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Reading *Sex and Temperament* in Taiwan:
Margaret Mead and Postwar Taiwanese Feminism

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This essay examines the ways in which Margaret Mead's research find-ings in New Guinea were transmitted to a Chinese-speaking audience through Yang Mei-hui's annotated Chinese summary of part 4 of Mead's Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies *(1935). In so doing, Yang served as a cultural intermediary who transmitted Mead's concept of cultural relativism on gender-role formation to her Chinese-speaking audience. Yang's annotated summary (1973) serves as a case study of the ways in which a cultural intermediary's injections of her personal commentaries within a specific cross-cultural context can facilitate her audience's understanding of the arguments made in the original English text. In this essay, I undertake a textual comparison of Yang's Chinese annotated summary with Mead's original English text for the purpose of evaluating Yang's effectiveness in conveying Mead's main arguments. In the 1970s and thereafter, Taiwanese feminists applied Mead's con-cept of cultural relativism of socially constructed gender to subvert the rigid gender roles in Taiwanese society. In so doing, they contributed to women's self-determination during the era of Taiwan's democratization.*

In 1949, the Chinese Communists defeated the Chinese Nationalists in the civil war and the latter retreated to the island of Taiwan, imposing martial law on the Taiwanese population. In the early 1970s, within the context of the Chinese Nationalist government's greater tolerance for the freedom of intellectual expression, Yang Mei-hui, a translator, annotated and summa-rized in Chinese part 4 of Margaret Mead's *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935). In so doing, Yang served as a cultural interme-diary who transmitted Mead's concept of cultural relativism on gender-role formation to her Chinese-speaking audience in Taiwan. Published in 1973, Yang's annotated summary serves as a case study of the ways in which a cultural intermediary's injections of her personal commentar-ies within a specific cross-cultural context can facilitate her audience's understanding of the arguments made in the original English text.

In this article, I will undertake a textual comparison of Yang's Chi-nese summary with the original English text in part 4 of Mead's *Sex and Temperament* in order to analyze the effectiveness of Yang's annotated

summary in conveying Mead's arguments and research findings in New Guinea. In the 1970s, Yang's Chinese summary of Mead's *Sex and Temperament* was widely read by intellectuals and activists in Taiwan's nascent feminist community. The applicability of Mead's American social theory on gender-role formation in Taiwan's gender relationship during the 1970s could be attributed to the similarities in the gender-role expectations of males and females in both the Chinese society in Taiwan and Western societies. The relevance of Mead's argument in refuting the myth of biological determinism in shaping gender roles in both Chinese and Western societies played a crucial role in Taiwanese feminists' understanding of gender-role formation. As such, Mead's work posed a challenge to traditional assumptions about the innate gender differences between men and women in the Taiwanese society.

Among the notable feminist leaders who read the annotated summary was Lu Hsiu-lien (Hsiu-lien Annette Lu). In the 1970s, Lu was the pioneer feminist of women's movement and a leader of the democracy movement in Taiwan. After Lu was court-martialed and imprisoned for her political activities in 1979, her feminist associate, Lee Yuan-chen, emerged as the feminist leader of the Taiwanese women's movement in the 1980s and thereafter.

Within the historical context of postwar Taiwan's authoritarian political culture and the island's democratization since the lifting of martial law in 1987, Lee applied Mead's concepts of the malleability of gender roles and an individual's pursuit of a career path based on one's aptitude to the formulation of her indigenous feminism. Articulated in an essay a year prior to the lifting of martial law in Taiwan, Lee's vision of democracy (*minzhu*) was not restricted to the narrow concepts of universal suffrage and individual rights to political participation and constitutional protection. As a liberal feminist committed to women's self-determination, her broadened definition of *minzhu* also encompassed an individual's right to achieve the existential quest for self-realization (Lee 1986). Like Mead, Lee's definition of self-realization encompassed an individual's freedom to choose her occupation and to strive for excellence in her professional endeavor. In terms of a woman's personal life, self-realization consisted of one's freedom to choose whether to remain single or to marry, and the reproductive freedom to decide whether to have children (Li 1983, 42; Lee, 1988a, 71, 133).

After Annette Lu was released from prison, the lifting of martial law in 1987 ushered in the era of Taiwan's democratization. In 2000, Annette Lu ran as a candidate of the opposition party and was elected the first woman vice president of Taiwan (2000–08). In fulfillment of her party's campaign promise, the new government filled a quarter of the top cabinet posts with notable women from political and academic communities (Lee 2000, 5). In 2002, Lee Yuan-chen, along with several other feminist leaders, joined

the Council for the Promotion of Women's Rights in the Taiwan government. As council members, they offered advice to the new government on policies pertaining to women.

In this essay, I will analyze the ways in which Yang Mei-hui's annotated summary of Mead's *Sex and Temperament* influenced both Lu and Lee's visions of gender equity and their critiques of socially imposed gender roles in Taiwanese society. In order to situate Mead's research findings in a broader context, I will briefly discuss the important impact that her work has made on the American women's liberation movement and the discipline of cultural anthropology, and the controversy over her research findings in Samoa and New Guinea.

Controversy over Margaret Mead in Cultural Anthropology

In 1928, Margaret Mead published *Coming of Age in Samoa* based on her fieldwork in Eastern Samoa in 1925. In the book, she argued that adolescent girls in Samoa enjoyed sexual freedom and did not experience feelings of guilt and sexual anxiety as did their Western counterparts. In the 1920s, most Americans assumed that adolescents' biological changes were the main causes of their sexual anxiety and rebellious behaviors. Mead contended that the lack of sexual anxiety among Samoan adolescent girls attested to the primacy of cultural conditioning and social environment in shaping adolescents' temperaments and behaviors.

Whereas Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* was about Polynesians, her next book, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935), was based on her fieldwork in three distinctive Melanesian societies of New Guinea. These societies were the mountain-dwelling Arapesh, the river-dwelling Mundugumor, and the lake-dwelling Tchambuli. These three societies were chosen as sites for Mead's field research because they were by and large isolated from the influences of Western culture in the 1930s. In *Sex and Temperament*, Mead took biological heredity and cultural conditioning into account in her assessment of the development of human personality. According to Mead, innate temperamental differences exist between individuals, and these innate temperamental traits are not sex-linked. To illustrate this point, Mead pointed out the differences in personalities among individuals in the Tchambuli society. But it was the Tchambuli women who were solely responsible for catching fish and selling them in the local markets. Mead then concluded that Tchambuli women were more economically independent and dominant than their male counterparts. This gender-role reversal in contrast to traditional Western societies demonstrated that gender-role differentiation was socially constructed rather than biologically predetermined (Mead 1935, 245–84).

In the early 1960s, Betty Friedan spearheaded the postwar American women's liberation movement with the publication of her book titled *The Feminine Mystique.* In the work, she summarized Mead's research findings on the three New Guinea societies in order to demonstrate the malleability of gender roles in different sociocultural contexts. Like Mead, Friedan urged every woman to choose her own career path based on an individual's innate gifts and freedom of choice rather than performing the socially imposed gender roles (Friedan 1963, 136–37). When the struggles for gender equality within the United States took on a new urgency, this transformational message made a profound impact on the women's liberation movement.

In her edited volume titled *Woman, Culture, and Society,* Michelle Rosaldo, a cultural anthropologist and feminist scholar, suggested that the participation of Arapesh males in child care and domestic life in Mead's *Sex and Temperament* should serve as a good example for American males to emulate. Based on Rosaldo's cross-cultural comparative study, she posited that gender inequality was the greatest in societies where there had been a rigid division of labor between the relatively low-status female-dominated domestic realm and the socially prestigious male-dominated public domain. To promote gender equality, Rosaldo encouraged men to participate in the socialization of children and other domestic responsibilities and urged women to fully engage in the political and economic life of the public sphere (Rosaldo 1974, 14, 41–42).

In addition to her profound influence on feminist scholarship, the women's liberation movement, and cultural anthropology, Mead was also the most well known and influential popularizer of cultural anthropology in the twentieth century. An effective and prolific writer, both *Coming of Age in Samoa* and *Sex and Temperament* were written in plain and simple American English without academic jargons. This made Mead's works accessible to the American public. As a powerful speaker, Mead, on average, delivered a hundred lectures per year to share new research findings in cultural anthropology with both academics and the general public (Mitchell 1996, 122–30). With her creative use of all types of mass media, Mead's transformational message on the unique aptitude of each individual and the malleability of gender roles reached a wide international audience. Mead's popularity as an authority in cultural anthropology remained virtually uncontested until the 1980s.

In 1981, Deborah Gewertz, a cultural anthropologist, published her research findings to reassess Mead's assertion of female dominance in Tchambuli (Chambri) society. While Gewertz concurred with Mead's assessment of Tchambuli women's crucial role in providing economic subsistence for their families and society, Gewertz also pointed out that the exclusion of women from political decision-making made them vulnerable and politically dependent on the decisions made by male members of their

natal families and their husbands' families. Thus, Tchambuli women were political subordinates in a patrilineal society (Gewertz 1981, 94–104). In addition, Gewertz was critical of Mead's conceptualization of the Tchambuli as a static and nonchanging society whose members had a determined future. In contrast, Mead portrayed modern Western societies as dynamic and ever changing, with freedom of choices for individuals to shape their own destinies. Appropriating Edward Said's concept of Orientalism in her analysis of Mead's work, Gewertz contended that Mead was orientalizing the "other" in the non-West and thus failed to acknowledge the modern Westernized aspects of indigenous people's way of life in New Guinea. With Mead's simplistic contrast of the primitive other versus the modern "civilized" West, she failed to realize the cultural interactions between the indigenous peoples of New Guinea and Western societies in modern world history (Gewertz 1991, 80–87).

In addition to Gewertz's critique of Mead's research findings of New Guinean societies, some indigenous inhabitants of Manus Island at New Guinea were critical of Mead's explication of their society. In *Papua New Guinea: Anthropology on Trial* (1983), the inland inhabitants of Manus Island criticized Mead's lack of understanding of their customs and her culturally biased depiction of inland inhabitants as less technologically sophisticated than the people of Pere, a coastal fishing village on Manus Island. Since most of Mead's informants were from Pere, they transmitted to Mead their prejudices and negative stereotypes of inland inhabitants. The latter traded the sago they extracted from palm trees in exchange for fish from the people of Pere. Furthermore, some indigenes of Manus Island contended that Mead's informants at Pere were her source of knowledge about the culture. In contrast to traditional New Guineans' reliance on oral tradition to transmit their knowledge, Western scholars with a written language possessed the power to record the knowledge they collected from their indigenous informants. This unequal relationship enabled Mead to publish her research findings and become famous by means of telling stories about indigenous people's lives. In the early 1980s, several young indigenous scholars in New Guinea wondered whether it is fair for outsiders from the West to explicate and interpret the meanings of New Guineans' way of life on behalf of the indigenous population. Should not New Guineans themselves tell the stories of their own people in their own voices?

The question of whether insiders of an indigenous society or outsiders from the West should study and write about the indigenes' way of life remains an unresolved controversy in social theory today. As long as an anthropologist from the West would not use his or her cultural assumptions and biases to observe and interpret the culture of a non-Western society, a scholar from outside could actually bring new perspectives into his or her interpretations of the indigenous culture that an insider might

have taken for granted or overlooked. On the other hand, it is equally important for insiders of an indigenous culture to tell their own stories in their own words. Whether the researcher is indigenous or from a Western society, the controversy highlighted the importance for researchers to consult with the informants on the accuracy of their written narratives.

In 1983, Derek Freeman, an anthropologist who posited the primacy of innate biology in shaping human personality and behavior, published *Margaret Mead and Samoa* based on his fieldwork in Western Samoa since the 1940s. With the rise of sociobiology and the resurgence of the biogenetic explications concerning human differences in the development of social sciences during the 1980s, Freeman labeled Mead a cultural determinist whose overemphasis on cultural conditioning was largely a reaction to the racism and biological determinism of the early twentieth century. From Freeman's perspective, Mead went to New Guinea looking for evidence of the malleability of gender roles and basically saw only what she wanted to see. She overlooked the influences of heredity and biology in determining Samoan adolescents' temperaments and behaviors. In contrast to Mead's assessment, Freeman's research findings demonstrated that adolescent girls in Western Samoa inhibited their sexual activities in order to preserve their virginity within a highly stratified society with strict sexual mores. According to Freeman, Mead falsely depicted Samoa as an idyllic paradise populated by sexually promiscuous Pacific islanders (Freeman 1983, 281–93).

Like Freeman, cultural anthropologist Martin Orans considered Mead a cultural determinist. Orans argued that Mead's inadequate data, unscientific research method, and vague overgeneralization about Samoan culture make Freeman's refutation of Mead's work about Samoan adolescents "not even wrong." The Mead/Freeman controversy over whether social-cultural conditioning or biological heredity was the main determinant of an individual's temperament underscored the importance for social theories to take both nature and nurture into account in assessing human development. Orans posited that the broader implication of the Mead/Freeman controversy for social theory today is that human personality and behavior ought to be a result of the complex interaction between biological heredity, cultural conditioning, and social environment (Orans 1996, 10–13).

Some anthropologists, such as Lowell Holmes, suggested that it was Mead's notoriety as a cultural anthropologist who questioned biological determinism's role in shaping human personality and behavior that set the precedence for Freeman's attack. In contrast to Freeman and Orans's negative evaluations of Mead's work, Lowell Holmes, a cultural anthropologist, conducted a yearlong restudy in the same Samoan village in 1954 as Mead did in 1925 in order to test the validity and reliability of Mead's research methodology and findings. Holmes's restudy found that Mead's research results in 1925 had a high degree of accuracy. Like Mead, he found

that most Samoan adolescents experienced easier transitions to adulthood than their American counterparts. Most Samoan adolescents had gentle temperaments and a healthy attitude toward their sexuality. Holmes, in *Samoan Village* (1992), questioned the validity of Freeman's criticism of Mead's conclusions. In the book, Holmes pointed out that Freeman did his fieldwork on an island in Western Samoa, whereas Mead conducted her fieldwork on a different island in Eastern Samoa. Holmes observed that most communities in Western Samoa were more Westernized than their counterparts in Eastern Samoa. Thus, it was not a fair comparison to equate adolescent girls' experiences in Eastern Samoa with their counterparts in Western Samoa. Holmes then refuted Freeman's contention that Mead, like her professor, Franz Boas, was a cultural determinist. Based on Holmes's perspective, both Boas and Mead took biological heredity and cultural conditioning into account in their assessment of the development of human personality (Holmes 1992, 139–52). In the 1970s, Mead's *Sex and Temperament* exerted a profound influence on Taiwan's nascent feminist community. Like Mead, Taiwanese feminists urged women to choose occupations based on their innate aptitude rather than their gender identity. They also considered gender roles a product of sociocultural conditioning. It was through Yang Mei-hui's Chinese annotated summary that Taiwanese feminist activists came to know Mead's *Sex and Temperament*.

Yang Mei-hui's Annotated Summary of *Sex and Temperament*

In the mid-1960s, Yang Mei-hui pursued graduate studies in sociology at Tufts University and obtained her Master's degree. During the American women's liberation movement, she became especially interested in and concerned about the problems and oppression that women experienced in both the United States and Taiwan. This awareness subsequently motivated her to write annotated summaries of excerpts from Western theoretical writings on women and gender inequality (Yang 1979, 325–28).

In the preface of Yang's Chinese text, she stated her decision not to translate Mead's *Sex and Temperament* verbatim. Rather, she summarized the main arguments and ideas in Mead's work (Yang 1973, 1–2). Since Yang's Chinese text is a concise summary of Mead's work rather than a literal translation of the original English text, I characterize the Chinese text as an annotated summary. Inasmuch as the Chinese-speaking audience of Yang's annotated summary in postwar Taiwan shared the Confucian cultural heritage with their counterparts in mainland China and Japan, Yang added several examples from the East Asian cultures of China and Japan not previously evident in Mead's original text. These additions served the purpose of facilitating her Chinese readers' understanding of

the above-mentioned arguments in Mead's work. Through a textual comparison of the contents' main arguments in both Mead's original text and Yang's annotated summary, I endeavor to demonstrate that Yang was by and large accurate and comprehensive in her summary of Mead's research findings. She was also effective in adding cross-cultural examples previously not included in Mead's original text to demonstrate the universal applicability of Mead's concept of socially constructed gender roles in different cultures and at different times.

In Mead's English text, part 4 was titled "The Implications of These Results." It was in part 4 of *Sex and Temperament* that Mead summarized the results of her fieldwork in the three Melanesian societies. Mead also contemplated the implications of her research findings for the problems associated with the social construction of children's personalities along the lines of their gender identities in Western societies. It should be kept in mind that the gender roles in Western societies to which Mead referred in part 4 were the cultural norms in the 1930s and before.

Comparatively, Yang's annotated summary of part 4 of *Sex and Temperament* was entitled "*Yang gang he yin rou*." Deriving the title from the traditional Chinese cosmology's assumptions about men's and women's innate temperamental differences, Yang's chapter title literally meant "the unyielding firmness of masculine yang and the yielding gentleness of feminine yin." Since three thousand years ago, Confucian scholars have conceptualized the yin and the yang as two primal forces in the material universe whose constant interactions with each other have created all physical phenomena, living beings, and myriad things in the universe. Yin was conceptualized as a negative material force associated with the female, yielding, gentleness, weakness, receptiveness, earth, nourishment, turbidity, and the moon. By contrast, the yang was seen as a positive force associated with the male, firmness, strength, dominance, clarity, Heaven, and brightness of the sun. In the Confucian classics of Chinese antiquity, women were instructed to stay at home, whereas men were expected to participate in affairs outside the home. Although Confucian scholars conceptualized the masculine yang as dominant over the feminine yin, yin and yang were also seen as opposite and interdependent forces that complement each other to comprise the totality of the physical universe (de Bary 1960, 191–92, 463–68; Lu 2004, 239–40).

As we shall see in this article, Yang Mei-hui, through her annotated summary, had the intention of exposing the fallacy of the Chinese cosmological assumption, which ascribed innate strength to the masculine yang and innate gentleness to the feminine yin. In "*Yang gang he yin rou*," Yang summarized the entire text of part 4 except for the concluding chapter. In the following section of the article, I will first discuss portions of Yang's annotated summary that have conformed with and emphasized Mead's original arguments. Then I will explicate the examples in Yang's Chinese

text that did not previously appear in Mead's original text. Finally, I will discuss the portion of Mead's original text that Yang omitted.

In her annotated summary, Yang was by and large attentive to Mead's main arguments in *Sex and Temperament*. Based on her narrative of Mead's empirical observation, Chinese readers would understand that most personality and behavioral traits, such as aggressiveness and passivity, are not sex-linked characteristics. In order to debunk the traditional assumptions about the biologically predetermined masculine aggressiveness and feminine passivity, Yang paraphrased Mead's contention that aggressiveness and passivity ought to be viewed as a continuing spectrum, with different individuals positioned on different points of the spectrum, regardless of sex. In other words, a female child could be born with more aggressive behavioral traits than a male child in any given society.

In the section where Yang dealt with the diverse gendered personality traits among the Mundugumor, the Tchambuli, and the Arapesh in Mead's research findings, Yang stated that both male and female children of Arapesh were socialized to develop personality traits that were obedient, cooperative, and gentle. As a result, the Arapesh men and women had personalities and behavioral patterns that were generally considered feminine and maternal by Western standards. Conversely, both male and female children of Mundugumor were socialized to become cold and emotionally detached, aggressive, and crude. Based on the Western standard, both the men and women of Mundugumor had masculine personalities and behavioral patterns. Hence, a Mundugumor individual born with more aggressiveness than his peers would most likely be chosen as a leader. Conversely, if a person with the same aggressive personality were to live in the Arapesh society, he or she would be branded as a cultural deviant (Yang 1973, 42, 45).

In her annotated summary, Yang accurately conveyed Mead's characterization of Tchambuli personalities and behavioral patterns as different along gender lines. That is, Tchambuli men's and women's gender roles were the inversion of traditional gender roles in Western societies. Her summary accurately depicts the process of Tchambuli boys' socialization into gentle, emotional, and verbally expressive persons. By contrast, female children in Tchambuli society were socialized to develop personalities that were emotionally detached and dominant (Yang 1973, 42).

According to Yang's narrative of Mead's perspective, the so-called feminine qualities were absent in both men and women of the Mundugumor society. On the other hand, Western societies by and large perpetuated the idea that women's natural temperaments should consist of warmth, gentleness, household management skills, and a love for the caring of children. These same traits were manifested mostly in males of the Tchambuli society. In the Arapesh society, the norms for both men's and women's temperaments and behavioral patterns were analogous to the

above-mentioned feminine qualities in traditional Western societies. Thus, Yang effectively conveyed Mead's contention that there is no direct correlation or natural relationship between differences in gender identities and differences in genetically based temperaments (Yang 1973, 43).

Based on the relativity and diversity in the temperaments and behavioral patterns of men and women in the three societies, Yang effectively conveyed Mead's perspective that a society could select specific temperamental traits common in most males and females to be socially reinforced in the personality of one sex at the exclusion of the other sex. Every culture exerts pressure on a child to accentuate socially acceptable personality traits and suppress socially disapproved traits. The child's personality is thus molded into a personality that conformed to societal expectations. If a society were to exert pressure on boys and girls to develop divergent personalities and behavioral patterns along the lines of their gender identities, the children would learn to think and behave in accordance with societal definitions of maleness and femaleness (Yang 1973, 43–44).

To illustrate this point, Yang presented Mead's example of the different patterns of male and female socialization in Western societies. When a Western society sanctions warfare as an exclusively male occupation, it is expecting all the men and boys to be brave and fearless. In other words, boys are taught to suppress their feelings of vulnerability. Conversely, girls are expected to be timid and emotionally expressive. Even though the feelings of fear, bravery, timidity, and vulnerability are innate in both boys and girls, Western societies selectively ascribe bravery to males and timidity and vulnerability to females. These gender-specific personality traits are then socially reinforced from childhood to adulthood. Inasmuch as these gender-specific personality traits are so deeply entrenched and pervasive in Western societies, one tends to assume that they are innately male or female (Yang 1973, 49–50).

Despite traditional Western assumptions about the innate differences in temperaments between males and females, Yang effectively conveyed Mead's contention that most boys and girls still experience some tensions between their innate dispositions and the socially sanctioned personalities for males and females. It is only through extensive cultural conditioning that boys and girls learn to conform to the socially approved personalities and behaviors of their respective genders (Yang 1973, 51–52).

In accord with Mead's text, Yang stated that a small minority of children are born with the innate temperaments that conform readily to the socially approved personalities for boys and girls in Western societies. These children require the least adjustment to the gender-specific personalities that the society expects of them. In societies where only males are socially expected to be aggressive, boys with innately aggressive temperaments experience positive reinforcement and validation from the society for presenting masculine manners. The boy is taught to believe that it is

the man's place to dominate over woman in society. With his self-centered and haughty disposition, the aggressive male would use the same attitude toward women to interact with passive males (Yang 1973, 62–63).

Consistent with Mead's argument, Yang accurately stated that a dominant male who is well adjusted to his gender role would feel especially threatened by a woman whose strong character and male-oriented skills exceed his own. In fact, this would cause him to question his masculinity with considerable unease. Similarly, a passive and agreeable woman raised to be always attentive to men's demands would also be perturbed by self-doubt when encountering a dominant woman. When the dominant woman engages in a conversation with authoritarian overtones, the contrast in the two women's temperaments and behaviors would lead the passive woman to question her own tendency of making excessive concessions for the accommodation of others' needs and wants (Yang 1973, 63). Thus, Yang effectively summarized Mead's contention that the most well-adjusted individuals in a society that rigidly divides men's and women's social personalities into binary oppositions still experience moments of self-doubt and emotional unease.

Consistent with Mead's argument, Yang accurately stated that the daily lives of a minority of individuals who do not fit into the socially ascribed gender roles are even more difficult than the well-adjusted individuals who conform to a gender dichotomy. This minority of individuals are seen as eccentric deviants or immature neurotics. Inasmuch as the culture disapproves of their personalities and behaviors, these maladjusted persons experience considerable self-doubt and emotional anguish over their gender identities (Yang 1973, 58, 62).

Hence, Yang effectively narrated Mead's analysis of the troubling consequences for every individual member in a society that insists on gender dichotomy as a main determinant of shaping social personalities. No individual in this type of society can escape moments of self-doubt and emotional unease in regard to his or her gender identity, personality, and behavioral pattern. In a society where there is a rigid dichotomy between the social personalities of males and females, a girl who has shown a great deal of potential and interest in taking on socially ascribed male-oriented tasks could be blamed for making the wrong choices. She could also be chastised for having the personality of the opposite sex. In this and other similar cases, parents would sometimes threaten to socially disenfranchise the child from his or her gender identity. With adults' social disapproval, the child's inability to adjust would sometimes cause him or her to question his or her gender identity. This maladjustment could also contribute to low self-esteem and emotional anguish (Yang 1973, 51–63).

In her summary of Mead's argument, Yang stressed that any society that presumes a person's gender identity as a main determinant of his or her personality is bound to cause the cultural maladjustment of many

individuals. Inasmuch as the vast majority of temperamental traits, such as aggressiveness and passivity, are not sex linked, the relative degrees of aggressiveness and passivity ought to be conceptualized as a continuum. In fact, most people's temperaments fall somewhere along this continuum. Yet, Western societies imposed a rigid dichotomy of male aggressiveness versus female passivity on each individual. Many people thus found it difficult to fit their temperaments into the socially defined personalities ascribed to their gender (Yang 1973, 45–62).

In accordance with Mead's argument, Yang stated that a girl who has the natural talents and interests in socially defined male-oriented activities often finds herself without any female role model to emulate. This situation is to be expected in a society that discourages women from engaging in male-oriented tasks and occupations. Hence, the girl would have no other alternative but to emulate the men who have had the same occupational interests and talents that she has. By emulating her male colleagues, she would consequently adopt more masculine personality traits and behavioral patterns. Obviously, the society does not encourage an individual to emulate and identify with the social personalities and behavioral patterns of one's opposite sex. Yet, the rigid dichotomy of distinguishing between male and female personalities is precisely what has compelled the girl with socially defined male-oriented talents and interests to emulate and identify with male colleagues (Yang 1973, 56).

Analogous to Mead's narrative, Yang stated that another unexpected consequence of socially separating male and female personalities into two binary opposites is the problem of cross-gender identification. In cases of cross-gender identification in Western societies, a boy whose temperament is gentle and agreeable would be classified as a male child who identifies with his mother's personality. The theory of cross-gender identification is based on the presumption that the boy's failure to imitate and identify with his father's personality during his character formation has resulted in his abnormal and girlish temperaments. If this feminine personality persists when the boy reaches adulthood, he is made to feel unworthy of the superior realm of male activities and occupations (Yang 1973, 56–61).

Consistent with Mead's argument, Yang stated that it is easier for a boy who shares a similar personality trait with his mother to imitate that particular aspect of his mother's personality. At the same time, there are other aspects of the boy's innate dispositions that resemble those of his father. In these instances, it is natural for the son to imitate his father's personality traits. Since every individual is born of both parents, a person will likely inherit temperamental traits from both parents. Thus, it is natural for each person to inherit some personality traits from the parent of the opposite sex. In other words, there is no reason to assume that a child who has either inherited more from or identified more with the parent of the opposite sex should be considered abnormal (Yang 1973, 57).

Yang then reported Mead's comment about the unwillingness of the American public and the scientific community to transcend their assumptions about innate gender distinctions and recognize the importance of social conditioning in selectively reinforcing certain hereditary traits in the making of individual personalities. Depending on societal needs and social structure, every society has its respective set of personality traits to which it expects individuals in the society to conform. The more highly developed a culture, the more complex and multifaceted is the combination of personality traits that the society expects an ideal individual to possess (Yang 1973, 45–46).

In her Chinese text, Yang conveyed Mead's assertion that some individuals are innately more inclined to excel in certain occupations than others. In other words, each individual is born with a unique set of gifts and non-sex-linked temperamental traits. Because Western societies presume that most temperamental traits are sex linked, parents and teachers often direct boys and girls toward different occupations based on their gender identities. In line with Mead's observation, Yang stated that a child's gender identity tends to obscure parents' and teachers' judgments over the individual child's genuine talents and occupational aspirations. In this way, the artificial division of temperaments and occupational categories along the lines of gender differences serves to distort and inhibit each individual's natural development and true potential (Yang 1973, 61–62).

Consistent with Mead's text, Yang stated that most married women in the United States had been financially dependent on their husbands in the past. Many had no choice but to acquiesce to their husbands' dominance and control. By the twentieth century, some American women had achieved greater financial autonomy, but the traditional social expectations of husband's and wife's roles in the familial context still persisted. This inconsistency had in turn caused confusion and tension in many households. As it was in the past, a man's capacity to make a living still served as the societal yardstick for measuring his worth. But once a man became unemployed, his emotional anguish was often exacerbated by his financial dependence on his wife (Yang 1973, 64).

In addition to conveying the negative consequences of American males' rigid gender-role expectations, Yang also effectively summarized Mead's explication of the three types of societies worldwide. Each of these societies has its respective social expectations for individuals. The first type of society concentrates most of its time, energy, and resources on the training of their young into individuals with certain extreme personality traits. It aims at the creation of a single personality type for all its members. Inasmuch as almost all the society's members are subjected to the same type of socialization and education, the majority of the people in every generation would thus possess the same extreme personality traits and strive to conform to the monistic ideal (Yang 1973, 46–47).

In contrast to the monistic and extreme personality traits of the above-mentioned first type of society, Yang stated Mead's contention that the second type of society selects moderate personality traits in socializing the young. In the second type of society, the standard and definition of ideal personality traits are not as clearly defined as the above-mentioned first type of society. Unlike Mead's original text, Yang added the toleration of diverse personality traits in her description of the second type of society. Based on Yang's own interpretation, the second type of society tends to accentuate children's moderate temperament and tolerate diversity and eclecticism of personality traits (Yang 1973, 47).

Consistent with Mead's narrative, Yang stated that the third type of society is not as variegated as the second type, nor is it as monistic as the first type. Rather, the third type of society ascribes specific personality traits and acceptable behavioral patterns to the members of each gender, age group, class, and profession. Figuratively, the society's social structure resembles the patterns of a mosaic. It is expected socially that an individual who belongs to a certain station or sector of society should exhibit certain distinct personality traits and behavioral patterns in the third type of society. In this highly stratified society, it is socially acceptable for members of the nobility to acquire a haughty disposition. Members of this class are also more prone to take offense at humiliations. Yet, these temperaments are seen as inappropriate for the commoners to acquire. In addition to class stratification, the third type of society could also be organized along occupational and religious lines. In this case, each occupational group and religious denomination would select, institutionalize, and reinforce certain temperaments and behavioral patterns among their members (Yang 1973, 48).

To facilitate her Chinese-speaking audience's understanding of Mead's arguments, Yang added numerous examples not included in the original English text of *Sex and Temperament*. To illustrate the tolerance for diversity in the above-mentioned second type of society, Yang added the example of contemporary American society. According to Yang, tolerance for diverse personalities and respect for the golden mean in the second type of society resemble the characteristics of modern American society. In the 1970s, Yang saw the new America as a salad bowl with a melange of raw vegetables. In this new society, each vegetable retains its own distinctive quality (Yang 1973, 47). Conceivably, Yang added this example to enhance her Chinese audience's understanding of contemporary American society.

For the purpose of illustrating the third type of society to her Chinese-speaking audience, Yang chose to describe the social stratification of Japan during the age of the shoguns and the cultural distinctions in different regions of traditional China. Since peoples of China, Japan, and Taiwan shared the Confucian heritage in East Asia, Yang's Chinese-speaking audience had some familiarity with Japanese and Chinese history. According to

Yang, there were ideal temperaments and behavioral patterns ascribed to the socialization and training of samurai warriors during the era of the shoguns. In the rigidly stratified society, samurai warriors, peasants, Buddhist monks and nuns, artisans, and merchants all had their respective temperaments and behavioral patterns that distinguished one group from the other (Yang 1973, 48–49). Unlike the temperaments and behavioral patterns of the traditional Japanese, which were organized along the lines of social stratification and occupational status, the temperaments and behavioral patterns of the traditional Chinese tended to be organized along the lines of different regions of the country. Comparatively, most Chinese south of the Yangtze (*Yangzi*) River tended to acquire gentler temperaments than their northern counterparts. These relatively gentle dispositions were evident in the ways that most southern Chinese interacted and conversed with each other (Yang 1973, 49). By using her own examples not previously included in Mead's text, Yang effectively demonstrated the predominant influence of socialization in shaping the distinctive temperaments and behavioral patterns of East Asian peoples along the lines of geography, class, and occupational affiliations.

To illustrate the possibility of gender-role reversal within the Chinese cultural context, Yang added two sections not included in Mead's original text. Drawing from Chinese literary tradition, Yang cited the fictional work entitled *Jing hua yuan* (Flowers in the Mirror), which was written in 1825 by Li Ju-chen (Li Ruzhen), a male scholar in the Qing dynasty. According to the novel, the imaginary kingdom of women socialized females to be leaders in the public domain. Conversely, men were expected to stay at home and perform household tasks. It was in vogue for men to wear cosmetics and earrings. Men were also expected to have their feet bound to look attractive to women. With this provocative novel, Li seriously questioned whether the rigid gender roles in early nineteenth-century China were truly heavenly ordained as the neo-Confucian ideology would like everyone to assume (Yang 1973, 43).

In addition to using *Jing hua yuan* as the example to debunk the traditional Chinese assumption about the innate differences between men's and women's gender roles, Yang added the Chinese legend of *Hua Mulan* in her text to illustrate to her Chinese readers that cross-gender identification is not a deviant behavior. As a young woman with an innate aptitude in military affairs, *Mulan* identified with her father's gender role and fought with valor and exemplary leadership on the battlefield in the place of her elderly and ailing father. In so doing, she fulfilled her duty as a filial daughter to her father (Yang 1973, 57).

For the purpose of illustrating the applicability and relevance of Mead's argument within the Chinese cultural context, Yang added a section not included in Mead's original text. Yang contended that the cultural assumption of gender-role differences as predestined and the dominant influence

of gender-specific socialization in shaping one's behavioral patterns are also evident in traditional Chinese culture. To illustrate these points to her Chinese readers, Yang quoted several passages from classical Chinese texts. The first of these passages was written by Pan Chao (Ban Zhao), a notable female historian of Han imperial court. Trained in the Confucian classics in a family of court historians, Pan Chao was granted the status of imperial court historian after the deaths of her father and her brother. In the first century C.E., she wrote *Nü Jie* (Instruction for Women) for the socialization of girls in their gender roles. In order to facilitate girls' recitation of the precepts, *Nü Jie* presented eighty gender-specific admonitions written in five-character verses. Among these admonitions, there was a precept that admonished girls not to dress or behave like men. The second of these passages was written during the Song dynasty (960–1279 C.E.) by the Neo-Confucian literatus, Ch'en Ch'un (Chen Chun). These passages were five-character poems for children to recite and internalize in their minds. In the text, he stated that it is ordained by heaven that men's rightful place is outside the home, whereas women's rightful place is inside the home (Yang 1973, 54).

For the purpose of brevity, Yang omitted the concluding chapter of Mead's book in her summary. In her introductory remarks to "*Yang gang he yin rou*," Yang did not indicate to her readership that the concluding chapter in part 4 was omitted from her annotated summary. Conceivably, the concluding chapter was left out of Yang's summary because it did not directly pertain to the result of Mead's fieldwork. As a consequence of Yang's omission, Mead's suggestions for Americans' socialization of children were not presented to the Chinese-speaking audience.

In the concluding chapter, Mead used the Arapesh as a prime example of a society's sacrifice of heterogeneity for the attainment of social homogeneity. Not only did Arapesh society lack the categories of rank and status, the distinctions between the social personalities of men and women were also kept at a minimal. Inasmuch as almost all Arapesh children were socially expected to acquire passive, mild, and cooperative dispositions, individuals with active minds, intense temperaments, and great individual creativity would find a lack of emotional and intellectual outlets for expressing themselves in the society. Socially, those individuals who could not adjust their temperaments and behavioral patterns to the culture's one-sided emphasis were branded as cultural deviants. Thus, the Arapesh sacrificed individuals' innate temperaments and unique potential for the attainment of social homogeneity, simplicity, and harmony. In so doing, the culture also deprived its members of the various social experiences of a diverse and complex society (Mead 1935, 313–16).

Unlike the harmonious simplicity and lack of contradiction in the behavioral patterns of men and women in the Arapesh society, Mead contended that women's roles in American society were the most contradictory and ambiguous. Legally, a husband was still the head of household.

But due to the increase in the number of American women entering the workforce and their progressive upbringings, it was not unusual for wives to be more assertive and dominant than their husbands. Inasmuch as American girls tended to model their personalities and behaviors after their assertive mothers and female schoolteachers, modern American society had reversed the tradition of European male dominance to a considerable extent. Based on the evidence in Mead's empirical observation, the ambiguity and contradiction between men's and women's actual power and legal status could also be found in the Tchambuli society. Nominally, a Tchambuli man was still the head of his household. On the other hand, a Tchambuli woman's dominant, assertive, and secure disposition actually equipped her better for the leadership position than her male counterpart (Mead 1935, 310–11).

    According to Mead in the concluding chapter of *Sex and Temperament*, the best solution for resolving the contradictions in the society and for minimizing suppression of one's talents and potential was to replace the molding of artificial personalities along the lines of gender, class, and race with the development of every individual's unique talents and innate temperament. In this way, no child's talent would be wasted due to his or her class origin, gender identity, or racial background. In other words, every individual's natural talents and innate temperament would be respected and given the freedom to develop to the fullest potential. Collectively, the natural potential and diverse talents of different individuals in society could contribute to the advancement of all aspects of human endeavors. By replacing the artificial differences socially imposed on each class, race, and gender with the genuine differences between individuals, the society could be enriched by diversity and heterogeneity. At the same time, no individual's freedom to develop personal gifts and potential in his or her chosen occupation would be sacrificed.

    In the final analysis, Mead presented her solution as the best alternative for developing the fullest potential of a society as well as its individual members. Inasmuch as Taiwan in the 1970s was a modernizing society experiencing its transition from an agricultural economy to a newly industrialized society where male dominance was still prevalent, Mead's proposed vision for the replacement of an artificial gender dichotomy with the genuine differences between individuals could have been seen as a valuable suggestion. The inclusion of Mead's concluding chapter in part 4 of *Sex and Temperament* in Yang's annotated summary would have strengthened Mead's argument in the Chinese text. Yang also failed to include Mead's empirical observations of Tchambuli women's tendencies to be possessive, practical, actively sexed, and willing to initiate sexual relationships. Within the context of Taiwan's socially conservative environment in the 1970s, it is conceivable that Yang avoided the discussion of sexuality in order to pass the party-state's censorship of her work.

Lu Hsiu-lien, Lee Yuan-chen, and Gender-Equity Legislation

Despite the omissions in Yang's Chinese summary of Mead's original text, Yang's annotated summary of Mead's *Sex and Temperament* enjoyed a positive reception in Taiwan during the 1970s and thereafter. Lu Hsiu-lien (Hsiu-lien Annette Lu), the pioneer feminist of postwar Taiwan, was a notable cultural critic of Confucian patriarchy. In order to promote women's participation in the public domain, Lu, a young government official who obtained her law degree in the United States, became a self-styled liberal feminist who spearheaded postwar Taiwan's autonomous women's movement in 1972. With the financial support and voluntary effort of her feminist associates, Lu created telephone hotlines for female victims of sexual assault and domestic violence in the two largest cities in Taiwan, Taipei and Kaohsiung. She recruited many women volunteers with professional expertise to offer legal counsel, psychological counseling, and medical attention to the female victims. As a social activist who derived much of her inspiration from the liberal tradition of Western feminism, Lu organized highly publicized lectures and roundtable discussions with legal experts about ways to revise gender-biased family laws and civil codes. In order to publish her writings and disseminate her feminist messages to the Taiwanese public, she, along with her feminist associates, created *The Pioneer Press* (Lu 1994, 293–96).

In the 1970s, Taiwan's feminist community universally recognized Lu Hsiu-lien's *New Feminism* (*Xin nüxing zhuyi*) as the main text of Taiwan's feminist discourse. Written in 1973, the content of *New Feminism* was subsequently revised and republished in 1977 and 1986.[1] Based on Yang Mei-hui's annotated summary of Mead's research findings, Lu criticized the assumption that gender roles were biologically predetermined. In *New Feminism,* Lu endorsed Mead's contention that socialization was the predominant determinant, molding personality and behavioral patterns. Lu argued that both male and female individuals were born with unique temperaments and behavioral traits that were not sex linked. She stated that Western and Chinese societies had suppressed socially ascribed female traits and accentuated the socially ascribed male traits in boys. The same societies suppressed socially defined male traits and accentuated the socially defined female traits in girls. To persuade her Taiwanese audience that sociocultural conditioning rather than biological difference shaped men's and women's gender roles, Lu wrote a section in *New Feminism* to introduce the main arguments in Yang's annotated summary of Mead's *Sex and Temperament* (Lu 1986, 120–26).

Among the three distinctive societies in New Guinea during the 1930s, Lu stated that both the males and females of the Arapesh society had personalities, temperaments, and behavioral patterns that were considered feminine and passive by traditional Chinese and Western standards.

Conversely, both males and females of the Mundugumor society were socialized to acquire aggressive temperaments and behavioral patterns from childhood. Thus, both sexes had personalities considered masculine by Chinese and Western standards. Tchambuli males, however, were socialized to be passive; women were socialized to acquire dominant personalities. The gender-role differentiation in Tchambuli society could be seen as an inversion of traditional gender roles in Chinese and Western societies. With this summary, Lu tried to undermine her readers' assumption that traditional gender roles were absolute and universal in different parts of the world over time. She suggested that the socially acceptable gender roles in Taiwan and Western societies might not be socially acceptable in other societies, like the three in New Guinea. The striking differences in the three New Guinean societies' conceptualization of gender also demonstrated the relativity of socially constructed gender in different cultural contexts (Lu 1986, 121; Yang 1973, 39–65).

In *New Feminism*, Lu's notion of individual variation based on a person's unique aptitudes and interests rather than gender distinction was derived from Mead's *Sex and Temperament.* Both Mead and Lu asserted that each woman's and man's unique talents and interests should be the main determinants of his or her roles and occupations in the public domain. In order to overcome occupational segregation along gender lines, Lu, like Mead, advocated that women should have the individual freedom to make occupational choices and participate in any work in the male-dominated public sphere (Lu 1986, 145–55; Mead 1935, 321–22).

In addition to Lu's vision of integrating women fully into the male-dominated society, she also played a leadership role in Taiwan's democracy movement and served as an editor of *Formosa: A Magazine of Taiwan's Democratic Movement.* Between 1979 and 1980, Lu was arrested and court-martialed on the charge of sedition after making a speech at a commemoration rally of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the city of Kaohsiung. In the aftermath of the Kaohsiung Incident, seven other leaders of the Democratic Opposition were also court-martialed and sentenced to long prison terms. While Lu was in prison, her mother became terminally ill. Although she petitioned the prison authority to grant her a short visit to see her mother, Lu was devastated when she found that her mother had died. In order to keep her mind active and focused, Lu wrote novels at night on toilet paper and stuffed it inside her comforter to evade confiscation by prison guards. Family members took the comforter with them after a visit with her at the prison (Liu 2006, 204–09). Meanwhile, Amnesty International in West Germany adopted Lu as a prisoner of conscience and secured her release on medical parole for treatment of thyroid cancer in 1985. In the same year, Lu published *These Three Women* (*Zhe sange nüren*), one of the novels she wrote in prison.

Prior to Lu's release, her feminist associate, Professor Lee Yuan-chen of Tamkang University, emerged as a leader of the autonomous women's movement in the 1980s. In order to circumvent martial law's proscription on the formation of nongovernmental organizations, Lee and a group of feminist intellectuals and activists created the *Awakening* Magazine Publishing House in 1982 to serve as an organizational base for the autonomous women's movement (Fan 2000, 19–33).

In the 1970s, Lee also read Yang's annotated summary of Mead's *Sex and Temperament*. Consequently, Mead's concept of cultural relativism in gender-role formation exerted significant influence on Lee's formulation of her feminism. Like Mead, Lee conceived of every individual's unique personality, talents, interests, and choices as the main determinants of his or her occupation and roles. No individual would be socially pressured to assume a role or an occupation based on his or her gender identity. Every man and woman could freely aspire to become a leader, an inventor, a secretarial clerk, or a caregiver. In other words, Lee envisioned men's and women's freedom to express their individuality without having to conform to the socially defined gender roles (Lee 1988a, 156).

In contrast to Lu Hsiu-lien's conception of motherhood solely within the context of marriage, Lee suggested that the single women who chose motherhood could consider adoption or artificial insemination. However, she cautioned that only the single women who were emotionally and financially ready should take on this long-term responsibility (Lu 1986, 163; Lee 1988a, 120). Just as Lee envisioned the possibility of single women's motherhood, she also contemplated the possibility of gender-role reversal. Like Mead and Michelle Rosaldo, Lee contended that the society should respect a couple's decision to let the husband be the primary caregiver of children at home, as his wife performs the role of the breadwinner of the family (Li 1983, 41–42; Lee 1988a, 89; Lee 1989, 5).

With the revocation of martial law in 1987, Awakening feminists saw a new window of opportunity to challenge the gender-biased curriculum of the national education system. A sociologist of Taiwan studies, Thomas Gold noted that the feminist movement both contributed to and was made possible by the development of a vibrant civil society during Taiwan's democratization in the 1980s and 1990s. With their strong conviction that children's social conditioning was the key to subverting traditional gender roles, Awakening feminists in 1988 conducted a comprehensive textual analysis and criticism of gender-role stereotyping in elementary and junior high textbooks (Awakening Foundation 1988, 2). By exposing the gender biases and authoritarian tendencies in the textbooks, Awakening feminists urged the Taiwanese public to join hands with the women's movement to exert pressure on the Ministry of Education to revise the textbooks' contents (Ch'ao 1988, 1–4).

In the same year, Lee Yuan-chen critiqued Taiwan's authoritarian educational system as a major hindrance to children's critical thinking and freedom of expression. Lee stated that Chinese culture had been authoritarian and ideologically monistic for most of its history. Within the Chinese cultural context, Taiwan's educational system emphasized ideological indoctrination and conformity with Confucian patriarchal social norms and state orthodoxy at the expense of sociopolitical tolerance, creative thinking, and diversity. These authoritarian and monistic tendencies were not conducive to educating the young to adapt to the social realities of a modern democratic society (Lee 1988b, 4–7).

As a cultural legacy of Confucianism's ascription of women's traditional roles as managers of the household and good mothers, wives, and daughters-in-law in the domestic realm, the textbooks anachronistically depicted men and women as conforming to these traditionally ascribed gender roles: Women were primarily depicted as good mothers and wives who handled all the household responsibilities, whereas men were the breadwinners and successful professionals outside the home. Similar to Mead's depiction of the tension between an American working wife and the traditional gender-role expectations of her husband in the 1930s, most male children in Taiwan during the 1980s were still socialized to expect their wives to do all the housework. This anachronistic expectation intensified many women's double burden during the time when one-third of the adult female population worked full-time outside the home in Taiwan's newly industrialized economy. In order to realize Lu Hsiu-lien's vision of cooperative home economics, Lee demanded that social studies textbooks emphasize the sharing of housework by the male and female members of a family. In this way, children of both genders would be taught from an early age to consider housework as men's and women's shared responsibility (Lee 1988b, 4–7).

Lee advocated that the textbooks' contents should include professional women's contributions to various occupational endeavors. In this way, male students could learn to respect their female colleagues and female students would have professional role models. Like Mead, Lee conceived of an educational experience that would foster the freedom of expressing one's individual personality rather than conforming to the socially imposed gender roles. To this end, Lee advocated that the Ministry of Education should offer seminars for both male and female teachers to transform their gender-bias attitudes and their traditional acceptance of authoritarian indoctrination (Lee 1988b, 4–7; Lee 2000, 9).

After nearly a decade of advocacy by a coalition of feminist activists, educational reformers, and parents' groups, the National Institute of Compilation and Translation in 1996 ended five decades of monopolizing the compilation and editing of elementary school textbooks. In the spirit of

democratic pluralism, the Taiwanese government welcomed various commercial presses to compile and publish elementary school textbooks. In the following year, the Ministry of Education established the Council for Gender-Equity Education. The Council's mission was to promote gender egalitarian education in every level of the national education system. Revisions of textbooks to eliminate gender biases were underway. On the elementary school level, teachers were given greater autonomy to choose textbooks that promote gender equity in the family and the society. In the 1997 edition of middle school textbooks entitled *Renshi Taiwan* (Getting to know Taiwan), the book on society devoted a section to the discussion of postwar Taiwan's autonomous women's movement (Lee 2000, 8–9).

Based on the proposed draft bill of Taipei's feminist lawyers and educators, Taiwan's legislature passed the Gender-Equity Education Act in 2004. The law stipulated that a gender-equity curriculum should be integrated into students' learning experiences from kindergarten to the twelfth grade. Every university and college in Taiwan should offer courses in gender studies. The law prohibited discrimination against pregnant women and girls and any prejudicial treatment based on a person's sexual orientation in the school system. Also, the Act stipulated the creation of a Gender-Equity Education Committee in the Ministry of Education, in every city and county government and in every school and university in Taiwan, mandating that at least half of all members in each Committee would be women. The Gender-Equity Education Committee in every level of government and school is in charge of formulating and implementing gender-equity policies and coordinating gender-equity curriculum. The Committee in each school is also vested with the power and responsibility to investigate cases of sexual assault and sexual harassment on campus and to recommend appropriate punishment for offenders based on legal stipulations. In addition to the creation of Gender-Equity Education Committee, the Act stipulated the establishment of a Faculty Evaluation Committee and a Grievance Review Committee in every school and university in Taiwan. Each of these committees have at least one-third of its members of either gender (http://law.moj.gov.tw/Eng/Fnews).

In order to promote gender equity in employment, several feminist lawyers from *Awakening* authored the first draft bill for gender equality in employment in 1989. After twelve years of ongoing dialogue between the feminist lawyers, government officials, and legislators, the final draft bill of the Gender Equality in Employment Act passed the Legislative Yuan in 2001. The law stipulates that a parent of either gender is eligible to apply for a leave of absence from work for no more than two years to care for a child three years of age or younger. In order to lighten the employers' financial burden, the government promises to absorb the cost of a parent's insurance policy during an employee's leave of absence from work to care

for a child. Lastly, the Act obliges companies with more than 250 employees to establish childcare facilities with the aid of government subsidies (*Min Sheng Daily* 2001; *Taipei Times* 2001).

In addition to the legislative achievement, Taiwanese women also made great strides in the political arena. In the presidential election of 2000, most feminists supported the nomination by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) of Hsiu-lien Annette Lu as the vice presidential running mate of Ch'en Shui-bian, the former mayor of Taipei. The feminist community's support for Lu could be attributed to her stature as the pioneer feminist of postwar Taiwan and the DPP's concurrence with the feminists' demand for filling a quarter of all top cabinet posts with women. With the DPP's victory in the election of 2000, the opposition party replaced the Chinese Nationalists as the ruling party for the first time in fifty years. Lu also became Taiwan's first woman vice president (2000–08).

In conclusion, Taiwan's nascent democracy provides a forum for feminist activists to advocate for women's rights and to translate their vision into gender-equity legislations. Despite the controversy over Mead's research findings in the English-speaking world, Yang Mei-hui's annotated summary made a profound impact on transmitting the main arguments in Mead's *Sex and Temperament* to the Chinese-speaking audience. From the Chinese summary of Mead's work, Taiwanese feminists realized that both men and women should choose their occupations based on their innate gifts and aptitudes, rather than settling for vocations and societal roles based on their gender identities. Thus, feminists in Taiwan applied Mead's concept of cultural relativism of socially constructed gender to subvert the rigid gender roles in Taiwanese society. In so doing, they facilitated Taiwanese women's self-determination in a nascent democratic society.

Acknowledgments

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Note

1. Written in 1973, the first edition of *New Feminism* was published in 1974. According to Lu, the 1977 edition and the 1986 edition were identical in content. Since the 1977 and 1986 versions were more comprehensive in its coverage of Lu's ideas than the 1974 edition, I use the 1977 and 1986 versions.

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