotion to Gender Studies," "Gender, Sciences and Technology," and "Gender Studies Practicum." The elective courses include classes related to biology, the body, social institutions, language and literature, and art with a focus on gender. These subjects were developed according to two criteria: the subject had to reflect the needs of those student constituencies that were outnumbered by the natural sciences, and the subjects had to be fields of specialties of the affiliated teachers and researchers. In order to attract students to enroll in this program, the credits earned in it also counted toward general education credit requirements; this helped to reduce students' course load.

The collaborative project was divided into six groups. Each group was to design and develop two to three courses in an identified area, compile course materials, hold seminars on their respective topics, and invite feminist scholars, who specialized in the topics, as lecturers to come and exchange their personal and pedagogic experiences.

Xingmei and her team initially proposed the interdisciplinary program at FU for two reasons. First, the two existing gender courses regularly co-taught by the program professors in general education were too disjointed and nonspecific. Second, these courses were often regarded, albeit erroneously, as "easy" courses that were more important to students as a means of facilitating socialization between boys and girls. For these reasons, the students who enrolled in the course failed to take the course and its subject matter seriously.

It was not just the students who did not take the gender studies courses seriously; many times non-affiliated faculty members and the Administration did not either. For instance, Tom was criticized by the curriculum review committee in his department because his colleagues doubted the academic value of the course and expressed their dissatisfaction with the general shallowness of gender studies. Tom was forced to defend not only his teaching abilities, but the quality of the course as well as the seriousness of the content of the sexuality studies addressed in the curriculum.

Xingmei thus proposed the interdisciplinary program and worked with a team to design the courses to improve the gender studies teaching. Xingmei explained several benefits for the students in the proposed new program:

> The interdisciplinary program provides systematic learning through a serial selection of courses amounting to 18 units. Students understand up front that they have a long journey to travel. They must have a strong commitment in order to enroll in the program. With the new system, students can foster an interest in gender studies by means of exposure to the body of knowledge in gender studies. They are introduced to a variety

> of perspectives in analyzing gender relations and in understanding feminist epistemology. They acquire a new set of vocabulary, through which a new world perspective may be developed. Clearly, this kind of transformation cannot take place in one or two courses.

Xingmei also saw a need to bring the faculty together through the new proposed program. Faculty members who join the teaching program must work together to design the curriculum, teach the students, and partake in various student and administrative activities. The collaborative work, as Xingmei emphasized, "enhanced a commitment not only to educating students, but also to bringing about cultural change and a societal awareness of gender issues." She also saw the future benefits for the affiliated faculty engaging in gender studies. She explained:

> The commitment of the faculty proves that this teaching program requires not only diverse teaching skills, but also a strong gender consciousness…. A lot has changed from a decade ago when women were seen as one factor or [when women's studies was defined as] "add women and stir."… As gender studies moves farther towards the center and becomes the most concrete among marginal fields, the institution will more likely award and accrue due recognition to those who have been involved in developing this field. Plus, after gender studies becomes a legitimate field, it will be perceived as a bonus rather than a stigma for both individual scholars and in traditional disciplines. Moreover, faculty members who were not trained in gender studies can expand their additional specialties into this field. We will then change our manners, thoughts, and regard gender studies as all but a burden.

However, at this point, the project had not been formalized in its entirety. Xingmei and other participants understood the barriers in formalizing the program. The majority of them agreed that an important concern was to stabilize the composition of personnel of the program. Another urgent task was to negotiate teaching loads with the Administration in order to integrate gender studies curriculum into each traditional department in the university, either through a required course or by cross-listing gender courses as electives. Xingmei was optimistic about the rapid formalization of the teaching program. She thought a trend was emerging. She said, "After that, it will no longer be seen as an extra load or burden for scholars, as long as the negotiation is complete. Besides, I don't see why the MOE couldn't recognize and support such interdisciplinary programs nationwide. There is no problem in terms of legitimacy."

### *A Detour*

The development of gender studies at FU was constrained largely by the fact that much of the demand for gender-related courses derived from a handful of students in the humanities and social sciences. By 2003, only Economics, Chinese Literature, and Foreign Literature provided undergraduate education. The rest, including Anthropology, Sociology, History, Linguistics, and Philosophy, only had graduate degree programs in

place. The limited size of the undergraduate student body impeded the teaching and learning of gender studies at FU. The Gender and Culture curriculum, developed by the RPTS, was designed for undergraduate learning as a part of the general education curricula. The idea of expanding the undergraduate sections for CHASS constituted a compromised yet innovative strategy for expanding gender studies teaching at FU. Thus, when Xingmei was elected as the Dean of the College, she proposed a plan to expand undergraduate education in CHASS. The interdisciplinary teaching program of gender studies is expected to grow in tandem with the increasing size of the undergraduate student body at CHASS.

The project of expansion proved to be a challenging task. One of the pathfinders commented that the formation of the undergraduate interdisciplinary department was intensely political. Although one of the proposals was that the gender studies teaching program could be included within the design of CHASS's undergraduate education, successful election of this option was highly uncertain. The proposal did not gain enough support from faculty senators to pass in the first round. Most of the disagreement came from natural sciences faculty senators. According to one pathfinder, such faculty members did not fully understand the nature and significance of interdisciplinary pedagogy in the humanities and social sciences and they were therefore skeptical about the expansion of the new department.

Eventually, the undergraduate-level Interdisciplinary Studies Department was established in 2002, after external reviewers positively evaluated the proposal at FU and the MOE then moved to support interdisciplinary studies in the social sciences. The design of the CHASS undergraduate program is different from that of traditional ones. The students of the interdisciplinary department do not have to declare their majors until they reach their third year in their program. Then, they can decide to focus on only one discipline, declare a concentration, or pursue interdisciplinary programs as their major. Xingmei and the affiliated scholars of the RPTS expect that the gender studies program will soon be listed as one of many majors or minors in the CHASS undergraduate curriculum, once the program is recognized by the university.

One of the pathfinders commented that the designing of the gender studies certificate program could be seen as a strategy to get the RPTS running again. It helped to tie faculty commitment to the identity of the field in their collaborative work to develop a gender studies curriculum. In addition, several pathfinders expect that after the degree-granting regulation part of University Law comes into effect, universities will be granted the right to offer educational degrees. Until then, the pathfinders can request the Administration to further elevate the teaching program to a degree-awarding graduate program.

### *Why not a Graduate Degree Progratn?*

The formation of any new degree program or traditional department became increasingly difficult as higher education systems underwent budget cuts and mergers. Particularly at FU, the weak bargaining power of CHASS deprived its faculty members of their most useful tools of persuasion. Three pathfinders expressed similar viewpoints regarding the proposal for a non-degree granting program for gender studies. They said that it would entail a time-consuming and complex micro-political struggle to bring the proposal to the senate meeting. They thought the project was likely to fail. The main reasons include the

lack of enthusiasm among affiliated faculty members, the minority status of CHASS and gender studies, the domineering structure of the natural sciences at FU, and the new MOE higher education policies, which favored restructuring and mergers.

The pathfinders affiliated with the program surmised that the project could not succeed without some sacrifice on the part of faculty members; people would have to be persistent and persuasive in playing the political game at FU. On the one hand, the proposal's success required a number of passionate faculty members who would be willing to engage in the struggle. No one, thus far, had shown such zeal or dedication. The proposal would have to be convincing and well argued. The leading pathfinders would have to constantly and persuasively discuss the proposal with other faculty senators to gain widespread collegial support. Some of them would have to be diplomatic and make use of their social networks in order to make it through the lobbying process. Some would like to muster student support, which, too, would enhance the probability of success.

On the other hand, since higher education had already expanded too rapidly in the mid-1990s, the MOE had changed its policy to stress accountability and enhancement of quality of higher education. The MOE initiated new policies in order to control the growth of the overall number of students and faculty at each public university and to maintain institutional autonomy in how universities (re)structure themselves. The new mandate turned institutional politics into a daily common practice in universities to vie for resources and recognition. For minority departments, it became more difficult for them to propose the establishment of any new departments and less likely to gain support from the existing dominant departments (see also Chapter 5).

The majority of pathfinders perceived the current academic environment and the structural opportunities as unfavorable. Only one new graduate institute, the Graduate Institute of Taiwanese Culture Studies, had been recently founded at FU. It was worth noting that the institute was supported by the new ruling party from the year 2000, the Democratic Progress Party (DPP), which promoted Taiwanese cultural studies in an effort to construct a Taiwanese consciousness in the education process. Gender studies, however, lacked the political soundness and academic rigor to garner educational authority in Taiwan. The team therefore never proposed a serious plan for a degree-granting program in the meetings of the RPTS. The complex and time-consuming process of forming a degree program foiled any attempt by faculty members to fight for a highly politicized and unlikely-to-succeed projects. Due to the tacit but rigid demand of the "publish or perish" principle at FU, a high-risk task such as the one of pushing for a degree-granting gender program, attracted few if any willing pathfinders.

Among the prevailing views, two of the pathfinders pointed out, in particular, the importance of establishing a scholarly identity in relation to the institutionalization of the new marginal field in the university. One said,

> The interdisciplinary teaching program appeared to be a more realistic project. We learned that we had to do it step by step. In addition, I don't see any one of us wanting to change our scholarly identity, giving up our home departments and becoming a gender studies faculty member… Of course, you could hire into the program junior faculty who specialize in gender studles. However, hiring and budgeting have to go through a time-

> consuming process of negotiation with the administration, which makes it more complex and difficult. No one wants to take on such a load.

The other pathfinder affirmed that, up to that point, no one had given serious thought to creating a department or a graduate degree-granting program. It became difficult, therefore, to forge a professional identity for gender studies.

> I found that a professional identity for the gender studies family had not been formed. However, it is a key element in being successful in building a department or a graduate degree program…. I do not think the objective condition is a problem. You see, we already have two gender studies graduate degree programs in two universities. Don't you think that our university has a better capacity for passing the screening and being recognized by the MOE? Then why don't we even try?… It is because no one takes gender studies seriously enough to announce that it is one of his/her major specialties… Gender studies is built up from the ground, and therefore relies for support on affiliated scholars identifying with the new field. If such subjective identity is weak, how can you expect a formalized structure to appear and be institutionalized?

Both of these two pathfinders pointed out that identities attached to discipline-based departments were academically strong. They argued that the institutionalization of an interdisciplinary field of gender studies is likely to be constrained, not only by academic institutions, but also by vested interests and the subjectivity of discipline-based feminist scholars. Such observations coincide with Allen's (1997) analysis of the "institutionally fragile" structure of women's studies in the United States. In the case of Taiwan, as well, the possibility of professionalizing women's studies, as an interdisciplinary field, has been bleak.

### *The Downtime*

Several pathfinders in this study showed their concern for the declining energy of the research center. A female pathfinder described how the inactivity of the RPTS was disappointing to some affiliated faculty. She attributed the decline in research activities to the absence of leadership and structural fit at FU. First, satisfactory performance review of the organization depends upon the extent to which its coordinator and her/his team created advance plans to attract students and other faculty to participate in the activities of the RPTS. Since women's studies addresses a wide variety of topics, involving the widely ranging specialties of each leader, the program sometimes has failed to attract its targeted audience, which has contributed to declining participation. Moreover, compared to the past, there has been an absence of large research projects that would attract both faculty members and students who would participate and generate visibility through discussions. It was precisely this kind of lively and voluntary academic activity that has decreased in recent years. Second, the majority of faculty have, in recent years, been occupied with their teaching, research, and service loads; they have had less spare time to devote to the RPTS. Because the research program has yet to be institutionalized as a

formal unit at FU, all contributing work has been regarded as an extra load and sacrifice on the part of the associated academicians. This perception became acutely manifest when it came time to elect a new leader. It became clear that no one desired to take on the load of this extra duty. In addition, it is understandable that as women's studies grew less marginalized, and as symbolic and cultural capital became more attached to individual scholarly publications and less importance was given to being a member at the RPTS, rendering administrative support for the program become an unwanted burden for many affiliated scholars.

One male professor, in contrast, had a different explanation for the general perception of this downtime, or low energy. He commented that, based on the various historical conditions in which the RPTS was situated, its leaders might come up with different ideas to facilitate the development of women's studies.

> We had minimum regular activities to keep us alive during different historical moments. For instance, we regularly held speeches, taught introductory gender studies courses in general education and recruited junior faculty members who were interested in gender studies. We had a small space and a library with a collection of books and research materials. Beyond these, the momentum of the RPTS very much depended on the variety of situations and conditions we were exposed to. For example, different leaders came with different ideas and considerations. They might have created and made things happen differently.

Another male pathfinder[7] believed the decline was very much tied to the degree of the commitment of affiliated scholars. Their commitment, however, was largely affected by both the "shadow structure" of women's studies and the absence of professional identification with the new field. He said: "Without formal recognition, the space it kept was nothing more than a physical entity with a token existence. The affiliated faculty had neither the duty nor the right to this intellectual space." This pathfinder additionally pinpointed that if the scholars' professional identity in women's studies was not yet in place, or if their willingness to advocate women's studies was not strong enough, it was the very structure that had greater power to shape the pattern of their participation in and development of women's studies. He observed:

> This stagnant nature of the program has remained for years. Most of us now participate in the program with low energy. I only see two scholars as genuine advocates who've deeply engaged and considered the research program as their own obligation…. If the research program is not a substantial unit, a department for example, or has its own regular budget, it is no more than a marginal program… It, then, relies entirely on the commitment of the scholars…. When I was the coordinator, I assessed how much time the affiliated faculty could commit to the program. I have to say, overall, that the willingness of the scholars was very low.

A lack of scholarly identity for gender studies, as this pathfinder stressed, was the most important factor accounting for the inactivity of RPTS. He commented that there might be a domino effect leading from no identity, to no commitment, to a lack of willingness, and finally to no concerted action. Without a strong professional identity, the field cannot be developed further and the RPTS will remain a "shadow structure" forever. He said:

> It seemed that the status of our gender studies was stuck…. Neither on the rise nor declining. It is impossible to dissolve the research program, yet the weak commitment has hindered the program from moving forward…. It seems to me that we have been merely satisfied with the sheer existence of the program, and patting ourselves on the back for not letting it die.

Xingmei, based on her administrative experience, opined that the success of any interdisciplinary program depends on the degree of its institutionalization in academe. In other words, the "institutionally fragile" status of a program would indicate a lack of formalization. She pointed out, "Whether the field is a core or a margin, institutionalization is the key to survival. Once institutionalized, the field will be recognized by academia. If not, it won't be placed in the structures of rewards and resource allocation. It thus attains nothing from the institutions that is crucial to developing and maintaining its vitality." Yet, she expressed faith in the possibility of establishing a degree-granting program. As of 2003, four separate graduate institutes of gender studies have been formed in Taiwan (see Appendix C). The field has built up some sort of symbolic capital. Moreover, the highest organ of research institutes, the National Science Council, and the Ministry of Education, have formally recognized women's studies as, at least, a subfield in the contemporary funding structure of academia in the late 1990s.

> The two degree programs had been formed and…they all got recognition from the MOE. No doubt that there is the possibility for us to establish a graduate degree program of gender studies in the future…. Gender studies has become a subfield, eligible for research funding. The MOE formally funded us for developing the interdisciplinary teaching program. All this recognition has meant that gender studies has been partially institutionalized, and become central among other more marginal fields.

However, Xingmei did not agree with any reduction of explanation about institutionalization without taking into consideration the local situations and contexts. The historical context itself justified the evolution of women's studies. For her, women's studies was the product as well as the force that helped to shape, and has been shaped by, universities in Taiwan.

> The women's studies has evolved in a historical process. Every structure is a product shaped by contemporary higher education systems. Sometimes some people criticized why the research programs of gender studies had been shaped this way but not in another way…. They saw these programs were too conservative or anti-activist…. My own opinion

> was that prior to making your evaluation, you need to understand the evolutionary process in its temporal and relational contexts. Placed in context, you may be better able to understand that they made the best choices possible given the realities of those times. I think an evolutionary process of one type or another is inevitable. Unless you have no limitation or institutional constraints, you have limited choices in designing and developing a desired trajectory for women's studies in universities.

The downtime, the shadow structure or institutional fragility, and the lack of professional identity of gender studies were not unique to Taiwan. In the late 1990s, American feminist scholars discussed how to promote and continue women's studies into the next century, particularly within the down-time in higher education (Allen, 1997; Brown, 1997). Professionalization of the field or institutional adaptation was one of the strategies to move gender studies forward, which was similarly emphasized in Xingmei's narrative.

> To achieve this objective will take planning, professionalism, intellectual rigor, and an unambiguous convictlon that the academy is a critical site for feminist intervention. It also will take collective will to deliver the interdisciplinary potential of our field, in both research and teaching…. The choice no longer remains not to enter our institutional politics fully and effectively…. In order to be effective, we need a place at the table from which to bargain, negotiate, and battle. The chair in the corner, self-consciously marginal, is not giving us that effectivity (Allen, 1997, p. 380–1).

### *Networking and Non-Networking Outside the RPTS*

Other kinds of feminist networking seemed to be rare at FU. Two or three pathfinders appeared on the list of networked scholars of Women's Studies Research Unit at YU and helped review student theses or the *Journal's* manuscripts. Since the Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association (TFSA) was formed in 1993, only two of the affiliated scholars of the RPTS have become longstanding members of the association. One of them was recently elected to be the Director. Another female pathfinder recalled her participation in TFSA in the beginning. She soon found that she was not the type of person who could be articulate in public meetings. Moreover, after she realized there were only a few persons representing the Association whose ideas she might not agree with, she quit her membership.

The reason why few pathfinders at FU networked with other kinds of women's organizations is that they saw themselves as more or less activists working from within and through academia rather than in a movement. Some of them believed that the demands and contribution of academic research were different from those of women's movements. The two should be complementary rather than conflicting. Their stances reflect the two-winged development of the women's movement and women's studies in Taiwan. The former has promoted the fusion of academics and activism, while the latter, in line with the ideologies of FU's pathfinders, was inclined to construct an alternative

cultural site in order to generate and disseminate counter-hegemonic discourse and knowledge.

Although the group identity of the RPTS has not been so clearly formed, its emphasis on academic research is widely known. The group's hidden identity at times has exerted pressure on those who have attempted to fuse academic life with social activism. For example, one of the pathfinders strongly felt the onset of group pressure as she collaborated with the Awakening local branch in the same city where FU is located. An orientation of social activism sometimes got her in trouble. She reflected upon her time with the RPTS:

> My term as the coordinator coincided with upheavals in social movements and student activism. I felt the alliance with these organizations came naturally…. Some of the team members disagreed with my agenda. They were afraid that my political goal might damage the purity of the academic rigor that was very much emphasized in CHASS…. Some were not happy about my networking with Awakening at all. Since the splinter between women's movements and women's studies in the early 1990s hurt some of the affiliated scholars, they thought that my initiative to ally with Awakening was tantamount to being disloyal to the team. But I thought that the less-than-amicable relationship between the two camps belonged to the older generation, not me. I did not want to bear this residual burden…. There existed diverse ideas and multiple identities in this group. They had different reasons and motivations [social, intellectual, political] for participating in the RPTS. Because of this I faced a lot of pressure to lead this program.

Another female pathfinder observed that the presence and achievements of women's studies scholars as well as women's movement activists were vital for both the development of women's movements and women's studies. Even so, her choice was to stick with teaching and research.

> I felt that the majority of the feminist circle emphasized more praxis than research…. I appreciated those who jumped into the women's movements and combined activism with intellectual goals. However, at the same time, I think we did too little research, which was important to the feminist praxis, Feminist research provided us a systemic lens, through which we came to understand the problems and issues regarding women or gender relations…. Some scholars emphasized and practiced the fusion between activism and academic focus. That should have been applauded. But most of the time, I felt that the social issues had not been sufficiently explored to allow for a better grasp of its' social meanings. If we could not back up women-related issues with research, then reforms or policy-making debates were bound to be less effective…. Plus, every discipline had its own gender blindness. We had not exerted efforts to revamp them…. There was a lot of room for improvement in constructing feminist

> discourses, which would be firmly based on our academic research accomplishments.

Fortunately, despite some tension between academics and the activism, the conflicts never splintered the RPTS group and the women's organizations. As the TFSA made a collective effort in 2002 to review the patriarchal culture that constituted masculine practices in the universities, it also began a gradual pattern of collaboration within academia. The Association aimed to re-construct the academy as a powerful cultural site where feminist professionals could innovate and formalize the field together. Through a collective affirmation of feminist subjectivity, consciousness about women's studies was expected to rise.

## DOING TEACHING AND RESEARCHING

In the second part of this chapter, I discuss the pathfmders' personal experiences of teaching and doing research in gender studies. This section includes some of the experiences of pathfinders from universities other than FU in order to explicate more fully the current situation of women's studies and the structural disadvantages of doing feminist research in Taiwan's academia. In addition to co-teaching general education courses in gender studies, the active members of the RPTS regularly taught in their departments a variety of courses concerning women and gender. Through "doing," these pathfinders have been able to enact their subjectivity as feminist scholars and spread a feminist consciousness on campus. They see their contributions in teaching that enable them to experience a healing process, do activism in the classroom, and reconstruct alternative viewpoints through developing feminist perspectives.

### *A Healing Process*

Agnes loves to teach with a focus on romantic and marital relationships in Chinese literature. She has found that the image of women in non-official histories or stories differed from that of women in the legitimate literary canon. Traditionally, compared to men, women were portrayed as less intelligent and more dependent beings. In contrast, in unofficial social fiction and biography, women were described as charming and witty. From this discovery, Agnes deconstructed the traditional images of women in which she had been socialized and which she had internalized since childhood. The indulgence in teaching and research about women's lives, for Agnes, has served as a healing process, which has allowed her to reconstruct womanhood and to redefine the subjectivity of women of the past as well as for herself. She discovered that she had been conditioned into believing that her ultimate destiny, as a woman, would have been to marry to a reliable man.

> There are abundant social histories depicting women's characters that are different [from those in the official history or knowledge]. They are smart, brave, and admirable. But they only appear in local and non-academic literature [which is not officially recognized as knowledge]. For me, such

> female characters and their lives are a more accurate portrait mirroring the characteristics of women. They are not weak, stupid or unattractive…. Much of the officially legitimate literature has distorted women by means of patriarchal control.

Although she enjoyed teaching women in literature, the department valued her classes less than they did standard courses, dubbing them trivial and lacking in academic rigor.

> I was literally kicked out in spite of my 20+ years of contribution to the department. Although the department head was an old friend of mine, he could not protect me from my staunch opponents in the department or the administration. The Academic Affairs Office pressured the department head: "How can your department allow such a course to be taught?"My status as an adjunct instructor did not allow me to attend the department meetings to defend myself…. I did not want to teach any other courses but the ones that focused on women's lives in literature. So, I searched for another home…. It was Lingxi who helped me to stay in general education and to become an affiliated academician of the RPTS… I enjoyed the friendships in the gender studies group. I also did some learning in this new setting, and changed my approach from teaching through the medium of pure literature to teaching and doing research about women's lives, from the viewpoints of women.

### *Classroom as a Movement Site*

Lingxi considered gender studies to be a kind of movement in and of itself. She integrated gender components into every course she was teaching. She hoped her students could raise their level of consciousness through the learning process and become empowered to take action in changing unequal gender relations.

> I have perceived my gender studies teaching as a form of intellectual movement that can be effected within the teaching and learning process. As a teacher, I believe that I am delivering something important to my students. I expect my students discuss and absorb those important ideas and thoughts. No matter what you teach, if you do not believe that your teaching is meaningful, you are likely to render yourself and your job meaningless. Should this happen, teaching becomes an agonizing job…. If the students don't accept my ideas, I will receive the criticism as a positive challenge and seek ways to overcome it. That was why I believe teaching implies an activism and a social meaning in its own right.

### *Feminist Perspective is Powerful and Provoking*

For Emily, the feminist perspective is powerful. It empowers students and scholars to see the world in an entirely different light. It differs from approaches that treat women as a variable or factor in research.

> Interest and commitment are different. When a scholar is interested in teaching women's studies, s/he might see gender as a mere research variable. Taking a feminist perspective to see the world involves critical thinking with a focus on women. It guides you to single out gender not as a factor but a construct used to reveal the power relations and arrangements that subordinate women as a disadvantaged group.

Emily was attracted to feminist studies during her graduate study overseas. She made up her mind to commit to feminist studies in her field. She integrated gender components into her teaching and participated in team-teaching the gender courses of the RPTS. She never doubted her identity as a feminist scholar. Nevertheless, she preferred research to teaching, and preferred teaching to administrative services or activism. She made it clear to her colleagues that she would not assume any leadership role prior to becoming a full professor. Becoming a serious scholar was her primary career goal. Although she felt that the fusion of activism, academic scholarship and feminist research were all important to the future of women's movements and women's studies, she followed her heart. Thereby, she pursued feminist research and spared some time to take part in other collective actions organized by feminist groups.

In addition to recognizing the power of the feminist perspective, Tina, another pathfinder at FU, enjoyed teaching and doing research about gender studies. She forged close relationships with a small group of students. They explored the differences visible in the experiences of women from different eras and also shared their own life histories with each other, which greatly enriched their learning and understanding of the conditions faced by women from different time periods. In her experience, the teaching and learning of feminist thinking empowered both students as well as the instructor to affirm a gender equitable society, which would better serve everyone.

Tina gave me an example of how an adult-learner, who was allowed to audit her class, broadened everybody's horizons. This adult learner brought in her gendered and sexual experiences from the time Taiwanese society transitioned from a closed society to an open one. She talked freely and discussed the controversial issue of two young college lovers who lived together in the early 1990s. At the time, she was also a college student. To Tina's amazement, she was leading a group discussion about watching exotic adult movies. Through the experiences this adult learner shared with the rest of the class, everyone was able to learn something about unknown aspects of the recent history of college students' knowledge and practices of sexuality from a decade or so ago, which reflected how the society managed to control and limitedly tolerate sex prior to marriage. Thus, Tina has appreciated the diversity of student representation in the class, which has allowed discussions to take on more meaning in revealing gender relations from a variety of perspectives. The diversity and depth of experiences have provided essential evidence of the dynamic and hybrid society within which gender relations have been shaped in Taiwan. She hopes that through a systematic understanding of complex and dynamic gender relations, students can be empowered to take action in molding their future careers, changing family relations in their daily lives, and gradually reconstructing the entire society.

### *Women's Studies vs. Study of Sexualities*

Several pathfinders were particularly concerned about a dramatic turn to the study of sexualities in the year 1994, which permeated the overall teaching of gender studies. The study of sexualities is primarily promoted by the Center of the Study of Sexualities[8] at National Central University in Taiwan, focusing on the theme of sexuality in relation to gender and other social categories such as class, race, age, able body, and so forth.

This change in gender studies did not come about so abruptly, however. It was associated with the politics of difference generated by different women's groups—e,g., policy-reform vs. sexual liberation—and with feminist ideologies imported from Western academia—e.g., socialist feminism vs. postmodernism. The cultural discussion of sexuality and women's desires first appeared among a small group of young feminists on campuses during the early 1990s. *Awakening Magazine* published a special issue in 1992 called "I Love Women" and initiated group discussion and writing about women's sexual desires, fantasies, and experiences. At a demonstration staged against sexual harassment in May 1994, Josephine Ho, a foreign literature professor, cried out, "Yes to orgasm, No to harassment!" The shocking slogan immediately caught the attention of the public media and received wide coverage. The audacious slogan and unanticipated public attention misdirected the focus of the demonstration from opposition of sexual harassment to proposing sexual liberation (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).

Furthermore, the most popular and influential book authored by Josephine Ho, *The Gallant Woman*, published later in the same year, firmly laid the groundwork for a new discourse about sexual orientations and the emergent sexual liberation movement in Taiwan. The book advocated sexual performance that would liberate women from sexual taboos; it permitted women to enjoy sex. *A* "gallant woman" described one who was able to deconstruct the "virgin cathexis," and to break the psychological control of women by the logic of "gain and loss" in sex relations. The logic of sex, according to the patriarchal rules, has been that, if a woman loses her virginity, which is the ultimate socially ascribed value for women, the deflowering man becomes the winner in the exchange of sex relations, and gains all of the social advantages of asserting rights of control over her.

The sexual liberation movement has also applied its discursive politics to issues concerning the rights of other sexual-orientation minorities such as gays and lesbians, transvestites, and transgendered individuals. When they first appeared, Josephine Ho's provocative writings and speeches attracted not only young college feminists, but also the media. This attention helped to spread elements of the new sexuality discourse across Taiwan (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).

In addition, the institutionalization of sexuality studies at the National Central University has accrued to it a nationwide reputation as the academic headquarters of sexuality studies since 1995. Josephine Ho and her group have led and generated the academic discourses about sexuality. They have promoted the sexual liberation of sexual minorities—e.g., homosexuals, transsexuals, sex workers—while, controversially, taking an ambiguous stance toward sexual harassment and the sex industry. Despite the fact that they have enriched gender studies in Taiwan, Ho's radical standpoint has brought about conflict and debate within the sexual liberation and women's movement camps of feminism. The two camps differ in their agendas. While the sexual liberation group sides

with sex workers, the older women's movement members advocate anti-pornography and anti-exploitation of women's bodies, including support of the abolishment of legal prostitution and the sex industry in the late 1990s (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).

One female pathfinder at FU did not see the changes in terms of the debate brought on by sexuality studies as a promising new area for gender studies in Taiwan. She found that several of her colleagues had difficulty in pulling back young college students to study the history of feminism. She believed that allowing the students to make the broad leap away from feminist theories to sexuality studies deprived the students of a chance to formulate their own ideas; instead, students were reduced to becoming copy-cats of others' thoughts and styles of action. Consequently, students were naively led to believe that bodily sexual performance was sufficient to liberate the disciplined body and sexual control. For this pathfinder, social reality, however, does not change from a mere exhibition of physical displays of sexual performance. She observed and reflected,

> It was easy for the students to use their bodies for experiments. I found a lot of these students had not read or reflected upon sexuality theories. Nor had they been interested in understanding that feminist thinking underscored sexuality liberation. They thought theories were outdated. Only performance counted…. I did not agree with the sexual performance perspective. Alone, it could not change social structures. I thought these students were brainwashed rather than empowered. Sensational practices could not equate with feminist action…. Without an acute awareness of the socio-cultural dimensions of gender relations and sexuality, each subject became egoistic and each performance was isolated in its own bodily practices. Liberation for a person, for me, did not equal liberation for the genders.

This pathfinder was not alone in expressing such concern. Three other pathfinders concurred.[9] They affirmed that structural analysis and organized action were still important in promoting women's movement, as well as in advocating women's studies in academia, where women academicians have been persistently discriminated against as a group. Nevertheless, several younger pathfinders from other universities in this study expressed different viewpoints, which complemented the absent angle from FU. One of them thought that the discursive politics represented a path different from that of Taiwan's women's movement. In addition, it was evident in policy-making that a large part of the public resources had been and was still being allocated to the welfare wing of the women's movement, rather than to the sexual liberation movement groups. The women's welfare camp would not be threatened by and therefore separate itself from the sexual liberation camp.

Another pathfinder explained that younger college students were attracted to sexual liberation discourses not because they held little concern for structural change, but because they were deeply disappointed with the process of democratic transition and the political leaders in Taiwan. They felt that the political debates about nationalism and the politics of ethnicity belonged to the older generations of Taiwan, or to the older generation of politicians, at least. These issues were not of great import compared to the everyday politics and practices embedded in sexual relations or gendered bodily

experiences. The body and sexuality were an immediate concern they faced in college and in their daily life practices.

The other pathfinder at YU thought it was largely a question of the faculty's competence and responsibilities, rather than a lack of motivation on the part of students, that rendered the feminist theories classes less marketable. She did not agree with some of the complaints of faculty members that students might be blindly drawn to what was academically fashionable (that is, post-feminist perspectives), rather than to a serious study of various feminist theories. Conversely, she admired those scholars who taught in the Sex/Gender Studies Program at National Central University since they knew how to make queer theories and sexuality issues attractive and provocative. That was why they were able to attract a great number of young students to this particular study interest.

### *Research and Promotion*

Since its establishment, academic research has been highly emphasized at Formosa University. The demands and standards of promotion were set by the gatekeepers at FU based in the natural sciences. One female pathfinder felt it was unfair, and acted to disadvantage the academicians of CHASS. She explained: "Researching and writing for publication in the humanities and the social sciences are more time-consuming, and because they are highly contextualized to local situations, these publications may not attract readership from abroad."

Readership was also held down by language issues that exacerbated difficulties encountered vis-à-vis the diffusion of knowledge industries. On the one hand, diffusion of knowledge by translation was usually delivered from the center to the periphery. On the other hand, scientific languages are more simplified and standardized compared to those of humanities and social sciences. Since most of the scholars of the natural sciences and technology fields are required to publish in English, the exchanges and communication among scientists occur with more ease than those between the scholars of the humanities and the social sciences. Conversely, scholars of the humanities and the social sciences, more often than not, use their national languages for publication. Their research interests are more attached to the socio-cultural meanings underlying their own societies. The language thus limits much of the work of Third World academicians from, for instance, appearing in the Social Sciences Citation Index in the English-speaking world.

These socio-cultural differences between the natural sciences and the humanities and social sciences have not been taken into account officially. In response to the new policies of the Ministry of Education, which are purportedly designed to enhance academic quality, and in an effort to compete for increasingly scarce academic resources, FU has relied on quantity, rather than quality, to determine who qualifies for rewards and promotions. It has created a great deal of pressure on every CHASS scholar to stick to the tenure clock since they committed to teaching at FU.

Regarding this problem, Mike showed another point of view. He observed that the teaching and other activities in gender studies at FU had increased the significance of the field in the university as well as in academia at large. The teaching of gender courses is now widely accepted at any university; however, research on gender has not yet been legitimized, for it involves getting past gatekeepers who do not necessarily understand or

appreciate gender studies. Mike has used a different strategy to prevent his works from being discredited:

> I haven't relied on gender studies to get promoted… Gender studies has made up one-half or one-third of all my ongoing projects. The primary publications I have used for promotion have not been in gender studies…. If any feminist scholar has wanted to adopt an integration strategy to promote gender studies, she has needed to know how to build herself up academically, with a diverse genre of research publications. I would suggest that diversity is an effective way to make you viable and to sustain the commitment to feminist studies.

Lingxi thought promotions at FU were less politically oriented due to the size and standards of CHASS. Compared to Yushan University, she felt the peer evaluation process was more lucid and less likely to be manipulated by different factions that were evident in some cases at YU. Although the pressure to publish was tangible, Lingxi never worried about her promotion. She conducted research on a variety of topics related to social reform. Social responsibilities, for Lingxi, were no less important than academic achievements. Nonetheless, she was promoted within the expected average time interval of six to eight years.

The younger generation of pathfinders has been more anxious about promotion since the tenure track system underwent change in 1994. Added to it was a new, lower-ranking assistant professorship, below an associate professorship. The new faculty structure now approximates that typically found in the United States. As a consequence, it takes more time for a scholar to become a full professor. The risks involved in doing alternative studies distant from conventional research are likely to escalate due to strict promotional reviews.

In response to the new review structure, Tom proposed that the group provide unflinching support to any junior faculty's desire to develop and enhance their gender studies research. He believed it would be an effective strategy to legitimate gender research, without necessarily getting support from their departments.

> It would be better if the junior faculty members were able to conduct collaborative research projects with the RPTS, which would benefit both parties… Then, when these junior faculty members apply for promotion, they can at least expect due support from the senior scholars of the RPTS, who have been the major springboard of their gender studies. Although there were only a few faculty members who understood or sympathized with gender studies in the early 1990s, the situation has now changed.

In fact, it was the strategies developed by the RPTS team in the beginning stages that were instrumental to building up both the organizational and personal capacities to generate economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital for gender studies. Such a collective effort helped the field to become institutionalized at FU. Annie hoped that these kinds of group projects could continue to effectively organize the team in producing gender studies research and, thus, recovering the original spirit of the RPTS. After all, the

RPTS is the symbolic power of feminist scholarship in the university. Annie believed that group efforts could strengthen feminist research and the teaching of individual scholars, and thus enhance the four forms of capital for the RPTS.

As for the degree to which feminist research has extended its influence to academia-related spheres outside the universities, it has very much rested upon the individual cultural and symbolic capital accrued from her/his academic performance. Several pathfinders in this study, for example, complained that the research proposals they submitted to the National Science Council (NSC) were rejected several times. They attributed the rejection to the academic gatekeepers who had a gender bias against feminist studies. Some other pathfinders acknowledged this problem but held an additional viewpoint. They agreed that there existed some problems of research quality in this new field, and that it interfered with issues of academic control among the gatekeepers. Larry, a professor at FU, took an intermediate viewpoint on this issue:

> The NSC has set up gender studies as a subfield attached to two disciplines: Sociology and Foreign Literature. This signifies that gender studies …has obtained legitimacy in a number of traditional disciplines…. There are two reasons explaining why some feminist scholars have failed to garner research funding from the NSC. First, the gatekeepers might not understand gender studies, as was heard in the complaints made by the scholars. Second, the issue could be regarding the "not so impressive" quality of the proposals. Even if the reviewers sympathized with your study, they could give you a high score…. I don't think it's right to say that because doing gender studies is politically correct, the NSC must grant you its resources without taking the quality into account.

Quality issues counted as a primary concern in the new policy of higher education. The incumbent Minister of Education, Jong-tsun Huang, mentioned in his interview that while he was head of the Institute of the Humanities and Social Sciences at NSC, he accomplished the difficult task of setting up standards to rank the academic journals named in the Taiwanese Social Sciences Citation Index (TSSCI). He believed he had elevated the status of the Humanities and Social Sciences by installing the quality indexes for these fields. In particular, he pointed out that the collective efforts of the humanities and the social sciences were not enough to make the claim that the NSC discriminated against the social sciences or other marginal academic areas. With the new standards, each discipline was able to develop its own means to enhance their research capacities and to promote their fields. Before making complaints, the scholars of the humanities and social sciences needed to prove to the public their academic competence and quality in research. If they felt that academic standards were unjust, they needed to work together to change the existing standards.

The minister's assertions not withstanding, the quality issue was not so simple. Four pathfinders clearly disagreed with the new rules and academic standards for TSSCI. In their view, each discipline should have its own priorities and concerns in assessing research quality. NSC's academic standards do not take into account the methodological disparities among disciplines and are not appropriate to each discipline of the humanities

and social sciences. Thus, the majority of the scholars in these fields were left to feel that quantity prevailed over quality.

According to Mike and two pathfinders at YU, the new ranking system made it hard for novel or alternative journals to survive. There are five levels of ranking according to the new standards defined by NSC. The first-level journals count as the best, the fifth-level ones as the worst. Taking the WRU's *Journal* as an example, it is evaluated as a third-level journal because it publishes annually. Since the *Journal* had limited submission of manuscripts, it was improper to expect the *Journal* to expand immediately from an annual to a quarterly publication in order to reach the minimum requirement to be counted as a leading journal. When a new or marginal journal such as the WRU's *Journal* is evaluated as a poor academic publication, it means that it will receive fewer points in the academic evaluation and fewer scholars will submit their papers to it. In this vicious cycle, it becomes increasingly difficult for such a journal to elevate itself to a quarterly journal.

Seeing the limitations and flaws of the new standards, some of the pathfinders affirmed that the new rules were created to maintain the status quo rather than to nurture fledgling or marginal fields in desperate need of financial support and academic recognition. Research quality and recognition have recently become important issues not only for the pathfinders at FU, but also for most other feminist scholars who engage in gender studies in Taiwanese universities. These issues have become a cultural site where feminist scholars have encountered academic authorities in order to assure the legitimation of feminist scholarship in academia.

## MEN DOING WOMEN'S/GENDER STUDIES

In Taiwanese society, harmonious relations between women and men are highly emphasized. In part because the divorced or celibate status of several of the women's movement organization leaders became known to the public in the 1980s, reactionary forces quickly stereotyped the women's movement in Taiwan as man-hating movements. The stigma wrought by such instances of backlash forced those involved in women's studies and the women's movement into a costly defensive position. The founders of the WRU at YU, and some of the leaders in women's movement organizations, such as the Homemakers' Union & Foundation, consequently softened their movement agendas by proclaiming their aim to promote an intact family structure and harmonious relations between the sexes. Thus it was not surprising to find some women activists and scholars willing to invite men to be allies of women's studies and women's movements, in the hopes that it might help to ward off the social bias attached to feminism as a so-called man-hating ideology.

A number of men scholars who either engaged in gender studies or supported women's rights and feminist scholarship gained wide recognition as scholars in gender studies. Six men participants of this study currently engaged in women's studies. Three of them were recognized gender studies scholars or had declared themselves feminists. One of them, apt at playing the political game, succeeded in establishing the first degree-granting graduate program of gender studies in one of the most conservative universities in the south. Another had published a number of popular books that were widely used as

teaching materials. The third one had done historical studies of Taiwan's women's movement and gay movement. They all enjoyed social recognition as scholars of gender studies. One of them expressed ambiguous feelings toward the circle of feminist women scholars, for he felt he was excluded from this social network (see also Chapter 4).

At FU, it was not uncommon to find male professors on the list of RPTS members. Four of them became coordinators of the research program; this is a significant number because they made up two-fifths of the RPTS' total coordinators by 2003. The unusually high representation generated a curiosity about how these men professors saw themselves engaged in women's studies and how women professors reacted to them.

Andrew, who was involved in the RPTS from its inception, noted that the feminist circle kept a skeptical view of men involved in women's studies. He referred to himself as a scholar who was interested in sexuality studies, and declared himself an ally of the feminists. An ally meant that he might not belong to any feminist groups but politically supported women's rights movement. Despite his cautious description of his identity and affiliation, he recalled two instances that clearly reflected the attitudes of women feminists toward men doing gender studies in the early 1990s.

> The only time [that I remembered that] anyone raised a question about why I was involved in women's studies was at a luncheon held by the WRU at Yushan University. It v as related to feminist research. The well-known female professor at YU cast a harsh question to me: "Why are you, a so-called ally to feminists, attending this meeting of feminist studies?… An ally means that you do not agree with the feminist standpoint. I think all you want is to reap the academic benefits that feminists have so strenuously gained over many years." This female professor took a very strong stance in asking me such a question. Of course I responded and explained my position. However, I doubt my explanation was accepted.

In the second anecdote related by Andrew, he was the chair of a session in which his colleague was one of the presenters. Andrew said,

> Larry was a special case in men doing gender studies. He was a man who fit the standard description of men scholars. People were curious about how he had become affiliated with scholars of gender studies. At a women's studies conference that was held two years ago, he made a presentation. Obviously, during the Q&A session, most of the questions were directed at him, asking why he, as a male professor, was involved in gender studies. I was the chair of that session…. I closed the session with a parable; "When you see a monkey learning to ride a bike, you should compliment it. Say 'you're doing a great job.' Don't discourage it by saying 'You look stupid."' The same goes for men doing gender studies. Women scholars should encourage men by saying that they are brave. Why do you question thelr motives? Do these kinds of questions help to promote gender studies?

Andrew made clear that he was supportive of a kind of critical thinking that shared some common concerns with feminism. He said that both approaches essentially "oppose masculine hegemony and the patriarchal ideologies which have dominated the history of humankind. It is thus crucial to recover women's values, hear their voices, and create different kinds of social relations." Interestingly, Larry did not remember the incident that Andrew described. Given that men were still perceived as an advantaged group in the current academic context, Larry felt that men needed to be cautious of claiming themselves in public to be feminists.

> Politically, I did not call myself a feminist…. Years ago Sandra Harding gave a speech in Taiwan to encourage men to take a feminist perspective to do gender studies…but in Taiwan, I thought it was a natural reaction from women academicians in seeing a man scholar entering their field. We all knew that men, with all their social advantages, gained better and greater access to academic resources and knew how to skillfully appropriate the scarce resources allocated to a new field…. That was why women seemed to be skeptical of and concerned about men's motivations behind their participation in women's groups.

That's why Larry has never called himself a feminist. He explained:

> I always expressed myself as just an ally to the women's movement, politically and socially. For example, I joined one of the women's movement organizations, but kept a low profile, among the peripheral members. I contained myself within the boundary of research and intellectual affinity with feminism. As a result, women scholars never questioned my motives. In fact, women scholars were more interested in my reasons, rather than my political motives, in getting involved in gender studies… I did not want to be like the other men scholars who declared themselves to be feminists and publicly criticized the wrong decisions that the women's movement organizations had made for the movement. I think they were politically wrong to do so.

Maybe due to the political awareness that Larry had, he was invited by the RPTS team and was elected as the coordinator of the program in its early years. He thought such institutional incentive and the new opportunity that the program provided would attract male students to the gender program and some male academicians to join and commit to doing gender studies. He himself was an example.

> I could not deny that the presence of institutional arrangement would attract some men to engage in gender studies…. During an RPTS election for a new coordinator, they chose me. I asked the team, "Is it proper to have a man leading the program?" Since they had no problem with my gender, I accepted. For me, it was the very institutional support that legitimized my participation in doing gender studies and leading the team.

Larry understood how the presence of male professors could facilitate learning and encourage other male students and faculty to engage in gender studies.

> Particularly in teaching, I frequently told my students to give attention to feminism. Otherwise, they might lose their advantages without learning it…. Along with the increasing importance of gender studies at FU, the number of male students grew in courses taken, as well as in thesis proposals…. I thought with the participation of male professors from different fields, the RPTS now contained a critical mass of diversity that could stimulate different forms of development, and bring about positive results for gender studies nationwide.

Although the majority of the pathfinders at FU welcomed and accepted men doing gender studies, two female academicians offered keen observations and sharp comments on the difference between female and male professors doing gender studies. One said that despite the increase in number of male scholars and students in the second half of the 1990s, their participation was typically short-term in gender studies conferences and other types of activities. In contrast, women's steady dedication to advocating gender studies for over a decade demonstrated their commitment to the nascent field. It had required a great deal of courage to declare oneself a feminist or a women's studies scholar in such unfriendly environments during the early years. The breaking through and persisting in doing gender studies went beyond the scholarly interests of an academician. These women pioneers proved that feminist values had more profound impacts upon the definition of one's life goals and commitment.

Another female pathfinder proposed a metaphor, the theory of territory, to explain men doing gender studies.

> Women's studies became somewhat fashionable in the early 1990s. That was why some men colleagues showed interest in this new field. But commitment was not the same thing [as interest]. I observed that the activities of the men doing gender studies were akin to "territory-drawing theory." That is, their behavior could be likened to male dogs urinating here and there to mark their territory. They would not remain in one place for a long time. Women were different. They had long-term commitment… They were not there just to make a career; they believed in the importance of gender studies. The field was inextricably attached to the meaning of women's situations, women's existences, and women's lives.

One of the female pathfinders from a different university took a strong stance in response to the difference between men and women scholars in gender studies. She claimed that the discrimination based on sex was obvious in both academe and society. She displayed particular ambivalence toward the issue of men doing gender studies.

> Men should clarify themselves in public why they attempt to do gender studies. They should talk about men's experiences and be cautious not to

> dictate women how to do gender studies…. Most men I know hesitate to call themselves feminists in public. If they do not do so, they are likely to preserve certain ideas… For example, sexual liberation was the one obtaining most applause from men. As with family responsibilities, they could talk about it, but few could practice what they preached. As a matter of fact, men do a little but earn a lot of compliments from the society. You can see while men shared traditionally women's work, they amassed all the positive scores. In contrast, when women did not do it, they paid for it…. What's worse, they were likely to be stereotyped as "strong women," whose work was often devalued.

This pathfinder was particularly angry as she heard some complaints from men scholars who were involved in women's studies. She pointed out that unless the patriarchal culture in universities was transformed, it made no sense for men to "whine" about the lack of trust or misunderstanding from feminist scholars. Nevertheless, she also felt discontent toward women scholars who depended on men's authority rather than pursuing the autonomy that was critical to being a scholar and model for university students.

> The same thing happened in gender studies. When men did a little or gave up some tiny portion of men's privileges, they got a great deal of compliments. While women did women's studies or women's movements, they were socially perceived as aggressive persons and stigmatized as women guards demanding for their rights. The images of these women were against the traditional womanhood. People were scared of you and the universities were afraid of these women fighters exerting bad influences on students. This general reaction reflected how deeply the patriarchal beliefs were embedded in the culture of the universities. The masculine ethos was still strong. Even on campuses where men were the minority, masculine culture and practices still prevailed. Ironically, women also felt a need for preserving such culture and masculine authority. They felt safe and certain within patriarchal system…. I believed we still needed to keep on working hard to break up gender myths, so that we could affirm our subjectivity and generate an environment of gender equity for educating younger generations.

Brian's observations on men's access to other public resources also reflected his desire to address men's privileges. Brian, in his own example, admitted that he had received numerous invitations from the media to participate in talk shows that dealt with gender issues. He knew that because the media were eager to appear as if they were promoting balanced opinions between men and women, and tried hard not to be tagged as advocates of feminism, they intentionally favored putting men scholars on their TV shows to talk about feminism (as if the appearance in the popular media of *men* talking about *women's* issues somehow offered a balance of ostensibly feminist men's and feminist women's views of feminism). In addition, the concern over balancing opinions between men and women also appeared in policy-making committees of gender issues. The Committee for Gender Equity Education of the MOE is one example. Brian, based on his own

observations, was not surprised with the reactions from feminist scholars toward some men scholars of gender studies. He stressed that unless these men showed persistent commitment to engaging in gender studies and took a firm feminist standpoint, they were not going to be easily accepted by feminist circles in Taiwan.

Don had been involved in gender studies for over a decade. He felt anguish over his awkward situation as a male feminist:

> I turned out to be a "zhu-ba-jie" [a half human half pig character usually depicting a stupid and unwelcome person] after I had engaged in gender studies for over 10 years. Men did not see me as a man 'cause I had betrayed men. I thought I was a sister of women, but not every woman treated me as a sister. And now, even worse, I no longer had women friends…. I did not blame anyone. I realized my situation right after I started to conduct historical research on the women's movement in Taiwan.

Don reflected that his exclusion from feminist circles was due largely to his analysis and interpretation of the women's movement in Taiwan, in which he implicitly posited that patriarchal practices were also evident in women's movement organizations. Some women activists and feminist scholars expressed the view that his critique was too harsh or distorted the facts. After his book was published, he felt the reaction from feminist circles was very negative. He sensed that most feminist scholars were reluctant to discuss the book publicly and were hesitant, for instance, to write critiques or reviews of it in academic journals, or to argue their views on it at gender studies conferences.

Despite the cold reception of his book among feminists, he insisted on calling himself a radical feminist. He felt aligned with feminists' deep concern over how gender relations are constructed in society and how gender inequity is embedded in daily practices. He emphasized collective efforts to change the social hierarchy and to transform the patriarchal society of Taiwan. Nevertheless, several female pathfinders in my research did not appreciate his self-proclaimed feminist efforts. Some of them discredited the quality of his research, while others criticized him for merely appropriating the cultural and symbolic capital of feminist studies which had been strenuously accumulated by (legitimate) feminist scholars—only to be used by him to carve out a good career for himself in feminist studies.

Seven pathfinders from other institutions had no problem with men engaging in gender studies. They pointed, however, that it would be better for men to expand, enrich, and complement the field based on their unique experiences. They noticed that the issue of men doing gender studies was all associated with the politics of identity. The non-subordinated subjectivity that women have attempted to construct has conflicted with men's traditional privileges, which raises the question of why men would want to engage in gender studies. Unless these men also had an emotional stake and commitment in doing gender studies in their own way, they would not be easily welcomed or accepted within feminist circles. One female pathfinder analyzed the issue in the following way.

> It is about identity. For men who want to enter the field of women' studies, they need to demonstrate their commitrnents in doing so… I will

> suggest that they expand the field by studying masculinity, sexuality, and open up new space for gender studies in order to collaborate with us [women feminists]. In terms of legitimacy, they need to search for new issues. They cannot say that they can do women' studies because they understood women more than women understood themselves. They should find their own niches so they can legitimize their own thoughts and identities…. My opinion was that they could identify with women, but I want to know what their own concerns and positions are. Few men have demonstrated their sincere commitment. I have only seen one so far.

Four other pathfinders also agreed that if men joined gender studies, those men had better start a men's studies or take alternative approaches to conducting research. For example, they could focus on how men read pornography and take up the arguments against or for prostitution. While most of the pathfinders highlighted the differences between women and men doing gender studies, one of them particularly differentiated the attitudes among men and women. She felt it was important to search for allies who were not confined by a simple category of gender.

> Some men of the older generation have gender sensitivity. But some do not. The latter loudly say that they are male feminists and claim that they seriously promote gender studies. I am angry with these men. But on the other hand, the same situation is aiso found with women's studies scholars. If some so-called feminist scholars do not practice what feminism preaches, fail to put feminist values into daily life practice, or are unwilling to challenge structural power, I would say their feminist identities are very strange and they definitely can not be students' role models.

While agreeing with some of the arguments concerning the problematic nature of men doing gender studies, one of the pathfinders desired to take a leap out of the bipolar trap between women and men, in favor of feminist transformation. She suggested that feminists should leave behind the reactive response against men, or skepticism regarding men doing gender studies, and, instead, should take a more political attitude toward men—to change them and make them become important allies. She said, "We must take action to make things happen; for example, to educate male students and turn them into men feminists…. For me, there's no problem in a man becoming a feminist."

The question of men and their relationship to women's studies became significant as the field gained some respectability both in Taiwan and in western countries. There were two divergent viewpoints among feminist scholars. One saw the men who participated in women's studies as intruders into a small yet important space that women had created for women's use. This radical feminist viewpoint, represented clearly by Renate Klein (1989), insisted that "…*there is no room for men in WS, none whatsoever*… the only way for men to 'participate' in WS is to resp ect our circles and be supportive OUTSIDE WS. This may include using their 'old boy' connections to push our demands for financial support" (p. 106, p. 119, original emphasis).

The other viewpoint consisted of the positive stance of welcoming "progressive" men to participate in women's studies. The inclusion is built upon not only trust and acceptance from feminist scholars, but also a de-centering of authentic identities, "discrete, coherent, and absolutely separate identities …based upon absolute divisions between various sexual, racial or ethnic identities," from men and women alike, in favor of liberating knowledge and politics (Martin & Mohanty, 1986, cited in Harding, 1991, p. 110). The inclusion effort indeed requires a re-conceptualization of identity politics, as claimed by Harding (1991):

> many of us want to recruit women and men to feminism and other liberatory studies and politics. But people are not enthusiastic about participating in efforts where they are constantly told that they are the wrong kind of people and that their learning can only be passive… In order to invite people into our women's studies classes, as well as into our politics and scholarship, we need to devise liberatory agendas for all of the social identities our potential recruits carry. If we women, Blacks, and lesbians can create counter-"centric" agendas for ourselves, then so can men, whites, and heterosexuals. This de-centering of central identities appears contradictory; but in this world, what choices lack contradiction? (p. 110).

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have explored and discussed the emergence of women's studies at Formosa University since the early 1990s. The evolution of the field can be represented by a number of collective projects—the development of interdisciplinary gender studies curricula with a feminist perspective, the co-teaching of gender studies courses in general education, and the formation of a research program in gender studies. Despite the meager institutional support, the marginal status of CHASS, and the masculine culture still dominant at the university (centered on the natural sciences), the FU pathfinders have demonstrated their resilience and academic competence in seeking funding, conducting group projects, and organizing conferences. They have leveraged what little economic and social capital they have had in order to establish gender studies teaching and to legitimize feminist scholarship. In spite of the recent decline of the RPTS perceived by some pathfinders, the achievements of the RPTS are apparent. By 2003, about 30 courses related to gender studies had been institutionalized. Moreover, an increasing number of graduate students have conducted their thesis research on gender studies in recent years. Two large international conferences have been held that attracted many attendees. Finally, a proposal for the interdisciplinary teaching program is pending final recognition by the institution.

In addition to the positive influence of a growing gender studies program, the pathfinders also spoke of the potential conflicts of the process of this growth. First, should gender studies adopt a more academic focus or attempt to fuse an intellectual approach with activism? Second, should contesting discourses (e.g., women's welfare vs. sexual liberation) within feminist studies be pursued with a structural emphasis, a

poststructuralist approach, or both? The FU pathfinders' narratives seemed to express a strong academic orientation, which might suggest that a cultural shift in feminist studies is underway. Further research is needed to understand the nature of these conflicts and how these conflicts will be resolved.

The primary scholars affiliated with the RPTS perceived themselves as liberal intellectuals and feminist scholars. Most of them were not originally trained in feminist studies. They heightened their feminist awareness by participating in the RPTS and expanding their scholarly interests in gender studies. Compared to the pathfinders at Yushan University, those at Formosa University apparently have felt the need to be more alert to the pressure of "publish or perish." Because of the combination of both academic stress and personal preference, few pathfinders at FU have sought to network with other women's organizations. They have tended to seek paths in academic research and teaching, out of which they hope to promote gender studies in the belief that a solid knowledge base will allow them to intervene in government policies and request legal reforms. They also have given more attention to the problems of institutional-intellectual order and sought ways to break through the barriers posed by the academic structure.

Their accomplishments were revealed in two features that made this case study unique compared to other research programs in Taiwan's universities. The first feature was that the pathfinders at FU created a collective project aiming to integrate and transform gender studies curricula with an interdisciplinary emphasis. Nearly all recent gender studies curricula in Taiwan had lacked integration and, for the most part, had been based upon traditional disciplines. However, the RPTS team intentionally searched for topics, issues, themes, and defined feminist pedagogies in order to make a connection among disciplines, between western feminism and local concerns about gender issues, and to broaden the horizons of teaching and doing research about gender studies. Without a certain degree of affirmation of feminist values, this approach could not have emerged and such collective projects could not be achieved.

The second feature of the program at FU was that it had an impressive number of male professors involved in and even leading the research program. Although some of them had not yet shown a genuine commitment to gender studies, their involvement encouraged male students to study gender and demonstrated that men could do gender studies and become allies with feminists. The diversity of the RPTS thereby accomplished Xingmei's goals, including her desire to root the program in the institution in order to attract broad participation from the faculty members of CHASS.

The promotion of men doing gender studies at FU was an important issue for feminist scholars concerned with the conflicts inherent in identity politics between men and women, and the immediate, pragmatic need to have male allies for strengthening the field. This open recruitment thus went beyond the university threshold at FU. On the one hand, most of the female pathfinders exhibited a positive attitude toward men doing gender studies in Taiwan, where a harmonious relationship between the sexes has been the deeply entrenched norm. Although the degree of acceptance was different among the female pathfmders, they had one concern in common. They all expected these male intellectuals to expand the field by generating new approaches based on men's experiences in revealing the masculine hegemony.

On the other hand, the majority of these male scholars sensed a general hostility from feminist circles. Some of them encountered particularly unfriendly critiques from women

feminists in meetings or at conferences. Consequently, the reactions of these men were differed depending on their experiences with women feminists. Some of them felt that they needed encouragement and acceptance from feminist scholars in order to continue doing gender studies. Others were more aware of men's privileges and thus chose to deal with the conflicts in more subtle ways. These men opted to declare themselves allies of feminists even though they had both feet deeply rooted in gender studies.

In Chapter 4, I described and discussed the formation of the pathfinders' identities along the road to their decision to do gender studies. In Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, I explored the theme of "being through the doing." I discussed how the centrality of feminist identity impacted on individual and collective efforts of doing gender studies at the two selected universities. In the next chapter, I further analyze how the interplay of identity and action can be revealed in the second layer of value-added strategies of action: empowerment, networking, and confrontation. These three dimensions of strategies of action will shed light on how the field of women's studies has emerged and advanced in the academic structure, and how the pathfinders, based upon the centrality of their feminist identity, have searched for ways to enact their subjectivity as well as to institutionalize the field in academia. Understanding the connection of action with values and identities in the development of the material form of gender studies is at the heart of this study. Doing so serves to disclose the emergence of women studies as well as the dialectic of action and structure in a Taiwanese academic context.

# Chapter Seven
# Identity, Action, and Future of Women's Studies

The narratives and analysis of the pathfinders' lives and actions in Chapter 4, Chapter 5, and Chapter 6 have made it clear how far these scholars have transformed themselves in the process of becoming feminists, or at least pro-feminist, in Taiwan's academic world. The transformations in the life courses of the pathfinders have provided the framework within which contemporary women's studies and feminist scholarship could come into being in Taiwan. The pathfinders have carried out and promoted the grounded feminist action needed to reconstruct women's subjectivity in Taiwanese social contexts. This reconstruction has involved their learning to conceptualize and teach on the ways in which Taiwanese women have been, and largely continue to be, an oppressed group. It has also involved organized action to promote women's rights through their participating in the local and global women's movements and producing knowledge on and for women.

In the first part of this chapter, I examine the interplay between identity and action, and between action and structure, by focusing on the significance of pathfinders' identity and strategies of action in the evolution of women's studies in Taiwan. Since identity, action, and structure are inseparably intertwined, it is difficult to analyze the meaning of each category without taking into account its interaction with the other two. In the following, accordingly, I first explicate the interplay between identity and action, within which the pathfinders' identities are reaffirmed in a process of enactment. Then, I describe three dimensions (empowerment, networking, and confrontation) to the strategies of action the pathfinders have taken to enact feminist values and thereby institutionalize women's studies at Yushan University and Formosa University.

In the second part of this chapter, which hints at the possible future trajectories of women's studies in Taiwan, I discuss the vision behind women's studies in Taiwan and the strategies the pathfinders have developed in their efforts to promote women's and gender studies. I identify the three main paths that they have taken; one leads to integration, another to autonomy, and a third to a stronger feminist epistemic network. The three paths reflect how feminist scholars have defined women's studies and feminist scholarship in Taiwanese contexts, and how the field has been tied to both the women's movement and academic enterprise in Taiwan.

## INTERPLAY OF IDENTITY, ACTION, AND STRUCTURE

### *Identity-Action*

The first part of this chapter explains the connection between identity and action. I illustrate this interplay based upon the process of the "being of becoming" of the pathfinders and upon the formation of collective identity among women's groups in Taiwan.

#### *The Being of Becoming*

As already pointed out in Chapter 4, the pathfinders in this study, on their journeys to discover a feminist identity, have constructed their complex, multiple paths of becoming in the contexts of learning, reading, doing, and advocating women's studies and feminist thinking. The pieces of the pathfinders' life histories have shown that identities do not form in a social or historical vacuum. Rather, as Laslett and Thorne (1997) have observed on this subject, life histories comprise the "dual aspects of experience as event, happening, occasion, and as subjectivity and interpretation" (p. 2). The pathfinders' stories contain various dimensions of their personal lives, including childhood events, strong female role models, family relationships, the women's movement, encounters with racial discrimination while studying overseas, feminist encounters, and confrontations with institutional sexism in Taiwan's academe. All of these experiences have shaped their life goals, their research agendas, their experimental teaching, and their creation of new ways of seeing the world. The evidence suggests that a "structuring" process takes place in the interplay between life histories and social and academic structures. Life histories and structures, therefore, "are made by constant and more or less purposeful individual action *and* that individual action, however purposeful, is made by history and society" (Abrams, 1982, p. xiii, emphasis in original).

The majority of the pathfinders were, for instance, able to pinpoint several important events and relationships from which an awakening process began that led to their conversion to feminism. A "womanist" model based on the positive influence of a mother or grandmother, a small family structure without boy siblings, or exposure to the women's movement constituted some of the contextual seeds of consciousness that helped the pathfinders grow into feminists in a later period. Study overseas or graduate training at a Taiwanese university was crucial to all of the pathfinders' first intensive exposure to feminist critical thinking and immersion in feminist literature. Several pathfinders, while studying in the United States, experienced racial discrimination due at least in part to unsettling encounters with people who misrepresented or stereotyped their supposed status as representatives of "Third-World Taiwan." Forced to turn the other cheek or to deal with the sexist, racist, and hegemonic content of the all-too-common discourse of the "West (or U.S.) vs. the rest" which Asians and Africans often face when dealing with the most powerful western countries, had the effect of provoking an oppositional consciousness in some of the pathfinders. Their experiences became key

contexts from which they began to construct alternative images of, and meanings for, Third World people and Taiwanese women.

In the process of feminist awakening, that is, of affirming an alternative or feminist standpoint, many of the pathfinders at different times experienced several types of change—contextual, emergent, and transformative. Taking an oppositional stance or a feminist standpoint, as Weeks (1998) argues, "is one such strategy for participating in the practices that constitute identity, one way to 'do' the construction we are in, and to 'do' it, moreover, as a politically efficacious construction" (p. 134). Most of the younger pathfinders said that the beginning of their shift in consciousness occurred during their doctoral studies in the West, when, by the time of their graduation, they affirmed their feminist identity and declared themselves to be feminist scholars by participating in women's movement organizations or by engaging in women's studies back in Taiwan.

Being a person who is in the process of becoming a feminist involves actively undoing gender stereotypes, reconceptualizing women's subjectivity, advocating women's rights, and promoting women's studies. This "becoming" is organized around the principle of an "eternal return" of feminist values, which entails a selection of specific meanings and practices that both delimit and enable the pathfinders. The degree to which the pathfinders have come to identify with feminist values has varied. Simply put, the pathfinders' identities have been constituted by an accumulation of enactments of central feminist values; they have become what they have been doing. This process of selective action, with its consequences for personal and social identity, can be conceived as an orientation and an ongoing enactment, rather than as the result of a single action or declaration of identity (Weeks, 1998).

I view the becoming of the pathfinders as a process by which they have enacted feminist values in their lives. These values comprise the various sources of their desire to become feminists and to engage in women's and gender studies. Some pathfinders were propelled by the simple idea that the field of women's studies is worth pursuing. Some observed or experienced sexual discrimination, motivating them to do research about patriarchal systems and practices. Some converted themselves into feminists through intensive exposure to literature on women's movements and the feminism of the West. Some participated in the women's movement in Taiwan and began to conceive of feminist thinking as a source of empowerment that could potentially change women's lives. They have all been through the processes of deconstructing and reconstructing ways of learning, seeing, and affirming a counter-hegemonic, feminist standpoint. They have also committed themselves to a collective project to reconstruct women's images and voices by producing and diffusing knowledge about women. Through these actions, they chose to identify with feminism and thus to heighten their consciousness of gender relations in both academia and society of Taiwan.

Their multiple paths of becoming thus demonstrate that the pathfinders' formation of a feminist identity resulted from the interplay between consciousness of the self and reconceptualization of the outside world and its gender relations. It evolved from a process of consciousness-raising activities and the strengthening of feminist thinking. The shifting self-consciousness was manifest in the mutating consciousness of social reality at the micro-level and the change of gender relations in society at the macro-level. Their shift in consciousness therefore indicates the efforts pathfinders have made to

change gendered practices in their daily lives, which in turn, might have long-term effects on institutional change.

When, for instance, one pathfinder encountered nepotism rules against the entry of women into tenured professorship if one's husband was already employed at the same school, it suddenly dawned on her to what extent institutional discrimination against women existed in academia. Having had an "awakening" experience, she turned her scholarly interests to women's studies. She consequently sought scholarly means to diffuse feminist thinking throughout her teaching and feminist research. Several other pathfinders in this study also experienced this sort of feminist awakening, which led them to build a community with other women as well as a larger base of social bonding and support. The friendships they developed, along with the social support, empowered them to reaffirm their alternative views and to build intellectual confidence in doing women's studies. Some even explained that they had a hard time developing collegiate relationships with their male counterparts after the "awakening." Furthermore, their nascent interest in feminist studies and engagement in various women's movements left them with little time to socialize with the other sex.

The effects of consciousness-raising are evident in the movement slogan, "the personal is the political." According to Katzenstein, it may result in "the reshaping of friendship, of family,…and of the decision structure around the relationships of sex, child care, and household financing …[, which] are matters that can be reached only in part by legislation, public policy, and judicial action" (Katzenstein, 1987, cited in Messer-Davidow, 1995, p. 35). Since gender relations permeate all kinds of social relations and practices, the feminist movement "must place a particular reliance on consciousness as a tool of social change" (ibid).

### *Collective Action and Identity Politics*

The construction of feminist identity is situated and formed for strategic use in collective action. As Spivak (1993) argues, "The strategic use of an essence as a mobilizing slogan or masterword like *woman*…[is a] self conscious [one] for all mobilized…. If one [is] considering strategy, one has to look at where the group—the person, the persons, or the movement—is situated when one makes claims for or against essentialism" (p. 3–4, emphasis in original).

Gender comprises one of the most powerful sign systems to permeate all social lives. Thus, gender is "relevant to production of knowledge because the gendered nature of social life, of families, workplaces, politics, and cultures, establishes material and symbolic bases that help shape individual behavior and identity" (Laslett & Thorne, 1997, p. 8). Recognizing the constructed basis of gender, the pathfinders have worked to build alternative meanings, a "resistance identity," or a "project identity" for collective action. Theirs can be termed a type of situated identity formation, achieved through the task of doing—that is, through how they have perceived social reality, how they have defined themselves and made particular social and knowledge claims, and even how the varying ways they have acted to change the symbol systems in order to (re)appropriate power and material wealth (Mohamad, 1994).

The intersection of power relations across different social categories, which is now known as identity politics, makes identity formation fraught with conflicts. In Taiwan,

the discursive politics between the women's movement and women's studies groups particularly point to conflicts of identity, which concerns the relation among the women's movement, feminism, and women's studies. The identity conflicts are also found in the difference of framing between the advocates of women's welfare and those of sexual liberation, between a pro-structural analysis of feminist theories and that of postmodernism and the study of sexuality, and beween women and men scholars who conceive differently about how men contribute to doing feminist studies. (For more on the identity politics within feminist groups see the later section "confrontation.")

Overall, feminist thinking in Taiwan has been shaped by a political impulse to address women's disadvantaged status in Taiwan. Between 1985 and 1995, the local women's movement has evolved and advanced alongside the expansion of political rights and the liberation politics of social movements against the authoritarian regime, which was controlled by the KMT. Like many developing countries, where women's activism has been closely affiliated with a modern agenda for advocating human rights and a paradigm for economic development (Mohamad, 1994), a humanist and rationalist-liberal framework has been predominant in women activist circles in Taiwan. Primarily mobilized by the Awakening since the 1980, the organization has promoted educational and legal reforms in order to bring social justice to all genders. In the Taiwanese academic world of the 1980s, female academicians employed the framework of "women in development," endorsed by the first United Nations Decade for Women (1975–1985), to broaden women's participation in remunerative work and in the public sector. The political stance, whether overt or covert, taken by both women's movement organizations and women's studies, confronted the "legitimate womanhood" over determined by the patriarchal state. In effect, the state had re-appropriated traditional virtues of womanhood, thereby legitimating the subordination of Taiwanese women as a group in the process of post-war modernization and industrialization. The pathfinders and women's movement activists in this study made claims that Taiwanese women had been left out of the modernization process. They argued that women deserved to take part in the process by means of individual liberties and personal freedom, provided by the Republic of China Constitution. Both women activists and scholars borrowed the tools of rationalist discourse and scientific research to construct a self-definition and autonomy for women in the second wave of women's movement in the 1980s in Taiwan.

After 1995, the proliferation of other social movements revolving around such issues as sexuality, sexual liberation and gay and lesbian rights, helped to broaden the reach of feminism (e.g., regarding views on sexuality). The establishment of the Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association in 1993 further deepened the influence of feminist scholars in both academe and society in Taiwan. The diversification of women's and gender issues generated by social movements and women's studies seemingly reflected a complex exchange of ideas with western feminisms. The local appropriation of western ideas, which were spread by the Taiwanese scholars who had traveled and studied overseas at different periods, produced a complex and hybrid cultural phenomenon. This process of adaptation could be observed in the ways in which the various social movements and women's groups discursively framed women-related issues in Taiwan by using western-inspired feminist ideologies on the politics of difference. The hybrid connections between global and local discourses often generated tensions between the older and newer generations of pathfinders, between, that is, the older ideas rooted in

struggles by women in Taiwan, and the newly imported feminist thinking that was still trying to find its place. In the first decade of these conflicts, they at times fragmented the local feminist discourses and jeopardized the solidarity forged by earlier local women's movements.

In sum, many individual pathfinders, groups, organizations, and the wider women's movement together have accomplished the formation of the collective identities, feminist standpoints, and strategies of action deployed by women activists and the pathfinders. The feminist identity constructed by the pathfinders has changed over time, and is often disputed. Over the last couple of decades, tensions and debates have appeared between the older and the younger generation of pathfinders, and within women's groups and organizations. Also, conflicts have surfaced over such things as the divergent agendas of the women's movement, differing feminist ideologies, the various approaches developed in women's and gender studies, and the varying types of feminist research conducted by women's studies scholars and by women's movement activists. Nevertheless, one thing is certain: the formation of political identity, whether through the work of an individual or a group, and regardless of its place and time, is constituted in the course of doing and becoming.

### *Action-Structure*

I have conceptualized their strategies of action as the nodal points for making connections between identity-action and structural changes in Chapter 2. As some feminist scholars have argued from sociology of knowledge perspective, the "interest" factor cannot fully explain the motivations and intentions of the pathfinders who have affiliated themselves with women's studies, or why they became advocates of feminist ideas after recreating their subjectivities (Laslett & Thorne, 1997). The current study's microfoundational approach to the pathfinders goes beyond individual interests. It tries to explore how "individual action occurs within, and is shaped by, broader historical currents and forms of soclal organization" (Laslett, 1991, p. 517). It emphasizes the interconnection among consciousness-raising, identity formation, and action of the pathfinders that unfolds the moving interplay between agency and structure.

Most, if not all, the pathfinders had acquired their diplomas in the West and returned equipped with knowledge and social positions signifying a privileged social status relative to other women in Taiwan. But their interests have not, of course, solely focused on the advancement of their personal careers or social mobility. On the contrary, they have made efforts to participate in and promote women's rights. They actively responded to the call of women's studies in order to promote critical thinking through teaching, establish alternative ways of doing research, and build knowledge about the subjugated status of women in Taiwanese academia. They took varying strategies of action to shape the paths of women's studies in Taiwan's academia, which has also shaped their own identities and lives.

The pathfinders have invented strategies of action to adapt to each situation while always trying to uphold their feminist values. The actions refer to what the pathfinders have done in the way of thinking, planning, organizing, and otherwise acting to bring women's studies into being. The pathfinders' strategies of action have signified by three basic orientations: empowerment, networking, and confrontation. "Empowerment" refers

to pathfinders' creating a space where alternative communal meanings and feminist identity can be affirmed and the growth of women's studies can be embodied. "Networking" highlights the crucial social capital engendered by making connections among people, particularly by and for disadvantaged groups. These two things help to broaden social support and thereby increase people's receptivity to the new field of women's studies; they bind like-minded scholars together in order to form a collective identity and to crystallize the structure of the field. While empowerment and networking convey active meanings of action, the notion of confrontation displays the tensions inherent in doing women's studies. Identity politics has been used in women's studies to confront academic authorities and to draw a boundary for the field as well as for a collective identity. These activities result from efforts to define what women's studies is, who can define it, and what form best serves women's studies in the long run. Confrontation here includes advocacy action, the fusion between academic life and activism, women's studies vs. the study of sexualities, and men's participating in women's studies.

### *Empowering*

Empowerment is about, in the words of Weeks, "the power of creative affirmation, the power to constitute new practices" (Weeks, 1998, p. 147). It is the power to reinvent women's identities and innovate women's studies practices in academia. It involves projects of self-valorization connected to the development of a feminist standpoint, which generates new ontological possibilities, an alternative perspective to see the world differently and to act upon it.

Empowerment is a productive power, a process and product of resistance against discrimination upon which the alternative meanings are constructed. The self-valorization is the means by which women collectively construct "resistance identity" and "project identity." It was not uncommon for the Taiwanese pathfinders of the 1980s to experience institutional sexism as they started to teach in universities. The nepotism rules and delay of promotion for women at some Taiwanese universities were the two most salient examples of the sexist policies that applied to women academicians and discriminated against them as a group. Women's scholars' experiences as the subordinated "outsiders within" became a source of reflection on how to understand, and how to act on, their own situations. These often unnamed feelings together with the experiences of discrimination in daily life, became a fault-line for women who came to realize the possibility and the need to break away from the hegemonic discourses and practices embedded in institutions. Their "awakening" experience and feminist perspectives provided the pathfinders with the knowledge, skills, and micropolitical competence to grasp and confront masculine power, which was composed of those "micro-inequities" embedded in the practices, relationships, and emotions that make up any academic organizations.

A feminist perspective on the social world is a result of deconstruction and reconstruction of subjectivity. The process of deconstruction reveals how power operates in "structures of thinking and behavior that previously seemed devoid of power relations" (White, 1986, p. 421). The process of reconstruction affirms that the alternative viewpoints are culturally legitimate. Put differently, awareness of hegemonic discourses stimulates the growth of oppositional consciousness. Deconstruction entails

reconstruction, and together they constitute a spiral of consciousness growth. The pathfinders felt that they were empowered by the collective affirmation of the value of the subjugated knowledge about women. Being affirmed heightens their consciousness and the yearning to revalorize alternative perspectives on the world. Empowerment is, then, developed and attained through the affirmation of identity. As Weeks (1998) posits, pathfinders are able to affirm themselves through "a being of the doing" and "a being of becoming" (p. 133). The affirmation of identity "is not only to reflect positively on or to bestow a positive interpretation, but to adopt as a project, to will to develop further… 'To affirm is to create, not to bear, put up with or accept"'(p. 145, 146).

Creating and doing women's studies are ways of affirming feminist identity and attaining empowerment. Pathfinders at both Formosa University and Yushan University acknowledged that teaching gender courses and feminist theories was meaningful and empowering. They found the teaching highly relevant to their lives as women, to their identities as pro-feminists or feminists, and to the possibilities for social change. Some regarded it as a healing process, to undo gendered stereotypes and practices by producing and diffusing alternative images for Chinese/Taiwanese women. Others sought feminist theories to do away with the wounds, to confront the mark of the "oriental other" constituted by Western hegemonic discourses that had shaped "Orientalism" in relation to the western subject. These experiences of the Taiwanese pathfinders were much like bell hooks' yearning for a feminist theoretical means to heal her racist pains: "I came to theory because I was hurting—the pain within me was so intense that I could not go on living. I came to theory desperate, wanting to comprehend—to grasp what was happening around and within me. Most importantly, I wanted to make the hurt go away (hooks, 1994, p. 59).

Through doing gender studies, these pathfinders became feminist scholars. Some young pathfinders used the teaching and learning process as a means of intervention, as a way to change the hierarchical relationship between the teacher and the students, to empower students to see the world differently, and to help them aspire to a nontraditional path in the future. Some of the pathfinders took the classroom as a cultural site for a social movement and worked with students to challenge the patriarchal constructs and practices permeating all social practices. The majority of the pathfinders felt exhilarated as they saw their students change, the courses grow in number, and the receptivity of the field improve.

Their experiences of seeking and affirming alternative meanings illuminates how the pathfinders have employed different means by which to create a cognitive space for reinventing subjectivity in the private and personal spaces of individual instructors and students' consciousness. Their goals have been embodied in the processes of teaching, learning, and knowledge production. These activities have constituted a project for them, toward empowering alternative values and self-valorization of subjectivity. For these pathfinders, to empower has meant to affirm a self-inventing subjectivity grounded in action, and to question and challenge the conventional meanings of Taiwanese woman, social reality, and the conceptual frameworks and methods that have been used to produce "male-stream" knowledge.

In addition to teaching and learning, creating a physical space for women's studies is also essential for affirming communal meanings. Critical mass—an adequate number of faculty and students to generate cultural capital for women's studies—cannot be achieved

without the material spaces in which to accumulate a minimum of economic capital and social capital. In such spaces, people can deliver a discursive politics of resistance. Resistance allows social actors "both to individually 'maneuver with the space/margins' of dominant power relations and to challenge dominant ideologies collectively and individually" (Miske, 1995, p. 117). So the existence of these spaces represents a collective project of deconstruction as well as reconstruction, and symbolizes reaction as well as production.

As we have seen, the first collective spaces for women's studies research programs in Taiwan were formed at Yushan University (YU) and Formosa University (FU). The two spaces have served not only as physical sites where the pathfinders can get together to exchange information and scholarly ideas, or as clearinghouses used to store books and academic materials, but also as cultural sites where oppositional consciousness and feminist values have been incubated and formed. The spaces thus served to affirm women's studies as well as to negate the male-stream body of knowledge.

Empowerment, in addition to its positive connotations, sometimes pro vokes contradictory meanings. It might work against ideal feminist thinking about action. It may strategically direct the action to make compromises with authority, or unintentionally reproduce femininity to gain larger social support and strengthen a weak base of social action. For instance, in the first wave of the women's movement in the west in the 19th century, feminists appropriated the meanings of motherhood to build common bonds for collective action, reproducing the connection between femininity and motherhood (Rupp & Taylor, 1999). In the case of the evolution of women's studies in Taiwan in the 1980s, the founders of the Women's Research Unit (WRU) at YU practiced a low-profile strategy to incubate and preserve women's studies there. They felt the need to receive protection within the Center of Population Studies (CPS), which buffered the possible disturbances from the central authorities or other gatekeepers. Although the CPS conveyed a conservative attitude toward women's studies, at first the founders might not have been able to articulate clearly the possible contradiction between feminism and the population control ideology of CPS. Yet the free and safe space they had constructed within the CPS was essential to their accumulating economic and social capital for building a clearinghouse for women's studies in Taiwan. The founders, in the meantime, could feel empowered and legitimated while using scientific methods to do research and while making some albeit weak ties with male liberal intellectuals in order to secure a small but autonomous space for women's studies in the repressive milieu of the 1980s in Taiwan. The academic shield they carried became the necessary tool for reducing the likelihood of being disturbed by the academic authorities and political supervision on campus.

With a similar strategy, the founders of women's studies at FU have made the Research Program of Two-Sexes and Society (RPTS) into a cultural site as an integral part of the university. They felt the success of the RPTS was somewhat tied to the status of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences (CHASS), a miniature graduate institute and a marginal field existing among the grand fields of the sciences and technologies at FU. The RPTS has always been a quasi-administrative unit within CHASS and run by volunteers and without a regular budget or staff. Nevertheless, it has effectively served as an alternative site where the pathfinders and other feminists have

been able to talk, carry out other academic activities, and teach experimental women's studies courses on campus.

During the initial and emergent stages of women's studies in the 1980s, the advocates of feminist values were hidden within the repressive universities. For instance, most of the older generation at YU called themselves "women's studies practitioners," and those at FU, "liberal intellectuals." They proceeded with caution when they created a small space for women's studies. The pathfinders of the two research centers adopted the least threatening strategies of action to gain empowerment (creating a space) rather than ones of confrontation with the central authorities.

They sought to survive under repressive conditions by sustaining a viable space, which they realized would require low-profile actions. Their strategy of compromise reflected in the naming of the research programs. The founders called their programs "research programs on the 'two-sexes' *(lian-xing)* and society," rather than "women's studies," showing a compromise between women's studies practitioners and liberal intellectuals. The RPTS was not renamed a "gender" studies research program until 2001. At the WRU, in the first few years after its establishment, the program's "women's studies" agenda was not specifically defined by the pathfinders there. Both programs' activities primarily consisted of collecting women-related research and data from the past and listing all the discipline-based research and courses that contained women as a factor or women-related components (i.e., family development, population studies, home economics, and women's health).

The initial expansive definition, straightforward activities, and generic naming of the programs helped to shape the perception among the gatekeepers of the academy that this new field was not a threat, but a marginal field of study devoid of any destructive power. Furthermore, the "'two sexes' and society" naming of what was actually "women's studies" made the field fit into the larger construct of the traditional disciplines. The purpose of the field was to improve not merely women's lives but, rather, to balance the relationship between the sexes. It could hardly have been called a deviant field of studies or a radical political project in academia. This low-profile strategy exhibited the low centrality of feminist principle at play at the time. Yet the vague definition of women's studies always carried with it the risk that it might work against its purpose of seeking women's voices and might even foil the desire to reconstruct women's subjectivity. Not surprisingly, it generated tensions between women's studies founders and women's movement activists, since the latter needed strong allies from academia to legitimize a mobilization framework for representing women's voices and promoting women's rights in the highly controlled KMT regime of the 1980s.

In sum, creating a space was the primary orientation in the beginning stage of the evolution of women's studies in Taiwan. Within the repressive university environments, the affirmation of women's studies (empowerment) was enacted through experimental teaching, forming women's studies research programs that also served as clearinghouses, developing interdisciplinary women's studies curricula, carrying out academic activities, and promoting research on women in traditional disciplines. The meaning of empowerment was embodied in the creation of the spaces for the women's studies research centers and their use to draw and accumulate economic and social capital that would, in turn, help to generate cultural and symbolic capital for women's studies and legitimate feminist scholarship in the long run.

### *Networking*

Networking is a powerful way to attain empowerment by linking people into a web of relations. It broadens social support, recruits like-minded members, and amplifies collective voices that are all important in promoting feminist values and women's studies. According to Simeone (1987), the networks of feminist scholars "constitute the most vital development within the recent history of American higher education, and…this shift in centrality has opened institutions and disciplines to new and exciting dimensions in scholarship, curriculum, methodology, and practices" (p. 99). In the findings of Gumport's (2002) study, she called the collective work by feminists at consciousness-raising to reflect on the sex discrimination in universities "a major turning point" (p. 83). It remained an invaluable resource for galvanizing energy and inspiring innovation among feminist scholars.

There were three basic types of networking among the Taiwanese pathfinders involved in the present study; they were informal networks and networks of women's movement organizations such as Awakening, TFSA, and the network of on-campus research centers of women's studies. Twenty pathfinders were affiliated with either Awakening or TFSA, or with both. One third of them were also core members of the WRU or the RPTS. Six out of the fifteen of the pathfinders, who were the core members of the two research programs, identified mainly with the networking of on-campus women's studies. Six of the pathfinders remained informally networked or tied up with the consulting committee of the women-related taskforce of the Taiwanese government.

#### *1. Informal and Provisional Networks*

Friendship may signify a strong bond, but may not necessarily be so in an organized form. It assists in the affirmation of self-definition and as a way to experiment with one's assertiveness. It generates a sentiment of feminist thinking and solidarity beyond scholarly interests. The social, emotional, and intellectual support of friends are the most important source of self-affirmation. For instance, four pathfinders clearly perceived that, as they encountered challenges from students or colleagues, they always talked to their friends to seek support and reaffirm their feminist identity. Those friends may or may not have been in the same organizations.

Other pathfinders also mentioned that some informal networking, such as mentorship, was important in the fight against unjust or ambiguous situations on campus. Other pathfinders felt that informal relationships with senior faculty or prominent scholars proved to be very useful for gaining access to important information on such things as financial aid, research grants, publications, and so forth to promote gender studies. For instance, at a gender studies conference one pathfinder asked her mentor to be the chair of a session at the conference. After the chair's speech, in front of the audience, she invited this male professor to produce a special issue on women's studies in a prestigious social sciences journal. In the presence of the expectant audience, the professor agreed to the proposal in a display of his support for gender studies. The female pathfinder explained that it was her strategy to network powerful senior, male gatekeepers into women's studies in Taiwan, in an effort to raise its visibility in traditional disciplines.

Some chose to maintain informal relationships with all women's organizations in order to craft and sustain an open public discourse for women's issues. Without group

pressure or cultural practices of "saving face" they were able to follow their "heart" and really take broad-minded positions on women-related issues. Some of the male pathfinders in this study said that they made friends with feminist scholars but kept a distance from feminist groups due to women's suspicion of men's motivations in their engagement in women's studies, Some pathfinders have only made a connection with feminist scholars and practitioners who have been on the same taskforce or ad hoc committee when acting as government consultants. Some said they preferred such provisional networks to organizational membership, because this kind of networking was task-based defined and resourceful for generating the new strategies and ideas required to effect policy-making interventions.

### *2. Women's Movement Organizations*

Despite the time and energy involved, twenty pathfinders out of the total reported positive experiences of intellectual, social, and emotional support through their engagement with women's movement organizations. They considered the organizations as important cultural sites and alternative spaces that nurtured feminist thinking and new ideas for teaching and conducting research. Several young pathfinders, when they started to teach in universities, chose to join the Awakening organization to heighten their consciousness and to gain access to local knowledge on women's issues.

The TFSA has been the most important and the largest association for networking feminist scholars. The annual Women's Day ceremony has worked as a performative play to deconstruct the gender stereotypes permeated in Taiwanese society. Annual conferences have also been important in showing support for feminist scholarship. Furthermore, impromptu collective action has helped to amplify feminist voices both in the academe and in the society. For instance, the TFSA held a news conference to disclose a new regulation passed by the executive board of Fu-Jen Catholic University, which mandated that any faculty member who breaks the rules of the Catholic Educational Charters will be fired or the teacher's contract would be revoked. By these vaguely defined rules, a discussion about abortion in the classroom might be conceived an act against the pro-life philosophy endorsed by the Catholic Educational Charters. In response, the TFSA's scholars made a claim to the MOE to protect academic freedoms and to redeem the separation of education and religion, as stipulated in the Constitution. Since on this occasion the networking consisted of scholars across disciplines and campuses, the protesting scholars did not necessarily come from Fu-Jen Catholic University and the collective protest and confrontation did not put any specific member's career at risk. By framing women's studies along the lines of academic autonomy, the TFSA affirmed the right to teach women's studies and to do feminist research on any campus.

Networking in women's movement organizations has helped members to form a collective identity through the creation of an effective collective framework for political action. It has empowered individuals to act otherwise in their situated locations. Through collective performance, the pathfinders have built common bonds, solidified political frameworks, and gathered the courage to declare their feminist identity in public. For instance, the TFSA held a national conference in 2002 to investigate the gender bias embedded in college textbooks. For many presenters, it was their first time pointing out

the androcentric conceptual frameworks embedded in pedagogical and intellectual practices in Taiwan's universities. Some presenters expressed their struggle in mustering the courage to attend the conference and to declare themselves to be feminists. One of the main sources of this kind of anxiety stemmed from the possibility that they would be tagged as disloyal to their home departments and institutions, where the gatekeepers were, we can assume, senior, male professors. One presenter (Hsiao, 2002) disclosed that after she underwent a feminist awakening process, she became empowered to unveil the gender biases predominant in some popular college textbooks. Without the networked support from the TFSA, she claimed, the confrontation would have been much daunting.

### *3. Women's Studies Research Programs*

By comparison, academic feminist organizations have had a harder time than movement organizations have had in forming a collective identity through networking. The differences can largely be attributed to the objectives and structures of women's activist networking vs. those of academic institutions. The academic structure comprises departments and disciplines, each with its own reward systems and demarcated by a diversity of scholarly training and interests. Professional practices (teaching, research, services) are considerably isolated within each discipline and subfield of studies. The networking of women's studies has been held back by the difficulty of creating ties among scholars across boundaries, which requires an effacement of the demarcation between departments and the "boundary work" of academic structures, in favor of interdisciplinary women's studies.

*a. The First Stage.* Like many developing countries in Asia, the appearance of women's studies research programs in Taiwan is associated with the western international NGOs, which have deliberately facilitated modernization and promoted human rights in developing countries through funding projects in the postwar period (Miske, 1995; Chamberlain & Howe, 1995). Taiwan's women activists and scholars had built a solid relationship with the Asia Foundation in the 1980s in order to access the international information, resources, and funding needed to build institutional resistance outside the universities. In addition, the Foundation served as a source of pressure from the West that wornen's activists used to leverage change at home; it even served as a window to the world when traveling was prohibited under the martial law decree. Under the political repression, the ties between a western donor and activists appeared to be an expression of affinity between western human rights ideologies and a local women's movement, including Taiwan's women's studies. Similar to Miske's study of a Thai women's studies research program, the concern of gathering international support through networking with a foreign donor and borrowing feminist ideas from the West implied a somewhat contradictory relationship between resistance and domination in the Third World countries. Even though pathfinders in the Third World countries have been committed to creating and affirming feminist values in the context of local concerns, the history of the formation of local feminist identities and women's studies indicates, in the case of Taiwan, that the pathfinders and the local organizations in Taiwan have both resisted the ruling ideology of the KMT and reproduced the ideology of the dominant West.

In the initial stage, the pathfinders felt that they had to "sneak into" the universities. They did this by reaching out for social support and broadening academic support from

direct audiences, constituencies, students and colleagues. Ultimately, in the early stages, both the WRU and the RPTS formed only weak ties and weak forms of networking with women's studies scholars, liberal intellectuals, like-minded colleagues, administrators, senior faculty, and graduate students. They felt it was important to carefully accumulate social capital from socially legitimate sources in the beginning stage. For instance, the WRU chose to affiliate with the Center of Population Studies and to obtain substantial support from its male director. The Director of the CPS secured a small space for the office of the WRU. It thereby functioned as a relatively autonomous unit without much interference from the administration of the university or the MOE. The founders of the WRU invited the President of YU to attend formal activities, such as national conferences, to convey the message that women's studies had the support of the school's administration. They also made connections with governmental organs to obtain funding and to participate in public forums concerning women's issues. These activities helped to raise the visibility of the WRU and women's studies. Moreover, the founders kept in touch with international women's studies scholars and other women's studies research centers in order to make connection with international women's studies communities, which could potentially become an important source of justification of the significance of women's studies in Taiwan's academia.

As for the RPTS, its founders perceived that a more effective way of creating an entry point for women's studies into the university was to root the women's studies research program in campus life, which would enable a broad base of networking through collegiate relationships. For this purpose, they sought support from the first male dean of CHASS, who symbolically represented the backing of liberal intellectuals, male colleagues, and senior scholars at FU. The founders intentionally portrayed the research program as a part of CHASS, an asset belonging to the larger university campus. This framework helped to create a level of comfort among the male academicians, which assisted in gaining their indirect or direct support from the beginning. Furthermore, the right and obligation to be elected the coordinator of the RPTS was also reserved for men scholars. Consequently, men doing women's studies was initially legitimized and institutionalized at FU. By broadening the base of legitimacy, a political rhetoric was constructed, implying that it was through CHASS that women's studies was being supported, and that doing women's studies was legitimate at FU.

The networking strategy employed by the WRU and the RPTS was also used by the pathfinders of Thai women's studies research centers. Miske (1995) dubbed it "the strategy of co-option" (p. 113). The strategy was used to broaden support, increase visibility, and buffer potential disturbances from administrations. Like the Thai research centers, the founders of the RPTS invited distinguished scholars (men and women) to serve in the program or in committees. Their presence and participation demonstrated academic support and greater visibility for the RPTS. The encouragement of the first Dean of CHASS garnered administrative support, deemed necessary for university funding, and fostered communication regarding program activities between the pathfinders and other faculty members. The strategy of broadening academic community support was essential in gaining the necessary bargaining power amid the competition for scarce resources.

In a repressive environment that ignored women's studies, networking for social and academic support, which served as a buffer from administrative disturbance and a bridge

to scarce resources, was the pressing concern of most women's studies founders. For instance, the first ten years of financing for the WRU relied heavily on individual pathfinders' relationships with government organs and several foundations, as means to access funding information and monies. While the RPTS pathfinders failed to obtain research funding from the university, the first dean succeeded in securing a modest operational budget from the FU Administration.

Searching for, producing, and transmitting women's knowledge was also part of a networking strategy. Both the WRU and the RPTS initiated large research projects to bring like-minded faculty members and graduate students together. The WRU collaborated with a group to build a systematic body of knowledge about contemporary Taiwanese women's lives in the mid-1980s. The RPTS coordinated the colleagues of CHASS to develop experimental and interdisciplinary courses and team-teaching pedagogy on women's studies. Both the affiliated researchers of the WRU and the RPTS developed strategies resulting from their own assessments of the environment, opportunities, and priorities concerning the development of women's studies. These large research projects, as several pathfinders confirmed, were important in generating dialogue among the affiliated faculty members who facilitated scholarly interest in teaching and researching on women. Subsequently, the pathfinders organized national conferences to present the outcomes of the collaborative research projects. Through conference participation and presentations, the pathfinders came to connect their scholarly interests with women's studies and to form a collective project for advocating, diffusing, and advancing women's studies throughout universities in Taiwan.

*b. The Second Stage.* After 1995, the concerns of the pathfinders at the two universities shifted toward the need to create depth in the field and to change the "shadow structure" status of women's studies organizations. With accumulated social and symbolic capital, each research program found specific ways of seeking status elevation. The relaxation of the university law in 1994 opened up lively debates and competition for scarce resources in academia. There was also a noticeable growth of women's studies centers in other universities; six such research programs appeared between 1995 and 1996. The growth of programs and centers of women's studies nationwide stimulated the WRU and the RPTS to move forward particularly in their status-building efforts and, more generally, to advance women's studies in Taiwan's universities.

Transforming its "shadow structure" was likely achieved by further institutionalization of women's studies in universities. Bringing a teaching program into being was one way to do so. Both the WRU and the RPTS chose to create certificate programs to deepen the influence of women's studies on campus. A certificate program connotes that learning and teaching women's studies are important assets and services of the universities. At the same time, it is an expedient way to diffuse feminist consciousness. The WRU made diplomatic visits to convince academic senates and the deans of different schools to pass their proposal. Nevertheless, its expansion was ultimately achieved by the extra free services of coordinating and administering gender-related courses, without any financial support from the university. The RPTS, on the other hand, chose a more difficult way to develop its teaching program. It aimed to develop an integrated and interdisciplinary women's studies curriculum, based on themes and areas of interest. The 18-unit teaching program integrated design, pedagogical material collection, and feminist pedagogy

development. (The program had not been endorsed by FU at the time of my fieldwork for this study.)

Expansion and diversification of women's studies would be also anticipated by the appearance of the larger critical mass—networked scholars and graduate students. As new scholars and graduate students joined the research programs, they instilled new energy, framing, and knowledge of women's studies in the established network. Nevertheless, diversification was bounded by disciplinary lines, so expansion centered on the exploration of new issues. The expansion of the women's studies knowledge base particularly attracted new participants in academic activities. At YU, new issues for women's studies were developed, and qualitative research was introduced from the social sciences for exploring women's experiences and voices. The male pathfinders at the WRU advocated men's studies and a "white-ribbon" campaign to unveil the myth of masculinity and to stop men's violence against women. At FU, student activism in the early 1990s facilitated feminist consciousness-raising and a climate of engagement in feminist activities. The collaborative actions, such as book reviews written by the pathfinders, the website launch (achieved with much help from students), readings and discussions about feminist theories online, and larger group projects developed into interdisciplinary gender courses, all contributing to generating an enthusiastic climate in which to learn, teach, and conduct research about and for women in the mid-1990s. Consequently, gender components have been integrated into 30 discipline-based courses to date at FU.

In the late 1990s, while fiscal crisis loomed on many campuses after the MOE's budget cuts, and competition for scarce resources escalated, due in part to the rapid expansion of higher education in the 1990s, both the WRU and the RPTS had to face difficulties maintaining the core function of the gender studies research programs. The WRU searched for new sources of funding in order to maintain minimal organizational operation and to sustain the quality of their library services. The incumbent coordinator took a strong stance to specialize the organization, to computerize all the research publications, data, and books, and to create key words and indexes for the research database. It would be expected that through the coding and compilation process, gender studies gradually develop a common database and language of feminist research. Generally, such a colossal task is not accomplished by a small organization, and almost never without large funding. This accomplishment gave the WRU a more academic character. Other pathfinders wished to see the WRU independent from the Center of Population Studies so that women's studies could stand on its own feet and have its own voice. Three pathfinders hoped intervention in university policies would help promote gender education through student activities as well as curriculum learning. Others also expressed the need for more collaborative efforts and dialogues to advance interdisciplinary teaching programs and to construct a collective identity of gender studies at YU.

While the affiliated researchers at the WRU were involved in well-defined tasks, such as editing *Newsletter* and *Journal*, those at the RPTS were engaged through their willingness to participate in academic activities. The former was prone to be stable while the latter fluctuated. The current situation of the RPTS has been a low point for it in the eyes of some of the affiliated pathfinders at FU. Several pathfinders attributed the inactivity of the RPTS to the loose networking and lack of commitment among affiliated

researchers or from a lack of professional identity in the field. Some hoped that the interdisciplinary teaching programs would restore energy to the pathfinders and bind their academic obligations through collaborations in program teaching. Some young pathfinders reminisced about past collaborative research projects that stimulated dialogue and discussion of gender research studies among the pathfinders, and that created a climate of talking and doing gender studies. They thought that the first step in recuperating the research program would be to develop large collaborative research projects and continue to promote team-teaching in interdisciplinary gender curricula. Four pathfinders emphasized that further institutionalization of the field, such as constructing the professional identity of the field, formalizing the teaching program, and providing a degree program, were important to sustaining the future of gender studies in Taiwan.

In sum, networking was important for the pathfinders in seeking social and intellectual supports that were necessary for creating women's studies as a clean-slate project. The pathfinders sought different ways to obtain support and encouragement for affirming their identity and sustaining feminist action. Networked activities have included building strong ties with friends, conducting outreach activities to gain the support of administrators and other colleagues, keeping good relations with mentors and male gatekeepers, and becoming a member of women's movement organizations and women's studies programs. The benefits of networking have been seen in increased information exchange, bonding, support, and affirmation, which are all important for acting otherwise and doing women's studies, a marginal field in academia. In short, networking has been one of the most effective strategies in forming and sustaining the academic entity of women's studies, despite its "shadow structure," in the hostile academic environment in which this nascent field of study has found itself.

In addition, organizational networking is related to group identity and the framing of action. At Awakening and TFSA, organized identity empowered affiliated members to affirm and heighten their identities through collective action in promoting women's status and producing women's knowledge. Although the two women's studies programs did not have strong group identities, their successes depended largely on the commitment of the individual pathfinders who were personally and voluntarily involved in organized action, reflecting the interplay between the centrality of feminist identity and action. The networking of these scholars has helped to consolidate a collective project that would otherwise have been isolated in individual teaching and research. As the WRU strenuously worked on building blocks for research capacity, including establishing a library, and publishing the quarterly *Newsletter* and the annual *journal* for women's studies, the RPTS accentuated the development of women's studies curricula and instruction. They could not have accomplished their objectives without the networking of faculty and graduate students. The evolution of women's studies relied heavily on various links: the weak-ties, outreaching, networked organization, strategizing, and friendships. These links helped to bridge people with their social environments, visions with resources, and meanings with action, which shaped the paths taken by women's studies in the institutionalization of women's and gender studies at the two universities. The orientation of action was thus the embodiment of individual identity interrelated with the emergence of women's studies in Taiwan's universities. Empowerment and networking, as strategies of action, constitute the nodal points connecting the evolution of women's

studies with the formation of individual and group identities in a historical process of becoming.

### *Confrontation*

The meaning of confrontation in this study has had less to do with figuring out the pathfinders' actions against institutional authority and more to do with discerning the boundary between the pathfinders who were affiliated with women's studies and those who were affiliated with women's movement organizations. The direct confrontation strategies of the institutional authority, such as protests and critiques of governmental policies, were more likely found in the collective actions mobilized by Awakening and TFSA than by women's studies research programs. For instance, Awakening addressed the issue of gender equity education throughout 1988. It challenged the gender bias embedded in textbooks of basic education and requested the MOE to revise the contents (*Awakening*, 1988). The TFSA shored up feminist student activism against sexual harassment on campuses. It backed up a female college student to sue a male professor who first raped her and then kept the sexual relationship going for a couple of years. Without such organized support, individual activists and feminist scholars could not feel empowered to act otherwise in their advocating women's rights or resisting the abuse of men's power in universities.

Most of the pathfinders in this study took a modest stance in promoting women's studies on campuses. They employed their own skills and knowledge to advocate women's studies in their classrooms. Nevertheless, there were several exceptional cases. For instance, two female scholars challenged their university's administration for placing them in lower-ranking teaching jobs. One pathfinder supported feminist student activism to negotiate with her university's administration to address sexual attacks and harassment issues. One extraordinary case was found in a junior female scholar who dared to make an appeal to win back her due rights in a conservative university. She took bold steps by listening to her inner feminist voice, rather than complying with the authority that expected a subservient role of women. In this process, she deconstructed the traditional image of Taiwanese women, problematized the university's treatment toward female academicians, and took on the task of reaffirming the rights and subjectivity of a feminist. Needless to say, she subsequently suffered from the hostile attitude of the administration and her colleagues until the gender issues became visible and supported by the MOE several years later.

In most cases, advocacy rather than direct confrontation was found as the salient orientation of action in the process of the institutionalization of women's studies in both YU and FU. The direct conflicts in relation to women's and gender studies were displayed in three domains: academics vs. activism, women's studies vs. study of sexualities, and men doing women's studies. They all bear a direct relation to boundary-shaping regarding what women's studies is about, and who is entitled to do it. These issues have been a part of the identity politics generated among individuals and groups advocating feminist research and gender studies in the Taiwan's contexts.

### *1. Advocacy—Pathfinders' Indirect Confrontation*

The predominant strategy that the pathfinders in this study used to promote women's studies in the emergent women's studies period was "advocacy." The reason why several pathfinders of the older generation were reluctant to use direct confrontation to resist the patriarchal academe was related to the cultural preference of social harmony. The perception that confrontation is not a "proper" way to promote one's values is inherent in Chinese culture and in many Asian societies. People in these societies value "social smoothing" skills over argumentation; even in academia, confrontation is not perceived as the best way to raise one's opinions (Committee on Women's Studies in Asia, 1994; Miske, 1995). Within these societies, harmonious and pleasant interpersonal relationships are highly emphasized, often described as "surface harmony" (Miske, p. 142). In Miske's study of women's studies scholars in the Thai society, she points out that most of the scholars tried to reduce conflict between individuals by softening the message in an effort to save the "faces" of the persons involved. Often, they remained silent in the face of conflict because women were not used to arguing, voicing opposition, or contradicting their supervisors. Such a cultural preference disadvantages any affirming strategies of action or alternative values of a women's movement. Harmony has been considered a virtue that usually requests women rather than men to comply with prior social arrangements and authorities. Nevertheless, it has also served as a framework employed by women's movement activists and women's studies practitioners to reduce the resistance from men and society in Taiwan in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The same attitudes were also assumed by some of the pathfinders at the WRU and the RPTS. Some of them said that they were not comfortable speaking directly to people's faces or generating direct conflict that would humiliate the people involved. They upset themselves when they were hurting other people. They considered it more as a personal attack rather than an attack on authority. They were reluctant to fight for due recognition or promotion even when they felt they were rudely ruled out. Three pathfinders rejected the position of coordinator of the WRU or the RPTS because they felt vulnerable to attack in the position and did not want to deal with conflict. Some showed little interest in moving up the administrative ladder, or even passed up chances for promotion because they did not want to engage in political games, or felt that they lacked the proper skills to fight for their rights. One senior pathfinder reflected that she had not realized until very much later that confrontation was an unavoidable strategy in effectively intervening in the government's health policies, which she was involved in for many years. Within a decade of experience in promoting women's studies, this female pathfinder acknowledged that she did not know how to argue soundly for the feminist values that she so adamantly believed in. Much such inaction were the result of the social smoothing norm deeply embedded in the psychological comfort zones of these female pathfinders.

Particularly under the rule of the patriarchal state, women were construed as followers, which contradicted the image of an intellectual or leader. Under the repressive cultural norm that discouraged confrontation, it became a difficult project in terms of questioning and changing the gendered order and the patriarchal ideology. It required leaders who knew how to handle the situations of "micro-inequities" and to know how to compromise, negotiate., lobby, question, and challenge the authorities. Most of the

pathfinders in this study showed little interest in directly confronting the authorities. They preferred the tactics of compromise, co-option, lobbying, and persuading in their quiet advocacy of women's studies.

Advocacy, in Minkoff's definition, is reactive and implemented through lobbying, litigation, media alerts and so on, to influence policies and public opinion. This definition attacks the intermediate level of institutional or bureaucratic norms. The weakness of the advocacy strategy is that it is less aggressive. It thus allowed the two universities to remain negligent of women's studies even after the MOE mandated the establishment of the Committee for Gender Equity Education on each campus in 1997.

Moreover, devoid of any threat, the university administrations knew how to use the presence of women's studies as a symbol to demonstrate their rhetorical support of women's studies and women's issues. The existence of women's studies research programs on two campuses served to relieve the administrations and other university scholars from addressing women's issues with more sincerity. As Birnbaum (1988) suggests, when a university allows a loosely-coupled unit to handle specific concerns, the administration and other departments may regard that unit responsible for that issue so that a university-wide response or policies will not seem to be required. Lack of resources and budgets from the MOE, and ignorance of universities explained why the new mechanism of the Gender Equity Committee on each campus could not effectively function to promote gender consciousness. It also explained why the WRU of the RPTS did not use the mechanism to leverage change or to request a broader response by universities to advocate gender equity on campuses. The Committee then became more an extra burden for the pathfinders rather than a substantial source of support or recognition from the universities. The pathfinders were thus reluctant to participate in the Committee. It became an ad hoc administrative unit with minimum reactive function, mainly handling sexual assaults or harassment incidents on campuses.

The indirect way of encountering institutional authorities set the research programs up as a conservative camp. Naturally, women's movement activists criticized them. Even so, there was no doubt that the discourse and activities women's studies scholars generated were definitely used for resistance rather than for reproducing the status-quo gender relations in Taiwan.

### *2. The Academics vs. the Activism*

In the beginning, while the pathfinders of the WRU emphasized empowerment and networking strategies, most of them chose not to closely align with the local women's movement to exchange academic receptivity and accumulate cultural and symbolic capital for women's studies in academia. Some of the RPTS pathfinders also felt that academic study and activism were two entirely different fields of action. They felt vulnerable when involving themselves in both the women's movements and women's studies.

Two primary reasons accounted for the reluctant attitudes of the older generation of the pathfinders engaging in the women's movement in Taiwan. First, getting involved in the women's movement meant they could not take academics seriously since they would not have much time to do research or produce a rigorous quality of knowledge. But these pathfinders did acknowledge the productive power of academic research. They believed

that with researchers' rigorous and objective methods, they would able to generate knowledge unveiling sex discrimination. The "neutrality" of the facts would tell the truth that sex discrimination was a result of social causes rather than ascribable to the isolated cases of some unlucky women.

Second, while women's studies research programs were perceived as a "shadow structure," women's studies scholars had weak bargaining power. For the early generation of pathfinders, the fusion of academia and politics would increase their vulnerability and invite attacks on women's studies scholars from administrations and gatekeepers rather than empower them to confront these conservative forces in academia. In contrast, the women's movement activists argued that, despite their marginalized positions, women's studies scholars still had relatively plentiful opportunities to access academic and government resources. It was not necessary for them to draw a line between activism and academics. They pointed out that while claiming to take an objective, neutral stance in research, women's studies scholars were only serving the patriarchal institutions and the government, perpetuating the oppression of women. The activists denounced women's studies scholars on two fronts: first, declaring their stance as neutral, in the name of objective research, had the effect of separating women's studies from either feminism or women's movements. Furthermore, the employment of a conservative strategy was useless in terms of promoting women's studies or gender consciousness-raising on campuses. The activists concluded that women's studies could not grow well without the soil of feminism nurtured from the local women's movement.

The dispute, which generated enduring tensions between the women's studies scholars and women's movement activists, erupted in the late 1980s. Despite emotional damage and pains resulting from the harsh critiques, the disputes were also conceived as a constructive tension. For one, the conflicts stimulated the pathfinders of the WRU and the RPTS to reflect upon the relations among women's studies, feminism, and women's movements in Taiwan; they also were moved to examine the relations between domestic and international/global influences of women's studies from the West (mostly the United States). The dialogues and discussions generated by the disputes became important sources of reconstruction and identity formation involving both women's movement activists and women's studies practitioners. It prodded interested parties to clarify the boundary of women's studies and women's movement, and their relationships with feminist values. It thus prompted rather than impeded the development of women's studies in the early 1990s.

Since 1993, after TFSA was formed, the disputes were partially resolved. Feminist perspectives and qualitative research were more welcomed in Taiwan's universities. The pathfinders of both the WRU and the RPTS assumed active roles in promoting dialogue between women's studies and traditional disciplines; they also made an effort to diffuse gender consciousness via numerous luncheons, seminars, workshops, study groups, and team-taught gender courses in general education. In addition to academic activities, cooperation with student activists was an effective way to diffuse gender consciousness.

The two research programs, however, had different attitudes toward student activism. In the early 1990s, as sexual harassment cases became increasingly publicized on many campuses, the leaders of the RPTS took advantage of the publicity to collaborate with students in terms of gender consciousness-raising. They also helped students to negotiate with the university administration in order to bring gender-related issues to the discussion

table. Campus activism galvanized much of the students' energy and created a legitimate climate for faculty and students to get involved in promoting gender studies. Several media were explored, such as the Internet for online study clubs on feminism, luncheons, seminars, workshops, and conferences. Gender studies thus became more noticeable in the mid-1990s at FU. In contrast, the coordinators of the WRU were not quick to build partnerships with student feminist groups. Instead, the student feminists formed close ties with Awakening and nurtured their strong political impulse to generate feminist movements on campuses. Awakening provided leadership training for student activists to learn organizing skills of mobilization. Lacking a strong political agenda, the WRU was not interested in supporting student activism on campuses. The separation between academic studies and feminist movement on campus appeared to be clear-cut at YU, and blurred at FU. Nevertheless, the majority of the pathfinders at FU preferred to focus on the academic development of women's studies, in response to greater pressure to "publish or perish" at this university.

The younger generation of pathfinders entered the universities in the mid-1990s when the political climate was quite different, and structural opportunities were more open. Social movements had begun to decline, as had the urgent need for women's collective action. In addition, since the competition for scarce resources and career promotion became fiercer after the University Law was changed, several young pathfinders expressed the need to focus on research in an effort to improve the quality of feminist knowledge production. Compared to the repressive past, the rising pressure to compete for scarce resources and rewards in the late 1990s seemed to confer on the institutions a stronger power to shape scholars' preference for academic research. In addition, although many young pathfinders no longer faced problems in declaring themselves to be feminist scholars, especially after TFSA was formed in 1993, they were aware of the conflicts of doing both the movements inside and outside academia. The situation that sorne pathfinders illustrated in this study was similar to that of Messer-Davidow. As a feminist activist in the United States, she described the impossible mission of the fusion between the intellectual and the political after three decades of struggle. She defined it as "the translation problem."

> …the social change I knew from activism I couldn't reformulate as academic knowledge, and the social change I knew from academic theories I couldn't deploy in activism. The translation problem…was produced by the discontinuous discourses in which I was operating. Through activist discourse I acquired know-how as I did change-like a cat leaping, twisting, and landing on its feet- and through disciplinary discourses I acquired knowledge as I read about change—like a scholar analyzing, criticizing, and arguing. These discourses did not provide two perspectives on "change" as the same thing…. The tactical skills of activism rendered "change" as conflicts to be shaped, whereas the intellectual skills of disciplines had rendered it as schematics to be debated (Messer-Davidow, 2002, p. 11).

### *3. Women's Studies vs. Study of Sexualities*

While conflicts between women activists and women's studies scholars raged on in the early 1990s, discursive politic wrangling between the women's welfare and sexual liberation camps went on in the second half of the 1990s. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, the politics of difference of the latter gradually surfaced and gained discursive currency in the mid-1990s. There were two major conflicts besides women's welfare and sexual liberation issues. The discursive politics generated by these two camps was much more confrontational than former debates of this kind had been. It generated explosive emotions and irresolvable conflicts in the interactions between the two major camps led by Awakening, on the one side, and the scholars of the Center of the Study of Sexuality at National Central University on the other.

On the one hand, the conflict was closely related to the identity politics of sexual orientations. A large part of the movement agenda of Awakening was framed to solve inequity between the sexes in the workplace and in the legal practices of the heterosexual family, which excluded homosexuality issues. In 1995, the discussion of the homophobia of heterosexual feminists burst out in a special issue of *Awakening Magazine;* the tension between homo- and heterosexual activists began escalating into distrust between them. The conflict exploded into arguments and formulation of standpoints on larger issues, such as whether or not to abolish public prostitution in Taipei (the capital of Taiwan) in 1997, and other national issues, such as AIDS and homosexuality. The splintering of sisterhood between the two groups became radical after the *Awakening* organization fired two long-standing lesbian staff members. This resulted in an irresolvable identity conflict among women's movement activists and groups in Taiwan.

On the other hand, the institutionalization of sexuality studies at the National Central University has rendered it a national academic headquarters of sexuality studies since 1995. Josephine Ho and her team have taken a leading role in producing academic discourses on sexuality. They have accentuated the need for sexual liberation for sexual minorities (e.g. homosexuals, transsexuals, sex workers etc.), and taken an ambiguous stance toward sexual harassment and the sex industry. In an anti-sexual harassment demonstration in 1994, her innovative slogan "Yes to orgasm, No to harassment!" made Ho an influential leader of the sex liberation movement. The Center has become a hub of support for lesbians, gays, transgender persons, and marginalized sex workers. Josephine and her team quit their membership in both Awakening and TFSA and declared themselves activists promoting sex liberation (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).

The lesbian/gay movements, sexuality studies and the imported postmodernism gradually gained academic currency in the second half of the 1990s. The new genres of gender studies generated a new conflict among the pathfinders who were drawn to sexuality studies and who still attempted to use women's studies as an instrument for raising public gender consciousness and to effect policy reforms to improve women's status. Consequently, the debates between women's studies and the study of sexualities were along the line of promoting women's welfare vs. promoting sexual liberation.

The older generation of pathfinders was inclined toward advocacy of women's welfare, which also reflected their preference for women-related issues in teaching and research. For the younger pathfmders, pluralism, identity differences, and the study of

genders were thought to better reflect the complex and multi-dimensional social reality, their attitude being that knowledge production and transmission should reflect such complexity and hybridity of social reality. Although the pathfinders of both the WRU and the RPTS held both generations of scholars, the conflicts between the two camps have not yet surfaced, because their research group identities were not rigidly defined. Moreover, the orientation towards academic research rather than activism prevented them ftom politicizing the differences of identities, as long as the innovation of knowledge had academic currency. Nevertheless, several pathfinders in both universities expressed concern that the powerful discourses of sex liberation were attracting young college students to study sexualities, deprived of sufficient exposure to the diversity of feminist theories. Other young pathfinders, in contrast, did not consider it a problem, since pressing gender issues changed alongside social changes. In addition, they felt that it was more an issue of quality of pedagogy rather than a measure of levity in academia.

The identity politics regarding sexual orientation had become an overt conflict invoked among some of the pathfinders or between Awakening and the Center of the Study of Sexualities, rather than among the research programs of women's studies in the universities. While possible future conflicts may loom large, a more pressing concern seems to lie in the need to draw new boundaries in order to claim organizational identity, academic resources, access to national research funding, legitimization of knowledge, and variegated representations of women's and gender studies. Until then, the identity politics embedded in the studies of women, gender, and sexualities may become a new drive for these pathfinders to reconstruct their identities, to organize action, and to innovate knowledge under the umbrella of women's and gender studies in the future.

### *4. The "Men-Problem" in Women's Studies*

Many of the issues of men doing women's studies were already discussed in the last chapter. In the initial stage of establishing women's studies, male scholars were welcome to join the programs in order to ward off the "man-hating" stigma attached to women activists and women's studies scholars. Not surprisingly, four out of six male pathfinders in this study were recognized as prominent figures in women's studies. They represented the symbolic capital of the validity of women's studies, and became highly visible as "a small group of men" doing women's studies.

The conflict of men doing women's studies derives both from identity politics and competition for four forms of capital relating to women's and gender studies. Identity politics relates to group identity and gender; for instance, can men become rnembers of feminist organizations or become feminists? The TFSA has disallowed men from becoming voting members or taking executive board positions because the space is reserved for training women for leadership and nurturing women's culture. The level of trust and acceptance in "men as feminists" within a feminist circle has been low. However, most young pathfinders have welcomed men into gender studies, albeit stressing the need for them to create a new path for gender research.

Men doing women's studies has unavoidably created a level of suspicion in men's motivation for engaging in the field. As the resources and capital of the field have been severely limited, the reaping of capital has become a source of distrust and conflict. It is the result of the belief that women's studies should be a collective project made by and

for women. For several feminist scholars, the boundary drawn to define "we" and "they" cannot be blurred, since the patriarchal practices and the "masculine ethic" have not been largely changed in the universities. The majority of female pathfinders have welcomed men to join gender studies; however, they have also expected men to become pioneers of men's studies, which would invigorate critical gender studies with men's unique reflection on their own privileges and powers intersecting with other social categories.

In sum, the act of empowerment illustrated how values could orient the pathfinders to take action. Networking conveyed the meanings of making connections among pathfinders to reaffirm feminist identity and women's studies. Confrontation unveiled the micro-political process of negotiating and lobbying for advocacy of women's studies, a painstaking process of boundary-drawing among feminist ideologies and movement agendas within women's groups and between men and women engaging in feminist studies.

Put together, the orientation of empowerment, networking, and advocacy demonstrated a process of social and economic capital accumulation for the pathfinders. This struggle was important in generating both cultural and symbolic capital for women's and gender studies that were needed to move a marginal field of study toward the center. Although boundary-drawing action was a painful process that tore apart sisterhood and solidarity among women's groups and feminists, the struggle nevertheless embodied the formation of personal and collective identity in response to varying situations, and reflected the varying needs, desires, and representations of the pathfinders that motivated them to make a difference. Together, the pathfinders constructed unique paths in which they reinvented themselves and created gender studies in a moving interplay between identity and action, and between action and structure that we usually call "instrumental change" in society.

## THE FUTURE OF WOMEN'S/GENDER STUDIES

In this part of the chapter, I discuss how the pathfinders of women's studies perceived the current situation of women's studies and what strategies they suggested in order to improve and strengthen future feminist scholarship. Basically, the majority of the pathfinders in this study thought that both the WRU and the RPTS had done a great job in facilitating the development of women's studies in Taiwan. They have been far ahead of other universities in teaching as well as in producing feminist scholarship. For some pathfinders, however, the current development of women's studies in general remains at the initial stage of development, despite its decade-long evolution. Most of the courses, besides those at the WRU and the RPTS, were experimental and fragmented, without clear connections to a broader and systematic feminist knowledge. The majority felt that a collective effort was still needed to empower them to create, network, and sustain teaching programs of women's studies in Taiwan's universities.

Other pathfinders expressed common concern regarding the future quality of feminist research. They believed that at best, the women's studies research centers created the "push" to make the invisibility of women's studies visible and to attract more students and scholars to engage in teaching or research; at worst, they served as a symbolic token for the educational authorities to claim their rhetorical support for the field. The

unsatisfying achievements were manifest in the receptivity of feminism in conventional disciplines in Taiwan's academia. Except in two fields—foreign literature and sociology—feminist studies has failed to make inroads into traditional fields.[1] Overall their influence has not been significant in questioning and challenging the traditional fields. For instance, the collective effort of undergraduate textbook evaluation by TFSA scholars in 2002 demonstrated that gatekeepers of the traditional fields were reluctant to introduce feminist ideas into their textbooks. The gatekeepers selected texts from the West but excluded western feminist literature, even though some feminist knowledge had been integrated into learning in certain fields in the United States (i.e., Gilligan's *In a Different Voice* in psychology of education) (TFSA, 2002).

Reflecting upon the general situation that has unfolded for women's studies in Taiwan, three tactics were suggested by the pathfinders to promote the field. Among the sixteen pathfinders who made suggestions, seven were for the pro-integration path, five favored department-like status, and four emphasized forming a feminist epistemic network. Within the three groups, four pathfinders suggested exhausting all avenues of promoting feminist studies, since the resources and rewards for gender studies are severely limited.

### *An Integration Path*

The participants in this study described the path of integration as a strategy of "on-site revolution," "sowing the seeds of feminist consciousness everywhere," or "guerrilla subversion." They thought it would be a better strategy for individual pathfinders searching and employing every opportunity to re-affirm one's feminist identity and question and challenge the male-stream conceptual frameworks and disciplinary power. One, in particular, mentioned that we did not need to follow in the footsteps of the Americans who in the past, preferred integration and at present, an autonomous department. She felt that it was more effective for feminists to take action from where they were located. There were plenty of ways to make it work. If feminists could not make a breakthrough in their home disciplines, it would be hard for them to imagine how an independent department could be formed without support from substantial numbers of discipline-based faculty members.

Others felt that although overall women's studies had transformed itself from a marginal field to the one less marginal, an uneven development of women's studies existed in the various disciplines and university institutions. Most of the pathfinders commented that only sociology and literature have accepted feminist studies, and the research quality of these departments has fared far better than other disciplines. Since the number of feminist scholars in these two fields was comparatively large, the pathfinders of these two fields felt least anxious to promote a department-like administrative unit for gender studies. In addition, most feminist scholars were discipline-based, their primary professional identity and promotion tied with their home departments. Unless new faculty members were trained in gender studies, it would be difficult for the established pathfinders to switch to other fields. And they might not feel a need or an urgency to create an autonomous department.

### *An Autonomous Path*

Five pathfinders proposed an independent department for sustaining the future of gender studies. They felt professional identity was important to making the field vital. The realization of this concept did not seem too distant after four master's degree programs were established on four different campuses by 2003. Graduate programs that prepare students to teach and conduct research about gender is becoming a reality in Taiwan's academia. Several pathfinders expected that professional identity for gender studies would be gradually formed as the number of gender studies Ph.D.s trained overseas and entering Taiwan's universities grew in the next decade. The institutionalization of women's studies will be complete when several universities offer Ph.D. degree programs, and as the MOE agrees to accredit such programs.

One pathfinder, who is teaching in one of the graduate institutes, said that the establishment of graduate programs legitimized feminist studies and feminist pedagogy, even when the program was located on a relatively conservative campus and colleagues were highly hostile to the program's faculty members. The program is secured by a regular budget and is able to buffer unwanted interference from the university's administration. The graduate institute can hire and promote faculty, develop curriculum and textbooks, and produce theses. All these activities legitimize the border-crossing of feminist studies afforded by a department-like status. Another pathfinder said that the forming of the Gender Institute rendered symbolic significance to the field that more likely encouraged students to study and attracted like-minded faculty to join. It thus enlarged the scope of influences of feminism. However, some pathfinders were concerned that a department-like status might limit the development of women's studies because the mainstream might attempt to ghettoize the field and let feminist scholars compete with one another for the thin resources and rewards allocated to marginal fields.

### *Feminist Epistemic Network*

In addition to integration and autonomous paths, four pathfinders particularly emphasized the process of incubating and strengthening feminist scholarship. A number of pathfinders agreed that the research quality of feminist studies has not yet achieved the threshold for achieving a sound academic reputation. In fact, many gatekeepers and feminist scholars themselves still do not regard women's studies as a field in and of itself.

The situation is observable in applications for competitive research funding. For example, in 2000, eight different research centers collaborated to propose a comprehensive group project to obtain the "Academic Excellence in a Development Project," which was launched by the MOE in 2000, in order to improve the quality of university standards through a five-year grant of U.S. $400 million. One pathfinder expressed that she was not surprised by the results since the quality of gender studies had not accumulated sufficient symbolic capital to compete for national grants. She provided an example of indigenous psychology, which was formed in the early 1970s, promoted by two prominent male scholars who are currently important consultants of the MOE. The scholars of the field have produced numerous research results published in prestigious journals overseas. In comparison, the quality of gender studies research had

not reached such a status in the late 1990s. It was thus difficult to compete with other fields of the social sciences.

In addition, one pathfinder observed that many scholars did not take gender studies to be an academic field. She observed that some male scholars thought that the field had emerged out of the need to exercise political correctness; they also thought that was how women's studies scholars had obtained their positions. Both the field and its scholars were not academically qualified. She said, "The climate is still there, that's why few people want to identify with gender studies while applying for research funding that may be seen as low quality or reviewed by gender studies scholars who are seen as less qualified." Because of this bias toward feminist studies in Taiwan's academia, she suggested that consciousness-raising or feminist action and academic practices should be kept separate. For her, it was ludicrous to regard feminist scholarship as legitimate, because the research was merely for women, without any regard for the quality of data collection and analysis. The situation, she worried, continued to keep women's studies at a teaching program level rather than a rich academic field.

Another pathfinder thus proposed to form a feminist epistemic network in order to craft a rich feminist scholarship. She suggested that feminist scholars broaden and strengthen the network. By broadening the network, more scholars would be encouraged to join and form an academic community. By strengthening the network, feminist scholars would consolidate collaborative research to build common languages and shape a boundary of feminist knowledge. Through frequent exchanges, debates, and constructive critiques among feminist scholars, they are able to strengthen feminist scholarship by improving interpretation and analysis of the social reality. In addition, through academic network, feminist scholars can search for minimum economic capital to produce collaborative and systemic research in terms of accumulating cultural capital for feminist studies. As the male gatekeepers and the academy acknowledge the existence of a feminist knowledge, symbolic capital of the field can be achieved. Otherwise, the pathfinder said, "Without an academic reputation, we cannot become independent."

In regard to this collective project, three pathfinders expressed a need of the TFSA to lead the collective action. The organized action could be an effective way to affirm feminist identity and legitimize feminist scholarship. One underlined that it was time for TFSA scholars to turn to collective action from the outside to the inside of the academy. This pathfinder mentioned that the outdated mission for general social movement should be ended given the increasing number of women's movement organizations and the presence of government-supported women's bureaus to address women's issues, welfare, and gender equity in education. This pathfinder said that the academic battle was as important because discursive politics also had certain powers to construct social reality in a (post)modern society.

Regarding the leadership issue, two other pathfinders stated two points that have attributed to the weak influence of TFSA's feminist scholars in Taiwan's academia. First, few women pathfinders have desired to enter the political terrain and play that game with men. The feminist circle has regarded power as a less desirable "thing." Moreover, feminists have watched their comrades too closely, in their effort to exercise perfection in using their powers. This has resulted in the seeming erosion of sisterhood in their fight for social justice and women's rights. The feminist circle, therefore, has needed to reflect upon collective action, to improve the leadership of feminist scholars, to acquire micro-

political competence, and to reconceptualize power as productive rather than reactive construction.

Second, the circle of feminist scholars has been relatively closed. For instance, in the beginning, the TFSA intentionally kept the circle small in order to nurture a women's culture and to strengthen female bonding. It screened new members solely based on the recommendations of their existing members. As the society changed and women's movement became more prevalent, one pathfinder suggested that the TFSA could reconsider its movement agenda and strategy in order to grow in size and influence in the Taiwan academia. She said, "As long as scholars are not against us, they are with us." She thought that it was important to include a wide range of people, with varying skills and knowledge for reactive as well as productive action. By networking with the older generation of feminist scholars, who had negotiating skills in dealing with conservative administrators, she said, "it could help facilitate the negotiation with male gatekeepers for access to information, resources, and rewards that are important for us to develop feminist scholarship." Outreach and broad networking were thus still regarded as effective strategies for collaboration, cooperation, and negotiation in the second decade of the evolution of women's studies in Taiwan's academia.

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I first elucidated the interconnectedness of identity, action, and the evolution of women's studies in Taiwan. Then, I discussed three different ways of further institutionalizing and strengthening the field in the future. In the first part, I explored the meanings of the interplay between identity and action, and I showed how identity triggered action, action embodied identity, and the "being of doing" and the "being of becoming" affirmed identity. The pathfinders' process of "becoming" was evident in the ways in which their consciousness was raised through the stages of change I defined as "contextual awareness," "emergent awareness," critical consciousness, and commitment to action. At different stages of consciousness, in response to different opportunities in the social environment, the pathfinders used various strategies of action—empowering, networking, and confronting—to create and advocate knowledge about, on, and for women, and to enact a feminist identity. I thus conceived of these strategies of action as the nodal points by which action and structure were tied together and the "becoming" of the pathfinders meaningfully intersected with the evolution of women's and gender studies.

Identity and action were key dimensions of the intellectual and social processes through which the pathfinders became feminist scholars and new fields of study emerged and were institutionalized. Through the action of empowerment, the pathfinders created alternative spaces within which alternative meanings could thrive. Through the action of networking, they connected with colleagues and like-minded scholars to obtain organizational, material, and symbolic resources that created, sustained, and promoted women's studies. Through the action of advocating, the pathfinders sought a variety of ways to negotiate and lobby for academic resources and recognition for gender studies in Taiwan's universities. Through the action of confronting differing feminist ideologies, movement framing, and the entrenched social differences between women and men and

among women, the pathfinders drew boundaries along the lines of the politics of difference, which generated constructive tensions that helped expand teaching, innovate feminist knowledge, and construct public discourses representing multiple voices among individual women and women's groups. The hybrid and multiple identities of these constructions became important sources of "differential oppositional consciousness" (Sandoval, 2000), upon which strategies of action would be developed to make meaningful connections between action and structure.

In the second part, I discussed the future challenges of women's studies in Taiwan. Although the majority of pathfinders acknowledged the past achievements of women's studies, they felt that the field needed to be strengthened through greater collective action. Three paths were identified as means by which gender studies in Taiwan could be further institutionalized: integration, autonomy, and a feminist episternic network. The three strategies approximated the debates on institutionalizing women's studies in the United States. The recent arguments by American feminist scholars in favor of constructing a professional identity for women's studies have been an attempt to strengthen and sustain women's studies into the future. With a similar vision, Taiwanese feminist scholars suggested the strategy of forming a feminist epistemic community that would reconceptualize women's studies as an academic field, distinct from direct political action. Its aim was to construct a professional identity for women's studies in order to craft languages, conceptual frameworks, and methodologies that would gain academic legitimacy for interdisciplinary fields of study. In order to make it work, feminist scholars would need to acquire leadership skills and be willing to play the political game at academic institutions. This also rneant that competing for economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital would be essential to forming and legitimizing a marginal field in Taiwan's academia.

However, feminist scholars, both in Taiwan and in the United States, gradually realized that the ideal of transforming universities was not a revolutionary project but an instrumental one. As Ferguson (1984) observed, "women's studies programs cannot restructure the university any more than unions can restructure corporations" (p. 210). The reconceptualization of the relationship between academia and activism in both Taiwan and the United States has led feminist scholars to develop new strategies by which to leverage change. They have learned how to play the master's game in order to consolidate feminist discourses contesting other hegemonic discourses in the academe. For many Taiwanese pathfinders, creating an organization at the margins, yet one that will have an impact on the broader university, needs to be done through collective action and an intellectual movement with a focus on strengthening feminist scholarship.

# Chapter Eight
# Conclusion

This study has explored the role of intellectual activism in the emergence and institutionalization of women's and gender studies in Taiwan. I developed a microfoundational approach to illustrate the interplay of identity, action and structure. I explored how, in this interplay, feminist scholars created networks, formed identities, and strategized action that led to the production and transmission of feminist perspectives and knowledge in Taiwanese academia. I have argued that the form, scope, and degree of the institutionalization of women's and gender studies in Taiwan has been the result of the ongoing, multifaceted efforts of these academicians whom I call *pathfinders*.

In the previous chapters, I unfolded the life histories of the pathfinders, through which we came to know how they have interpreted and managed their shifting orientations within their life courses and developed strategies of action that together have had effects on the formalization of women's studies in Taiwanese universities. The formation of the feminist identity and social action of the pathfinders has been neither neatly rational nor linearly progressive; rather, it has been full of contingency, coritradiction, and ambivalence. The strategies of action of the pathfinders have reflected the multi-dimensional and contradictory tensions of their life goals, as the pathfinders have dealt with the varied institutional and social responses to their projects advancing women's studies in Taiwan's academic world.

In this final chapter, I will try to explain further the significance of this research. It is intended to contribute to a better understanding of the institutionalization of women's studies in a broader picture. By elaborating the form and meaning of local action, I will look at the connection between the social action of Taiwanese pathfinders and the emergence of women's studies as an academic field in the world. The form that the institutionalization of women's studies and the promotion of women's rights took in Taiwan appears to be significantly similar to the forces of constraint and enabling faced by feminist activists across the globe. At the same time, the meaning of local action, whether in Taiwan or elsewhere, will also be distinct in many ways.

## COMMONALITY OF FORCES ACROSS COUNTRIES

Four important common forces can be seen to have had an impact on the feminist action taken to promote women's rights and to advocate women's studies in Taiwan as well as many other countries. They are the reinforcement of institutional sexism by the ruling apparatuses (legitimizing identity), the reconstruction of a collective standpoint (resistance identity) by which to recognize women as a subordinated social group, the formation of collective identity (project identity), and engagement with identity politics across gender, class, race, and nationality.

Institutional sexism is underscored and reinforced by the ruling apparatuses in many, if not all, countries. After women in different societies come to realize that they are an oppressed group, they become willing to take action to change their subordinate status. Fueled by the desire of becoming a Subject, the awakening impulse may have empowered them to search for alternative communal values and to innovate knowledge that reflects their voices and representations. Yet, the yearning for a just society and for solidarity of political action has in many societies, been somewhat weakened by the politics of difference, which have cut across gender, sexual orientation, class, ethnicity, nationality, and so forth. Nevertheless, the search for authentic voices and genuine representations has fueled the expansion of gender studies throughout the world since the 1970s.

In the case of the impact of these four forces on feminist scholars' life histories in Taiwan, it can be said that, first, institutional sexism was shaped by the patriarchal state monopolized by the Kuomintang (KMT)—the Nationalist Party—up until the late 1980s. The KMT party-state constructed a "legitimizing identity" out of nationalism that severely limited women's role in public spheres. This prevailing ideology in Taiwan for over four decades ascribed women's role and duty to the nation and family as one of sacrifice and submission.

Since the 1980s, the Taiwanese women's movement and women's studies have slowly raised women's consciousness, to gradually reveal the social subordination of women while fighting to subvert and overthrow it. Through the mobilization and diffusion of women's knowledge, a socially constructed "resistance identity" against the KMT's political and social controls was formed and solidified in the 1980s. In the 1990s, the accomplishments of the women's movement in Taiwan showed itself in the form of legal reforms and the establishment of gender mainstreaming machineries that would weaken the practices of institutional sexism embedded in regulations and laws, patriarchal norms, and Chinese traditions.

Moreover, the quest for a new, empowered identity has driven Taiwanese women to construct a "project identity"—to become a modern alternative to traditional images of womanhood. Through movement framing and mobilization, women activists and pathfinders in Taiwan have not only weakened the prevailing patriarchal culture, but have also made a dream of constructing a gender-equal society that enables women to pursue their goals and develop into independent persons. Thus, it is the desire to become a Subject that has sent women on a feminist trajectory of reinventing Taiwanese womanhood and of innovating new knowledge on and for women since the 1980s.

And lastly, the politics of identity in Taiwan has become more complex and contradictory in the 1990s. Feminist consciousness and agency have become more trapped in the paradox of the notion of "woman" itself (de Lauretis, 1990). The "Woman" has further been fragmented, destabilized, and caught in the debates between the modernist trajectory (women's welfare reform) and the poststructuralist line (sexual liberation and proliferation of women's voices). The politics of difference, while, on the one hand, facilitating innovation of knowledge on sexuality and gender, has, on the other hand, weakened the solidarity of the women's movement. The future of the women's movement in Taiwan therefore relies on how feminist activists and scholars recreate a more inclusive standpoint or strategic framing that is able to grapple with or

constructively maintain the differences while at the time strengthen the alliances of political action across different groups and nations.

## UNIQUENESS OF FEMINIST ACTION IN TAIWAN

While the common forces provoking feminist agency around the world can also be found in the Taiwanese context, the content and meaning of identity formation and feminist action cannot be solely dissolved into general or abstract forms. The meaning of feminist action is constituted by the desires, motivations, life goals, personal relations, plans, and strategies of the pathfinders, including the particular individuality involved in any identity formation or choice-making. Hence the lived experiences of the pathfinders not only address the process of feminist "becoming," but also the collective project of forging the field in Taiwan's academia. These lived experiences of the pathfinders render the institutionalization of women's studies in Taiwan unique and thus, significant in terms of understanding the interplay among identity, action, and structure in particular times and places. By unfolding the uniqueness of local feminist action, we can gain a better overall understanding of the emergent global field in all its diversity and complexity, within the context of the broader feminist project that has shaped this nascent academic field worldwide.

### *Identity Formation: Multiple Paths of Becoming*

The multiple paths of becoming of Taiwanese pathfinders have demonstrated that gender consciousness consists of the self, desires, and meanings of action. Pathfinders' subjective interpretations of events and happenings in their lives reflect a variety of ideologies and values that have evolved in history or discourses constantly contested in Taiwanese society. Their shifts of consciousness have unfolded through different stages of gender awareness. The institutional sexism they have encountered has provided the pathfinders a contextual understanding and awareness of gender relations in Taiwan. Through exposure to the western women's movement literature and feminist thinking, the pathfinders have nurtured the critical thinking by which awareness of gender hierarchy has emerged. Their active engagement with the women's movement and women's studies has often inspired the women featured in this study to take an alternative or feminist standpoint and to transform their subjectivity. They were able to turn themselves into pathfinders and feminists within their fields of action, such as the women's movement or women's studies.

There are four primary sources of the pathfinders' commitment to doing women's studies and becoming feminist scholars in Taiwan. They were the raised feminist consciousness, engagement with critical theories, belief in the power of formal organizing, and ties to informal networks of Taiwanese feminists. As the pathfinders joined the collective project of promoting women's studies in Taiwan, they heightened their feminist consciousness and affirmed their feminist identities. The centrality of feminist values became stronger and influenced the pathfinders' life goals, which functioned as "the center of gravity" orienting their actions toward accomplishing their political desires.

### *Contextualized Feminist Action*

The concept of contextualized action expresses the dynamic of social change by which the unfolding interconnection of action and structure can be understood in particular contexts. In Taiwan, three hegemonic discourses and identity politics have influenced the framing and agendas of mobilization of both the women's movement and gender studies. The three hegemonic discourses have to do with the cultural values of harmony, centralized governmental control, and the governmental development paradigm. Also, the hybridism of cultural borrowing from the West poses even more problems concerning the conflicts and debates over the nature of public discourses and identity politics in Taiwan. Identity politics has evolved alongside the differentiation of political interests and representations. It crosses gender, ethnicity, party affiliation, women's movement agendas, and feminist ideologies (welfare vs. sex liberation).

The three hegemonic discourses mainly have undergirded the "organizational logic" and "masculine ethic" within Taiwan's academia. Embedded in such a context, the women's movement activists and academic pathfinders initially took a low-profile approach to creating a social space for claiming an identity, networking with people for bridging resources with feminist visions, advocating for women's rights, and promoting women's studies. The joint actions of the academic pathfinders at YU and FU demonstrate that, in a hostile climate, feminist academicians have often employed networking and advocacy as the primary strategies for affirming their identities and for incubating women's studies on thelr campuses.

The goals of these two orientations have been to broaden social support, to buffer potential hindrances thrown up by a university administration or central government, and to reduce the conflicts within the advocacy process. These two tactics indicate that low-profile agendas for feminist action have been more acceptable to the public and to the academic gatekeepers in Taiwan. However, such tactics have also generated conflicts within and between women's groups. Three primary disputes identified by the pathfinders accounted for the confrontation with the politics of difference in Taiwan: academics vs. activism, women's welfare vs. sexual liberation, and men vs. women getting involved in gender studies. Through these debates, the pathfinders sharpened their viewpoints, clarified the relationships among feminism, the women's movement, and women's studies, affirmed their group identities, and re-conceptualized their political alliances not based merely upon sex or social categories but upon values and ideologies. Therefore, the identity politics is not solely perceived as a destructive force tearing apart the sisterhood of feminist action. Rather, it provides the pathfinders with a constructive tension that has forced them to take action—to affirm their identities, to network with potential supporters, and to specify their movement agendas. Although identity politics may weaken the women's movement forces, it also may construct new spaces for expanding and strengthening feminist discourses that contest hegemonic discourses both in academe and in society.

### *Institutionalization*

The social action and academic practices of the thirty-one pathfinders in this study have shown how identity-shifts have become embodied in action and how their organized action has shaped the evolution of women's studies at the two research sites—Yushan

University and Formosa University. Through individual and group efforts, the institutionalization of women's studies in Taiwan began with a research program, a library, individual and team-teaching courses, and then has further formalized by the structures of a teaching certificate program, a department-like graduate program, and a subfield eligible for national grants. The first women's studies research program was formed in 1985. The number of research programs increased to eight by 1996, and four graduate institutes have been established as of 2003. The gender courses have increased every year and so has the number of master's theses on the topic of gender. The Taiwanese Feminist Scholars' Association has gradually become a professional group of feminist scholars across disciplines and institutions that collectively promote feminism and gender studies on college campuses.

In addition, the feminist action taken and social responsibilities acquired by the pathfinders have had an extensive influence on gender studies in the political and social realms. Alongside the strengthening and legitimization of feminist scholarship, these pathfinders have leveraged their knowledge and have amplified their voices to intervene in policy-making and to raise the gender consciousness of the public.

### *Future Challenges of Gender Studies in Taiwan*

The majority of the pathfinders acknowledged the past achievements of women's studies by pointing out the expansion of gender-related courses and acceleration of the scope and degree of institutionalization in the field. Nevertheless, they have also expressed a need to further strengthen the field through collective action. Three paths have been identified to further institutionalize gender studies in Taiwan: integration, autonomy, and the strengthening of a feminist epistemic network. Among the three paths, fortifying the existing feminist epistemic community has been seen as one of the most important strategies for sustaining gender studies into the future.

A larger, more integrated feminist network would help in the construction of a professional identity for gender studies by crafting languages, generating conceptual frameworks, and improving research methods and quality. Through collective efforts and the accumulation of cultural capital in gender studies, the field would gain academic legitimacy for interdisciplinary fields of study. In order to make this work, so that feminist scholars can survive and excel in academic institutions, pathfinders have suggested that of prime importance is acquiring leadership skills and micro-political competences. These skills, competencies, and knowledge are also important for competing for economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital essential to forming and legitimizing a marginal field in Taiwan's academia.

To conclude, although this research is limited by the relatively small number of pathfinders and sites studied, the meaning of the intellectual activism portrayed here goes beyond the limitations of the participant sample at the two universities. The experiences of the pathfinders and the meanings of their action connect the local case with some general trends in the global emergent field. Despite the fact that forms of intellectual activism may look similar from country to country, the unique meanings of feminist action offer some tangible and poignant reminders of how the processes of intellectual activism and institutionalization differ from place to place. The case studies documented here have shown that feminist action in Taiwan has been a kind of activism that has

involved the interplay of feminist networks, identities, scholarly interests, and strategies of action, as well as their effects on the institutionalization of women's and gender studies. It denotes an intellectual movement involving Taiwanese scholars who have identified with a dynamic, socially grounded feminism, and who have constructed specific strategies of action for pursuing gender studies in Taiwan's academia. The emergent field of women's studies has thus been interconnected with the social action and identity forming of the pathfinders, which concurs with a micro-macro link between life histories of individuals and structural changes. The meaning of the interplay between action and structure, as Abrams (1982) states, is that social change is shaped "by constant and more or less purposeful individual action *and* that individual action, however purposeful, is made by history and society" (p. xiii, emphasis in original).

# Appendix A

## INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Below are two sets of interview questions—career history and reflections on evolution of women's/gender studies.

### *Career History*

*1. Institutional Setting*

a. current position, for how long, and where before
b. teaching and doing research experiences
c. collaborative experience in teaching and research
d. evaluation from students and colleagues in terms of teaching and research
e. personal relationship with students and colleagues

*2. Professional Activity*

a. association memberships (national, regional, international)
b. what benefits from associations
c. publication activities
d. work with MA/PhD students on thesis and dissertation

### *Reflections on Evolution of Women's/Gender Studies*

*1. Feminist and Scholarly Identities*

a. your primary scholarly interests, change over time?
b. when start teaching and doing research about women, why and how?
c. what strategies were you used to advance feminist teaching and research? Will you do differently if you have a chance to do again your teaching and research in the beginning?
d. reaction of students and colleagues to your feminist identities; how to deal with this reaction and where to seek support?
e. tension between doing academic and activism, how to deal with it?
f. influence of feminist identity on professional life and career development
g. what is the major challenge to be a feminist scholar?

*2. Feminist Network*

a. who did you frequently talk to, to exchange ideas for teaching and research, and to get social support?
b. why did you make informal and formal connection with these people?

c. what kinds of group activities or action make you feel empowered?
d. types and functions of feminist networks (local and international) you involved in?
e. what common interests of these feminist networks?
f. benefits/costs of involving in the feminist networks in relation to your feminist scholarly interests?
g. what strategies (please define) or any collective action have been used to help establish and stabilize women's/gender studies in your institution?

*3. Research Centers/Programs of Women's/Gender Studies*

a. how did the center/program come into existence?
b. what is the purpose of the center/program?
c. the current structure of the center/program—directors, the decision-making board, staff, faculty
d. the status (space, budget, recognition) of the research centers/ program, change over time; how to maintain and advance it?
e. institutional response to the emergence and growth of women's/gender studies, change over time?
f. what strategies (please define) have been taken and framing has been constructed to make the center/program to be accepted and recognized by the university?
g. the function and benefit of the research centers to feminist teaching and research
h. currently major challenge to women's/gender studies, any unsolved issues
i. the future of women's/gender studies, what the best institutional form would be?
j. what is your definition of institutionalization of women's/ gender studies?

*4. Impacts of Women's/Gender Studies*

a. the impacts of women's/gender studies on your lives
b. major contribution of women's/gender studies to students' learning, knowledge production
c. contribution of women's/gender studies to non-academic arenas

**Note:** This is an open-ended interview study. Not all questions will be used in the two-hour taped interview.

# Appendix B

**Women's Movement's Achievement in Legislation, 1980s–2001**

| Name of Bill | Issue and Content | Process and Outcome |
|---|---|---|
| The Act of Eugenic Protection | Legalized abortion | Petition for "Legalized Abortion" in 1984.<br>Bill passed in 1984. |
| The Act of Prevention of Child Prostitution of Children and Youth | Child prostitution: Prevents children and teenagers from becoming prostitutes | First seminar discussion in 1985.<br>First reading in 1993.<br>Bill passed in 1995. |
| Children's Welfare Act | Same as above | |
| Youth's Welfare Act | Same as above | |
| Revision of Family Provision in the Civil Code | Divorce and gender equality within marriage and the family: Expands the definition of "acceptable grounds for judicial divorce," making it easier to get a divorce; Allows wife to keep the property registered in her name prior to 1985 without proving that she previously owned it; | First seminar discussion in 1991.<br>Grand Justice determined the Article 1089 in the Civil Code was unconstitutional in 1994.<br>Sent to Legislative Yuan in 1995.<br>Final approval of revisions in 1996. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Pays housework or professional help to outslde party. | |
| The Act for Prevention and Treatment of Sexual Assault Problems | Sexual Violence: Prevents sexual assault and violence; Protects victims of sexual violence. | First public hearing in 1993; Act submitted in 1994; The Act passed in 1996. |
| The Act for Prevention of Domestic Violence | Domestic Violence: Asks state intervention in domestic violence; Protects victim of domestic violence. | Act submitted in 1996. The Act passed in 1998. |
| Equal Employment Act for Men and Women | Gender equality in the work place: Equal employment opportunity for women; Offers maternity and paternity leave; Prevents sexual harassment. | Formation of a drafting committee, 1987. First reading in 1990. The Act passed in Dec. 2001 |

Source with slight revision: Fan (2000), p. 141 Table 5.7

# Appendix C

**Women's and Gender Research Organizations in Taiwan**

| Organization | Major Tasks and Publications |
|---|---|
| National Taiwan University<br>**Women's Research Program,** 1985 renamed **Population and Gender Studies Center,** 1999 | **Major Tasks**<br>1. Promoting women's studies;<br>2. Collecting materials on Women's studies;<br>3. Publishing academic works on women's studies;<br>4. Organizing academic conferences and workshops;<br>5. Offering women's studies courses;<br>6. Offering certification granting program on women and gender studies since 1997.<br>**Publications**<br>1. *Bibliography of Women's Studies Literature between 1945 and 1985;*<br>2. *Bulletin of Women's Studies*, since 1989, renamed *Bulletin of Women and Gender Studies* in 1994;<br>3. *Journal of Women and Gender Studies*, since 1990;<br>4. *Abstract of Research on Women in Taiwan*, 1992;<br>5. *Handbook of "White Ribbon Campaign"* in Taiwan, 2000. |
| National Tsing Hua University, | **Major tasks** |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Research Program on Gender and Society,** 2000 | 1. Promoting women's studies;<br>2. Developing women's studies curriculum<br>**Publications**<br>1. *Compilation of Curriculum Design,* 1991<br>2. *Bulletin of Gender Book Review,* 1995<br>3. *Homepage Culture Magazine,* 1995 |
| Kaohsiung Medical College<br>(Kaohsiung Medical University since 1999)<br><br>**Research Center on Gender Studies,** 1991 | **Major tasks**<br>1. Promoting gender equity education;<br>2. Hot-line service for community women |

| Organization | Major Tasks and Publications |
|---|---|
| Institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica<br>**Research Project on Women's History in Modern China,** 1992 | **Major task**<br>Research project on women's history in modern China<br>**Publications**<br>*Research on Women's History in Modern China,* since 1993. |
| **Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association,** 1993 | **Major tasks**<br>1. Establishment of supporting network for women's studies scholars;<br>2. Promoting women's movement on campus;<br>3. Making public statements on social issues.<br>**Publications**<br>1. *White Paper Book on Women's Conditions in Taiwan,* 1995;<br>2. *Schools of Feminist Theories,* 1996;<br>3. *Women, State and the Caring Work,* 1997. |
| National Central | **Major tasks:** |

| | |
|---|---|
| University **Center for the Study of Sexualities,** 1995 | 1. Promoting research on sexualities;<br>2. Supporting gender minorities;<br>3. Organizing annual "4sex" conference.<br>**Publications**<br>1. *Bulletin of Sexuality Education,* 1997;<br>2. *Gender/Sexuality Studies,* 1998;<br>3. *Series of Working Papers in Sexuality Studies,* since 1998. |
| National Cheng Kung University 1 **Women and Gender Program,** 1995 | **Major tasks:**<br>1. Organizing study groups;<br>2. Conducting research projects;<br>3. Offering gender studies courses in general education;<br>4. Promoting gender equity education. |
| Shih Hsin University **Gender and Media Program,** 1995 **Graduate Institute for Gender Studies,** 2003 | **Major tasks:**<br>1. Offering gender studies courses in general education;<br>2. Cultivating professionals in the studies of gender & media, gender & culture, and gender & policy-making. |

| **Organization** | **Major Tasks and Publications** |
|---|---|
| Tung Hai University, **Gender and Culture Program,** 1995 | **Major tasks:**<br>1. Offering gender studies courses in general education;<br>2. Promoting gender equity education. |
| Tamkiang University, **Chinese Women's Literature Program,** 1998 | **Major tasks:**<br>1. Organizlng study groups;<br>2. Organizing academic conferences. |
| National Kaohsiung | **Major tasks:** |

| | |
|---|---|
| Normal University, **Gtaduate Institute of Gender Education,** 2000 | 1. Offering MA degree program;<br>2. Cultivating professionals in gender education. |
| Kaohsiung Medical University **Graduate Institute of Gender Studies,** 2001 | **Major tasks:**<br>1. Offering MA degree program;<br>2. Cultivating professionals in gender and medicine studies. |
| Source with slight revision: Hsieh & Chang (2004), Table III. | |

# Notes

## NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Clearly, in many countries, women's studies and the women's movement have common roots in social activism (Henriquez, 1996; Levin, 1996; Stromquist, 1999). Women's studies is usually seen as the academic arm of women's political movements, theorizing the roots and structures of women's oppression, justifying women's rights as human rights, and demanding the need for change enforced by policies (Hatton, 1994; Stromquist, 1999). The research for women that has been done by women academics has in many countries directly or indirectly helped shape and revise public policies to advance women's statuses. The policies addressing gender equity issues, in most cases, have been made in response to pressures from domestic women's movements and/or international conventions, beginning with those that resulted from the United Nations Decade for Women in 1975 (Watanabe, 1994; Prah, 1996; Mwaka, 1996). Legal reforms such as women's ownership of property, child custody by mothers, gender equity at work, and penalties for sexual violence have been enacted in some countries (Hsieh, 1994; Chang, 1996). Policies have been made to reduce the feminization of poverty (Chesaina, 1994; Reddock, 1994). Educational access, retention, and the achievement of girls, women, and minority women have been targeted and enforced by many states and supported by international organlzations (Ritchie, 1994; Prah, 1996; Mawaka, 1996; Toa, 1996). The diversity issues dealth with in women's studies have also heped to raise awareness of the "multiple oppression" that is exacerbated by the intersection of gender, race, class, refugees, and immigration status. This awareness has led to more sophisticated policy-making that addresses the different needs of targeted minorities and the disadvantaged (Hatton, 1994; Woodward, 1994).

   In addition to policy-making 'in terms of gender equity, more directly associated with women's studies and its related research findings are curriculum reform for eliminating sex role stereotypes at all levels of education, and teacher training for raising gender awareness (Ronsenfelt, 1994; Hsieh, 1994; Chang, 1996). Furthermore, the contents of textbooks and socialization of gender stereotypes in the teaching and learning processes have been examined by many feminist researchers (Ritchie, 1994). The call for gender-inclusive curriculum and textbooks in many countries is underway and some have achieved a certain degree of textbook revision and curriculum reform (Ronsenfelt, 1994). In addition, many teacher-training courses have incorporated gender awareness and sensitivity into the acquisition of teacher-training skills (Campell & Sanders, 1997; Lundeberg, 1997).

2. In addition to research and knowledge production, feminist teaching has had a great impact on women students. They are the direct beneficiaries of women's studies through

consciousness raising and empowerment pedagogy. According to Warwick and Auchmuty (1995), most of the students who have chosen to undertake women's studies have thought the programs enabled them to make changes in their lives, including the development of capabilities for recognizing and acting against individual and institutional discrimination based on gender.

3. These endeavors include redefining some androcentric concepts, such as the state, citizenship, family, patriarchy, development, labor, division of labor, theories, methodologies, epistemologies. Some of these concepts focus on revealing women's experiences—for example, sex segregation at work, sexual harassment, domestic violence, date rape, gender stereotype/bias in education, women's health, sexuality, the body, to name only a few (Stromquist & Monkman, 1998; Ollenburger & Moore, 1998).
4. Only a few nations have funded campus-based research centers, one example of which is the Netherlands. In some countries, the emergence and development of off-campus centers were a direct result of international conventions. The United Nations Decade for Women (1975–1985) exerted influence on individual countries to ameliorate women's subordinated statuses in their countries. Off-campus centers of research on women in Japan, Kenya, Ghana, and Uganda were established through the support of their governments, whereas Costa Rica's was supported by NGOs responding to international agreements (Watanabe, 1994; Chesaina, 1994; Gonzalez-Suarez & Guzman, 1994, Mwaka, 1996; Prah, 1996).
5. With Argentina's political transition to democracy in 1983, many of the professionals in the NGOs returned to universities but also continued to work for those non-profit research institutions (Bonder, 1994).
6. The United States has seen the greatest amount of growth in this area, with, for example, women's studies courses growing from 17 in 1969 to almost 5,000 by 1974 (McMartin, 1993). The programs numbered 150 in 1975 and doubled by 1980, exceeding 600 by the early 1990s (Boxer, 1998). The first master's degree in women's studies was granted in 1972, and the first doctoral degree in 1982. By 1994, graduate programs were offered in thirty-eight states; fourteen institutions awarded master's degrees and three universities offered interdisciplinary doctoral programs in women's studies, and more than fifty institutions offered graduate programs with an emphasis or concentration in women's studies (Boxer, 1998).
7. Some other important factors, such as gaining the recognition of the Department of Education or its equivalent, receiving the support of administration and senior faculty, founding a national women's studies association, women's studies practitioners' networking, and the formation of committees within established professional associations, are important in facilitating the process of the institutionalizing women's studies (Howe, 1991; Miske, 1995; Howe, 2000; Messer-Davidow, 2002). Howe (1991) indicates thirteen primary factors in relation to the process of institutionalization of women's studies in the United States in order of their appearance: (1) the willingness of faculty members to create new courses; (2) students' and teachers' endeavor to make it happen with enthuslasm; (3) strategies of collecting texts and teaching materials not yet published; (4) early affiliating with traditional departments; (5) the forming of women's studies programs; (6) access to university funding and making ties with administrations, departments, and curriculum committees; (7) the establishment of women's caucuses within established professional organizations; (8) the presence of national fellowship programs to sponsor research; (9) the establishment of NWSA; (10) the presence of a network of centers for research; (11) the availability of a body of literature; (12) recognition by the Department of Education in the United States; (13) the presence of endowed chairs in women's studies.
8. Taking the United States as an example, according to a report by the Carnegie Foundation, by 1990 no more than 2 percent of four-year colleges and universities required students to take a course in women's studies, whereas 53 percent of four-year colleges and universities required students to take at least one course in Western civilization, 46 percent required at

least one course in world civilizations, and 20 percent required at least one course in multicultural (racial/ethnic) studies (Rosenfelt, 1994).

9. The organizational publications, *Awakening Magazine* and *Bulletin of Women and Gender Studies* of the National Taiwan University, served as important historical documents that have assisted me enormously in understanding what significant topics and important events regarding women's issues have been reported or studied in the past, and how they have helped shape public discussion, feminist discourses or women's movements both in universities and in society at large in Taiwan. I also collected updated government statistics regarding women's socio-economic and political status in general, and in education in particular.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Formal and informal organizational contexts, on the other hand, are also the primary sites where counter-hegemonic practices can attempt to un-do gender. Although gendered practices are, for the most part, taken-for-granted in organizational life and interpersonal relationships, the daily constraints and discrimination that feminist scholars experience become crucial points for reflection and consciousness-raising, activities out of which counter-hegemonic practices can be developed and a fault-line of experiences can be turned into an epistemic advantage for feminist inquiry (Smith, 1988; Gumport, 1991; Harding, 1996; Boxer, 1998; Morley, 1999). For instance, Gumport's (1987) study describes how feminist consciousness-raising was oftentimes nurtured by the confrontational activities that female students and faculty had initiated to improve the situation of women on campuses.
2. The term "outsider within" was first used by Patricia Hill Collins (1986) to address the contribution to sociological discourse and feminism of the unique perspective of Black women or Black feminist thought generated from Black women's outsider-within status.
3. Power and knowledge, according to Foucault, are inseparable. He argues that "[t]here is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (Foucault, 1977, p. 27). Discourse is not constituted by random words or statements; it formulates itself by rules and procedures. The rules legitimize the procedures by which a discourse claims itself to represent the regime of truth while also prohibiting and excluding certain ideologies (Cherryholmes, 1988; Kenway, 1990). From a similar viewpoint, Smith (1988) defines the institutionalization of knowledge-power as socially organized practices that produce an objectified form of knowledge. That objectified knowledge authorizes and sorts out the reading of social facts by which ideological practices are constituted and by which people think about themselves and society. It is, in short, an integral part of the ruling mechanism that legitimizes and naturalizes power relations (Smith, 1988, 1990).
4. The second-sex status of women, nevertheless, has created a fault-line along which women may break away from the masculine hegemonic discourses and develop a critical perspective "to explore as insiders the social relations in which we [women] play a part" in producing the objectified forms of knowledge (Smith, 1988, p. 61). Indeed, fundamental to feminism is the premise that women begin to learn to ask different questions, and to challenge the wide array of androcentric constructs entrenched in knowledge production. Women's studies thus becomes a cultural site where wornen can struggle to deconstruct misrepresentations and to reconstruct an alternative perspective on the world (Harding, 1996; Boxer, 1998).
5. There exist at least three distinct feminist perspectives in higher education—liberal, left, and radical feminist (Perreault, 1993). For liberal feminists, women's studies is seen as a remedial or transitional strategy to integrate women as subject matter in conventional disciplines. Some cautiously view it as holding the potential danger of reinforcing a gender

line of distinctness. For left feminists, women's studies is a compensatory yet important means to raise women's consciousness, radicalize students, faculty, and administrators alike, and ask new questions that create new social understandings. However, they fear that the field may become an end in itself and replace revolutionary projects that aim to unite scholars with larger groups in society and transform all institutions and social relations. For radical feminists, women's studies is crucial and central to achieving their goals. The field is justified in itself via its own attempt to acquire knowledge about and for women. They do not worry about the difference and division between men and women being potentially reinforced by women's studies; instead, they applaud the division and see it as a necessary step to reclaiming women's subjectivity. Some even propose a women-centered university to achieve their goals (Rich, 1993).

6. The critics state that women's studies has failed to educate college students and to advocate true inclusion and social justice (Patai & Koertge, 1994; Mandel, 2000). Other, more reactionary arguments based on highly questionable information and an antagonism toward free and open scrutiny (Sommers, 1995), have relentlessly accused feminist scholars of being "zealots" or "extremists" who promote man-hating or sex-based exclusion and, thereby, undermine true equality.
7. Recently, feminist theorists have made efforts to include differences of identity and reclaim a common foundation for forming collective action. Revisiting feminist standpoints is one of many methods for doing so. It contains three important orientations: reclalming collective subjects, inventing a cognitive mapping of pluralism, and recuperating the ethic of social justice.

As a project of cognitive restructuring, a standpoint is taken based upon the diversity of individual experiences in the forming of "multiple, subversive, collective subjects" that are a condition of political action (Weeks, 1998, p. 136). A standpoint is not an immediate perspective conveniently acquired by the subject, who happens to possess a particular subject position. Rather, it is a collective reading of that position to discover a means of social injustice. It is thus a collectively achieved project.

The second method is a pragmatic turn or a cognitive restructuring of feminisms. This cognitive mapping acknowledges partial, historical contingencies, and situated identities and knowledge. Such a standpoint may more likely facilitate dialogue and coalitions to recuperate sustained collective action. With an emphasis on pragmatism in how to use epistemology and methodology, the issue of identity formation is shifted from the question of what essences ground a "woman" to how to form a feminist standpoint useful for coalitional action (Hekman, 1998). The turn to making strategic use of identity thus helps to avoid an essentialist definition of subjectivity or redefining the meaning of essentialism. That is, any "essential" meaning of identity should itself be interpreted as a "strategic

essentialism," a particular form of resistance called forth by subordinated women in particular contexts (Spivak, 1993).

The third essence of a standpoint emphasizes an ethic or a yearning for social justice that is vital to form collective action. As Haraway (1997) explicates, "[a] feminist standpoint is a practical technology rooted in yearning, not an abstract philosophical foundation" (Haraway, 1997, p. 199). The yearning for social justice and for making a better world are essential to feminist political action faced with the politics of difference, and efforts must be made to cross boundaries of race, gender, and class (hooks, 1994). A standpoint that works as a project or an orientation has the potential to transform a position into a vision and an ethic. It is the ethic of a standpoint that motivates the subject to select and affirm particular values and viewpoints, and provides an enabling ground from which the subjects are empowered to construct a collective identity and action (Weeks, 1998).

8. The concept of critical mass is from physics. The original meaning is "the minimum quantity of nuclear fuel required to start a chain reaction" (Klein, 1996, p. 35). Klein applies the idea to the development of interdisciplinary fields. The elements are divided into groups. My definition of critical mass has in mind the first group: an adequate number of individuals, and an adequate number and scale of programs in terms of faculty, students, and researchers, to generate a chain of social action that helps to sustain the development of women's studies in universities. Further detailed definition of critical mass in relation to interdisciplinary fields can be found in Klein's work (p. 35–36).
9. Early feminist awakenings of feminist students and scholars in the late 1960s and early 1970s created a form of social capital in the agenda-setting networks of women on campuses and the "women's liberation meetings" or "women's caucus meetings." Through these joint actions, the critical mass of feminists was enlarged and became powerful enough to request the institutionalization of women's studies on campuses across three decades.
10. Differing from the conventional understanding of organizational life as something bounded by departmental and disciplinary homes, feminist academic networks and communities have been formed across departments, disciplines, and institutions. The existence of feminist communities counters the functionalist belief that the authority of organizational management and integration in departments and institutions socializes faculty in accordance with their organizational values, loyalties, and identities (Gumport, 1991; Boxer, 1998; Stromquist, 1999).
11. However, in my view, it is debatable whether a marginal invisibility of women's studies programs could play a vital and resistant force for feminist scholars in the long run. It is also uncertain as to what would be the best means by which to serve the future of women's studies. As feminist practitioners have argued, although the development of alternative organizations and legitimacy of feminist scholarship were initially construed as inseparable goals and processes, they could evolve and be institutionalized in varying trajectories in response to ever-changing circumstances at any point in time (Howe, 1991; Boxer, 1998; Allen & Kitch, 1998). Moreover, Miske's (1995) case study showed that the formal status of women's studies research centers were important for practitioners in buffering mainstream

pressure and resisting the dominant structural and normalized practices. Gumport (1990), in her concern for the legitimacy of feminist scholarship, raised the issue that the future of women's studies depends on the evolution of feminist scholarship as a "vocation" that has to be institutionalized within postsecondary institutions. The formalization of a vocation is processed and reproduced by the formal training of Ph.D. students with new generations of expertise, and also by a necessary home base in institutions to carry out the training and accredit that expertise. Other feminist scholars have also been eager to find a home base for women's and gender studies after experiencing the budget cuts of the 1980s; they have felt particularly at risk in the face of the new trend of managerially reconstructing higher education (Boxer, 1998; Allen & Kitch, 1998).

12. From this perspective, agency thus forms the crux of the interplay between the action and structure constitutive of dynamic social life. The term "human agency" itself has remained an elusive yet indispensable construct tied to various conceptions of subjectivity, selfhood, desires, motivation, intention, will, power, morality, choice, purposefulness, initiative, freedom, autonomy, creativity, cntical thinking, reflectivity, consciousness, and identity (Giddens, 1984; Sztompka, 1991, Gardiner; 1995; Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). It is possible to cull the primary significance of human agency from the endless debates articulated between action based on instrumental rationality and normative values on the one hand, and between structure and action on the other. The former endows human agency with freedom, autonorny, and beliefs that affirm that individuals are capable of making rational or moral choices and of shaping the conditions in which they live, while the latter deals wlth the dilemma of voluntarism vs. determinism. Synthesizing efforts have been made to solve these conundrums by theorizing the interpenetration of these two opposing sociological perspectives (Sztompka, 1991, Emirbayer & Mische, 1998).

Philosophies based on instrumental rationality can be found in the works of Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, and John Stuart Mill, and those on norm-based agency in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's and Immanuel Kant's works. Sociological concepts of structure can be found in the works of Talcott Parsons and structural functionalists (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). An emphasis on action or the individual can be found in such schools of thought as symbolic interactionism, dramaturgical sociology, phenomenological sociology, ethnomethodology, and microsociology (Sztompka, 1991). Syntheses of such work can be found, for instance, in Jeffrey Alexander, John Dewey and George Herbert Mead, Alfred Schutz, Anthony Giddens, Pierre Bourdieu, Margaret Archer, and Philip Abrams (Sztompka, 1991; Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). Philosophical, political, and sociological theories of a free agent were developed in the past based on a unified socio-cultural model of masculinity and, thus, excluded women's experiences by separating the public and private spheres and denying women's entitlement to agency (Wollstonecraft, 1995; Benhabib, 1992; Arneil, 1999). Feminist works on the self and identity have dealt with the gender aspects that have been absent from agency theorization in the varying

disciplines (de Beauviore, 1989; Eisenstein, 1979; Gilligan, 1982; Butler, 1989; Mackinnon, 1989; Benhabib, 1992).

13. Historical sociology or sociology of becoming, by emphasizing a temporal component, adds sophistication to the moving interplay of structure and action by interweaving them into the two axes of the contingency of structural contexts and the emergence or "morphogenesis" of agency (Archer, 1982). The contingency of structure refers to the temporal and relational contexts within which social actors make choices and decisions that might have an effect of reproduction or reconstruction of structure (Emirbayer & Mische). The implication is that institutions and structures have never totally determined social action and that there is always room for social actors to transform society.

    The emergence of agency, according to Emirbayer and Mische's postulation (1998), denotes dynamic possibilities and capacities of human agency composed of variable and changing orientations simultaneously existing within a process; agency is oriented simultaneously toward the past, the present, and the future, accompanied by social actors' different degrees of reflection and self-consciousness. The past is ruled by selective attention naturally derived from habits, memory, norms, and scripted practices with unconsciousness or a minimum of self-consciousness by actors. The present is pertinent to strategy or practical action oriented toward assessment, problem-solving, and strategic implementation. It is based on creative acts and some degree of reflection by social actors. Orientation toward the future refers to a trajectory composed of creativity, imagination, and projectivity, with a high level of reflection on the part of social actors. Changes in the temporal orientation of human agency may involve varying degrees of creativity. They may also involve reflectivity in association with action embedded in contingent structures and relational contexts. Each temporal dimension of agency works as an analytical aspect instead of as successive stages of action. The purpose of constructing an analytical aspect of temporal orientation is to explicate the emergence of an agency embedded in contingent situations—that is, historical, cultural, and personal variability—out of which action and structure are co-produced in a historical process. The interplay between action and structure is thus illuminated by social actors who initiate action that transforms society or who carry out social practices that produce institutions (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998).

14. Social change is a complex and diverse phenomenon. Progressive social change derives from many sources, comes in different forms and at different rates, and produces diverse meanings and visions (Smith, 1976; Touraine, 1988); it may simply be thought of as evolution or revolution.

15. For functionalists, a pathfinder is an organization, an entrepreneur, or a political leader who invents new technology, creates new systems, values, and attitudes, and conducts top-down strategies of change to push systems and societies towards a linear course of progress, carrying an ethical concern for systemic stability and social integration (Kelman & Warwick, 1978; Kotler, 1978; Lin & Zalman, 1978; Sztompka, 1991). For critical theorists, pathfinders represent the "critical mass" or historical agency that questions power relations overdetermined by the ruling class, and desires change toward a more equal and just society (Lukacs, 1971; Touraine, 1988; Weiler, 1988). Two major lines of critical thought have been theorized to explain the reproduction of and resistance to the predominant power relations. The first line of thought follows the Marxist tradition, explaining how structural forces structure the consciousness of the oppressed and exert dominant power over individual life experiences. The second line of thought within critical paradigms is proposed by the production theorists, inspired by phenomenological sociology. They reject positivism and objectivity and call for a return of social actors who are able to make history for themselves (Johnson, Dandeker, & Ashworth, 1984; Weiler, 1988; Touraine, 1988). Production theories, as Weiler (1988) indicates, attempt to bring both individuals and classes onto the stage of struggle in the world. They emphasize that social actors are creative and reflexive, and often assert their own experience and contest or resist the dominant social power forced upon them in different settings. The "return of the actor" perspective claims that history is made by the action of people rather than by a power above them, universal laws, or a dialectical force of history that would contain the seeds of its own transformation (Touraine, 1988).
16. "Services" are usually proactive and entail provision of job training, shelters for battered women, literacy programs, etc., while "cultural activities" refers to sponsoring art festivals, conferences, and media production efforts. The organizational strategies of service provision and cultural activities emphasize individual change by providing resources that simultaneously engage and empower individuals through their participation in social, economic, political, and cultural practices (Minkoff 1999).

## NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Indigenous ethnic groups are officially divided into nine different tribes. In addition to the four main categories of ethnicity in Taiwan, since the 1990s there has been an increasing number of "foreign brides" immigrating through marriage to Taiwanese men. Most of these women have come from the Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and, recently showing the most rapid growth, China. The ethnicity of these new immigrants has not been offtcially categorized. But with the speedy growth of foreign brides, we can foresee the rising growth of hybrid formations of ethnic groups in Taiwan.
2. The regime has been characterized as a quasi-Leninist revolutionary party state, or as a state of authoritarian clientelism or state capitalism (Winckler, 1984; Johnson, 1987; Gold, 1994; Cheng, 1993; Wang, 1996).
3. The repressive quality of Taiwanese daily life has been depicted as follows: "[A] severe and Spartan militarism pervaded daily life on Taiwan. Smartly marching military police with gleaming white helmets and automatic weapons strutted mechanically down city streets. Mail from abroad was intercepted and screened… Local newspapers printed self-congratulatory pabulum. Slogans promoting vigilance against communism and defending the moralistic crusades of the Republic of China (ROC) were posted in public spots. In movie theaters, the national anthem was played before the start of every movie… From the walls of nearly every public office, a pair of framed portraits of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek glowed down with what I then took to be menacing vigilance" (Wachman & Sharp, 1994, p. ix).

4. Between 1945 and 1949, prior to the move of all of the KMTs ruling apparatuses from China to Taiwan, a governor appointed by the KMT had governed Taiwan. Governor Chen Yi and his officials governed the province of Taiwan when the "2–28 Incident" occurred. More information can be found at the Web site (http://www.taiwandocuments.org/228_02.htm).
5. The "white terror" period was named after an event that occurred on February 28, 1947, known as the "2–28 Incident." Distrust of the KMT and the mainlanders came to a head during this event. It occurred from an initial disagreement over black marketeering in cigarettes, and escalated into an island-wide uprising against the KMT. Ostensibly because the KMT feared communist infiltration among the Taiwanese, troops were used to put down the protest and to clean up potential dissidents. Large numbers of unarmed Taiwanese and local political leaders were killed (Wang, 1994). To this day, the number of dead is unclear. The official report on the injured and dead says that roughly 18,000 to 20,000 people died. More information on this incident and the number of deaths can be found at the Web site (http://www.archives.gov.tw/228/).
6. Madame Chiang, the first lady of President Chiang Kai-shek, took charge of creating and supervising women's organizations. She established the Women's Department within the Central Committee of the KMT in 1953 and also controlled two other large women's organizations—Taiwan Provincial Women's Associatlon, which was formed in 1946, and the Chinese Women's Anti-Aggression League, which was formed in 1950. Their objectives reinforced traditional womanhood and motherhood. The primary works of the organizations were charitable or supportive of the armed forces (Wang, 1997; Chang, 1998). Although the organizational leaders to some extent discussed women's rights, such as equal opportunity in education and work, they wholeheartedly supported the nationalist ideology and were complicit with the party's interests. Hence, instead of being civil organizations voicing women's needs and concerns, those women's organizations formed an integral part of the state apparatuses (Chang, 1998).
7. The eligibility of candidates for model mother included: (1) fifty-years old and over; (2) having at least three grown-up children with proper jobs; (3) in good shape without any bad hobbies. There were five other evaluation criteria emphasizing the contribution of candidates to the family, society, and nation with the traditional virtue of womanhood. It was the image of "the mother of the nation" that the ruling party intentionally shaped (Hsu, 1997).
8. The effectiveness of this preaching can be measured by the remarkable decrease in the number of younger women participating in the paid work force by the early 1970s. In contrast, the older generations of women worked in much larger numbers, in part because the older women had developed their identities in the 1930s when womanhood was not solely linked to and identified with motherhood and they were no longer of child-bearing years, so their usefulness in reproducing the nation was more industrial than biological (Diamond, 1973).
9. Equality of opportunity based on sex is guaranteed by the Article 7 of the ROC Constitution, which declares: "All citizens of the Republic of China, irrespective of sex, religion, race, class, or party affiliation, shall be equal before the law" (Tien, 1989). Article 159 of the Education and Culture Law states: "All national citizens shall have equal opportunity to receive education" (Tien, 1989). Equality of sex had not been given or conceptualized in the Draft of the ROC Constitution. It is the result of the Chinese women's movement in the first half of 20th century. Although many women comrades had joined the revolutionary forces which overthrew the Ch'ing Dynasty, women's political right to vote was not granted until 1937, after 30 years of struggle by women's movement activists (Chang, 1998).
10. In Diamond's (1975) study, she used the old saying, "One step forward, two steps back," to describe the limited life choices of middle-class Taiwanese women in the 1970s despite the noticeable improvements in educational and economic opportunities. Middle-class wives mostiy lived in their domestic spheres, with little connections to friends, neighbors, or even family members who lived far away (Diamond, 1975). Working-class women did not fare

well either. Though young working-class women found many job opportunities in factories, the majority of them had to quit their jobs after getting married due to job policies or lack of childcare facilities. If they continued working after marriage, it was usually due to financial necessity. These working women usually faced conflicts between work and domestic responsibilities and juggled the quadruple roles and many times conflicting responsibilities of being workers, wives, mothers, and daughters-in-law at once (Diamond, 1975; Hsiung, 1996).

11. The "Living Rooms as Factories" project was intentionally promoted by the KMT government as part of its exploitative development policy. "The goals of this project are to fully utilize manpower, to accelerate economic growth, to improve production methods, and to promote social development. In terms of economic growth, this project will evaluate the level of surplus labor in the community, aiming at mobilizing the surplus labor into productive work. The purposes are to release the pressures of labor shortages, and to decrease the costs of production, such as investment in factory facilities and dormitories, and costs of management and recruitment, by using family subsidiary employment, and to promote new export products. The goals are fourfold: increasing productivity, decreasing costs, stabilizing consumer prices, and accelerating economic development" (Xing-zheng-yuan 1978, 2, translated and cited by Hsiung, 1996, p. 52).
12. In 1991, the premier of the Executive Yuan, Hao Bo-chun, in a public workshop restated the point that the development of the welfare state would dissolve the practices of filial piety—one of the proudest Chinese traditions and virtues. He then promoted *san-dai tong-tang*, three generations living together in the same house, as the feasible solution to the social problems of aging. This public statement by a government representative made it clear that the government was still insisting that the primary care work belongs to the private sphere and that women should continue fulfilling their responsibilities of domestic care work. Similar statements also reappeared in speeches by President Lee Deng-hui and Premier Lian Zhan made during the 1994 conference on social welfare (Hsieh, 1999).
13. For example, new newspapers, political parties and political reforms were established. The reforms led to free and open elections of the legislature and direct elections of city and county mayors, provincial governors, and the president (Chen, 1997).
14. Annette Lu was the first female scholar and activist who publicly discredited the rigid ideologies of womanhood as solely comprising mothers and wives, which the state had inculcated and imposed on women's lives for over two decades (Chang, 1998).
15. The incident of *mei-li-dao* (beautiful island) erupted in 1979. It involved a large and influential demonstration led by a group of dissidents associated with *Formosa Magazine*. They called themselves *tang-wai* activists—a group opposed to the Nationalist Party. Annette Lu had also been involved in the *tang-wai* movement and had participated in the demonstration of 1979. As a result, she was jailed for five years and fourth months before being released on probation for medical treatment in 1985.
16. Although the name of *Awakening Magazine* sounds very progressive and connotes a spiritual affiliation with the western women's movement of the second wave, its Chinese name, *fu-nu xin-zhi*, means that the organization aimed to provide "new knowledge for women." The naming reflects the negotiation between the identity formation of women's movement activists and the socio-political contexts that they confronted.
17. The majority of the 60 percent were public school teachers who were the beneficiaries of the government's policies. Still today, public teachers enjoy a tax-free status and are granted an 18 percent interest rate on their retirement pensions. Most of them were for the status-quo rather than for change.
18. There is a long debate over whether or not support of homosexuality can be included in Awakening's agenda or if differences of identity can be accommodated in a plural feminism. However, most of the movement's agenda had to do with solving inequality of the sexes in the workplace and legal practices surrounding the heterosexual family. The success of

revisions of family laws in 1996 has been seen as a reinforcement of the heterosexual system of "monogamy," and has completely precluded the possibility of a legal recognition of families comprised of homosexual couples. This caused a dispute from the lesbians within the women's movement, sowing the seeds of a split between the lesbian movement and the women's movement. In addition, discussions of "imploding feminisms" and the homophobia of heterosexual feminists began with a special issue of *Awakening Magazine* in summer 1995. Distrust arose between the lesbians who promoted sexual liberation and heterosexual feminists who emphasized equality. The conflicts surfaced again over arguments for or against the abolishment of public prostitution in September 1997, and over other gender-related issues such as AIDS and homosexuality. In December 1997, the Awakening's executive board made a difficult decision to fire the two office executives who had embraced sexual liberation and gone against the organization's equality agenda. The firing incident still marks an unhealed scar between the equality and sexual liberation feminist camps (*Awakening*, 1995, July & August, 1997, August & September, 1998). The responses of the two ex-office executives to Awakening in *Dang-dai* magazine primarily stated that as Awakening became strong and hegemonic, it merely represented a middle-class feminist movement and ignored marginal issues and groups such as the lesbian movement, AIDS, and working-class women and foreign female domestic workers. More details of the debate can be found in *Contemporary Monthly* magazine (Dang-dai), 1998, March.

19. The most well-known incidents include a case of peer harassment at National Tsing Hua University; an incident of verbal harassment by a professor at National Taiwan University in 1992; a 1993 harassment case made by a professor of National Chung Cheng University; a case in which female flight attendants of China Airlines were harassed by the head of the airline's medical center, also in 1993; a complex case in which a male professor at National Taiwan Normal University was suspected of raping a female student in 1994; and a harassment case filed against a professor at National Taipei University of Technology in 1998 (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).
20. One unexpected result of the campaign against sexual harassment came about when an academic activist, Ho Chun-rei (Josephine), called out the slogan "Yes to orgasm, no to harassment" at the 1994 march. It caught the full attention of the mass media and the news ended up being focused on sexual liberation instead of the primary issue of anti-sexual harassment. It also created tension and competition between the discourses on the politics of equality and sexual politics. Even worse, a division appeared among Taiwanese feminist activists in late 1997 over whether or not the women's movement should take a stand for or against the abolishment of public prostitution (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).
21. The resistance from the economic sector and business leaders held this act up in the legislative process for twelve years after the first reading was passed in 1990 (Fan, 2000).
22. The catalyst for this big step, taken at the cabinet-level, derived from the shock of the public's reaction to a social event; a well-known female activist, who was the Director of the Women's Development Unit of the opposition party, was raped and murdered at the end of 1996. In response to public outrage and women's demonstrations here and there, the Gender Equity Committee (GEC) quickly came into existence as a new unit at the cabinet-level as well as at the levels of local governments, schools, and colleges. The establishment of the GEC units was to prevent sexual harassment and assault in schools and to promote gender sensitive policies in the entire educational system (Hsieh & Chang, 2004). Gender sensitive indicators were also integrated into curriculum reform policy to guide revision for first to ninth grade curricula (Su, 2001).
23. This issue will be further discussed in Chapter 5.
24. The University Law was reformed and passed by the Legislative Yuan in 1993. The revisions are the result of four years of struggles and appeals by liberal scholars and college students in Taiwanese universities. The new law reduces the control of the state over university governance, and grants Taiwan's universities the right to organize a governing

board composed of faculty senators and student representatives, to elect university presidents rather than accept the candidates assigned by the Ministry of Education and to reform college curriculum, which included removing a military training course from the core curriculum or modifying it as an elective course rather than a required one. The new law grants universities a certain degree of autonomy about governance, procedures of hiring and promoting faculty, course design and development, some portion of fund raising, student admission, and self-evaluation (Xue, 1996).

25. Periodizations of women's studies vary depending on how the relation between women's studies and the women's movement is characterized, and how the influence of political change—e.g., the impact of changes in the institutional governance of universities on the form and degree of the institutionalization of women's studies—is handled. Chou (1995) divides women's studies into six periods: (1) the period of women's absence; (2) the search for women; (3) women as subordinates; (4) women as research subject; (5) challenge to mainstream academia; and (6) equal relations between the sexes. Ku (1996) marks the evolution of women's studies in relation to the women's movement; she uses four stages: prior to the women's movement, the first wave women's movement, the second wave women's movement, and the third women's movement. Chang and Wu (1999) adopt Chou's periodization and revise it into five stages. This paper follows Hsieh and Chang's (forthcoming) model. They divide the history of women's studies in Taiwan into three periods (1) before 1985, the absence/invisibility of women; (2) 1985–1994, the search for women's subjectivity; and (3) 1995-present, the mature and challenging period.
26. There are Margery Wolf's *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan* in 1972, Norma Diamond's *The Status of Women in Taiwan: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* in 1973, Chia-lin Pao's *Reader on Chinese Women's History* in 1979. Lee Youning and Chang Yufa compiled *Historical Documents on Women's Movement in Modern China* in 1976 and 1981 (Ku, 1996; Hsieh & Chang, 2004).
27. With the support of the American Asia Foundation and other international organizations, Taiwan held three deeply influential conferences focusing on women: *The Role of Women in National Development Process in Taiwan, The Future of Asian Women,* and *Tourism and Prostitution.* The first conference had facilitated the establishment of the first Women's Research Program of National Taiwan University. The third conference gave birth to the Rainbow Project initiated by Taiwan Presbyterian Church that aimed to gather social support for rescuing young prostitutes.
28. The major critiques came from women's movement activists who published three articles in *Awakening Magazine* in August 1991, which were later also republished in newspapers. Three authors raised their concern that the erasure of the politics embedded in women's studies would harm its future. They accused the founders of women's studies for being co-opted by the positivism and mainstream ideologies of the ruling class, and for not sharing the same vision of women's activism in Taiwan. They restated that there was an inseparable bonding among feminism, women's movements and women's studies. Intellectualizing and trivializing women's studies would impede the radical potential of feminist studies In Taiwan (*Awakening Magazine,* 111, 2–9).
29. These young college feminists were inspired by a new version of the fairy tale "Little Red Riding Hood." In the new version written by Barbara Walker, the little girl turns into a brave and wise kid who helps her grandma to smite the vicious wolf. Xiao-hong-mao is the Chinese translation of "little red riding hood." It is largely adopted to frame the collective action female college students can take to fight against sexual harassment in Taiwan (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).
30. The Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association was established in 1993 and formally registered as a national NGO in 2002. The Association's Web site is (http://www.feminist.sinica.edu.tw/).

## NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. By the late 1980s, Taiwanese people needed to get the government's permission to travel or go to study overseas.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Yushan is the name of the highest mountain in Taiwan, which is called "Jade Mountain" in English.
2. See Adrienne Rich's "Toward a Woman-Centered University." In Judith S. Glazer, Estela M.Bensimon & Barbara K.Townsend (Eds.). *Women In Higher Education: A Feminist Perspective.* (MA: Ginn Press, 1993); and also Audre Lorde's *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches.* (Freedom, CA: Crossing Press, 1984).
3. According to one of the research associates of WRU, the consensus was made due largely to the fact that most of the researchers did not have time or energy to engage in the women's movement in addition to dedicating themselves to WRU. Also the disorganization or lack of coordination among women's organizations in the late 1980s discouraged the researchers of WRU from partaking in the movement.
4. It included designing twenty units of required courses, selecting and coordinating the courses in different departments, reviewing and admitting student applicants, monitoring student progress, and awarding certificates to the students who completed the program.
5. In addition to the discussion of feminist theories, the gender studies themes covered by the introductory course included the body, masculinity, images and identity, language/ethnicity/gender, art and performance, state power, social welfare, education, and community participation. This course had been ranked as rigorous and demanding yet highly recommended by enrolled students for its interdisciplinary nature and its challenging, stimulating, enlightening, theory-laden, and experience-relevant learning process.
6. One example was that the third announcement of call for papers was to publish mainly papers presented at the TFSA's 2002 conference, the theme of which was to review and critique college textbooks in a variety of disciplines that had reinforced "male-stream" knowledge. The conference and the special issue of the *Journal* were anticipated to promote feminist action, to elevate academic rigor, and to emphasize feminist research perspectives.
7. Men's studies did not emerge in Taiwan until the mid-1990s. The primary themes of men's studies in Taiwan include men's sharing housework and their attitudes toward family, men's attitudes about women's rights, and masculinity (Hsieh & Chang, 2004).
8. One relevant study conducted by Hsieh and Wang (2000) analyzed the evolution of women's studies in Taiwan's general education curricula. In this research, Hsieh and Wang contributed a comprehensive account of who initiated and taught the courses of women's studies, what the motivations were behind the teaching, and how these teachers had strategized their action to name the courses, attract students, and handle micropolitical issues derived from identity politics, receptivity of the department, and conflicts and resistance in class interaction. Among the findings, what is most relevant to my study is that the authors identified two types of scholars affiliated with women's studies—feminist scholars and women's studies practitioners. The categorization has much to do with identity—the centrality of feminist values and social action—and strategies of teaching.

   The first type of scholars declared themselves to be feminists who were committed to the women's movement and/or feminist research. They saw teaching women's studies as a way to promote feminist consciousness-raising on campuses. Two generations can be found in

this group. The old generation consisted of women's movement activists. They felt a need to search for theories that could empower themselves and support the women's movement in Taiwan. The younger generation mostly formed their feminist identities through exposure to or training in western feminist literature. They were committed to engaging in feminist activism both on campuses and in society.

The second type scholars solely identified themselves as women's studies practitioners. The motivation of these scholars was to promote social harmony between the sexes and to introduce a "neutral stance" in women's studies to students. The centrallty of feminist values in this group was lower. They succeeded in establishing the pesence of women's studies in general education in 1985. Through teaching new women-related courses, they broadened their scholarly interests. What made the two groups distinct was the varying centrality of feminism manifested in the desires and identities of these scholars, which resulted in their different strategies of action in courses' naming, designing and in their teaching pedagogies for women's studies.

9. Two female scholars in the foreign literature department that I failed to interview are perceived as popular professors in gender studies. The absence of their voices might pose a limit to us here in understanding how feminism and gay/lesbian theories were initiated and what strategies were used to teach gender studies courses at YU.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. For instance, fields such as social movement studies, literary critical studies, social history, historical studies of technology, and history of social thought were included in CHASS, and one department comprised both anthropology and sociology (although they separated in the late 1990s). By the 1980s, several departments provided graduate programs, and a collaborative undergraduate program was opened in late 2002.
2. Ms. Coliver made initial contact with women leaders in numerous women's organizations in Taiwan (Tang, 1988). She also supported women's studies and emphasized the harmonious relationship between the sexes, which was highly consonant with the agendas endorsed by the majority of the women's movement organizations.
3. The National Science Council is one of the primary national funding sources in Taiwan's academia.
4. For example, women/gender and society in sociology; women and writing, women's writers, Chinese women in Chinese society in literature field; women and anthropology; gender and education, and gender and socialization in the education field.
5. The editorial team of "xiao-hung-mao" gained the help of a popular psychology magazine publisher to publish this pamphlet.

6. This project only succeeded in obtaining two years of funding from the Ministry of Education. This information is based on an interview with a former assistant to the project.
7. Due to the current inactivity in the program, this male participant questioned my motives behind selecting FU as the site of this research, rather than a more successful program in a neighboring university. Prior to our interview, this participant suggested that I should choose a "better" research program to study. This pathfinder described that the program in that neighboring universlty as being more effective in producing discursive power which influenced both academia and society, thereby attracting many students to that university, despite its lower rating as a school compared to FU. That program had succeeded in constructing a professional identity for the study of sexuality in its institutional setting and in Taiwanese society. Although sexuality studies is still weak in terms of its economic and cultural capital, the scholars affiliated with this field are keenly aware of the power of asserting negative pressure and know how to confront academic authority in order to negotiate for the resources that they need for sustaining the program.
8. For further information, please visit the Web site of the Center for the Study of Sexualities at National Central University at (http://sex.ncu.edu.tw/). The center's Web site includes gay/lesbian and transgender experiences, and information on all kinds of deviant sex, such as S/M, pedophilia, promiscuity, masturbation, infantilism, beast love, fetishism, love between teachers and students, to name a few.
9. My discussion of this topic has been limited, I believe, by my failure to interview one particular academician affiliated with RPTS. This pathfinder has had a close relationship with the sexual liberation camp and teaches cultural studies and sexuality at FU. The viewpoint of this pathfinder might have revealed what overt and hidden conflicts had surfaced during her term as the coordinator or during her active involvement in RPTS.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Several prominent individual women's studies practitioners were found in other fields, such as health, journalism, social work, education, history, anthropology, and urban planning. But these fields have yet to welcome feminist studies.

# Bibliography


Aaron, Jane, & Walby, Sylvia. (1991). *Out of the margins: Women's studies in the Nineties.* New York: The Falmer Press.

Abrams, Philip (1982). *Historical sociology.* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Acker, Joan. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society, 4*(2), 139–158.

Acker, Sandra. (1994). *Gendered education: Sociological reflections on women, teaching and feminism.* Bristol, Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Agar, Michael. (1986). *Speaking of ethnography.* Beverly Hills: Sage.

Alcoff, Linda. (1988). Cultural feminism vs. postructualism. *Signs, 13*(3), 405–436.

Allan, Elizabeth J. (2000). *Constructing women's status: Policy discourses of university women's commission reports.* Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University.

Allen, Amy. (1999). *The power offeminist theory: Domination, resistance, solidarity.* Colorado: Westview Press.

Allen, Judith A. and Kitch, Sally L. (1998). Disciplined by disciplines? The need for an interdisciplinary research mission in women's studies. *Feminist Studies, 24*(2), 275–299.

Allen, Judith A. (1997). Strengthening women's studies in hard times: Feminism and challenges of institutional adaptation. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 1&2,* 358–387.

Altbach, Philip G. and Selvaratnam, Viswanathan. (1989). *From dependence to autonomy: The development of Asian universities.* Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Altbach, Philip G. (1998). *Comparative higher education: Knowledge, the university, and development.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Althusser, Louis. (1971). *Lenin and philosophy and other essays.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Ambert, Anne-Marie, Adler, Patricia A., Adler, Peter & Detzner, Daniel F. (1995). Understanding and evaluating qualitative research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 57,* 879–893.

Anzaldua, Gloria. (Ed.). (1990). *Making face, making soul: Creative and critical perspective by feminists of colors.* San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

Arat, Necla. (1996). Women's studies in Turkey. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 24*(1 & 2), 400–411.

Archer, Margaret Scotford. (1982). Morphogenesis versus structuration: On combining structure and action. *British Journal of Sociology, 33,*455–83.

Archer, Margaret Scotford. (2000). *Being human: The problem of agency.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Arneil, B. (1999). Politics and femimsm. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Arnot, Madeleine. (1982). Male hegemony, social class and women's education. *Journal of Education, 164*(1), 64–89.

Astin, Helen S. & Davis, Diane. E. (1993). Research productivity across the life and career cycles: Facilitators and barriers for women. In Judith S.Glazer, Estela M.Bensimon & Barbara K.Townsend (Eds.), *Women in higher education: A feminist perspective.* MA: Ginn Press.

Awakening Foundation. (1999). *Taiwan's women's rights report in 1999.* Taipei: Awakening Foundation. (in Chinese).

Awakening Foundation. *Awakening Magazine.* (1995, 1997, 1998). Taipei: Awakening Foundation. (in Chinese).

Awakening Foundation. (1991). *Awakening Magazine, 111,* 2–9. (in Chinese).

Bahl, Vinay. (1997). Cultural imperialism and women's movements: Thinking globally. *Gender and History, 9*(1), 1–14.
Ball, Stephen J. (1987). *The micro-politics of the school: Towards a theory of school organization.* New York: Methuen & Co.
Ball, Stephen J. (Ed.). (1990). *Foucault and education.* New York: Routledge.
Bartol, Kathryn M. (1978). The sex structuring of organizations: A search for possible causes. *Academy of Management Review, 3*(4), 805–815.
Benhabib, Seyla. (1992) *Situating the self: Gender, community and postmodernism in contemporary ethics.* New York: Routledge.
Bensimon, Estela. M. & Marshall, Catherine. (1997). Policy analysis for postsecondary education: Feminist and critical perspectives. In Catherine Marshall (Ed.), *Feminist critical policy analysis: A perspective from post-secondary education.* Washington, D.C.: The Falmer Press.
Berger, Peter &; Luckmann, Thomas. (1966). *The social construction of reality.* New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday.
Bernstein, Basil B. (1975). On the classification and framing of educational knowledge. In Michael F.D.Young (Ed.), *Knowledge and control.* London: Collier Macmillan.
Bidwell, Charles E. (1965). The school as a formal organization. In James G.March (Ed.). *Handbook of Organizations.* Chicago: Rand-McNally.
Birnbaum, Robert. (1988). *How colleges work: The cybernetics of academic organization and leadership.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
Blau, Peter Michael. (1973). *The organization of academic work.* New York: John Wiley & Sons.
Bonder, Gloria. (1994). Women's studies in Argentina: Keeping the feminist spirit alive. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 22*(3 & 4), 89–102.
Bonnin, Debby. (1996). Women's studies in South Africa. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 24*(1 & 2), 378–399.
Bourdieu, Pierre. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice.* Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Bourdieu, Pierre. (1993). *The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature.* New York: Columbia University Press.
Bourdieu, Pierre, & Passeron, Jean Claude. (1990). *Reproduction in education society and culture.* Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
Bourdieu, Pierre. & Wacquant, Loic J.D. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Bowles, Gloria & Klein, Renate Duelli. (Eds.). (1983). *Theories of women's studies.* Boston: Routledges & Kegan Paul.
Boxer, Marilyn J. (1998). *When women ask the questions: Creating women's studies in America.* Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
Boyatzis, Richard E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Brown, Wendy. (1997). The impossibility of women's studies. *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies, 9*(3), 79–101.
Burrell, Gibson. (1984). Sex and organizational analysis. *Organization Studies, 5*(2), 97–118.
Burrell, Gibson & Morgan, Gareth. (1979). *Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis: Elements of the sociology of corporate life.* London: Heinemann.
Butler, Judith. (1989). *Gender trouble: Feminism and subversion of identity.* New York: Routledge.
Calas, Marta B. & Smircich, Linda. (1996). From "the woman's" point of view: Feminist approaches to organization studies. In Stewart R.Clegg, Cynthia Hardy, and Walter R.Nord. (Eds.), *Handbook of Organization Studies.* Thousand Oaks : Sage Publications.
Campbell, Patricia B., & Sanders, Jo. (1997). Uninformed but interested: Findings of a national survey on gender equity in preservice teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education, 48*(1), 69–75.
Castells, Manuel. (1997). *The Power of Identity.* Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Chamberlain, Mariam K. (1994). Multicultural women's studies in the United States. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 22*(3 & 4), 215–225.

Chamberlain, Mariam K. & Howe, Florence. (1995). Women's studies and developing countries: Focus on Asia. In Rita S.Gallin, Anne Ferguson, and Janice Harper. (Eds.), *The Women and International Development Annual*, Vol. 4. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press Inc.

Chang, Yu-Fen. (1998). *Women and state: Rethinking Taiwan's women's movement history.* Master's thesis, National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan. (in Chinese).

Chang, Hui-tan. (1995). *Exploration of contemporary Taiwanese women's movement and praxis of feminism: A historical approach.* Master's thesis, National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan. (in Chinese).

Chang, Pilwha. (1996). Women's studies in Korea. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 24*(1 & 2), 317–326.

Chang, Chueh & Wu, Chiu-yan. (1999). *Women's studies in Taiwan and gender equity in education.* Papers presented at the Conference of Gender Equity Education, Taipei, Taiwan. (in Chinese).

Chen, Hui-hsin. (2001). *Process and content of Educational Equity Act drafting of MOE.* Papers presented at the Conference of Sex/Gender, Psychology and Culture—*Evolution of Taiwanese Feminism,* Tamkang University, Taipei, Taiwan, May 25–26, 2001. (in Chinese).

Chen, Peiying. (1997). *Taiwanese education reform and three alternative schools.* Master's thesis, Cleveland State University.

Cheng, Tun-jen. (1989). Democratization of a quasi-Leninist regime in Taiwan. *World Poltiics, 41*(4), 471–99.

Cheng, Tun-jen. (1993). Taiwan in democratic transition. In J.W.Morley (Ed.), *Driven by growth: Poltiical change in the Asian-Pacific region.* Armonk, N.Y.: M.E.Sharpe.

Cheng, Mei-Li. (Jan., 1991). Fashioning feminism. *Awakening, 104,*6–7. (in Chinese).

Cheng, Wei-Yuan. & Liao, Rong-li. (1985). Yours, mine, ours: Earnings allocation of Taiwanese married women workers. In Center of Population Studies, National Taiwan University (Eds.), *Proceedings of The Role of Women in National Development Process in Taiwan* (pp. 391–418). Taipei, Taiwan. (in Chinese).

Cheng, Ling-Fang. (1993). *Grabbing hair to fly to sky.* Taipei, Taiwan: China Times Publishing Company. (in Chinese).

Cherryholmes, C.H. (1988). *Power and criticism: Poststructural investigations in education.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Chesaina, Ciarunji. (1994). The development of women's studies in Kenya. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 22*(3 & 4), 180–196.

Chiang, Nora (Lan-hong). (1988). The birth and development of women's studies. In Women's Research Program (Eds.), *Proceedings of Summer Workshop of Women's Studies* (pp. 7–12). Taipei, Taiwan: Center of Population Studies, National Taiwan University. (in Chinese).

Chiang, Nora (Lan-hong). (1989). Women's studies and social resources (conference papers). In *Conference on Sex Role and Social Development,* Taipei, Taiwan. (in Chinese).

Chiang, Nora (Lan-hong). (1994). *Socio-economic status of women in Taiwan.* Taipei, Taiwan: Women's Research Program at Population Studies Center, National Taiwan University, Occasional Paper Series.

Chiang, Nora (Lan-hong). (1995). A personal essay. In Committee on Women's Studies in Asia. (Ed.), *Changing lives: Life stories of Asian pioneers in women's studies.* New York: The Feminist Press.

Chiu, Kuei-fen. (1996). Postcolonial feminism. In Ku, Y.L. (Ed.), *Feminism: Theories and schools.* Taipei, Taiwan: fembooks. (in Chinese).

Chiu, Kuei-fen. (2001). Response to "the Great Reconciliation," *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies, 43,* 129–138. (in Chinese).

Chliwniak, L. (1997). Higher education leadership: Analyzing the gender gap. *ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report, 25*(4), 1–97.

Chou, Chuing Prudence. (1992). *Gender differences in the academic reward system: A nation-wide study of university faculty members in Taiwan.* Doctoral dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles.

Chou, Esther. (1995). The development of women's studies and gender studies in Chinese Society—Retrospect and prospect. In Miao-ching Chang, Han-rning Yit & Pei-lan Kuo (Eds.), *Exploration of Chinese societies: Gender studies and women's studies.* Hongkong: Chinese University Press. (in Chinese).

Clegg, Stewart. R. (1989). *Frameworks of power.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Cockburn, Cynthia. (1991). *In the way of women: Men's resistance to sex equality in organizations.* Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.

Coles, Robert. (1995). The disparity between intellect and character. *Chronicle of Higher Education, 41*(48), Sept. 22nd.

Coleman, James S. (1986). Social theory, social research, and a theory of action. *American Journal of Sociology, 6,* 1309–35.

Collins, Patricia Hill. (1986). Learning from the outsider within: The sociological significance of Black feminist thought. *Social Problems, 33*(6), 14–32.

Collins Patricia Hill. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment.* New York: Routledge.

Collins, Patricia Hill. (1998). *Fighting words: Black women and the search for justice.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Committee on Women's Studies in Asia. (Eds.). (1995). *Changing lives: Life stories of Asian pioneers in women's studies.* New York: The Feminist Press.

Connell, R.W. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Coombs, Philip Hall. (1985). *The world crisis in education: The view from the eighties.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Copper, John Franklin. (1996). *Taiwan: Nation-state or province?* Taipei, Taiwan: SMC Publishing Inc.

de Beauvoir, Simone. (1989). *The second sex.* Translated and edited by H.M. Parshley. New York: Knopf.

de Groot, Joanna, & Maynard, Mary. (Eds.). (1993). *Women's studies in the 1990s: Doing things differently?* New York: St. Martin's Press.

de Lauretis, Teresa. (1990). Eccentric subjects: Feminist theory and historical consciousness. *Feminist Studies, 16*(1), 115–150.

Delmar, Rosalind. (1986). What is feminism? In Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakley. (Eds.), *What is feminism?* New York: Pantheon Books.

Diamond, Norma. (1973). The status of women in Taiwan: One step forward, two steps back. In M.B.Young (Ed.), *Women and China: Studies in social change and feminism.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Diamond, Norma. (1975). Women under Kuomingtang rule: Variations of the feminine mystique. *Modern China, 1*(1), 3–45.

DiMaggio, Paul J. & Powell, Walter W. (1983). The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review, 48,* 147–160.

DiMaggio, Paul J. & Poweil, Walter W. (1991). Introduction. In W.W.Powell & P. J.DiMaggio (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

DuBois, Ellen Carol, Kelly, Gail P., Kennedy, Elizabeth L., Korsmeyer, Carolyn W. & Robinson, Lillian. S. (1985). *Feminist scholarship: Kindling in the groves of academe.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Eckel, Peter, Green, Madeleine, Hill, Barbara & Mallon, William. (1999). *On change III.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education.

Eisenstein, Zillah (Ed.) (1979). *Capitalist patriarchy and the case for socialist feminism.* New York : Monthly Review Press.
Emirbayer, Mustafa & Mische, Ann. (1998). What is agency. *American Journal of Sociology, 103*(4), 962–1023.
Enos, Theresa. (1996). *Gender roles and faculty lives in rhetoric and composition.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
Fan, Bi-Ling. (1990). *An analysts of women's regime: The character of contemporary women's movement in Taiwan.* Master's thesis, National Tsing Hua University, Hsinchu, Taiwan. (in Chinese).
Fan, Yun. (2000). *Activists in a changing political environment: A microfoundational study of social movements in Taiwan's democratic transition, 1980s–1990s.* Doctoral dissertation, Yale University.
Fonow, Mary Margaret & Cook, Judith A. (1991) (Eds.). *Beyond methodology : Feminist scholarship as lived research.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Ferguson, Kathy E. (1984). *The feminist case against bureaucracy.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Ferguson, Kathy E. (1993). *The man question: Visions of subjectivity in feminist theory.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
Ferree, Myra Marx & Hess, Beth B. (2000). *Controversy and coalition: The new feminist movement across three decades of change.* New York: Routledge
Foucault, Michel. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison.* New York: Random House, Inc.
Foucault, Michel. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972–1977.* Translated by Colin Gordon, L.Marshall, J.Mepham, K.Soper. Edited by Colin Gordon. New Your: Pantheon Books.
Foucault, Michel. (1994). *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sdences.* New York: Vintage Books
Fraser, Nancy. (1989). *Unruly practices: Power, discourse and gender in contemporary social theory.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Gamson, William A. (1995). Constructing social protest. In Hank Johnston and Bert Klanfermans (Eds.), *Social movements and culture.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
Gardiner, Judith Kegan. (Ed.). (1995). *Provoking agents: Gender and agency in theory and practice.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
Geertz, Clifford. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures.* New York: Basic Books.
Gerson, Judith M. and Peiss, Kathy. (1985). Boundaries, negotiation, consciousness: Reconceptualizing gender relations. *Social Problems, 32*(4), 317–331.
Giddens, Anthony. (1984). *The constitution of society.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Giddens, Anthony. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Giliigan, Carol. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Giroux, Henry. A. (1997). *Pedagogy and the politics of hope: Theory, culture, and schooling.* Colorado: Westview Press.
Glasser, Barney G. and Strauss, Anselm L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research.* Chicago: Aldine.
Glazer, Judith S., Bensimon, Estela M. & Townsend, Barbara. K. (1993). *Women in higher education: A feminist perspective.* Needham Heights, MA: GINN Press.
Glazer-Raymo, Judith. (1999). *Shattering the myths: Women in academe.* Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Gloria, Anzaldua. (Ed.). (1990). *Making face, making soul: Creative and critical perspectives by feminists of color.* San Francisco: Aunt Lute Foundation Books.

Goetting, Ann & Fenstermaker, Sarah. (1995). *Individual voices, collective visions: Fifty years of women in sociology.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Gold, Thomas B. (1994). Civil society and Taiwan's quest for identity. In Stevan Harrell & Chun-chieh Huang (Eds.), *Culture change in postwar Taiwan.* Westview Press, Inc.
Gonzalez, Maria C. (2002). This bridge called NWSA. *NWSA, 14*(1), 71–81.
Gonzalez-Suarez, Mirta & Guzman, Laura. (1994). Women's studies in Costa Rica: Challenging the past, building the future. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 22*(3 & 4), 146–156.
Goodman, Norman. (1984). The institutionalization of overseas education. In Elinor G.Barber, Philip G.Altbach, and Robert G.Myers (Eds.), *Bridges to knowledge: Foreign students in comparative perspective.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Gottfried, Heidi. (1996). *Feminism and social change: Bridging theory and practice.* Chlcago: University of Illinois Press.
Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks.* Quitin Hoare and Geoff Nowell-Smith, (Eds.). New York: International Publishers.
Granovetter, Mark. (1983). The strength of weak ties: A network theory revisited. In Randall Collins (Ed.), *Sociological theory.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
Griffin, Gabriele. (Ed). (1994). *Changing our lives: Doing women's studies.* Colorado: Pluto Press.
Griffin, Gabriele. (Ed.). (1995). *Feminist activism in the 1990s.* London: Taylor and Francis Ltd.
Gumport, Patricia J. (1987). *The social constmction of knowledge: Individual and institutional commitments to feminist scholarship.* California: Stanford University, Ph.D. dissertation,
Gumport, Patricia J. (1990). Feminist scholarship as a vocation. *Higher Education, 20*(October), 231–43.
Gumport, Patricia J. (1991). E Pluribus Unum? Academic structure, culture, and the case of feminist scholarship. *Review of Higher Education, 15*(1), 9–29.
Gumport, Patricia J. (2002). *Academic pathfinders: Knowledge creation and feminist scholarship.* Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
Haraway, Donna Jeanne. (1988). Situated knowledge: The science question in feminism and the privilege of the partial perspective. *Feminist Studies, 14*(3), 573–599.
Haraway, Donna Jeanne. (1997). *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.Female-Man©_Meets_OncoMouse: Feminism and technoscience.* New York: Routledge.
Harding, Sandra. (1987). *Feminism and methodology.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
Harding, Sandra. (1991). Who knows?: Identities and feminist epistemology. In Joan E.Hartman & Ellen Messer-Davidow (Eds.), *(En)Gendering knowledge: Feminist in academe.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.
Harding, Sandra. (1996). Standpoint epistemology: How social disadvantage creates epistemic advantage. In Stephen P.Turner (Ed.), *Social theory and sociology: The classics and beyond.* Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
Harding, Sandra G. (1998).*Is science multicultural?: Postcolonialisms, feminisms, and epistemologies.* Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.
Hartman, Joan. E. &; Messer-Davldow, Ellen. (Eds.). (1991). *(En)gendering knowledge: Feminists in academe.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
Hartsock, Nancy C.M. (1983). *Money, sex, and power.* New York: Longman.
Hartsock, Nancy C.M. (1987). The feminist standpoint: Developing the ground for a specifically feminist historical materialism. In S.Harding, *Feminism and methodology.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
Hartsock, Nancy C.M. (1998). *The feminist standpoint revisited and other essays.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
Hatton, Ed. (1994). The future of women's studies: A Ford Foundation workshop report. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 22*(3 & 4), 256–264.
Hearn, Jeff & Parkin, Wendy. (1983). Gender and organizations: A selective review and a critique of a neglected area. *Organization Studies, 4*(3), 219–242.

Hearn, Jeff, Sheppard, Deborah L., Tancred-Shenff, Peta & Burrell, Gibson. (Eds.). (1989). *The sexuality of organization.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hekman, Susan J. (1999). *The future of difference: Truth and method in feminist theory.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Henwood, K. & Pidgeon, N. (1995). Remaking the link: Qualitative research and feminist standpoint theory. *Feminism and Psychology, 5*(1), 7–30.

Henriquez, Narda. (1996). Gender studies in Peru. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 24*(1 & 2), 364–377.

Hercus, Cheryl. (1999). Identity, emotion, and feminist collective action. *Gender & Society, 13*(1), 34–55

Heydebrand, Wolf. (1990). The technocratic organization of academic work. In Craig. Calhoun, Marshall W.Meyer & W.Richard Scott. (Eds.), *Structures of power and constraint: Papers in honor of Peter M.Blau.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hirsch, Marianne and Keller, Evelyn Fox. (Eds.). (1990). *Conflicts in feminism.* New York: Routledge.

hooks, bell (1984). *Feminist theory: From margin to center.* Boston, MA: South End Press.

hooks, bell (1990). *Yearning: Race, gender, and cultural politics.* Boston: South End Press.

hooks, bell (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom.* New York: Routledge.

Howe, Florence. (1991). Women's studies in the United States: Growth and institutionalization. In Aruna Rao. (Ed.), *Women's studies international: Nairobi and beyond.* New York: The Feminist Press.

Howe, Florence. (1997). "Promises to keep": Trends in women's studies worldwide. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 1 & 2,* 404–421

Howe, Florence. (Ed.). (2000). *The politics of women's studies: Testimony from 30 founding mothers.* New York: The Feminist Press.

Hsiao, Chao-jun (2002). *Whose knowledge is taught in elementary teacher training education?* Papers presented at the TFSA's Conference of Investigating Gender Consciousness of College Textbooks, Taipei, Taiwan. (in Chinese).

Hsieh, Ai-lun. (2000). *Women's policies for whom?: Discourse analysis of "women" in Taiwan's women's policies (1949–2000).* Master's thesis, National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan. (in Chinese).

Hsieh, Hsiao-chin. (1994). Women's studies in Taiwan, 1985–1992. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 3 & 4,* 133–145.

Hsieh, Hsiao-chin. (1995). Education: From patriarchal reproduction to women's liberation. In Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association. (Ed.), *The white papers of Taiwanese women's situation* (pp.181–218). Taipei, Taiwan: China Times Publishing Company. (in Chinese).

Hsieh, Hsiao-chin. (1996). Taiwan, Republic of China. In Grace Mak (Ed.), *Women, education, and development in Asia: Cross-national perspectives.* New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Hsieh, Hsiao-chin. (April, 1998). Gender and educational expectation. *Journal of Women and Gender Studies, 9,* 205–231. Taipei, Taiwan: Women's Research Program, The Population Studies Center, NTU. (in Chinese).

Hsieh, Hsiao-chin and Chang, Chueh. (2004). The development of the women's movement and women's/gender studies in Taiwan. In Asia Center for Women's Studies (Eds.), *Women's studies textbooks in eight countries.* Korea: Ewha Womans University Press.

Hsieh, Hsiao-chin & Wang, Ya-ke. (2000). Experiences, voices and gender politics: Feminist pedagogy in general education in Taiwan. *Journal of General Education,* 7(2/3), 47–76. (in Chinese).

Hsiung Ping-chun. (1996). *Living rooms as factories: Class, gender, and the satellite factory system in Taiwan.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Hsu, Tsung-kuo. (1995). *Job content and gendered roles.* Taiwan: Dao-Hsiang Publishers. (in Chinese).

Hsu, Fang-ting. (1997). *A study of Taiwan's women's movement and women's discourses in the post war period (1945–1972).* Master's thesis, Dong-hai University, Taichung, Taiwan. (in Chinese).

Hu, You-hui. (1989). The orientation of women's/gender studies in Taiwan's academia. *Bulletin of the Women's Research Program,* 9, 22–24. (in Chinese).

Hua, Yan. (1988). Opening speech. In *Proceedings of summer workshop of women's studies* (pp. 3–4). Taipei, Taiwan: Center of Population Studies, National Taiwan University. (in Chinese).

Huang, Wu-Hsiung. (August 2002). Independent thinking and subjective experiences: A pedagogical comparison between general education and community colleges. *Educational Research, 100,* 32–45. (in Chinese).

Hunt, Scott A., Benford, Robert D. & Snow, David A. (1994). Identity fields: framing processes and the social construction of movement identities. In Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston and Joseph R.Gusfield (Eds.), *New social movements: From ideology to identity.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Hwang, Kuang-kuo. (1994). Pursuing the subjectivity of knowledge: On the direction of indigenization of social sciences. In Y.J.Au & C.J.Huang (Eds.), *The ideal type of higher education.* Taipei, Taiwan: Shih-da Publishing. (in Chinese).

Hyoung, Cho. (1995). To grow with women's studies. In the Committee on Women's Studies in Asia (Eds.), *Changing lives: Life stories of Asian pioneers in women's studies.* New York: The Feminist Press.

Jansen, Willy. (1996). Women's studies in the Netherlands. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 24*(1 & 2), 327–342.

Jepperson, Ronald L.(1991). Institutions, institutional effects, and institutionalism. In Walter W.Powell and Paul J.DiMaggio (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Johnson, Marshall. (1992). Analyzing gender, creating gender: Re-study of women's studies in Taiwan in four decades—some query and reflection. *Bulletin of tbe Women's Research Program,* 25, 5–7.

Johnson, Terry, Dandeker, Christopher & Ashworth, Clive. (1984). *The structure of social theory: Dilemmas, strategies, and projects.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Johnston, Hank, Larana, Enrique, & Gusfield, Joseph R. (1994). Identities, grievance, and new social movements. In Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston & Joseph R.Gusfield (Eds.), *New social movements: From ideology to identity.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Johnson, R.Burke. (1997). Examining the validity structure of qualitative research. *Education, 118,* 282–292.

Kanter, R.M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.

Kao, Su-chuan. (1999). *Sex roles and attitudes associating with work commitment of college faculty.* Papers presented at the Conference of Toward Equity of Gender Education in Twenty-First Century, Kaohsiung Medical College, Kaohsiung. (in Chinese).

Kelman, Herbert C. and Warwick, Donald P. (1978). Brining micro and macro approaches to social change: A social-psychological perspective. In Gerald Zaltman (Ed.), *Processes and phenomena of social change.* New York:Robert E.Krieger Publishing Company.

Kenway, Jane. (1990). Education and the right's discursive politics: Private versus state schooling. In Stephen J.Ball (Ed.), *Foucault and education.* New York: Routledge.

Klandermans, Bert, & Tarrow, Sidney. (1988). Mobilization into social movements: Synthesizing European and American approaches. *International Social Movement Research, 1,* 1–38.

Klein, Julie Thompson. (1996). *Crossing boundaries: Knowledge, disciplinarities, and interdisdplinarities.* Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia.

Klein, Renate Duelli. (1989). The 'men-problem' in Women's Studies: The expert, the ignoramus and the poor dear. In Renate D.Klein &; Deborah Lynn Steinberg (Eds.), *Radical voices: A*

*decade of feminist resistance from women's studies international forum.* New York: Pergamon Press.
Klein, Renate Duelli & Steinberg, Deborah Lynn. (Eds.). (1989). *Radical voices : A decade of feminist resistance from women's studies international forum.* New York: Pergamon Press.
Kotler, Philip. (1978). The elements of social action. In Gerald Zaltman (Ed.), *Processes and phenomena of social change.* New York: Robert E.Krieger Publishing Company.
Kramarae, Cheris & Spender, Dale. (Eds.). (1992). *The knowledge explosion: Generations of feminist scholarship.* New York: Teachers College Press.
Krefting Laura. (1991). Rigor in qualitative research: The assessment of trustworthiness. *The American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 45,* 214–222.
Ku, Yen-ling. (1988). Women's studies needs common language. *Bulletin of the Women's Research Program, 9,* 32. (in Chinese).
Ku, Yen-ling. (1989). The feminist movement in Taiwan, 1972–87. *Bulletin of the Committee of Centered Asian Scholars, 21,* 12–22.
Ku, Yen-ling (Feb, 1990a). Introducing theory and methodology of women's studies. *Awakening, 93,* 2–6. (in Chinese).
Ku, Yen-ling. (June, 1990b). The naming process of Female Studies Research Center. *Awakening, 97,* 19. (in Chinese).
Ku, Yen-ling. (1996). From transplanting to rooting: Women's studies in Taiwan, 1985–1995. *Research on Women in Modern Chinese History, 4,* 241–268. (in Chinese).
Lacey, Colin. (1977). *Socialization of teachers.* London: Methuen.
Laclau, Ernesto and Mouffe, Chantal. (1985). *Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics.* New York: Verso.
Lai, Yo-mei. (1999). Education. In Awakening Foundation (Ed.), *Taiwan's women's rights report in 1999.* Taipei: Awakening Foundation. (in Chinese).
Laslett, Barbara & Thorne, Barrie. (Eds.). (1997). *Feminist sociology: Life histories of a movement.* New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
Laslett, Barbara. (1991). Biography as historical sociology: The case of William Fielding Ogburn. *Theory and Society, 20,* 511–538.
Lee, Yuan-chen. (1986). The retrospect and prospect of women's movement. *Awakening, 53,* 4–6. (in Chinese).
Lennon, Kathleen. (1995). Gender and knowledge. *Journal of Gender Studies, 4*(2), 133–143.
Levin, Tobe. (1996). Women's studies in Germany. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 24*(1 & 2), 299–316.
Li, Mei-zhi. (1989). Social impacts of Taiwanese women elites with various forms of social power. In China Forum (Eds.), *Proceedings of female intellectuals and Taiwan's development.* Taipei, Taiwan: Linking Publishing Company. (in Chinese).
Lin, Holin. (1995). *Ethnicity and gender in postwar Taiwan: An analysis of stratification and life chances.* Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Davis.
Lin, Nan. & Zaltman, Gerald. (1978). Dimensions of innovation. In Gerald Zaltman (Ed.), *Processes and phenomena of social change.* New York: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company.
Lincoln, Yvonne S., & Guba, Egon G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry.* Beverly Hills: Sage.
Liu, Yu-hsiu. (2002). Caught between globalization and the female role: The dilemma of women in Taiwan. *National Policy, 1*(2), p. 85–116. (in Chinese).
Lorde, Audre. (1984). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches.* Freedom, CA : Crossing Press.
Lu, Annett. (1990). *New feminism.* Taipei, Taiwan: Pioneer Publishing. (in Chinese).
Lukacs, György. (1971). *History and class consdousness.* Cambridge: MIT Press.
Lundeberg, Mary Anna. (1997). You guys are overreacting: Teaching prospective teachers about subtle gender bias. *Journal of Teacher Education, 48*(1) , 55–61.
MacKinnon, Catharine A. (1989). *Toward a feminist theory of the state.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Maddock, Su. (1999). *Challenging women: gender, culture and organization.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mandle, Joan D. (2000). *Can we wear our pearls and still be feminists?: Memoirs of a campus struggle.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

Manhoney, Maureen A. & Yngvesson, Barbara. (1992). The construction of subjectivity and the paradox of resistance: Reintegrating feminist anthropology and psychology. *Signs, 18*(1), 245–274.

Marcuse, Herbert. (1966). *Eros and civilization: A philosophical inquiry into Freud.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Masland, Andrew T. (1985). Organization culture in the study of higher education. *Review of Higher Education, 8*(Winter), 157–68

Marshall, Catherine. (Ed.). (1997). *Feminist critical policy analysis: A perspective from post-secondary education.* Washington, D.C.: The Falmer Press.

Marx, Karl. (1977). *Karl Marx: Selected writings.* Edited by David McLellan . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Martin, Joanne. (1994). The organization of exclusion: Institutionalization of sex inequity, gendered faculty jobs and gendered knowledge in organizational theory and research. *Organization, 1*(2), 401–431.

Mason, Jennifer. (1996). *Qualitative researching.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd.

Maynard, Mary & Purvis, June. (1994). *Researching women's lives from a feminist perspective.* Bristol, PA: Taylor & Francis Ltd.

Mazumdar, Vina. (1994). Women's studies and the women's movement in India: An overview. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 22*(3 & 4), 42–54.

McCarthy, John D. & Zald, Mayer N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American Journal of Sociology, 82*(6), 1212–1241

McDermott, Patrice. (1994). *Politics and scholarship: Feminist academic journals and the production of knowledge.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

McMartin, Flora Pearle. (1993). *The institutionalization of women's centers and women's studies programs at three research universities.* Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Melucci, Alberto. (1988). Getting involved: Identity and mobilization in social movements. *International Social Movement Research, 1,* 329–348.

Melucci, Alberto. (1992). Frontier land: collective action between actors and systems. In Mario Diani and Ron Eyerman (Eds.), *Studying collective action.* Newbury Park, CA: SAGE

Melucci, Alberto. (1994). A strange kind of newness: What's "new" in new social movements. In Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston &; Joseph R.Gusfield (Eds.), *New social movements: From ideology to identity.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Melucci, Alberto. (1995). The process of collective identity. In Hank Johnston and Bert Klanfermans (Eds.) *Social movements and culture.* Minneapolis, MN: Umversity of Minnesota Press.

Messer-Davidow, Ellen. (1995). Acting otherwise. In Judith Kegan Gardiner (Ed.), *Provoking agents: Gender and agency in theory and practice*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Messer-Davidow, Ellen. (2002). *Disciplining feminism: From social activism to academic discourse.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Metz, Mary Haywood. (2000). Sociology and qualitative methodologies in educational research. *Harvard Educational Review, 70*(1), 60–74.

Meyer, John W. & Rowan, Brian. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology, 83*(2), 340–363.

Meyer, John W. & Rowan, Brian. (1978). The structure of educational organizations. In M.Meyer and Associates (Eds.), *Environments and organizations.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Meyer, John, Boli, John., Thomas, George M. & Ramirez, Francisco O. (1997). World society and the nation-state. *American Journal of Sociology, 103*(1), 144–181.
Middleton, Sue. (1993). *Educating feminists: Life histories and pedagogy.* New York: Teachers College Press.
Miller, Jean Baker. (1976). *Toward a new psychology of women.* Middlesex: Penguin.
Mills, Albert J. (1988). Organization, gender and culture. *Organization Studies, 9*(3), 351–369.
Mills, Albert J. & Tancred, Peta. (Eds.). (1992). *Gendering organizational analysis.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
Minkoff, Debra C. (1999). Bending with the wind: Strategic change and adaptation by women's and racial minority organizations. *American Journal of Sociology, 104*(6), 1666–1703.
Miske, Shirley Jean. (1995). *Center in the margins: The development of women's studies in a Thai University from three organizational perspectives.* Doctoral dissertation, Ann Arbor: Michigan State University.
Ministry of Education, ROC. (1970, 1980, 1990, 2000). *Education statistics of the Republic of China.* Taipei, Taiwan: Ministry of Education, R.O.C. (in Chinese).
Ministry of Education, ROC. (2001). *Education statistical indicators, Republic of China.* Taipei, Taiwan: Ministry of Education, R.O.C.
Mohamad, Maznah. (1994). Poststructuralism, power and the Third World feminism. *Kajian Malaysia: Journal of Malaysian Studies, 12*(1&2), 119–143.
Mohanty, Chandra. (1988). Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Feminist Review, 30*(Autumn), 61–88.
Morgan, Mary Y. & Rhoden, J.Lyn. (1995). Change in white college women's understanding of sexism: Empowerment through critical reflection. *NWSA Journal, 7*(Summer), 35–57.
Morley, Louise. (1999). *Organizing feminisms: The micropolitics of the academy.* New York: St. Martin's Press.
Mueller, Carol. (1994). Conflict networks and the origins of women's liberation. In Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston & Joseph R.Gusfield (Eds.), *New social movements: From ideology to identity.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Mundy, Karen & Murphy, Lynn. (2001). Transnational advocacy, global civil society? Emerging evidence from the field of education. *Comparative Education Review, 45*(1), 85–126.
Mwaka, Victoria Miriam. (1996). Women's studies in Uganda. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 24*(1&2), 449–464.
Nicholson, Linda J. (Ed.). (1990). *Feminism/postmodernism.* New York: Routledge.
NTHU Little Red Riding-Hood. (1993). *Handbook on anti-sexual harassment on campus.* Taipei: Teacher Chang Publisher. (in Chinese).
O'Barr, Jean F. (1994). *Feminism in action: Building institutions and community through womens studies.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.
Ollenburger, Jane C. & Moore, Helen A. (1998). *A sociology of women: The intersection of patriarchy, capitalism, and colonization.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
Paccione, Angela V. (2000). Developing a commitment to multicultural education. *Teachers College Record, 102*(6), 980–1005.
Paludi, Michele A. & Steuernagel, Gertrude A. (Eds.). (1990). *Foundations for a feminist restructuring of the academic disciplines.* New York: Harrington Park Press.
Patai, Daphne & Koertge, Noretta. (2003). *Professing feminism: Education and indoctrination in women's studies.* New York: Lexington Books.
Pedersen, Tove Beate. (1996). Women's studies in Norway. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 24*(1&2), 343–350.
Perreault, Geraldine. (1993). Contemporary feminist perspectives on women and higher education. In Judith S.Glazer, Estela M.Bensimon & Barbara K. Townsend (Eds.), *Women in higher education: A feminist perspective.* MA: Ginn Press.

Polkinghorne, Donald E. (1991). Qualitative procedures for counseling research. In C.Edward Watkins & Lawrence J.Schneider (Eds.) *Research in counseling.* Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Powell, Walter W. (1991). Expanding the scope of institutional analysis. In Walter W.Powell & Paul J.DiMaggio (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Powell, Walter W. & DiMaggio, Paul J. (1991). *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Prah, Mansah. (1996). Women's studies in Ghana. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 24*(1 &2), 412–422.

Pringle, Rosemary. (1989). *Secretaries talk: Sexuality, power and work.* London: Verso.

Pryse, Marjorie. (2000). Trans/feminist methodology: Bridges to interdisciplinary thinking. *NWSA Journal, 12*(2), 105–118

Ramsay, Karen & Parker, Martin. (1992). Gender, bureaucracy and organizational culture. In Mike Savage & Anne Witz (Eds.), *Gender and bureaucracy.* Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.

Rannelles, Jean Saul. (1990). Empowerment: An example from women's studies. In Lynne B.Welch. (Ed.), *Women in higher education: Changes and challenges.* New York: Praeger Publishers.

Rao, Aruna. (1991). *Women's studies international: Nairobi and beyond.* New York: The Feminist Press.

Reddock, Rhoda E. (1994). Women's studies at the University of the West Indies: A decade of feminist education. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 22*(3&4), 103–115.

Reinharz, Shulamit. (1992). *Feminist methods in social research.* New York: Oxford Unlversity Press.

Rich, Adrienne. (1993). Toward a woman-centered university. In Judith S.Glazer, Estela M.Bensimon & Barbara K.Townsend (Eds.), *Women in higher education: A feminist perspective.* MA: Ginn Press.

Rinehart, Sue Tolleson. (1992). *Gender consdousness and politics.* New York : Routledge.

Ritchie, Jane. (1994). Women's studies in New Zealand: A national report. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 22*(3&4), 55–72.

Robinson, Victoria. (1997). Introducing women's studies. In Victoria Robinson & Diane Richardson (Eds.), *Introducing women's studies: Feminist theory and practice.* New York: New York University Press.

Robinson, Victoria & Richardson, Diane. (Eds.). (1997). *Introducing women's studies: Feminist theory and practice.* New York: New York University Press.

Rosenfelt, Deborah S. (1994). "Definitive" issues: Women's studies, multicultural education, and curriculum transformation in policy and practice in the United States. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 22*(3&4), 26–41.

Rudolph, Frederick. (1990). *The American college and university.* Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press.

Rupp, Leila J. & Taylor, Verta. (1999). Forging feminist identity in an international movement: A collective identity approach to twentieth-century. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 24*(2), 363–386.

Sagaria, Mary Ann D. (1993). Administrative mobility and gender: Patterns and processes in higher education. In Judith S.Glazer, Estela M.Bensimon & Barbara K.Townsend (Eds.), *Women in higher education: A feminist perspective.* MA: Ginn Press.

Said, Edward W. (1994). *Representations of the intellectual.* New York: Vintage Books.

Sandler, Bernice R. (1993). The campus climate revisited: Chilly for women faculty, administrators, and graduate students. In Judith S.Glazer, Estela M.Bensimon & Barbara K.Townsend (Eds.), *Women in higher education: A feminist perspective.* MA: Ginn Press.

Sandoval, Chandra. (1990). Feminism and racism: A report on the 1981 National Women's Studies Association Conference. In Gloria Anzaldua (Ed.), *Making face, making soul: Creative and critical perspectives by feminists of color.* San Francisco: Aunt Lute Foundation Books.

Sandoval, Chandra. (1995). Feminist forms of agency and oppositional consciousness: U.S. Third World feminist criticism. In Judith Kegan Gardiner (Ed.), *Provoking agents: Gender and agency in theory and practice.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Sandoval, Chandra. (2000). *Methodology ofthe oppressed.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Savage, Mike & Witz, Anne. (Eds.). (1992). *Gender and bureaucracy.* Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.

Schmitz, Betty. (1985). *Integrating women's studies into the curriculum: A guide and bibliography.* Old Westbury: N.Y.: Feminist Press.

Schuster, Marilyn R. and Van Dyne, Susan R. (Eds.). (1985). *Women's place in the academy: Transforming the liberal arts curriculum.* Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld.

Schweickart, Patrocinio P. (1995). What are we doing? What do we want? Who are we?: Comprehending the subject of feminism. In Judith Kegan Gardiner (Ed.), *Provoking agents: Gender and agency in theory and practice.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Scott, Joan. (1986). Gender: A useful category of historical analysis. *American Historical Review, 91,* 1053–1075.

Scott, W.Richard. (1991). Unpacking institutional arguments. In Walter W.Powell & Paul J.DiMaggio (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Seidman, Irving. (1998). *Interviewing as qualitative research.* New York: Teacher Colleges, Columbia University.

Shih, Chi-sheng. (1993). *Ideologyand Taiwanese textbooks.* Taipei, Taiwan: Pioneer Publishing. (in Chinese).

Silverman, David. (1985). *Qualitative methodology and sociology: Describing the social world.* Hants, England: Gower.

Simeone, Angela. (1987). *Academic women: Working towards equality.* South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin & Garvey.

Smircich, Linda. (1983). Concepts of culture and organizational analysis. *American Science Quarterly, 28,* 339–358.

Smith, Anthony David. (1976). *Social change: Social theory and historical processes.* New York: Longman.

Smith, Dorothy E. (1975). An analysis of ideological structures and how women are excluded: Considerations for academic women. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 12*(4), 353–369.

Smith, Dorothy E. (1988). *The everyday world as problematic: A feminist sociology.* Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Smith, Dorothy E. (1990). *The conceptual practices of power: A feminist sociology of knowledge.* Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Smith, John K. (1984). The problem of criteria for judging interpretive inquiry. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 6,* 379–391.

Solomon, Barbara Miller. (1985). *In the company of educated women.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Sommers, Christina Hoff. (1995). *Who stole feminism?: How tuomen have betrayed women.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Spender, Dale. (Ed.). (1981). *Men's studies modified: The impact of feminism on academic disciplines.* New York: Pergamon Press.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. (1993). *Outside in the teaching machine.* New York: Routledge.

Stacey, Judith & Thorne, Barrie. (1985). The missing feminist revolution in sociology. *Social Problems, 32*(April), 301–316.

Stacey, Judith & Thorne, Barrie. (1996). The missing feminist revolution: Ten years later. *Perspectives, 18*(30), 1–3.

Stake, Jayne E. & Hoffmann, Frances L. (2001). Changes in student social attitudes, activism, and personal confidence in higher education: The role of women's studies. *American Educational Research Journal, 38*(Summer), 411–436.

Stanley, Liz & Wise, Sue. (1993). *Breaking out again: Feminist ontology and epistemology.* New York: Routledge.

Stinchcombe, Arthur L. (1968). *Constructing social theories.* New York: Harcourt Brace.

Stromquist, Nelly P. (1993). The theoretical and practical bases for empowerment. In C.Mendel-Anonuevo (Ed.), *Women, education, and empowerment* (pp. 13–22). Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education.

Stromquist, Nelly P. (1997). *Literacy for citizenship: Gender and grassroots dynamics in Brazil.* Albany: SUNY Press.

Stromquist, Neily P. (1999). The global emergence of a field: Content, form, and promise in women studies. In American Educational Research Association, *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (Vol. XIV). New York: Agathon Press.

Stromquist, Nelly P. (2001). Gender studies: A global perspective of their evolution, contribution, and challenges to comparative higher education. *Higher Education, 41,* 373–387.

Stromquist, Nelly P. (forthcoming). *The experience of CIPAF: Knowledge and power in feminist politics.*

Stromquist, Nelly P. & Monkman, Karen. (Eds.). (1998). *Women in the Third World: An encyclopedia of contemporary issues.* New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Su, Chien-ling. (2001). *Retrospection of and looking fonvard to Taiwan's educational equity implementation.* Papers presented at the Conference of Sex/ Gender, Psychology and Culture—Evolution of Taiwan's Feminism, May 25–26, Tamkang University, Taipei, Taiwan. (in Chinese).

Swartz, David. (1997). *Culture and power: The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Swidler, Ann. (1986). Culture in action: Symbols and strategies. *American Sociological Review, 51*(2), 273–286.

Swidler, Ann. (1995). Cultural power and social movements. In Hank Johnston and Bert Klanfermans (Eds.), *Social movements and culture.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Sztompka, Piotr. (1991). *Society in action: The theory ofsocial becoming.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association. (1995). *White Paper Book on Women's Conditions in Taiwan.* Taipei, Taiwan: Time. (in Chinese).

Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association. (2002). *Proceedings ofthe Conference of Investigating Gender Consciousness of College Textbooks,* Taipei, Taiwan, September, 2002. (in Chinese).

Tancred, Peta. (1994). Into the third decade of Canadian women's studies: A glass half-empty or half-full? *Women's Studies Quarterly, 22*(3&4), 12–25.

Tang, Wen-hui. (September, 1988). From Philippines to Taiwan: Interview with the Representative of Asia Foundation, Ms. Edith S.Coliver. *Awakening, 76,* 1–3. (in Chinese).

Tarrow, Sidney. (1995). Cycles of collective action: Between movements of madness and repertoires of contention. In Mark Traugott (Ed.), *Repertoires and cycles of collective action.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Taylor, Verta. (October, 1989). Social movement continuity: the women's movement in abeyance. *American Sociological Review, 54,* 761–775.

Taylor Verta. & Whittier, Nancy E. (1992). Collective identity in social movement communities: Lesbian feminist mobilization. In Aldon D.Morris & Carol McClurg Muller (Eds.), *Frontiers in social movement theory.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Taylor, Verta. & Whittier, Nancy E. (1995). Analytical approaches to social movement culture: The culture of the women's movement. In Hank Johnston & Bert Klanfermans (Eds.), *Social movements and culture.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Taylor, Verta. (1999). Gender and social movements: Gender processes in women's self-help movements. *Gender & Society, 13*(1), 8–33.
Tetreault, Mary Kay Thompson. (1985). Feminist phase theory. *Journal of Higher Education, 56*(July–Aug.), 363–384.
Tien, Hung-mao. (1989). *The great transition: Political and social change in the Republic of China.* Taipei, Taiwan: SMC Publishing Inc.
Tierney, William G. (1988). Organizational culture in higher education: Defining the essentials. *Journal of Higher Education, 59*(January/February), 2–21.
Tao, Jie. (1996). Women's studies in China. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 24*(1&2), 351–363.
Tokarczyk, Michelle M. & Fay, Elizabeth A. (Eds.). (1993). *Working-class women in the academy: Laborers in .the knowledge factory.* Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press.
Tong, Rosemarie P. (1998). *Feminist thought.* Boulder: Westview Press.
Touraine, Alain. (1988). *Return ofthe actor: Social theory in postindustrial society.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
True Jacqui & Mintrom, Michael. (2001). Transnational networks and policy diffusion: The case of gender and mainstreaming. *International Studies Quarterly, 45*(1), 27–57.
Turner, Stephen P. (Ed.). (1996). *Social theory and sociology: The classics and beyond.* Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
United Daily News. (March 3, 1998). Taipei, Taiwan.
University of Wisconsin System Women's Studies Consortium (UWSWSC). (1999). *Transforming women's education: The history of women's studies in tbe University of Wisconsin System.* Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
Wachman, Alan M.(1994). *Taiwan: National identity and democratization.* M.E. Sharpe, Inc., An East Gate Book.
Walby, S. (1986). *Patriarchy at work.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Wang, Fu-chang. (1998). Formation and perfomative of ethnic politics in Taiwan. Yin Hai Guang Foundation (Eds.), *Democracy—Transition? Taiwan's phenomenon.* Taipei, Taiwan: Laurel Publishing Inc,. (in Chinese).
Wang, James C.F. (1994). *Comparative Asian politics: Power, policy, and change.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
Wang, Jen-hwan. (1996). *Who governs Taiwan?* Taipei, Taiwan: Ju-Liu Publisher. (in Chinese).
Wang, Ping et al. (March, 1998). Whose foundation? What movement? *Contemporary Monthly Magazine, 127,* 90–96. (in Chinese).
Wang, Shi-jong. (1997). *The third sector: The US Asia Foundation and Taiwan.* Kaoshiung, Taiwan: Asia-Pacific Research Institute. (in Chinese).
Wang, Tsai-wei. (1997). *Feminism and the formation of collective identity within the women's movement in contemporary Taitvan.* Doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh.
Wang, Ya-Ke. (1999). *The history of Taiwanese women's liberation movement.* Taipei, Taiwan: Ju-liu Publishers. (in Chinese).
Warwick, Alex & Auchmuty, Rosemary. (1995). Women's studies as feminist activism. In Gabriele Griffin (Ed.), *Feminist activism in the 1990s.* London: Taylor & Francis Ltd.
Watanabe, Kazuko. (1994). Japanese women's studies. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 22*(3&4), 73–88.
Watkins, C.Edward, & Schneider, Lawrence J. (Eds.). (1991). *Research in counseling.* Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
Weeks, Kathi. (1998). *Constituting feminist subjects.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
Weick, Karl E. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 21,* 1–9.
Weiler, Kathleen. (1988). *Women teaching for change.* Connecticut: Bergin & Garvet Publishers, Inc.
Weir, Allison. (1996). *Sacrificial logics: Feminist theory and the critique of identity.* New York: Routledge.

Welch, Lynne Brodie. (Eds.). (1990). *Women in higher education: Changes and challenges.* New York : Praeger.

White, Stephen K. (1986). Foucault's challenge to critical theory. *American Political Science Review, 80*(2), 419–431.

Wiegman, Robyn. (2002). Academic feminism against itself. *NWSA Journal, 14*(2), 18–37.

Winckler, Edwin A. (Sept., 1984). Institutionalization and participation on Taiwan: From hard to soft authoritarianism? *The China Quarterly,* 99, 481–99.

Wilson, Kenneth L. & Zurcher, Louis A. (1976). Status inconsistency and participation in social movements: An application of Goodman's hierarchical modeling. *Sociological Quarterly, 17,* 520–533.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. (1995). *A vindication ofthe rights ofmen, with a vindication of the rights of woman, and hints.* Edited by Sylvana Tomaselli. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Woodward, Alison E. (1994). Out of the margins and across the borders: What can we learn from the United States in building European women's studies? *Women's Studies Quarterly, 22*(3&4), 226–231.

Wu, Jieh-min. (2004). Imagining society in the debates of Taiwanese literature: Formation of collective identity in public discourses of a cultural field. In D.T.Lii (Ed.), *Public discourses in Taiwan.* Taipei, Taiwan: Yin Hai Guanag Foundation. (in Chinese).

Xue, Xiao-hua. (1996). *Taiwan's education reform from civil society: An analysis of the state and society.* Taipei, Taiwan: Pioneer Publishing Company. (in Chinese).

Yang, Tsui. (1993). *Taiwanese women's liberation movement during Japanese colonial time.* Taipei, Taiwan: China Times Publishing Company. (in Chinese).

Ye, Chi-cheng. (2001). *Sociology and indigenization.* Taipei, Taiwan: Ju-Liu Publishing. (in Chinese).

Yin, Robert K. (1994). *Case study research: Design and methods.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Young, Yi-rong. (1989). The conflicts within advancing process of female intellectuals. In China Forum (Eds.), *Proceedings of Female Intellectuals and Taiwan's Development.* Taipei, Taiwan: Linking Publishing Company. (in Chinese).

Young, Yi-rong. (1994). *Education and national development: Taiwan's experience.* Taipei: Guei-Guan Publishing, Inc. (in Chinese).

Young, Yi-rong. (1997). Indigenization of academics: Two movements and one contradiction. In Cheng-jieh Huang (Ed.), *Autonomy and responsibilities of universities.* Taipei, Taiwan: Han-Wen Bookstore Publishing. (in Chinese).

Zucker, Lynne G. (1991). The role of institutionalization in cultural persistence. In Walter W.Powell & Paul J.DiMaggio (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

# Index