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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF WOMEN AND  
THE MODERNIZATION PROCESS  
IN TAIWAN AND JAPAN

by

Natalie Robinson Sinanian

A Project Report  
Submitted to the  
Faculty of The Graduate College  
in partial fulfillment  
of the  
Specialist in Arts Degree

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Kalamazoo, Michigan  
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Natalie Robinson Sinanian

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

During the past five years women in the United States have once again taken to the pen, the podium, and the street to demand a critical look at their position within American society, and to demand the changes which they feel are necessary to bring them to full equality. This demand for equality is not new, nor is it confined to the United States, or even to the western industrially-developed nations. In the non-western world too, women have challenged their status within society. In many nations the voices have been those of a few well-educated women attempting to wrest civil rights from male-dominated governments which, in some instances, do not even allow them to own property. In other nations the voices are those of women who fought to preserve their nations, only to find themselves back in traditional positions once the danger had passed. The Algerian women, who planted bombs and smuggled weapons under their skirts in the struggle against French colonialism, and the Yugoslav women who fought with the partisans are excellent examples. Strangest of all are the voices raised by women who have experienced equality in a traditional culture, but who find that position eroded

after exposure to the west. Boserup<sup>1</sup> describes an uprising of Nigerian women in 1959 in which 2,000 women marched to a neighboring town where they occupied and set fire to the market to protest the loss of their land to male farmers.

An inquiry into the status of women in non-western cultures presents a number of questions. How does change in the status of women occur? What factors contribute to the change? Are there similarities between western and non-western cultures in this respect? Is industrialization a necessary pre-condition for change? An opportunity to spend a year teaching in Taiwan and a subsequent trip devoted entirely to observing and interviewing Asian women allowed me to seek answers to some of these questions.

Taiwan is an excellent country to observe because of its relatively small size and the accessibility to women of all educational and income levels. Industrialization is fairly recent, however, and the full impact has been felt only within the last 10 to 15 years. For this reason, I will make comparisons between Taiwan and Japan, a neighboring island nation which has been fully industrialized for 50 years.

There are several other good reasons for comparing these

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<sup>1</sup>Boserup, Ester, Women's Role in Economic Development. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1970. P. 65.



two societies. In addition to being the two most industrialized nations in Asia, both have had extensive and prolonged exposure to western culture, particularly to the culture of the United States. Both have homogeneous populations and high population density. Both are island nations and prior to the modernizing period were isolated to some degree from outside influence, although Taiwan was less successful than Japan in this endeavor.

In addition to the similarities already mentioned, Taiwan, which was a colony of Japan from 1895 to 1945, began the modernizing process under Japanese colonial influence. Japanese influence is still considerable despite the efforts of the Kuomintang to eliminate Japanese "contamination" of Chinese culture.

In both Taiwan and Japan the voices of women have been raised, albeit very softly. In these two societies it is the educated upper-class women who have asked the questions and demanded the changes. It is their lower class, uneducated sisters who have contributed to the changes by leaving the home to work in the mines and the mills.

Many students of traditional cultures have been increasingly interested in the changes which occur in family and kinship relationships as these cultures are impacted by western influences and the pressures of industrialization. Typologies have been developed in all the social sciences categorizing societies in an attempt to better understand the process of change. Some of the popular

criteria are extent of urbanization, type of economy, system of government, class structure, and family type. Recently, however, social scientists are taking a second look at the usefulness of categorizing societies into types. Instead of attempting to classify cultures, they are observing the accommodations traditional cultures make with industrialization and westernization. Randolph and Randolph<sup>1</sup> have noted that the caste system in India has not been eliminated in spite of extensive efforts by the government. In fact, castes have taken on new functions as political pressure groups much like ethnic groups in the United States. Other social scientists are studying the impact of modernization on the individual. How people cope with institutional changes and shifts in value systems is important to any understanding of events occurring in the non-western world.

In observing the position of women in Taiwan and Japan today, I expect to find significant changes because of extensive industrialization and exposure to western culture. However, I also expect to find remnants of traditional role expectations in original form or in modified form. Industrialization appears to produce certain changes in the status of women within the family and society no matter what

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<sup>1</sup>Tachau, Frank (ed.), The Developing Nations: What Path to Modernization? New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, Inc., 1972. P. 49.

culture is involved and these will be noted. But, what is of particular interest to me are the more specific adaptations and accommodations in the traditional position of women within Japanese and Taiwanese society. Because Taiwan and Japan have experienced dissimilar cultural traditions, histories, and levels of industrialization, I would expect some of these accommodations to be unique to each culture. I would also expect, however, to find numerous similarities.

### Methodology

To facilitate this inquiry, it is necessary to describe briefly the traditional status of women in Taiwan and Japan. However, because I am most interested in change, I will concentrate on the current status of women in both societies and will trace the pattern of change beginning with western contact and industrialization. Fully realizing that change is a continuous process, I have selected the Meiji Restoration and the colonization of Taiwan by Japan as significant events leading to the industrialization and westernization of both societies.

Although this study is intended as a description of the current status of women in Taiwan and Japan, an understanding of that position and the events leading to the current state of affairs requires an historical perspective. Therefore, I intend to utilize Japanese, Chinese, and western historical analyses of the 19th and early 20th

centuries in both societies.

For a description of the current status of women, I will rely upon a number of studies done by American and Asian social scientists as well as aggregate data from the statistical yearbooks published in both nations and various United Nations agencies. In addition, I intend to draw upon my own personal experiences in Taiwan as well as the data acquired through interviews of women there. Because these women were not selected randomly and because of the small number (36), their responses will be treated as case studies to amplify and explain data taken from other sources.

I conducted the interviews in May, 1975 in Taipei and a nearby village. Since I speak only Mandarin, I used Taiwanese and Mandarin-speaking women as translators. These women were residents of the village or neighborhood in which the interviews were conducted. Their presence helped to overcome the shyness of many women who had never had contact with a westerner. It also made the interviews very lengthy because my translators utilized our visits to catch up on neighborhood gossip. In a few instances the interviews were conducted in English with no translator present.

I attempted to interview a cross section of women classified by age, level of education, marital status and employment. (See Table 1.1) I experienced particular difficulty reaching older women who were shy about talking with me even when they were well

acquainted with my translator. In most cases they would defer to the younger women in the household, claiming they had no education or that they didn't know anything.

TABLE 1.1. --Women interviewed by age, marital status, employment and education

Age	No.	Marital Status	No.	Employment	No.	Education	No.
20-25	15	Married	16	Housewife or		0	2
26-30	12	Single	19	family employee	15	1-6	3
31-40	5	Widowed	1	Student	7	7-9	4
Over 40	4			Employed outside the home	14	10-12	10
						University or college	17
Total	36		36		36		36

An interview schedule was used, but I did not confine myself to only those questions if a woman expressed interest in revealing more information or had a particularly interesting background. Many of the households which we visited represented extended families of various types. In those cases it was impossible to question the women alone. Frequently all of the women in the household chimed in with their opinions and a lively discussion ensued.

Finally, this paper assumes that the status of women is altered by industrialization, but modernization and development include much more. The effort of social scientists to define exactly what is meant by the term modernization continues. However, because this study

is concerned with women, I intend to select from the literature only those aspects of modernization which appear to have a direct influence on women's roles. Unfortunately, most of the efforts to date have not been concerned with women per se, focusing instead on changes in family structure and to some extent on socialization. Hopefully this will in some measure draw attention to the affects of the modernization process on the lives of women in Taiwan and Japan.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Many researchers have investigated the affects of modernization on non-western cultures. This chapter includes a review of empirical studies related to women's roles and individual modernity. Historical material will be utilized in the chapters on Taiwan and Japan to provide background for explaining the changes which have occurred.

#### Literature on Japan

Survey-research techniques in Japan equal or surpass those in the United States. Since the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese have acquired thorough demographic data and the Japanese population is well accustomed to survey and polling techniques. The Japanese government sponsors and supports financially extensive surveys on every imaginable topic and there is a wealth of data on the status of women.

Two recent surveys have supplied much of the data for this project. One, conducted in 1973 by the Council for the Survey of Problems Concerned with Women, reports on marriage, family

and home, occupation, and civic activity and recreation.<sup>1</sup> The second was conducted by the Prime Minister's Office in 1973 and is entitled Survey on Women's Consciousness.<sup>2</sup> This study includes interest in political affairs, involvement in civic activity, selection of marriage partners, husbands' cooperation in housework, and use of spare time. The Ministry of Labor, Women and Minors Bureau also publishes an annual report, Condition of Women, which contains much valuable information.

In addition to government data and financial support, the Japanese and American social scientists have access to the general population and the advantages of thirty years of accumulated data so that longitudinal studies can be done in Japan. An excellent survey by Jones<sup>3</sup> of the 1972 election reports voting practices and attitudes of female voters in Japan. Although he found continued ambivalence in women's political activism, a comparison with a 1965 survey indicates an "overall greater political consciousness in women voters."

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<sup>1</sup>"Poll of Japanese Women Reveals Changes with an Under-current of Tradition." Japan Report, Vol XX, No. 16 (August 16, 1974), 1-3.

<sup>2</sup>ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Jones, H.J., "Japanese Women in the Politics of the Seventies." Asian Survey, Vol. XV, No. 8 (August 1975), 703-723.



Because of the current interest in values and an identity crisis in Japan, there is also much literature on the effects of westernization on Japanese values. An analysis entitled, "Do the Japanese Really Have a Generation Gap," by Krisher<sup>1</sup> describes a discrepancy in attitudes held by pre-World War II and post-World War II Japanese. Krisher concludes that there is some gap in customs, but that it is not critical because the basic value structure remains unchanged.

#### Literature on Taiwan

In comparison to Japan data on Taiwan is limited and longitudinal studies non-existent. Western social scientists must have the permission of the government to conduct any extensive surveys and this necessarily restricts content to "politically safe" topics. Researchers also are hampered by a lack of access to the population. Most studies have been conducted within the college community in Taipei.

One of the best studies on the status of middle class women, conducted by Diamond<sup>2</sup> in 1970-71, has avoided these problems.

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<sup>1</sup>Krisher, Bernard, "Do the Japanese Really Have a Generation Gap?" Pacific Community. Vol. VI, No. 4 (July 1975), 500-511.

<sup>2</sup>Diamond, Norma, "The Middle Class Family Model in Taiwan: Woman's Place is in the Home." Asian Survey, Vol. XII, No. 9 (September 1973), 853-872.

Diamond's sample of 220 was drawn randomly from household registrations of several neighborhoods in Tainan City. Among younger middle class women she found a growing tendency toward isolation and a "retreat into domesticity." Many women had little contact with family members or neighbors, and did not belong to clubs or other activities. In spite of increased education, fewer middle class women are working before or after marriage and their interest is centered on home and the children.

Another excellent study has been conducted by Huang<sup>1</sup> on sex role stereotypes and self-concepts. Her sample of 233 was taken from students attending conversational English classes at the Taipei Y. M. C. A. in the summer of 1970. Rosenkrantz's instrument of 122 bipolar items was adapted and administered to Taiwanese and American college students and a comparison of the two samples was made. She found a disparity in heterosexual understanding in both groups, but more severely in the Taiwanese group. The greatest contrasts appear in the self-concepts of American and Chinese female students, with the Chinese females exhibiting a very poor self-concept.

The area most thoroughly studied in Taiwan which relates to

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<sup>1</sup>Huang, Jucy Jen, "Sex Role Stereotypes and Self-Concepts Among American and Chinese Students." Journal of Comparative Family Studies, Vol. II, No. 2 (Autumn 1971), 212-234.

the status of women is family size preference and attitudes toward birth control. The government has made population data available to family planning specialists and has allowed extensive surveying in this field. Although there are many excellent studies, the most thorough have been conducted by the University of Michigan Population Studies Center in conjunction with the Taiwan Provincial Health Department's Committee on Family Planning. These studies are published regularly in Studies in Family Planning and indicate an increasing acceptance of family planning as well as a declining birth rate in both urban and rural Taiwan.

In Taiwan social science and the techniques of survey-research are in their infancy. National Taiwan University does publish a Journal of Sociology in Chinese. To date, most of the samples are drawn from college students at the university and interest is centered on attitudes toward family and marriage and family planning.

#### Literature on Individual Modernity and Sex Roles

Studies in political and economic modernization do not focus on the role of women and are not as useful in analyzing the changing status of women as the sociological emphasis on role change and individual modernity. There are only a few studies of non-western women, but interest in women and the modernization process is

growing. Korson's<sup>1</sup> study of career restraints among West Pakistan female graduate students identifies the dilemma faced by women who acquire more education than is culturally acceptable. Schnaiberg,<sup>2</sup> in a study of Turkish women, attempts to establish a relationship between a "woman's socio-economic attainment and her levels of modernism." He concludes that educational and occupational opportunities for women promote development.

One of the most significant studies in individual modernity is a comparative work by Smith and Inkeles.<sup>3</sup> They have concluded, based on a sample of 6,000 young men in six non-western countries that there is an "empirically identifiable modern man" who exhibits certain types of behavior and holds certain values. The influences which create such a man, according to Inkeles, are education and work in factories. The modern man is more likely to join voluntary organizations, be aware of public issues and talk politics with his

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<sup>1</sup>Korson, J. Henry, "Career Restraints Among Women Graduate Students in A Developing Society: West Pakistan." Journal of Comparative Family Studies, Vol. I, No. 1 (Autumn 1970), 82-100.

<sup>2</sup>Schnaiberg, Allan, "The Modernizing Impact of Urbanization: A Causal Analysis." American Journal of Sociology (October 1971), 80-104.

<sup>3</sup>Inkeles, Alex, "Making Men Modern: On the Causes and Consequences of Individual Change in Six Developing Countries." American Journal of Sociology, Vol. L, No. 2 (September 1969), 208-225.

wife. Inkeles has noted that an individual's participation in the modernization process can lead to a change in attitudes, values, and behavior.

Portes<sup>1</sup> has also identified a modernity dimension in his study of Guatemala. His sample is one of the few drawn from urban and rural areas which includes both men and women. While most of the individual modernity studies posit a direct correlation between numbers of people exhibiting modern attitudes and development, Portes suggests that the relationship is not a direct one. He also notes that traditional cultural attitudes can promote accelerated economic growth while modernity can prevent development.

Premature modernity-in-underdevelopment, excessive aspirations and secularism, and sophistication bearing no relationship to its social and economic context may make of the most Westernized sectors the main obstacle to initial stages of national development.<sup>2</sup>

Portes<sup>3</sup> also notes a "profoundly ethnocentric undercurrent in characterizations of modern men in underdeveloped countries." His statement might be expanded to include a "sexist undercurrent" in some of the development literature. Studies based on male or

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<sup>1</sup>Portes, Alejandro, "The Factorial Structure of Modernity: Empirical Replications and a Critique." American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXIX, No. 1 (January 1972), 15-44.

<sup>2</sup>Portes, loc. cit., p. 36.

<sup>3</sup>ibid.

female samples which identify characteristics of modern men or women as characteristics of modern people overlook half of the population in developing nations or make the assumption that what applies to one sex automatically applies to the other.

Sex role literature is also useful in a consideration of the changing status of women in non-western societies. Unfortunately, little has been done cross-culturally. Lipman-Blumen and Tickamyer<sup>1</sup> suggest that cross-cultural studies would enable social scientists to identify sex role patterns which "persist across all cultures versus those that change their configuration in different cultural settings." Such studies would also help to suggest why sex roles differ from culture to culture.

A study by Lipman-Blumen<sup>2</sup> on role change in response to crisis offers a possible theoretical framework for sex role research in non-western cultures. Four stages of role development are identified: undifferentiation, differentiation, de-differentiation and reconfiguration. Possible alterations in roles as a system response to crisis are explored. She then applies this framework to occupa-

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<sup>1</sup>Lipman-Blumen, Jean, Tickamyer, Ann, "Sex Roles in Transition: A Ten-Year Perspective." Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. I, in press, i-57.

<sup>2</sup>Lipman-Blumen, Jean, "Role De-Differentiation as a System Response to Crisis." Sociological Inquiry, Vol. 43, No. 2, 105-129.

tional roles which were reserved for men in the United States during and immediately after World War II. She also considers female political participation in Great Britain from 1918 to 1955 and Japanese female political participation from 1946 to 1954, noting an increase in female legislators during times of crisis and a decline during the reconfiguration period after the crisis has passed.

### Summary

A number of questions are raised by modernity studies in non-western nations. If a cluster of "modern" values can be identified, what is the effect on the traditional hierarchy of values? If values conflict, how does an individual cope with the discrepancies? Is a "modernity dimension" the same for men and women, and how does it affect role expectations? What is the relationship between values and behavior during the modernization process?

In an effort to seek answers to these questions and to understand the effects of modernization on the status of women, a comparison between the position of women in Taiwan and Japan is useful. Each society will be treated separately, considering historical factors, institutional change and the effects of modernity on women as individuals. A comparison of the two nations will then be made noting similarities and differences. Finally, the changes which have occurred will be considered in the context of current literature on modernization.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE STATUS OF TAIWANESE WOMEN

##### Early History

Prior to the colonization of Taiwan by the Japanese in 1895, women in Taiwan experienced a position in society similar to that of their sisters on the mainland. Lack of education, rigid kinship ties, and an absence of civil protection left women in bondage to their own families before marriage and to their husband's family after marriage. Women had no recourse in divorce, but according to Confucian doctrine husbands could easily rid themselves of a wife. (The seven traditional grounds for divorce were: disobedience, barrenness, loose morals, jealousy, leprosy or any other contagious disease, excessive talking, and stealing.) A woman could leave her husband's family only if she repaid the bride price, her own family took her back, and she left the children with the husband's family. According to Takekoshi,<sup>1</sup> Taiwanese husbands could sell their wives for disobedience, unfaithfulness, or poverty. A husband could even live off of his wife's prostitution, an arrangement known as the half-closed gate.

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<sup>1</sup>Takekoshi, Yosaburo, Japanese Rule in Formosa. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907. Pp. 311-312.



Abandonment of female children was common. Female children could be bought and sold, betrothed in infancy and killed if they became a burden to the family. Footbinding was also practiced, except for Haaka women who traditionally did not bind their feet. The general lack of regard for female children led to high mortality rates which resulted in an excess of males in the population.

This grim picture, however, does not reveal the full story, for there is some evidence that isolation from the mainland, Dutch influence, and the necessity of adapting to the rugged environment led to significant modifications in the traditional Confucian prescription for women. In 1623 the Dutch East India Company secured an agreement with Chinese officials in Fukien to settle Taiwan for commercial purposes. They remained in control of the island only until 1662, but during that brief interval they introduced Christianity, the Dutch language, and most importantly, schools which were attended by native women. Married women in Taiwan also had the right to own paddy fields, tea fields, and other property and to will property to their children.

By the mid-nineteenth century Spanish Catholic and Canadian Presbyterian missionaries were making their influence felt on the island. Spanish priests were reported to have cared for 5000 to 6000 female children and Presbyterian missionaries educated women

as bible workers. These efforts, although small, must have created a climate in which it was possible for women to deviate from the traditional. When the Japanese set up a primary school system in 1898, they were able to utilize 29 Formosan women as teachers. By 1904 these 29, as well as seven Japanese women and 584 Japanese and Taiwanese men, were educating 20,523 boys and 2655 girls in Japanese public schools.<sup>1</sup> The Volunteer Nursing Association also reported 22 Formosan women as members in 1904.<sup>2</sup>

### The Beginning of Change

The movement to radically alter the Chinese family and to improve the status of women begun on the mainland in 1910 and accelerated in 1917 with the May Fourth movement had little effect on women in Taiwan. The Japanese government, in an attempt to integrate Taiwan culturally as well as economically into the Japanese empire, isolated the Taiwanese from the mainland. By 1935 less than 60,000 Chinese from the mainland had been allowed to enter Taiwan and they were admitted only for the purpose of

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<sup>1</sup>loc. cit., pp. 296-297.

<sup>2</sup>loc. cit., pp. 306-307.

temporary labor.<sup>1</sup> Few newspapers were allowed and they were printed in Japanese with only one column allowed in Chinese. After 1937 even these columns were forbidden. Magazines and bulletins were printed in Japanese, and all official business was conducted in Japanese necessitating the use of translators even when an official could speak Chinese.

The educational policies of the Japanese were clearly directed toward assimilation. Literacy became an important goal and 120 primary schools were established immediately. By 1945 over 1000 primary schools were in operation. The curriculum emphasized the Japanese language, Japanese history, and loyalty to the emperor. Girls as well as boys were allowed to attend these schools but there was no compulsory requirement. Because the Japanese considered education merely a tool for assimilation, there was little commitment to higher education for Taiwanese students. Those schools that did exist were of a vocational nature. In 1937 only 30 middle schools existed. Fifteen of these were finishing schools for girls. Outstanding Taiwanese students were discriminated against by the better middle schools, technical schools and the University which reserved places for Japanese youngsters being educated on the island.

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<sup>1</sup>Kerr, George H., Formosa Licensed Revolution and the Home Rule Movement 1895-1945. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1974. P. 172.

Because of the traditional Chinese reluctance to educate women and the Japanese efforts to prevent the development of an intellectual elite, Taiwan lacked a group of dedicated professional women like those that demanded a change in the status of women on the mainland.

By maintaining rigid control over every aspect of life, the Japanese were also able to prevent the revolutionary ideals of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's T'ung-meng Hui movement from having much effect in Taiwan. Those few Taiwanese who did acquire a university education were interested in wresting more freedom from the colonial government and do not appear to have been involved with the revolutionary events which were shaking the mainland. Dr. Sun did visit Taiwan in 1900, but his purpose was to enlist the help of the Japanese in starting an uprising against the Manchus. He did not attempt to extend his movement to Taiwan. Although there were many small revolts against the Japanese government, only one, begun in 1912, was connected with Dr. Sun's movement philosophically. The plot was discovered by the government and over 500 people were killed or imprisoned.

The attempt by the Japanese to assimilate the Taiwanese plus their concomitant isolation from the mainland effectively prevented women in Taiwan from identifying with women's causes espoused on the mainland. Equally significant were the developmental policies of the Japanese government. Japan's emphasis on agricultural

development and their particular method of administering Taiwan reinforced traditional family patterns and contributed to the maintenance of traditional female roles in Taiwan. The decision to utilize Taiwan as a rice basket for the empire kept women in a rural environment, working within the home and assisting in the fields. In 1930 only 5.2 percent of women between the ages of 25 and 34 reported working in something other than agriculture.<sup>1</sup> Most of these women produced handicrafts within the home or worked in tea factories. The development of sugar refining and the decision of Japan in 1935 to use Taiwan as a processing center for raw materials from other parts of the empire led to the creation of some industry, but by 1937 there were only 8,141 factories in Taiwan employing 77,300 workers.<sup>2</sup>

The pao-chia system also reinforced the traditional Chinese family and kinship system. The Japanese, in an effort to administer the island cheaply and efficiently, organized family units (chia) into groups of ten. These units were then grouped into larger village

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<sup>1</sup>Barclay, George W., Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1954. P. 82.

<sup>2</sup>Chen, I., "Japanese Colonialism in Korea and Formosa: A Comparison of Its Effects Upon the Development of Nationalism." Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1968. P. 232.

units (pao). An elder or family head from each unit was elected and held responsible for registering births and deaths and for making sure all members of the unit were familiar with directives from the government. He was also held accountable for the behavior of all members within the unit. The pao-chia system, which had been used by the Chinese to organize the village, was adopted by the Japanese to maintain a system of accountability and ultimately proved to be an effective method of maintaining total control over the population. (It is interesting that the communist government has utilized the pao-chia to organize rural labor on the mainland.) It also helped to maintain the traditional kinship system and the position of women within that system.

Mrs. Chen, a 66 year old woman whom I interviewed, was able to describe for me what life in a rural village under the Japanese was like. This stately woman was one of 12 children born on a farm near Taichung. She can neither read nor write, she explained, because under the Japanese only rich girls went to school. Of the 12 children in her family only two of her brothers ever attended school, and then only for brief periods of time since their labor was needed on the farm. She was married at the age of 14 and lived with her husband's parents where she was expected to perform household chores, help with the farm work during busy times, and produce as many sons as possible. She

bore ten children, five boys and five girls. In comparing her life with that of her five married daughters she said, "A woman's life is much better now. My daughters have only two or three babies and they have time to do other things. I spent my childhood with a younger brother or sister strapped to my back and my adulthood bearing and caring for my ten children."

Another policy of the Japanese which inadvertently resulted in the strengthening of the traditional Chinese family is reported by Barclay<sup>1</sup> in his excellent demographic study of Taiwan under Japanese rule. Barclay observed that divorce, widow remarriage and matrilocal marriage, all practices opposed in Chinese culture, were fairly common in the early part of the century. In 1906, 21.8 percent of all marriages were reported to be of the matrilocal type. He attributes this to the high infant mortality rate for female children which resulted in an excess of marriageable males. Japanese improvements in sanitation and medical care soon reversed the high mortality rate of female children producing a return to cultural ideals in marriage patterns. By 1943, only 6.2 percent of marriages were of the matrilocal type. The divorce rate fell steadily throughout the colonial administration.

Change in the status of women is related to exposure to

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<sup>1</sup>Barclay, op. cit., pp. 212-237.

western ideas, but ordinarily industrialization and the modernization of agriculture act as a catalyst, producing change throughout all levels of the society. Barclay<sup>1</sup> notes, however, that the Japanese were able to modernize Taiwan administratively and agriculturally without altering traditional social patterns. In fact, they utilized kinship patterns to maintain control of the population. Reinforcement of traditional culture, attempts at assimilation, and isolation from intellectual movements on the mainland hindered the development of a women's movement in Taiwan. However, the emphasis on literacy, exposure to both a modernized Japan and United States, and beginning industrial development gave Taiwanese women some preparation for the changes which were to occur in 1945.

### The Kuomintang and Women's Rights

Taiwan has experienced accelerated change economically, socially, and politically since the end of World War II. Some of these changes have occurred with the support of the Nationalist government and some changes have occurred in spite of the Nationalists. Many of the changes espoused by the Kuomintang originated with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of the

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<sup>1</sup>loc. cit., p. 255.



Nationalist movement. The political movement of Sun Yat-sen was first and foremost dedicated to the overthrow of the Manchus and the creation of a modern China. However, the status of Chinese women was a concern of the movement from its inception. In one of the earliest documents of the T'ung-meng Hui, Dr. Sun calls for the abolition of footbinding.<sup>1</sup> The first Kuomintang party platform, issued August 25, 1913, contains the following statement:

Education is fundamental to the nation, and so its development is imperative. The areas which require that immediate attention are: law and political science, engineering and business, secondary education, normal education for primary school teachers, and women's education . . . . Women's education helps further the knowledge as well as the rights of the fair sex.<sup>2</sup>

Another manifesto issued by the Kuomintang in January, 1923 states: "Equality of opportunity shall be maintained for both men and women and equality of opportunity for the development of talent shall be fostered."<sup>3</sup> Early documents also called for universal suffrage, two months maternity leave for female government employees with full pay, cultivation of healthy and intelligent motherhood, job training for women, and equality between men

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<sup>1</sup> Shieh, Milton J. T., The Kuomintang: Selected Historical Documents 1894-1969. St. John's University: St. John's University Press, 1970. P. 15.

<sup>2</sup> loc. cit., p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> loc. cit., p. 70.

and women socially, politically and educationally.

Reforms to achieve the stated goals of the KMT were slow in coming and were often partial measures enforced unenthusiastically. Lobbying by intellectuals and women within the KMT led to a new kinship law in 1930. Unfortunately, this law, which permitted marriage by free choice, did not prohibit arranged marriages. It was not widely publicized and never had much effect in the rural areas of China. In the early years of the KMT a few women were allowed to participate in political decision making. In 1924 Madame Sun Yat-sen, Madame Liao Chung-kai and Madame Wang Ching-wei were elected to the first congress of the KMT. Later, however, the KMT began to restrict their political activities, checking the feminist movement whenever it moved too far left. Yang<sup>1</sup> reports that a split in the movement occurred in the late twenties with the communists incorporating women's issues into their political movement and the KMT isolating the feminists from political activities. It was not until their services were needed in the war against Japan that women were again allowed to actively participate.

The transfer of Taiwan to the Nationalists in 1945 substantially improved the position of Taiwanese women. The Japanese

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<sup>1</sup>Yang, C.K., The Chinese Family in the Communist Revolution. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959. P. 118.

attempted to eliminate the most oppressive traditions, banning footbinding in 1910, prohibiting child marriages, and granting the right of divorce and remarriage to women. However, women were denied political, social, and economic equality. The Meiji Constitution supposedly applied to Taiwan, but it contained no provisions guaranteeing the civil rights of women, Japanese or Chinese. The 1937 reforms allowed some Taiwanese participation in the governing of Taiwan, but suffrage was limited to Taiwanese males. Legal equality was finally extended to the women with the promulgation of the 1947 Constitution. Article 7 states: "All citizens of the Republic of China, irrespective of sex, religion, race, class, or party affiliation shall be equal before the law." Women were also given the right to vote.

Constitutions and legal codes do not necessarily provide an accurate description of the way a society functions. Nonetheless, basic changes in attitudes and the goals of a society may be determined by a review of formal codes of behavior and legal guarantees. The Legal Code of the Republic of China contains many provisions which deal with the position of women in Taiwanese society. A survey of these statutes yields some valuable insights into the current attitudes of the government toward women's issues.

Much of the current legal code of Nationalist China dealing with family law was developed while Chiang Kai-shek was still on

the mainland. The present marriage law sets the age of marriage at 18 for males and 16 for females with the consent of the family. Marriage without familial consent can occur at 20 years of age. The marriage must be arranged with the mutual agreement of both parties. A man can have only one spouse which prohibits concubinage. There are some interesting aspects of the marriage law which reflect the still traditional and sometimes puritanical nature of the KMT regime. When a divorce has occurred due to adultery, the parties involved in the adultery cannot marry unless the woman is pregnant. Also, women cannot remarry within six months after a divorce although there is no such restriction on men.

The mutual consent clause implies that women have some say in the selection of a marriage partner. In my talks with married women in Taiwan, I discovered that the amount of influence a girl has over choice of a partner is related to her educational level and the educational level of her parents. In all cases the women married men who had the approval of their parents. Unmarried college women told me that they would not marry against their parents' wishes. Most indicated they would try to persuade their parents to accept their choice. Men must also receive the permission of their parents. I interviewed a charming Vietnamese-Chinese girl who was working as a secretary to the manager of a large company. She was beautiful, well educated, had a good job, and came from a

wealthy, overseas Chinese family. These attributes would ordinarily make a young woman a prime marriage candidate. However, the parents of the Taiwanese man she was dating refused to let them marry because Ming-jin was overseas Chinese. The couple continued to see one another and after three years eventually received permission to marry. I attended the wedding which was a very pleasant event except for the scowling face of Ming-jin's future mother-in-law, who had reluctantly given permission, but was clearly unhappy about the marriage.

Many women reported seeing their future husbands only one time before the formal engagement. In a number of cases women were married to men with whom they had grown up but the selection was made by their parents with the aid of the ever-present match-maker. I spoke with one 40 year old woman who was working in an appliance factory in Taipei. She had been sold by her mother in infancy and adopted into a family. At the age of 16 she was married to her "brother." Wolf<sup>1</sup>, in her discussion of rural Taiwanese family life, reports that such sim-pua marriages continue to occur occasionally, but for the most part the custom has died due to increasing economic independence of young men who found marriage

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<sup>1</sup>Wolf, Margery, Woman and the Family in Rural Taiwan. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1972. P. 183.

to a sister repugnant. The practice was an outgrowth of the attitude that a woman after marriage belongs to her husband's family.

Adopting a female child and raising her gave the mother-in-law total control over the training of her future daughter-in-law and insured her domination of the girl. The woman interviewed by me had never been to school and told me that she was rarely allowed out of the family compound, even to go to the market. When I asked her what she would like to be if she could change her life, she replied that she didn't know anything about the outside world until she moved to Taipei and got a television, so she had never thought about it.

Although the government reports the average age of marriage as 27.5 years for men and 22.1 for women,<sup>1</sup> urban middle class families do not encourage their daughters to marry young. I interviewed many educated women in their mid-twenties who were not in any great hurry to marry although they all expected to marry by the age of 30. Most were interested in working for a few years while continuing the search for a good husband. Many women indicated that they would like to continue working until their first child was born and then return to work after their children enter school.

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<sup>1</sup>1972 Taiwan Demographic Fact Book Republic of China.  
Taipei, Taiwan, 1972. P. 487.

Diamond<sup>1</sup> reports that 40 percent of the women in her study of middle class families indicated a desire to return to work after the children were older.

A lack of adequate day-care facilities for pre-school children prevents women living in nuclear families from continuing employment after birth even if they would like to. In 1974 there were only six public nurseries.<sup>2</sup> Clara Wang, a specialist in the Women's Department of the KMT, told me in May, 1975 that there are no plans for government sponsored day-care facilities. The government has looked into the possibility of combining regional health care facilities and day-care as is done in the Philippines, but Miss Wang indicated that the health care facilities are already overcrowded and the government does not have the funds to provide both services.

Working class women might work in a factory prior to marriage, but tend to work at craft industries which can be performed at home after marriage. They are also more likely to live in an extended family, making child care less of a problem. I chatted

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<sup>1</sup>Diamond, Norma, "The Middle Class Family Model in Taiwan: Woman's Place is in the Home." Asian Survey, XII, No. 9 (September 1973).

<sup>2</sup>Lai Mao-man, Ed., China Yearbook 1974. Taipei, Taiwan: China Publishing Co., 1974. P. 290.

with women in one household that did knitting and crocheting on a piecework basis to bring in extra income. That particular household contained three families, two brothers and their wives and a nephew and his wife. The household also contained ten children. Other women sew clothing, upholster furniture, make baskets, etc., all on a piecework basis. Many families own small stores or businesses and the women help to run them. This arrangement is especially convenient for women with small children because the living quarters are ordinarily behind or above the business. It is not uncommon to enter a shop and find an infant in a cradle or buggy enjoying the hustle and bustle around her while the mother tends the store.

Although divorce is legal in Taiwan, it is not yet acceptable, particularly for women. Strong cultural sanctions against divorce and the government's emphasis on moral purity and filial piety are reflected in a very low divorce rate. From 1954 to 1972 an unchanging figure of .7 percent of women were reported as divorced.<sup>1</sup> Divorce is permitted when both parties mutually agree to separate. It is also granted by judicial decree on the following grounds: bigamy, adultery, mistreatment of one another or the

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<sup>1</sup>1972 Taiwan Demographic Fact Book Republic of China, op. cit., p. 59.



wife mistreating or being mistreated by her husband's family, abandonment, intent to kill, malignant illness, insanity, unidentified for more than three years, and convicted of three years imprisonment. Marriages can also be annulled if either partner is impotent providing the impotency existed before the marriage. In most cases, if children are involved, they will be given to the father or the father's family.

The stigma against divorce is so strong that a young friend whose mother and father are divorced told me that she kept it a secret from her co-workers. In her family the only son went to live with the father and Ping-yu and her two sisters lived with the mother. Ping-yu's father paid no alimony or child support and she resented him very much for "not taking any responsibility for us." She told me that there is no stigma against her mother remarrying, but that it is difficult for her to find a man because she is older and still has financial responsibilities for the girls' educations.

Property rights are also guaranteed by law. A wife's original property, which she brings to the marriage, remains hers as well as gifts and any other property acquired from her own labor. Boys and girls now inherit the property of their parents equally, although an adopted daughter gets half that of the blood children. A widow splits the husband's estate equally with all of the blood children. If she has no children, the property is inherited by the widow and

the husband's parents or the husband's brothers and sisters, the widow getting one-half.

Women in Taiwan constitute 27.1 percent of the total work force.<sup>1</sup> They represent 38 percent of all factory workers, 32 percent of sales clerks, and 30 percent of clerical workers.<sup>2</sup> Women are 6.9 percent of government employees,<sup>3</sup> 20.03 percent of doctors, 2.88 percent of lawyers, 39.9 percent of teachers and 32 percent of telecommunications workers.<sup>4</sup> They also represent close to half of unpaid family workers in Taiwan.<sup>5</sup> The new Basic Labor Standard Law which was signed in the spring of 1975 offers considerable protection to this female work force. In addition to provisions regulating hours, vacations, overtime, etc., which apply to both sexes, women are granted an eight week maternity leave with pay, two half-hour breaks with pay to nurse a baby, and are guaranteed equal pay for equal work.

Because most female workers are unmarried and tend to hold

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<sup>1</sup>Chien, Titania Jien-tsieu, Social Status of Women in the Republic of China. Taipei, Taiwan: Kuomintang Party Headquarters, 1975, P. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Diamond, op. cit., p. 854.

<sup>3</sup>1972 Taiwan Demographic Fact Book, op. cit., p. 405.

<sup>4</sup>Chien, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

<sup>5</sup>1972 Taiwan Demographic Fact Book, op. cit., p. 405.

lower paying jobs, the new law will not radically alter the status of most women in the work force. Nonetheless, the provisions are there for those who do choose to stay in the work force. The allowance for nursing mothers is an interesting addition because most industries do not provide nurseries for pre-school children, and it would be nearly impossible for a woman to return home to feed her baby. It is also significant that the law does not protect women working in agriculture and family businesses.

The Nationalist government has placed heavy emphasis on education in Taiwan and women have benefited from the compulsory nine years of schooling required by law. In 1974, 26,239 of the 61,925 students attending universities were women as were 755 of the 1966 students allowed to study abroad.<sup>1</sup> As education for girls has become more acceptable to the Taiwanese, they have increasingly challenged male students receiving higher scores on the university-admitting examination. The situation had become so critical by 1974 that there was even talk of limiting the numbers of women to 50 percent, a practice not uncommon in the United States. Female party members with whom I spoke assured me that this was just talk and that the scores on the entrance exam would remain the deciding factor, not sex.

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<sup>1</sup>China Yearbook, op. cit., p. 247.

Although increasing numbers of women are reaching higher levels in the educational system, they still represent 1,266,500 of the 1,741,470 illiterate population.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the lack of opportunity in the professions and the administrative and managerial levels of the society produce the same frustrations experienced by educated women in all nations where advancement is limited.

Like all developing nations, Taiwan has experienced a phenomenal population explosion from 10 million in 1945 to 16 million in 1974. Compounding the problem of decreasing infant mortality and increasing longevity is the traditional desire to produce many sons. When asked how many children make a good family, over half of the women I interviewed answered two children, one boy and one girl. This response parrots a widely viewed television advertisement extolling the virtues of a two-child family. When questioned in more detail, most of them told me they would have more than two children if they had not produced a son. Only one woman said that sex didn't matter. Freedman, et al.,<sup>2</sup> report similar findings in a study of trends in family size and family planning. According to the study

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<sup>1</sup>1972 Demographic Fact Book, op. cit., p.47.

<sup>2</sup>Freedman, Ronald, Combs, Lolagene C., and Chang, Ming-chen, "Trends in Family Size Preferences and Practice of Family Planning: Taiwan, 1965-1970." Studies in Family Planning, Vol. 3, No. 12 (December, 1972), 288.

68 percent of the women interviewed in 1970 expected to live with a son and receive support from him in old age. In 1973, 73 percent indicated a preference for two sons.

In spite of the continuing desire to bear sons, there have been significant decreases in the total number of children wanted, as well as a significant increase in approval and use of birth control. Seventy-one percent of all women interviewed in 1973 between the ages of 22 and 39 had practiced some form of contraception.<sup>1</sup> Although urban figures are higher, the use of contraception by rural women has doubled in five years.<sup>2</sup> The increasing acceptance of birth control is reflected in the growth rate which dropped from an extraordinary 3.3 in 1952 to a still troublesome 1.8 in 1973.<sup>3</sup>

The most popular contraceptive method is the IUD, which has been widely promoted by family planning clinics in Taiwan. Abortion is not sanctioned by law but appears to be widely practiced. A female official, quoting party line, told me that abortion is contrary

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<sup>1</sup>Freedman, Ronald, Coombs, Lolagene C., Chang, Ming-chen, and Sun Te-hsiung, "Trends in Fertility, Family Size Preferences, and Practice of Family Planning: Taiwan, 1965-1973." Studies in Family Planning, Vol. 5, No. 9 (September, 1974), 274.

<sup>2</sup>Freedman, "Trends in Family Size Preferences and Practice of Family Planning: Taiwan, 1965-1970," *op. cit.*, p. 291.

<sup>3</sup>Taiwan Statistical Data Book 1974, Republic of China: Economic Planning Council Executive Yuan, June, 1974, p. 4.

to the Chinese tradition of a strong family. However, she told me "off the record" that she personally favors abortion for married women. She also indicated that there would be a movement to legalize abortion after the old members of the Legislative Yuan die.

The efforts of the KMT to modernize Taiwan economically while maintaining much of traditional Chinese culture is reflected in the attitude of the regime toward women. Because the labor of women is essential for the industrialization of Taiwan, a minimum amount of education and freedom from the rigid control of the family is necessary. The textile industry in Taiwan has followed the world-wide system of employing young girls and women. The girls are boarded in large dormitories and work only until they are ready to marry. In most cases the income earned by these young girls is sent to their families. Transister and electronics industries also employ large numbers of women as they do in other areas of Asia. Because these girls must leave the family at an early age, much of the former control over their lives is diminished. Other women, who work in service industries, also exhibit the pattern of working for a few years and quitting after marriage. It has been estimated that over a third of the women employed in Taiwan are working as waitresses, bar girls, hair dressers, sales girls, bus girls, etc.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Diamond, op. cit., p. 854.

The expansion of industry has also resulted in large numbers being employed as secretaries and bookkeepers. The Taiwanese educational system at the elementary level is staffed largely by women and the nursing profession is reserved for women. Pay for these traditionally female professions is low in Taiwan as it is in most countries.

The government, while recognizing the need for women in industry, has recently been engaged in another "cultural renaissance movement" which, among other things, is encouraging a return to a more traditional role for women. The following quote is from the Principles for the Promotion of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement issued by the 9th Central Committee of the Kuomintang.

As education is vitally important in the promotion of the Chinese cultural renaissance movement, it behooves educational administrative organizations at all levels to review and improve teaching materials, teaching talent and social education with special emphasis on the furtherance of physical, ethical and group-life training of citizens. Positive measures of implementation shall be planned. Since the family is the cornerstone of Chinese culture, particular attention and guidance shall be given family education and the practice of filial duty and fraternal love.<sup>1</sup>

Diamond<sup>2</sup> reports that current pseudo-Confucianism has caused

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<sup>1</sup>Shieh, op. cit., p. 310.

<sup>2</sup>Diamond, op. cit., p. 864.

a shift in the justification for education of women, emphasizing its benefit in creating better wives and mothers. Mother's Day has become an important holiday in Taiwan for extolling the virtues of motherhood. The editorial printed on Mother's Day in 1975 emphasizes the responsibility of women for producing good children and citizens.

Among the mothers of today we wonder how many there are who really know how to bring up their children. Some mothers simply do not know how to bring up their children. They either regard their children as virtually non-existent and pay very little attention to them or use what we consider as wrong methods in correcting their children's mistakes. Corporal punishment or scolding is their only method. Resentment or even hate is the usual reaction of their children. Other mothers, though intelligent and well-educated, do not care to spend much time on their children. To them mahjong games and other social activities are much more important. If their children go astray and get into serious trouble, the mothers are merely reaping what they have sown.<sup>1</sup>

The effort of the Nationalists to benefit from the modern without losing the traditional appears to be detrimental to women in Taiwan. A woman who has experienced some autonomy and economic independence before marriage might well find arrangements after marriage confining. The isolation and frustration of middle class described by Diamond<sup>2</sup> is a new phenomenon in Taiwan, but it is one

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<sup>1</sup>China Post, Taipei, Taiwan. May 11, 1975, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Diamond, op. cit., pp. 857-868.



with which American and Japanese women are very familiar. Traditional abuses also remain. That the revised family code does not fully protect women is evidenced by the suicides of women who cannot solve family problems.<sup>1</sup> According to Huang<sup>2</sup>, in a study of sex-role stereotypes and self concepts, Taiwanese women also continue to hold a low opinion of themselves and their capabilities.

Emphasis on a strong and united family, however, provides security for Taiwanese girls. The mothers with whom I talked exhibited warmth and affection toward their marriageable daughters, and some admitted that they were not anxious for a marriage to be arranged "too soon." Young married women and single working women living away from home make frequent visits to their maternal home and maintain close contacts with brothers and sisters through visits or telephoning. I also observed in the press daily reports of fathers or brothers interceding in a family fight to protect a female relative from an abusive husband or mother-in-law.

That the family remains very important to Taiwanese women is indicated by their responses to my question, "What makes a

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<sup>1</sup>I was unable to obtain figures for suicide in Taiwan, but both the Chinese and English press report suicides or suicide attempts almost daily.

<sup>2</sup>Huang, Lucy Jen, "Sex Role Stereotypes and Self Concepts Among American and Chinese Students." Journal of Comparative Family Studies, Vol. II, No. 2 (Autumn, 1971), p. 229.

woman's life a happy one?" All but five reported a desire for a good husband, good children, or a happy family life. The other five responses are interesting because the women do not share similar backgrounds or experiences, and their answers ("to work hard and be ambitious," "to get much money," "to be courageous," "to graduate from a good college," and "to do something meaningful") are all different.

Women in Taiwan are constantly bombarded through the mass media with horror stories about the treatment of women on the mainland. The women I interviewed believed these stories and in comparison viewed their own position on Taiwan with pride. Better educated women expressed dissatisfaction with a lack of good paying jobs, but the overall opinion of their status was positive.

The current motherhood campaign reflects not only a desire to preserve tradition, but also the "yo yo" nature of female employment in all countries. Cook<sup>1</sup> describes this phenomenon of employing women when the economy is expanding, or a shortage of males exists, and then removing them from the labor force when the economy contracts and unemployment for males becomes a problem.

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<sup>1</sup>Cook, Alice H., The Working Mother: A Survey of Problems and Progress in Nine Countries. Ithaca, New York: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1975. P. 41.

Diamond<sup>1</sup> suggests that the Nationalists' policy of rapid urbanization and expansion of foreign capital encourages "short-term, low paid employment for women." In order to facilitate the movement of women in and out of the work force, there must be some justification for a return to hearth and home when jobs are scarce. Wifehood and motherhood have traditionally proved useful in accomplishing this end in all societies.

Women in Taiwan perceive a tremendous improvement in their position, but they are also aware that much remains to be done. Given the current political situation, an organized movement dedicated solely to women's issues is impossible. Women active in education, family planning, child welfare, and business with whom I talked expressed frustration with the government, but they also exhibited remarkable patience and a conviction that eventually their "issues" would receive some priority. All of the women I interviewed held high expectations for their female children. Some expressed a desire for economic security and a "modern" husband for their daughters. Others hope for careers, economic independence, and a fulfillment of their daughters' potential. They are optimistic that their desires will be realized.

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<sup>1</sup>Diamond, op. cit., p. 871.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE STATUS OF JAPANESE WOMEN

#### Japanese Women After the Meiji Restoration

There are many similarities in the position of Japanese women after the Restoration and women in Taiwan during the Japanese colonization. Like their Taiwanese sisters, Japanese women were expected to be subservient to men and to the kinship group. The Meiji reforms, which established a new order in Japan, did little to enhance their status. In fact, there is some evidence that the position of women deteriorated. The Meiji civil reforms codified patterns of behavior in which there had previously been much variation. For example, the Meiji Civil Code established male primogeniture which excluded women from inheriting property and leadership of the ie. In feudal Japan females had sometimes been named as successor to the ie, inheriting both the family property and leadership of the ie.<sup>1</sup> Even the household sphere, where women had traditionally held significant power, was taken from them. Article 804 of the Civil Code stated, "In everyday household matters the wife shall be regarded as

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<sup>1</sup>Suenari, Michio, Joshi, Seishin, "First Child Inheritance in Japan." Ethnology, Volume XI, Number 2 (April 1972), 122-126.

a substitute for her husband."<sup>1</sup>

Marriage in Meiji Japan, as in Taiwan, was considered a contract between two families. All women were expected to marry and there was no place in the society for those who did not. Marriages were arranged by a go-between, and although girls were not ordinarily forced into a marriage against their wishes, they were expected to accept a "good match." Customarily, the girl saw the man only once or twice before the marriage ceremony. Upon entering the new family, she was expected to be totally obedient and subservient to her new in-laws, her first responsibility being to please them, not her husband. She remained powerless until the birth of her first child. If she had married the eldest son, she gradually assumed responsibility for the entire household, but her position was not recognized by law, only by custom.

The Japanese wife also had to contend with a double standard which allowed men total sexual freedom, but rigidly enforced female fidelity. Wealthy men often kept a mistress outside the home, but many brought her into the house to serve as a maid. Virgin female attendants were referred to as "the honourable pure" and non-virgins as "the honourable impure." The children of such "honourable

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<sup>1</sup>Koyama, Takashi, The Changing Social Position of Women in Japan. Switzerland: UNESCO, 1961, p. 85.

impures" could be adopted by the master of the household at which time the biological mother gave up all rights to the child. Not until her death, when her name was entered on the family tablet, was she recognized as anything but a servant.

The right to sue for divorce was granted to women as early as 1872, and according to Bacon,<sup>1</sup> was fairly common among lower class women who had some economic independence. Women of the upper classes, however, found divorce much more difficult. Because descent was traced through the male line, children remained with the father's family after a divorce. Divorce was most often initiated by the boy's family for any of the seven Confucian grounds for divorce. It could be accomplished by a short note to the girl's family, commonly termed "the three and a half line note," because of its conciseness. "This woman does not meet the way of my family," sufficed. It is interesting that as the power of the patriarch decreased, so did the divorce rate. In 1885 the rate was 3 percent. By 1930 it had decreased to 0.8 percent.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to Taiwan, female children in Japan were treated well within the family and given much love and attention. Foot

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<sup>1</sup>Bacon, Alice Mabel, Japanese Girls and Women. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1891. P.66.

<sup>2</sup>Koyama, op. cit., p. 46.

binding was not practiced and, until the age of six or seven, they were allowed to play freely with girls and boys of the same age. Some girls were taught to read and tutored in dance, flower arranging, music, and the various ceremonies that were so much a part of Japanese life. This training involved learning how to walk, sit, open doors, address the husband, please the in-laws, etc. After the age of seven, however, girls were rigidly segregated from boys and rigorous training in submission began. Confucianism and Buddhism leant moral support to segregation of the sexes and the inferiority of women. By the time of the Meiji Restoration the samurai code of behavior regulating relationships between men and women of that class had filtered down to affect the common people.

Universal education for women was the only major change instituted during the Restoration which altered somewhat the position of women. A desire for universal literacy by the reformers led to establishment of the first girls' public school in 1872. Equality of education was mentioned, but, in fact, girls were provided with schooling only through the sixth grade. The justification cited for education of women was to make them better wives and mothers-- not to include them fully in the new Japan. By 1891 the segregation of girls and boys after the third grade had been implemented. In 1899 the Girls High School Ordinance established middle schools for girls.

Despite a lack of genuine commitment to equal education, the numbers of women receiving schooling at all levels increased rapidly. By 1910, 97 percent of primary school age girls were attending school and 26 percent of all middle school pupils were female.<sup>1</sup> It was at the higher levels of the educational system that discrimination against women was most accute. Curricula in women's high schools emphasized "womanly" arts and crafts, plus classical literature and ethics. Great Learning for Women, written in the 17th century, was used to teach women their moral obligations to husband and family.

A woman has no master but her husband whom she should serve with respect and humility, never with a light attitude and disrespect. In a word, the way of woman is obedience. To her husband she should be submissive and harmonious, serving him with gentle and humble expression of the face and speech. Never should she be impatient and willful, proud and impertinent. This is her first duty. She should absolutely follow the husband's teaching and wait for his direction in everything of which she is not sure. If the husband puts a question to her, she should answer in the correct manner. An incomplete answer is a piece of incivility not to be excused. If the husband gets angry and acts accordingly, she should fear and be ruled by him; never contradict him. The husband is Heaven to the wife. Disobeying Heaven only incurs righteous punishment.<sup>2</sup>

University education was considered unnecessary for women and none were admitted to the Imperial universities. By 1910 a few

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<sup>1</sup>loc. cit., p. 22.

<sup>2</sup>Ishimoto, Baroness Shidzue, Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life. London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1935. P.287.



women entered private universities, but they were considered strange and were ignored by their fellow students. By 1928 there were only 37 colleges for women with 14,127 students compared with 222 for men enrolling 161,430 scholars.<sup>1</sup>

Bacon<sup>2</sup> reports that increasing education without concomitant change in marriage and family relationships created much frustration for women. A girl was often forced to leave high school to marry and her education only made subservience more distasteful. Ishimoto,<sup>3</sup> in her autobiography, describes the difficulty of trying to synthesize her traditional upbringing with a western education while preserving her marriage.

So after all I had a regular feudal lord at home. The only thing that was absent from the picture was the perfect feudal wife. The days and months wore on as if we were travelling over a desert. But my devotion to my husband never changed; I continued to pray that I might be able to rejuvenate idealism along progressive lines. I aspired to conduct myself as far as could be done according to what is taught in the book of Great Learning for Women . . . .

In addition to enhanced educational opportunities, women in Japan were an important part of the labor force in the early stages of industrialization. Unfortunately, the nature of their labor did not lead to any significant improvement in their status. Prior to

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<sup>1</sup>loc. cit., p. 364.

<sup>3</sup>Ishimoto, op.cit., p.311.

<sup>2</sup>Bacon, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

industrialization, female labor was important in agriculture, in the silk industry--where women controlled the entire production of silk--on tea plantations, and in the fishing industry. Women were first employed as factory workers in the textile industry. By 1900 over 260,000 unmarried women (ages 14-20) were living in factory dormitories and working 11 to 14 hours a day in the mills.<sup>1</sup> Most women signed a three-year contract, planning to work until they had saved enough money for a wedding dress. That conditions in such mills were less than pleasant is indicated by the desertion rate, which was reported at over 50 percent during the first six months of employment.<sup>2</sup>

Women and children were also employed in the coal mines, removing the coal in baskets after men had loosened it with picks. Ishimoto<sup>3</sup> describes these women, half-naked, crawling on their bellies, often with a baby strapped on their backs. In 1920, 730,000 women were employed in mills and over 70,000 in the mines.<sup>4</sup> Regulation of female and child labor was instituted in

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<sup>1</sup>Koyama, op. cit., p.13.

<sup>2</sup>Kuznets, Simon, Moore, Wilbert E., and Spengler, Joseph J. (Eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1955. P. 575.

<sup>3</sup>loc. cit., pp. 166-168.

<sup>4</sup>loc. cit., p. 277.

1905, but not enforced until 1915. The minimum age was set at 12, except for "light work," where children as young as 10 years might be employed. The work day was reduced to 12 hours with one hour for rest. Night work was not prohibited until 1929. The development of heavy industry and armaments manufacturing gradually increased the numbers of women in the work force. By 1940 there were over 120,000 female mechanics.<sup>1</sup> As the men were mobilized, women in Japan--as in the United States--replaced them in industry, government, health, and education.

Although women were important in the work force, especially in prosperous times, they were denied political rights. At the first meeting of the Diet in 1890, women were prohibited from political activities including attending political meetings. "Universal" suffrage was given to men in 1925, but when suffragettes presented a petition in 1927 asking for the vote, they were told by the Home Minister, "Go back to your home and wash your babies' clothes; that is the job given to you and there is the place in which you are entitled to sit."<sup>2</sup> Women continued to demand the right to vote, but by 1937 their movement was suppressed by conservative forces within the government.

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<sup>1</sup>Koyama, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup>*loc. cit.*, p. 366.

Unlike Taiwanese women, Japanese women have a long history of organizing formally to promote women's issues. In 1911 the Seito Society (Blue Stocking Society) was organized by literary women in Japan. Dedicated to socialism and freedom for women, the group was eventually disbanded because of inadequate funds and repression by the government. A Society for the Advancement of Women's Education was created by male and female educators in 1919, but this organization also met with little success. Another group organized after World War I was dedicated to the emancipation of women. The Shinfujin Kyokai, or New Women's Association, was a response to the world-wide interest in democracy and self-determination which spread rapidly at the end of the war.

The Japanese government was also active in organizing women. Originally, emphasis was placed on women's culture and education; later, these organizations promoted nationalism and, during the war, national defense. The Women's Patriotic Society was founded in 1901, the Great Japanese Federation of Women's Associations in 1930, and the National Defense Women's Society during World War II.

Some Japanese men were also involved in early struggles to elevate the position of women. In 1898 Hukichi Fukuzawa published Criticisms on the Great Learning for Women and Revised Great Learning for Women attacking the old moral code. Many literary

men and artists contributed moral and financial support to the women's suffrage movement in the early twenties. The support of Home Minister Kenzo Adachi resulted in passage of a House of Representatives initiated franchise bill in 1930, but the bill was defeated in the House of Peers. After 1930, however, increasingly powerful conservative elements in Japanese society eventually silenced both women and their male supporters. It was not until the occupation of Japan by American forces that women's rights became an important issue once again.

### Women in Japan After World War II

A radical change in the position of women in Japan after the second World War was imposed on Japan by the American forces through massive institutional changes. Dislocation of the population, a shortage of Japanese men, large-scale female participation in the wartime work force, and the American presence contributed to the initial ease with which changes were implemented and accepted in Japan.

The current constitution, drafted by General Douglas MacArthur's staff--and officially promulgated on 3 May, 1947--contains three articles guaranteeing equality of women in Japan. Article 14 prohibits discrimination in political, economic and social relations; Article 24 establishes marriage by mutual consent,

freedom of divorce and equal property and inheritance rights; Article 44 permits women to be elected to the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors.

Major revisions in educational policy, family law, and labor practices were necessary to comply with the new constitution and these were speedily accomplished. The Fundamental Law of Education, put into effect in 1947, provided for equal educational opportunities and established the principle of co-education. These provisions were so rapidly implemented that by 1947, 99.6 percent of middle schools and 57.9 percent of senior high schools were co-educational.<sup>1</sup> Universities also began to enroll women. It should be noted that equal education for women had long been a goal of Japanese educators and their support and commitment to the new law was essential to its successful implementation. Koyama<sup>2</sup> reports that there was some resistance to co-education by members of the Diet and the population generally. In a survey conducted by the Ministry of Education in 1954, large numbers of students and their parents continued to disagree with the principle of co-education. Although most public senior high schools are co-educational, private senior high schools continue to separate their students by

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<sup>1</sup>loc. cit., p. 26.

<sup>2</sup>loc. cit., p. 27.

sex.

There has been a rapid increase in the number of female students enrolled in Japanese colleges and universities, but the figures indicate that discrimination still exists. In 1950, 7.7 percent of college and university students were women. The percentage increased to 13.7 percent in 1960, but by 1972 only 18.8 percent of the students were female.<sup>1</sup> Most female students are enrolled in traditionally female areas of study. The largest number in 1972 were studying in the humanities (102,070); health and home economics also included large numbers of women. There were 5,873 female students in physical science, 2,180 in engineering and only three women studying nuclear engineering.<sup>2</sup>

Changes in family law to comply with the new constitution produced a more significant break with past tradition than did the new educational policies. Although divorce had been possible for women in Meiji Japan, the strong patriarchal family system neutralized its effect. The new constitution established the conjugal unit as the basis of family life, guaranteeing women equality within marriage. It was obviously much more difficult for the

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<sup>1</sup>Japan Statistical Yearbook 1973/74. Japan: Bureau of Statistics; Office of the Prime Minister. P. 556.

<sup>2</sup>loc. cit., p. 557.

Americans to enforce this provision of the constitution.

Increasing urbanization and the education of women in Japan have had more influence on changing marriage patterns than formal decrees. A study by the Ministry of Labor in 1955 revealed that love marriages constituted only 25 percent of the total in urban areas and 13 percent in rural areas.<sup>1</sup> By 1974, however, traditionally arranged marriage represented only 37.2 percent of all Japanese weddings.<sup>2</sup> Although traditional marriage is more frequent in rural Japan, the influence of the mass media and the urbanization of rural populations is rapidly undermining arranged marriage and the patriarchal family.

In Japan, as in Taiwan, the choice of a love marriage over an arranged or miai marriage does not entail ignoring totally the wishes of one's family. In a study conducted in 1974, 38 percent of unmarried women and 23 percent of unmarried men said that they would consult with their parents or other close family members before selecting a mate.<sup>3</sup> The matchmaker's role has not been

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<sup>1</sup>Koyama, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>2</sup>Levin, Hannah, "Women Emerging from Kimono Cocoon, Seeking Self-Sufficiency in a New Japan." Japan Report, Vol. XX, No. 6 (March 16, 1974), 1.

<sup>3</sup>\_\_\_\_\_, "Poll of Japanese Women Reveals Changes With an Undercurrent of Tradition." Japan Report, Vol. XX, No. 16 (August 16, 1974), 2.



entirely abandoned either. Fellow employees, fellow students, relatives, and family friends continue to function informally as matchmaker, bringing together young people whom they feel are a good match.

Numerous studies have been conducted in Japan attempting to document the relationship between husband and wife in modern Japan. Although married women are fully in charge of family finances, the rearing of children, and household management, vestiges of the patriarchal relationship remain strong. Most couples prefer the traditional division of labor, with the husband working outside while the women maintain the home and care for the children. Fifty percent of the housewives, in a study conducted in 1973, said their husbands never help with household chores. Women with professional or technical jobs, however, reported some assistance "from time to time."<sup>1</sup> Levin<sup>2</sup> describes the absence of women at night on Tokyo's streets. The tradition of men enjoying themselves in bars after work, while the women wait at home keeping the dinner hot, is still strong in Japanese marriages. Men who call home to report that they will be late are derided by fellow-workers.

The double standard also continues to affect Japanese

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<sup>1</sup>ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Levin, op. cit., p. 3.

marriages. The government officially registered its disapproval of prostitution with the Prostitution Prevention Law in 1956, but "sex junkets" to Taipei and Korea by Japanese businessmen and officials are widely reported in the press. Attitudes toward pre-marital sex are changing among the young, but in a study done by the Japanese Social Behavior Research Institute 40.8 percent of girls 15-19 favored purity before marriage compared with 14.6 percent of boys the same age.<sup>1</sup> Japanese women's magazines are filled with discussions of sex and "how to" articles, but there is no evidence that married women have become more active sexually. The articles may merely be a reflection of sexual frustration experienced by married women.

Divorce suits instituted by women have increased, but the overall rate remains lower than in Meiji Japan. The divorce rate in 1972 was 1.02 percent as compared with .74 percent in 1960.<sup>2</sup> Couples can obtain divorce by mutual consent, which does not require legal procedures. Contested divorces are handled in the Domestic Court and suit can be brought for unchastity, cruel treatment, desertion, wastefulness, crime, disease, differences of

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<sup>1</sup>Asahi, Shukan, "Generation Gap." The Japan Interpreter, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Spring 1971), 154.

<sup>2</sup>Japan Statistical Yearbook 1973/74, op. cit., p. 31.

character, discord with parents and economic disruption. Women most often seek divorce for unchastity and cruel treatment; men for difference of character and discord with parents.

Revision of family law also provided for equal inheritance and property rights for women. Under the old system, a married woman could not enter into a legal contract without her husband's permission. Although women now have full property rights, most property acquired after marriage is registered in the husband's name. Primogeniture also remains strong as evidenced by the practice of signing off one's inheritance to the eldest son. There is also a practical reason for this procedure; if the family property is land, most plots are so small that dividing the land among all descendants would not be economic.

Japanese women currently constitute about 38.2 percent of the total labor force,<sup>1</sup> and the Labour Standards Law, which protects them, is comprehensive. It prohibits discrimination in wages, night work, perilous or poisonous work, and work in the mines. It also provides for the special needs of women, granting them menstruation holidays, child-birth leave and free hours for nursing an infant. Unfortunately, the law is not rigorously enforced and it does not control discrimination in hiring; many women's contracts contain

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<sup>1</sup>Levin, op. cit., p. 3.

clauses requiring them to resign if they marry or become pregnant.

Like their counterparts in Taiwan, women in Japan tend to work a few years before marriage and leave employment when the first child arrives. More and more are now returning to work at the same low paying work after the youngest child enters school. Thirty-seven and six-tenths percent of working women are under 25 and 42.9 percent are over 35.<sup>1</sup> Although the starting pay for women equals that of men, they are not promoted and tend to remain at low-level, low-paying jobs. Thirty-one and one-tenth percent are employed as clerical workers, 10.4 percent as sales clerks, 13.6 percent as service workers and 10.3 percent as technical-professional workers.<sup>2</sup> The tendency to view women as a "revolving door" labor force and a lack of commitment to full and permanent employment of women prevents them from achieving decent salaries. In 1973 the average wages of women were 50.2 percent of that paid men.<sup>3</sup> Part-time female workers also are not eligible for health insurance and other fringe benefits available to full-time employees. Labor unions are reluctant to represent women workers and have

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<sup>1</sup>Baldwin, Frank, "The Idioms of Contemporary Japan V." The Japan Interpreter, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Spring 1973), 240.

<sup>2</sup>Levin, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>loc. cit., p. 1.

made no effort to help part-time women improve their salaries or benefits.

Married women are becoming an important part of the work force as a result of labor shortages and the necessity for two incomes to maintain the current standard of living. In 1955, 20 percent of working women were married, but by 1972 the number had increased to 46 percent.<sup>1</sup> Those women who return to work are often hired part-time by companies which provide buses to pick them up after the children leave for school and return them before the children come home. Many companies have a mandatory retirement age of 50 for working women. Judge Taniguchi Shigeyoshi, in a case upholding early retirement for women, justified his decision in the following manner:

Women generally are physiologically inferior to men, and a fifty-five year old woman's working efficiency is equivalent to that of a seventy-year old man. Thus the mandatory retirement of women five years earlier than men is not discriminatory treatment.<sup>2</sup>

Obviously, it is to the advantage of a company to get rid of a woman who is getting more pay through seniority and hire a young woman at lower wages. The current economic recession in Japan has seriously affected working women who are being laid off in large numbers. The "last hired, first fired" phenomena associated with

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<sup>1</sup>Cook, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Baldwin, op. cit., p. 239.

black workers in the United States applies to women in Japan, and employment opportunities for female college graduates will be seriously limited by the current recession.

Despite the large numbers of married working women, the prevailing norm encourages women to stay at home and care for their children. This is reinforced by the necessity that mothers tutor school age youngsters so they can pass the exams necessary to enter a college preparatory high school. The Prime Minister's Office found that 80 percent of 20,000 women surveyed believe that men should be responsible for the family income and women should care for the home. "More than half those responding to the question found their raison d'etre in their children (compared to only 3 percent in their husbands).<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, economic necessity is forcing more and more women to remain in the labor force after the birth of children or to re-enter when the children go to school.

If a woman chooses to remain employed, she is faced with inadequate day care facilities for her small children. Many centers for infants and children under two years of age are unlicensed and very crowded. Most companies provide only a six-week maternity leave for women, after which time they are fired. The National Telecommunication Corporation is an exception to this generalization,

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<sup>1</sup>loc. cit., p. 243.

granting a three-year child care leave and guaranteeing a job when the woman returns to work.

A special category of working women not included in labor statistics are agricultural workers. The urbanization of rural Japan has led to the need for more cash income than the ordinary farm plot can provide. Many men have sought paying jobs in factories, leaving most of the farming chores to their women. In the past, these farming women supplemented the family's income by making charcoal, baskets, etc. Today, increasing numbers of farm women, like their urban sisters, are taking part-time jobs, doing the farm chores on weekends or after returning from work in factories.

The new constitution also guaranteed women political equality and they have made great strides. Women fill 5 percent of upper level national posts in Japan compared with 1.5 percent in the United States and 1 percent in Great Britain and Canada.<sup>1</sup> In the last two general elections for the House of Representatives (1969 and 1972) women voters have outnumbered males by about 1.5 percent.<sup>2</sup> Because Japanese women exercise their franchise, they cannot be ignored by male politicians. Consequently, studies and

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<sup>1</sup>Jones, H.J., "Japanese Women in the Politics of the Seventies." Asian Survey, Vol. XV, No. 8 (August 1975), 708.

<sup>2</sup>Levin, op. cit., p. 6.

polls of issues which appeal to women must be taken seriously.

Unfortunately there has not been a corresponding interest in electing women to the Diet.

The first general election after the war saw 39 women elected to the House of Representatives. The number has steadily decreased and in the 1972 election only 7 of 13 female candidates were elected. In the upper house 18 held seats after 1974 making a total of 25 women in the Diet today. In 1947 the Diet contained 50 women. A partial explanation for the large numbers of women elected after the war is that they acted as "stand ins" for male relatives who were killed, or who were not allowed to run for office because of political or military activities during the war. The decrease in numbers of women elected probably is a reflection of the attitude that women do not make good politicians because they are too emotional and parochial.

An excellent study by Jones<sup>1</sup> of women voters in the 1972 election indicates that Japanese women tend to vote party rather than candidate. In five Tokyo wards only 20 percent of the women voted for female candidates and only half of those voted for a candidate because she was a woman. Most interesting is that two-thirds of the women surveyed voted independently, that is, without consulting

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<sup>1</sup>Jones, op. cit., pp. 713-715.



others. Women voters were most interested in livelihood issues, social welfare, pollution, housing and education.

Despite the significant numbers of women voting, several studies indicate that their political awareness is low. The Prime Minister's Office, in a 1973 survey, found only 16 percent with a high or fair amount of interest in political affairs.<sup>1</sup> Jones<sup>2</sup> reports that over 50 percent voting did not understand the mechanism of voting for a review of the high court and left their ballot blank. Only 18.5 percent of women read political or economic news compared with 67.7 percent of men and only 7.7 percent of women watch news commentaries and political and economic programs on television.<sup>3</sup>

Needless to say, many men view the female franchise as a detriment to Japan. They accuse women of being moody, emotional, and intuitive, and not being interested in national policy. Women MP's are sometimes referred to as "Diet Flowers." A common theme of newspapers and magazine articles is that "the women's political franchise is leading the country to ruin."

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<sup>1</sup>Baldwin, op. cit., p. 244.

<sup>2</sup>Jones, op. cit., p. 714.

<sup>3</sup>Japan Report, August 16, 1974, op. cit., p. 3.

In an effort to politicize women, many women's groups are undertaking political educational programs. It is estimated that 64 percent of all Japanese women are members of one or more organizations.<sup>1</sup> Three million farm women belong to agricultural cooperatives where they are acquiring skill in economic decision making. The Socialist Party has been organizing food buying cooperatives which help to educate women and rally them around economic issues. The League of Women Voters of Japan conducts surveys, promotes political rights, and attempts to provide political education for women. The Shufuren (Japanese Housewives Association), containing over one million members, has become a powerful consumer group lobbying for truth in advertising and testing Japanese products for quality.

In addition to the traditional women's organizations, a growing, radical women's liberation movement known as uman ribu is developing in Japan. Members tend to be young, unmarried, and politically experienced. They are informally organized and there is no accurate count of their membership, but a ribu mailing list contains about 3,000 women. The group is militant, showing sympathy to the Red Army Movement, and has identified with other leftist political groups.

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<sup>1</sup>Jones, op. cit., p. 719.

Although ribu is concerned with all feminist issues, it is currently most active in the abortion and birth control controversy. In an effort to relieve the labor shortage, the Ministry of Health and Welfare has proposed a revision of the current liberal abortion law, deleting economic reasons as grounds for abortion. Because Japan has not approved birth control pills or the IUD, tightening the abortion law would result in many unwanted births in Japan. Ribu cites the increase in infanticide and abandonment of infants to support its argument that women are so repressed by a male-dominated society that they have "no other resource but to murder their own babies." If the movement continues to gain strength, it could also be a major contributor to female awareness and help to politicize Japan's women.

Except for the few militant young women, Japanese women--like Taiwanese women--appear comfortable with the gains that have been made since World War II. On many issues they are far more conservative than Japanese males. When a problem must be faced, they do so quietly without confrontation. Some Japanese feminists believe that Japanese women will be able to achieve full equality before American women because the role of mother is already respected and important in Japanese society. The current rash of self-criticism and search for a "Japanese identity" must also include women, but they are at least secure in their traditional role as

mother.

It remains to be seen whether the economic crisis, which is forcing many women out of the labor market, will cause them to identify more strongly with militant Japanese feminists. It is more likely that a limit to the right of abortion would radicalize Japanese women. In a consumer-oriented society, with steadily rising prices, large numbers of children would strain the already struggling middle class family unit. Japanese women prefer one or two children and are very concerned with the economic well-being of the family. It is unlikely that they would quietly acquiesce to any interference with their right to limit births. The alternative, to make them full economic members of Japanese society, might conflict with cultural expectations for women, but in the long run it might be less destructive to Japanese tradition.

## CHAPTER V

### MODERNIZATION AND THE CHANGING STATUS OF WOMEN IN TAIWAN AND JAPAN

A description of the change that has occurred in any society is a difficult and complex task. Interpreting such change is even more difficult and the task is fraught with the dangers of oversimplification and ethnocentrism. Social scientists have observed certain patterns of change which seem to appear in all societies as they undergo industrialization and modernization. For some researchers expectations for developing nations have grown from the western experience. In addition, some aspects of traditional cultures identified by social scientists are ideal-types which do not accurately describe a particular culture. The tendency to think in dichotomies (urban-rural, traditional-modern) has also led us to neglect strong threads of traditionalism in western culture and patterns of modernity in non-western cultures.

Another pitfall in discussing change is the tendency to identify institutional or behavioral change while ignoring attitudes and values. Behavioral change does not necessarily indicate attitudinal change and conversely, attitudes and values can change without a corresponding change in behavior. Rokeach<sup>1</sup> describes the carelessness

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<sup>1</sup>Rokeach, Milton, Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values. San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1968. P. 141.

of researchers who assume attitudes and opinions are synonymous. An expressed opinion is merely behavior and may or may not reflect underlying attitudes and values. In cross-cultural studies this problem is particularly acute because it is very difficult to "measure" attitudes and values. A good example are the Taiwanese studies on attitudes toward family size. Women are likely to say that they want only two children, which is the value promoted in the mass media, but they will readily bear large families in order to have a son, which is a conflicting value still held by most Taiwanese.

The values question is particularly pertinent to a study of women because it is their perception of their role and expectations about that role that determines whether institutional changes really alter their status. If the opportunity to change their status exists but women continue to see themselves as inferior, can one really say that they have achieved equality?

One is left, then, with the difficult question of determining to what extent the macrolevel changes described in Chapters III and IV reflect changes in attitudes and values, and additionally, whether what is perceived as change is really a true break with past tradition. A comparison of marriage and family, and educational, occupational, and political institutions in Japan and Taiwan should determine the extent to which the changes which have been identified

represent a qualitative change in the status of women.

A case in point is the evolution of the extended family into the nuclear or conjugal type. Freedman<sup>1</sup> argues that in China the extended family was never as common as western scholars have assumed. The wealthy were more likely to live in extended families; the common people lived in nuclear or modified extended families. In Taiwan today it is not uncommon to find a three-generation family, but a true extended unit with all the sons and their wives living with parents is rather rare. A study of college students in Taiwan in 1967 indicated that 48.5 percent lived in nuclear families, 27.8 percent in stem families and only 19.8 percent in extended or joint families.<sup>2</sup>

In Japan, the conjugal family was also not uncommon. Sixty percent of all families in Japan in 1920 were variations of the modern nuclear family.<sup>3</sup> Forty-five years later the number had increased to 76 percent.<sup>4</sup> It appears that the modern nuclear family

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<sup>1</sup>Freedman, Maurice, Family and Kinship in Chinese Society. California: Stanford University Press, 1970. P.2.

<sup>2</sup>Lung Kuan-hai, Chang Shiao-chun, "A Study of the Chinese Family Organization." National Taiwan University Journal of Sociology (April 3, 1967), 120.

<sup>3</sup>Koyama, op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>4</sup>Japan Institute of International Affairs, Ed., White Papers of Japan 1971-72. Japan: East West Publications Inc., 1973, p. 90.

is not an innovation in China and Japan, but it is true that the conjugal family is increasing in both societies. One should be cautious, however, in assigning the characteristics of the western nuclear family to the Japanese and Taiwanese family. In fact, Goode<sup>1</sup> argues that there is little empirical evidence to support generalizations commonly made about the western family. He says that the contention that the conjugal unit "excludes a wide range of affinal and blood relatives from its every day affairs," is not true. Even in the United States the most common visiting and social occasions remain that of seeing relatives. The isolation of women in Taiwan described by Diamond<sup>2</sup> and a similar pattern in Japan described by Vogel<sup>3</sup> is confined to middle class women who do not work or who are isolated geographically from their families. In Taiwan I observed much visiting and socializing among family members.

An increased divorce rate is another phenomenon commonly associated with the nuclear family. In both Taiwan and Japan the

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<sup>1</sup>Eisenstadt, S.N., Comparative Perspectives on Social Change. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968. P. 49.

<sup>2</sup>Diamond, op. cit., pp. 857-870.

<sup>3</sup>Vogel, Ezra F., Japan's New Middle Class. California: University of California Press, 1971. P. 244.



opposite has occurred: the divorce rate has decreased as industrialization has progressed and nuclear families have increased.

Although men and women in Taiwan and Japan are no longer bound by the needs and desires of the larger kinship group when choosing a spouse, mate selection continues to involve close family members. There is a trend toward more independence in Japan, but the Taiwanese continue to prefer family involvement.

An equalitarian relationship in marriage is also associated with the modern nuclear family. Unfortunately, there is little empirical evidence in Taiwan comparing modern and traditional marriages. It appears that the significant change has been a decrease in the authority of the mother-in-law which has given Chinese women more freedom. The Taiwanese women whom I interviewed continue to defer to their husbands publicly, but many of them share or have complete control of family businesses and family finances. Traditionally, Chinese women had considerable power within the family once they achieved the status of mother-in-law. They were not excluded from heading families as were Japanese women, and some even rose to leadership of the empire.

In Japan, where more studies have been done, there is evidence that the traditional relationship between husband and wife has been maintained, except in families where both are professionals. Women are more likely to control family finances and have almost

total control over the children. Studies indicate that Japanese men and women prefer the traditional relationship and that Japanese women are not as interested in sharing their husbands' lives as they are in being economically self-sufficient.

### Education

Education is also commonly associated with modernity. Schnaiberg,<sup>1</sup> in a study of Turkish women, has concluded that education is a key variable in the process of "becoming modern." Inkeles<sup>2</sup> also found education to be the single most important factor in moving men toward modernity. He suggests that it is not what is taught, but the rational organization of schooling that inculcates modern values. Unfortunately, his conclusions are based on a questionnaire administered to 6,000 men in six countries. It is true that an education makes it more difficult to restrict women to traditional behavior, but education by itself does not lead to a change in the status of women nor to a change in attitudes about their position in society. Education is only one aspect of socialization, and for

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<sup>1</sup> Schnaiberg, Allan, "The Modernizing Impact of Urbanization: A Causal Analysis." American Journal of Sociology (October 1971), 101.

<sup>2</sup> Inkeles, Alex, "Making Men Modern: On the Causes and Consequences of Individual Change in Six Developing Countries." American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 75, No.2 (September 1969), 212.

women what they are taught is certainly as important as the fact that they are being taught.

Meiji Japan provides an excellent example of education being utilized to urbanize and industrialize a society without altering the status of women politically, economically, or socially. For a few women, primarily members of the elite, education led to an awareness which altered their values and attitudes, but for most it merely made life more frustrating. Women were faced with conflicting values, but their own inferiority remained the dominant value.

In all nations the history of women being processed through an educational system only to be denied access at higher levels, or being shunted into "female" areas of study is well documented. Women in Taiwan who do graduate from high school and desire further education are found in business colleges, elementary education, home economics, and nursing. Boserup<sup>1</sup> has noted the incredible practice of teaching boys modern farming techniques, while women study nutrition and cooking in cultures where women are the major agricultural work force.

Education can also be a useful vehicle for reinforcing traditional values. Although there are no empirical studies of role expectation in Taiwanese textbooks, my own brief survey found a

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<sup>1</sup>Boserup, op. cit., p. 222.

"Dick and Jane" orientation which has been well documented in American textbooks. Lewis and Lewis<sup>1</sup>, in a survey of Japanese social studies textbooks found a similar pattern.

The teaching of traditional ethics or nationalistic political ideology, which was included in the curricula in Japan before the war and is currently taught in Taiwan, can also limit the growth of modern attitudes. Women are encouraged to pattern their behavior after classical heroines and are taught to dedicate themselves to the cause of nationalism.

That educational opportunity does not necessarily alter women's perceptions of themselves as inferior is confirmed by women who "select out" themselves by choosing areas of study which are traditionally female. Educational statistics of western and non-western nations show female university students grouped into three or four areas of study which are acceptable for women.

### Employment

In addition to education, Inkeles<sup>2</sup> correlates experience in factories with modern attitudes and values. However, women's

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis, David, Lewis, Helenan, "Socialization for Marital Roles and Household Task Preference Through Japanese First Year Social Studies Workbooks." Unpublished paper, 1975, pp. 1-16.

<sup>2</sup>Inkeles, op. cit., 213.

experience in the modern work sector remains limited and there is no evidence to suggest that such work alters their attitudes and values. Boserup<sup>1</sup> notes that most women in developing nations prefer to be home or to engage in part-time work or home production so that they can more freely care for their children and complete household tasks. Their work habits differ from those of men because they will interrupt tasks to care for children or prepare meals. Cook<sup>2</sup> has carefully documented how the structure of modern industry is incompatible with the biological necessity of women bearing children. Maternity leaves, the prohibition of night work, and other "special" arrangements for women make their labor more costly for the industrial sector as it now exists. Only a few countries in Eastern Europe and Sweden are making an effort to alter the nature of production to accommodate the bearing and rearing of children, and Sweden is the only nation modifying work patterns so that men can also be involved in child care.

The low value placed on women's work, whether in the home, on the farm, or in industry, is evidenced by low compensation or a lack of compensation. The nature of women's work may change with modernization, but there is no concomitant change in attitudes

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<sup>1</sup>Boserup, op. cit., p. 112.

<sup>2</sup>Cook, op. cit., ix - 68.

about the value of their work. Studies in Japan indicate that even women who are aware of sex discrimination at work do not think that much can be done about it and continue to see their primary role as staying home and caring for the children. Diamond<sup>1</sup> found a similar opinion expressed by middle class women in Taiwan. In my own brief survey, only two women with children worked outside the home and only one single woman indicated that she would continue working after a child was born.

Not only are women involved in low paying, low prestige occupations, but their presence can turn a high prestige occupation into one of low prestige. As women in Asia have entered traditionally male occupations such as elementary education and clerking, men have abandoned them, resulting in lowered prestige and lowered wages. Boserup<sup>2</sup> likens it to blacks moving into a white neighborhood only to find their white neighbors deserting the area until it becomes all black. She also notes that modernization and industrialization not only do not increase the value of women's work, but in some cases contribute to a decline in women's economic contributions and status. The mechanization of Japan's fishing and lumbering industries eliminated most of the female labor force

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<sup>1</sup>Diamond, op. cit., p.863.

<sup>2</sup>Boserup, op. cit., p.217.

which had been associated with those two industries.

As non-western women enter the modern work force, the limitations placed on their contributions and the low value assigned to their work reinforces their inferiority. If one can achieve a sense of worth as a mother and homemaker, the traditional value placed on women in Taiwan and Japan, there is little incentive for extending one's role to include the work sector, where clearly one is not valued. When adequate day care is not available, a woman must also cope with guilt about leaving small children. In addition, working women in Taiwan and Japan remain responsible for the maintenance of the household which means they must work longer hours to keep up with a job and the housework. The temporary and part-time nature of women's employment in these two nations, and their expressed commitment to home and children would indicate that they continue to derive more status and prestige from their traditional role.

### Political Participation

For political scientists modernity involves, among other factors, political awareness, a sense of political efficacy, and involvement. Although women in our two cases have been guaranteed political rights, the nature of their political involvement leads one to the conclusion that change in that sphere is also quantitative

rather than qualitative. The franchise has not led to anything more than tokenism and women are not fully involved in political decision making at the highest levels in Japan or Taiwan. Even at the local and provincial level women are not included in significant numbers. In Japan, where a competitive party system does operate, women have a type of negative political power because their votes cannot be ignored. However, in Taiwan a lack of party competition renders women's votes as unimportant as men's.

Discrimination against women in politics is a manifestation of the general attitude that women are not politically adept. It is compounded by women's lack of interest in things political. In both Taiwan and Japan most women do not read or discuss political matters. They do vote in large numbers, but that appears to be a response to social pressure and nationalistic appeal. Their level of political awareness is low and they place little value on improving society or bringing about change through political activity. When Satoko Tanaka, General Secretary of Japan's six million member National Federation of Regional Women's Organizations, was asked why the organization's strength was not used to promote day care centers and equal pay for women, she replied that change must begin with the individual and that Japanese women do not have the same strong sense of freedom that American women have, because



Japan lost the war.<sup>1</sup>

### Attitudes and Values

In considering institutional change in Taiwan and Japan one can conclude that in some instances the changes are not a drastic break with past tradition. In other cases behavior has changed without a corresponding change in values and attitudes. Because Japanese institutions are more "modern" than Taiwanese, this pattern is more obvious and its effects more widely felt. It is interesting that the Japanese are currently engaged in self-examination and a search for "Japanese" identity. Questions are being raised about attitudes of the young and whether a generation gap exists. Novelists are attempting to define "Japaneseness" and even aesthetic values are being examined.<sup>2</sup> Krisher<sup>3</sup> says, "The difficulty one faces in charting Japan's direction and analyzing the real from the illusory changes, is the nation's own admitted lack of real purpose and clearly defined values."

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<sup>1</sup>Ohe, Marianna, "Japanese Women Want 'Out of Home, Into World.'" Stars and Stripes, October, 1975.

<sup>2</sup>Olsen, Edward A., "Aesthetic Values in Contemporary Japan: The Effects of Industrialization and a Consumer Economy on Japanese Aesthetic Values." Asian Studies, Vol. X, No. 2 (August 1972), 272-277.

<sup>3</sup>Krisher, Bernard, "Do the Japanese Really Have a Generation Gap?" Pacific Community, Vol. 6, No. 4 (July 1975), 504.

While Krisher<sup>1</sup> argues that the Japanese have coped with modernity by adopting new customs without shedding old values, Inkeles<sup>2</sup> suggests that there are a cluster of attitudes and values which one can identify as being "modern." An openness to change, independence from traditional authority figures, belief in the efficacy of science and medicine, and ambition for one's self and one's children are a part of this syndrome of modernity. Traditional Japanese society includes this cluster of values, whereas Chinese culture clearly contains only the last, ambition for oneself and one's children. Levy<sup>3</sup> has noted that the family in Chinese culture exerted control over the individual with the state having little influence. The Japanese, however, identified with the nation as well as the family, making the transfer of allegiance to the nation - state or other modern institutions more readily. For the Chinese the transfer of authority to modern institutions has been more difficult according to Levy. The Japanese have also welcomed change and have sought ways to incorporate it into their society. This characteristic placed them in the position of being actors

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<sup>1</sup> ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Inkeles, op. cit., 210.

<sup>3</sup> Levy, Marion J., Jr., The Family Revolution in Modern China. New York: Octagon Books Inc., 1963. P. 360.

rather than reactors to new ideas. The difficulty with identifying "modern" values is that it is not clear whether such values cause development or whether they result from urbanization and industrialization.

An alternative way of looking at change in the status of women in Taiwan and Japan is to consider what has happened to women's roles in both societies. Lipman-Blumen<sup>1</sup> has noted that roles are a resource from which a society can draw strength in a time of crisis or extreme change. Rigid sexual stratification does not provide the flexibility which is required to meet a crisis. It might be necessary for female roles to take over some functions of male roles or male and female roles might overlap in areas where functions had previously been separate. An example is the utilization of women in weapons industries during war. What is most significant for this study is that roles contain certain intrinsic elements which remain untouched unless a role is eliminated altogether. Industrialization and modernization may expand sex roles and promote assimilation and overlap without altering the intrinsic nature of the role.

Attitudes, values and mores codify expectations, privileges,

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<sup>1</sup>Lipman-Blumen, Jean, "Role De-Differentiation as a System Response to Crisis." Sociological Inquiry, Vol. 43, No. 2, 105-129.

and responsibilities associated with a given role and are more difficult to change than the behavior associated with a role. Hence, it is possible for a role to take on new dimensions without a change in values. It is also possible for a role to expand in a crisis and return partially or fully to its original form. In both Taiwan and Japan the female role has permanently taken on some new functions, but the intrinsic nature remains untouched. In Taiwan, the cultural renaissance promoted by the government can be viewed as an attempt to clarify the value hierarchy which justifies expanded role expectations. The KMT is calling for a renewal of traditional "virtues" to help modernize and rationalize life.

Lipman-Blumen<sup>1</sup> has noted that ideology can be useful in recasting norms and values. What is particularly interesting in Taiwan's case is that change is being justified by an appeal to traditional values, not new ones. Dr. Chien<sup>2</sup>, in her comments on the status of women in Taiwan, says:

Women in the Republic of China have been trained and cultivated under 5,000 years of culture and history and the virtue of love, dedication, hard work and etiquette . . . .

Modern Chinese women must be determined to fight against (Communist) control and slavery, and for national recovery and reconstruction of the homeland to save the millions of compatriots from suppression and carry out

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<sup>1</sup>ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Chien, op. cit., p. 8.

the sacred mission of recovery of the mainland and national reconstruction.

Ideology also served a similar purpose in Japan prior to and during the Second World War. After the war, however, a wholesale imitation of western values seemed to be replacing Japanese tradition. Japanese and American sociologists who have studied this phenomena are of the opinion that the changes are only superficial and that the basic values of harmony, a strong family unit, obligation, and the work ethic remain the dominant attitudes of Japanese society. Nakane<sup>1</sup> says,

The Japanese are basically a very conservative people. Once you have such conservative roots, you can do very radical things and still be secure that it won't affect the basic foundation. Thus, we can easily accept new innovations--computers, automation--without any resistance.

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<sup>1</sup>Krishner, op. cit., p. 510.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

In an effort to better understand how modernization affects the status of women in non-western societies, this study has considered the position of women in a highly developed, industrialized society, and a society which has more recently begun the modernization process. An historical analysis, followed by a description of legal codes, was given in order to more fully explore the institutional changes which have occurred in these two nations. The relationship between institutional change and development of new attitudes and values was analyzed and attention was focused on the affects of modernization on the individual. How female roles are modified to accommodate change was also considered. Let us now look at similarities and differences in Taiwan and Japan which are an outgrowth of modernity.

Many patterns usually associated with urbanization and industrialization can be identified in Taiwan and Japan. Both are consumer-oriented societies with largely urbanized populations. In both, mass media and transportation networks are well developed, drawing the rural population into a mass consumption economy. In Japan this has led to the feminization of agriculture with the men

moving into industry in order to acquire the cash needed to purchase consumer goods. Taiwan's farms are still worked by men with the assistance of family members, but urban migration is drawing increasing numbers of young men and women into urban centers.

Television in both nations has become an important means of exposing people to new ideas and values. Programming is a combination of traditional dramas, modern soap operas, quiz shows, and American reruns. Commercials advertise everything from chewing gum to rice cookers. Magazines, newspapers, and transistor radios are found even in the remotest areas.

Unfortunately both nations are also plagued with urban overcrowding and air and water pollution. Taiwan has strict air and water pollution laws, but enforcement is lax and emphasis is on production not conservation. Japanese conservation groups are well-organized and the general population is more aware, but no significant improvement in Japan has occurred either.

Differences in Taiwan and Japan are related to varying cultural backgrounds, historical events, and Japan's more advanced industrialization. Japan has had more time to weld her institutions and culture, and more freedom to create new forms. Japanese capital was utilized for industrialization and the bushido code of the samurai, who were responsible for the development of industry in Japan, was incorporated into corporate mores and values. Her

industry is organized around the values of group solidarity and harmony, and corporations take on a paternalistic attitude toward workers. With the exception of the social and political reforms imposed upon Japan after the war, she has voluntarily incorporated change with relatively little disruption.

This accommodation with change can be seen in the lifestyles of the Japanese. Homes contain appliances, a modern kitchen, and perhaps a western living room, but the remainder of the home is traditionally Japanese. Art forms like the tea ceremony, Ikebana, and calligraphy have remained intact, but other art forms such as abstract painting and underground theatre are also popular. Western dress is popular on the street or at work, with traditional dress reserved for home or ceremonial occasions. Olson<sup>1</sup> attributes this ability to accommodate old and new to the Japanese characteristic of compartmentalizing their lives, thereby avoiding confrontation in personal relations and values.

Unlike the Japanese, the Nationalists have adopted changes under the pressure of war and as a condition of aid from the United States. Taiwan, in order to rapidly industrialize for military purposes, has not had the luxury of gradual change. Institutions have had less opportunity to include those aspects of Chinese tradition

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<sup>1</sup>Olson, op. cit., p.275.



which lend themselves to modernity. There is evidence, however, that this is beginning to occur. An interesting example is tax collection. A "modern" system depends upon a predictable source of revenue, but the Chinese for generations have been masters at evading the tax collector. The current accommodation is to "negotiate" with tax officials the percentage of income that will be undeclared (the amount of cheating allowed) in exchange for complete honesty in payment on declared income. The same approach is used toward abortion which is absolutely forbidden, but is necessary for limiting the birth rate if any development is to occur. Abortion is quite commonly practiced and officials simply look the other way.

Rapid change, in addition to discontinuity in behavior and values, creates technological discontinuity. The most advanced medical equipment is available side-by-side with traditional folk remedies. One can purchase vitamins manufactured by Upjohn or snake blood. A home might contain modern plumbing, but the toilet will be repaired with shoestrings and rubberbands, and the waste from the sink and bathtub will drain into an open sewer. As industrialization progresses middle-level technology grows, service industry is developed, and discontinuity becomes less of a problem. Japan is more fully developed in this respect than Taiwan.

A comparison of the institutional status of women in the two nations also points out their many differences. In spite of Japan's

early commitment to women's education, only 18.8 percent of college and university students are women compared to 40 percent in Taiwan. Japanese women constitute 38.7 percent of the labor force compared to 27.1 percent in Taiwan. This difference might result from Japan's more advanced development or the larger number of married women in the work force. Japan has 25 female Diet members compared to 269 Taiwanese members of Congress, representing 12 percent of the total. It should be noted that women are guaranteed 10 percent of all elective offices in Taiwan. Only in the area of divorce are they similar with Taiwan, reporting a .7 percent divorce rate and Japan 1.02 percent.

For women in Taiwan and Japan inclusion in political, economic, and educational institutions has broadened opportunities and expanded their roles. For some social scientists this is a sufficient definition of modernization at the individual level. However, an observer of these two societies is rapidly made aware of the severe restrictions placed on women's participation. Korson<sup>1</sup> notes that underutilization of women's skills in a developing nation represents a type of "brain drain" which hampers development. In an industrialized nation it prevents the efficient use of human resources.

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<sup>1</sup>Korson, J. Henry, "Career Restraints Among Women Graduate Students in a Developing Society: West Pakistan." Journal of Comparative Family Studies, Vol. I, No. 1 (Autumn 1970), 98.

The argument that full participation by women would threaten men's position is questionable, but even if it were the case, it would not justify allocating power and resources on the basis of sex. If modernity includes advancement on the basis of achievement, then women must be allowed full opportunity to achieve.

Modernity from the position of the actors--in this case women in Taiwan and Japan--takes on another dimension. It is possible that they perceive change in their status as sufficient and are content with limited participation. Secure in their exalted position as wives and mothers, they may see little to be gained by expanding their role more fully. Some would argue that a lack of awareness or female consciousness is the limiting factor, not a genuine acceptance of their position. I observed women in both societies who were aware of limitations, frustrated and angry about them, and anxious to exercise their full potential. These women were a small but vocal minority. Most women, as I have indicated, are content with their lot and are not demanding more extensive change.

Japanese women, more than Taiwanese women, are being exposed to the ideology of women's liberation. The mass media in Japan is increasingly concerned with sex discrimination and the government is involved in gathering statistics and data on this problem. Whether this exposure will alter the perceptions of women remains to be seen. Taiwanese women, on the other hand, are

constantly being reassured that they have full equality with men and that their position is vastly superior to their sisters on the mainland. A recent newspaper article in the China Post<sup>1</sup> is entitled, "Contented Females Make it Tough for Women's Lib in Taiwan." The article continues:

Females are so comfortable in their position that women's liberation enthusiasts have a hard time in finding a concrete platform and catchy slogans to launch the movement and win support.

The limited number of women's libbers here, moderate compared with their Western colleagues, concede that the law is advanced in Taiwan and it is the "backward social attitudes" of the people they have to fight against.

It is also important to keep in mind that large numbers of women in Taiwan and Japan grew up before the Second World War. Although most of them have accepted changes in women's roles, they are more conservative than women educated since the war. If one looks to the United States for a model, then it could be predicted that the next generation of women would be only slightly less conservative. Predicting from the western experience is a hazardous practice, however, and it is possible that our Asian sisters will demand and receive fuller participation before women in the west. If traditional values provide a sense of security that enables women to cope with radical change, Asian women might feel more confident

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<sup>1</sup>"Contented Females Make it Tough for Women's Lib in Taiwan." China Post, October 23, 1975, p. 2.

about making demands on their societies.

The forces at work in the non-western world are not a repetition of western history nor are they identical in each society. Industrialization and modernization do foster certain types of institutions, but even these are modified more or less by cultural factors. Technology may limit variation as one can observe in airports or television studios which are the same in all cultures. However, where there is the possibility of variation, institutions will take on characteristics of that culture and can readily be identified with a specific culture. What is less certain is how traditional attitudes and values are affected by modernization and much work remains to be done in this area. From this brief survey of the changing status of women in two non-western cultures, it appears that tradition remains a powerful force, modifying the impact of change and preserving the cultural integrity of non-western societies.

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## APPENDIX

SINGLE

1. How old are you?
2. Do you live with your parents?
  - a. Who do you live with?
3. How far did you go in school?
4. Where did you grow up?
5. Do you work outside the house?
  - a. What type of work do you do?
6. Do you work at home?
  - a. What type of work do you do at home?
7. Are you planning to marry soon?
8. How many children make a good family?
9. Do you plan to work outside the house after you are married?
10. What makes a woman's life a happy one?
11. If you had a daughter, what would you want her to be when she grew up?
12. If you could be anything that you wanted to be, what would you choose?

MARRIED OR WIDOWED

1. How old are you?
2. Do you live with your parents? Your husband's parents?

3. How far did you go in school?
4. Where did you grow up?
5. Do you work outside the house?
  - a. What type of work do you do?
  - b. Do you have children?
  - c. Who takes care of the children while you work?
  - d. Who does the housework?
6. Do you work at home?
  - a. What type of work do you do at home?
7. Did you work outside the house before you were married?
  - a. What type of work did you do before you were married?
8. How many children make a good family?
9. Do you have a daughter?
  - a. What do you want your daughter to be when she grows up?
10. What makes a woman's life a happy one?
11. If you could be anything that you wanted to be, what would you choose?