

The Intersections between Gender, Biological Sex and Sexual Orientation:  
Taiwanese Heterosexual Female Secondary School Teacher's Constructions of  
Masculinity and Femininity

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## Abstract

This study explored Taiwanese heterosexual female junior high school teachers' constructions of gender and the intersections among gender, biological sex, sexual orientation, and other personal identities in Taiwan. While in the reviewed Taiwanese literature there are hegemonic links between masculinity and maleness and masculinity and heterosexuality, this study considered that masculinity is not necessarily situated in male bodies and femininity is not necessarily situated in female bodies. This study employed Feminist Social Constructionism (FSC) and the Multicultural and Gender Case Conceptual model as two epistemologies. Qualitative methodology was utilized and semi-structured interviews with heterosexual women were conducted to collect research data. Once data collection was complete, interpretative phenomenological analysis was employed for data analysis. Participants were 13 heterosexual female teachers who were between the ages of 27 and 46. The results indicated that there is a rigid association among biological sex, gender, and sexual orientation. Additionally, negative consequences occurred to the individuals who do not conform to such link. An analysis of intersectionality presented the associations among gender, biological sex, sexual orientation, and other personal identities at an individual and social cultural level. A FSC discourse analysis was offered to demonstrate the disparity between the notion of gender equity (central to the Gender Equity Education Act) and Taiwanese sociocultural values (i.e., patrilineal, male-centeredness, and heteronormativity). Additionally, the FSC discourse analysis showed participants' negotiation of this tension resulted in developing strategic plans to implement gender policy. This study also discussed the implications for future research on both educational practice and gender.

*Keywords:* intersections, biological sex, sexual orientation, heterosexual women, Taiwan

## Résumé

Cette étude a exploré les constructions des genres féminin et masculin, ainsi que les intersections entre les sexes, le sexe biologique, l'orientation sexuelle et d'autres identités personnelles à Taiwan des enseignantes hétérosexuelles taïwanais au niveau de l'école secondaire de premier cycle. Cette étude a estimé que la masculinité ni la féminité ne sont nécessairement situées dans le corps des mâles ou femmes. L'étude a employé les modèles de Feminist Social Constructionism (FSC) et de Multicultural and Gender Case conceptuel (MGCC) comme deux épistémologies. Afin de recueillir des données de recherche, des entrevues semi-structurées avec des enseignantes hétérosexuelles ont été menées en utilisant la méthode qualitative. Une fois que la collecte des données était terminée, l'analyse phénoménologique interprétative a été utilisée pour l'analyse des données. L'étude a utilisé 13 enseignantes hétérosexuelles au niveau de l'école secondaire de premier cycle qui étaient entre les âges de 27 et 46. Les résultats indiquent qu'il existe une association rigide entre le sexe biologique, le sexe et l'orientation sexuelle. En outre, les conséquences négatives se sont produites aux personnes qui ne se conforment pas à cette liaison. Une analyse de l'intersectionnalité a présenté les associations entre genre, le sexe biologique, l'orientation sexuelle, et d'autres identités personnelles à un niveau individuel et culturel social. Une analyse du discours FSC a été offert pour démontrer la disparité entre l'idée de l'égalité des sexes et des valeurs socioculturelles taïwanais (c.-à- patrilinéaire, mâle-centrisme et l'hétéronormativité). En outre, l'analyse du discours de FSC a montré que les négociations de cette tension des participants a abouti à l'élaboration des plans stratégiques pour mettre en œuvre la politique du genre. Cette étude a également examiné les implications pour la pratique de l'éducation, la formation des enseignants, la formation en counseling, et de la recherche future.

*Mots-clés:* intersections, sexe, orientation sexuelle, enseignantes hétérosexuelles, Taiwan



## 中文摘要

本研究鎖定國民中學異性戀女性教師，探討如何以生理性別、社會性別、性傾向之命名，理解其身處台灣社會文化脈絡之於個人的意涵，以及對於此三概念交織串連的看法。有別於當前性別相關文獻多將男性氣概之意涵逕與異性戀生理男性勾連；本研究定義男性氣概並非僅限生理男性所能展現，同理，陰柔特質也非僅由生理女性展演。本研究之知識論為女性主義社會建構論（Feminist Social Constructionism, FSC）與多元文化與性別個案概念化模式（Multicultural and Gender Case Conceptualization Model, MGCC），遵循質性研究方法論，使用半結構訪談法搜集研究資料，再以詮釋現象學分析法（Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, IPA）進行分析。研究參與者為 13 位國民中學女性教師，年齡區間為 27-46 歲，性傾向認同為異性戀。研究結果指出，研究參與者觀察到校園與其家庭仍充斥著生理性別、社會性別與性傾向的僵固關聯（例如：身處大環境之生理男性，依然接收到展現傳統男性氣概的期待，未表示其性傾向認同之生理男性，往往受到他人逕行認定為異性戀者），當個體未依循此關聯生存，則可能歷經不斷受到試探、不友善對待（如：遭受霸凌、嘲笑或批評）等歷程。研究討論使用交織分析，進一步理解此三概念與社會文化價值之關聯；論述分析則呈現性別平等概念與台灣社會文化價值之間的張力，而異性戀女性教師如何在張力當中與個己/他人協商，並發展具策略意向且適合其教學現場脈絡，落實性別平等教育法之教育實務。最後，研究者針對教學實務、師資培育、諮商心理教育訓練與未來研究提出具體建議。

**關鍵字：**交織、社會性別、性傾向、國民中學異性戀女性教師、台灣

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### Background

The feminist movement in Taiwan in the 1970s sparked a conversation about gender that has become an important topic of discussion. This movement has played an essential role in ensuring that the terms *biological sex* and *gender* are differentiated as before this movement, these two terms were used interchangeably in Chinese, which resulted in confusion (Lou, 1999). Additionally, gender studies, specifically masculinity studies, emerged as a field of study that is a byproduct of the feminist movement (Y. K. Wang, 1996, 2007). Masculinity studies in Taiwan predominantly focus on heterosexual men's masculinity; conceptualizing masculinity as being solely situated in the male body. Thus, the scholarship of masculinity studies has the potential of reproducing men's power and privilege by associating masculinity with male physiology. Accordingly, this rigid association limits and marginalizes the expression of female masculinity.

S. C. Lee (2009) suggested that the fourth stage of the feminist movement, which started in the 1990s, is policymaking. Some policies that protect women's rights and safety could be seen as millstones that directly challenge traditional sociocultural values in Taiwan, such as patriarchy and heteronormativity (Laws & Regulations Database of Taiwan, 2012a). Additionally, when the Taiwanese government enacted the Gender Equity Education Act in 2004 (Laws & Regulations Database of Taiwan, 2012b), Taiwan became the first country in Asia to have a national policy that addresses gender equity in schools. This piece of legislation focuses on ensuring that education regarding gender equity is provided to students, teachers, and staff members. One of the policy statements declares that schools have to provide at least four lecture hours each semester focused on the topic of gender equity in order to develop and foster a greater understanding of gender equity in students and teachers.

Several quantitative studies have shown that the integration of gender equity into curricula that came with the implementation of the Gender Equity Education Act led students to develop greater understandings of gender equality compared to the level of comprehension they had prior to receiving gender equity education (e.g., M. L. Chang, 2004). Despite the positive impact of this Act on students' learning, school bullying due to atypical gender expression is still highly prevalent, particularly in junior high school (e.g., J. H. Chang & Yang, 2010).

Additionally, a number of studies have indicated that teachers in junior high school still hold traditional perspectives on gender. For example, P. C. Chen (2012) suggested that females still are expected to express their femininity. As well, S. H. Chen's (2007) results demonstrated that school environments are not supportive of the promotion of female teachers. As such, although female teachers comprise the majority of school staff, studies have shown that they have not experienced comparable social power in school (H. J. Lee, 2002). As a result, there is a gap in the implementation of the Act between the positive influence on students' learning of gender equity and the oppressive climate for female teachers in schools. Given the aforementioned contradictions a close examination of the implementation of the Act in junior high school is warranted.

### **Research Rationale and Purposes**

Although the Gender Equity Education Act was enacted in Taiwan in 2004, bullying and discrimination based on alternative gender expression continues to occur in schools. Considering that these forms of discrimination still exist despite this Act, it is critical to explore teachers' understandings of gender in order to identify potential barriers to effective implementation of the Act in schools.

Additionally, although several studies have been conducted to investigate students'

comprehension of gender equity, there has been little attention paid to teachers' interpretation and understandings of gender equity and the Gender Equity Education Act, particularly among heterosexual female teachers. As well, there has been little research into how female teachers fully implement this Act, in a society that emphasizes hetero-normative, patrilineal and patriarchy values.

To address the aforementioned gaps, this study aimed to explore Taiwanese heterosexual female junior high school teachers' constructions of gender and understandings of the intersections between gender, biological sex, sexual orientation, and other personal identities in the contexts of school and family. A secondary purpose of the study is to investigate the ways in which, heterosexual female teachers have implemented the Gender Equity Education Act, in a context wherein the idea of gender equity directly contradicts and confronts Taiwanese sociocultural values.

### **Research Questions**

In light of the research rationale and purposes, the overarching research questions were as follows: (a) How do Taiwanese heterosexual female junior school teachers understand the intersections of gender, biological sex, sexual orientation, and personal identities in Taiwanese society? (b) What outcomes do Taiwanese heterosexual female junior school teachers perceive of gender expressions that are not linked to biological sex? (c) What informs Taiwanese heterosexual female junior school teachers' educational practices and their personal lives in terms of outcomes of unmet gender expression that they observe and experience?

### **Epistemologies**

Feminist Social Constructionist (FSC) epistemology has four assumptions: (a) multiple social realities exist; (b) knowledge is co-constructed; (c) oppression exists; (d) gender is a verb

(DiPalma & Ferguson, 2006; Gergen, 1985; Sprague, 2005). In the context of this research, FSC allowed the researcher to explore heterosexual female teachers' constructions of gender, gender equity, and the Gender Equity Education Act. In addition, the anti-oppressive stance of FSC acknowledges the oppressive situation (e.g., in school and family contexts) wherein female teachers encounter traditional gender expectations; this recognition allowed for a further investigation into how female teachers interact with the Act.

The second epistemology employed in this study was that of Multicultural and Gender Case Conceptualization (Sinacore, 1995, 2011). This epistemology highlights the intersections between biological sex, gender, and sexual orientation as well as the relationship between these identities and socio-cultural contexts. That is, MGCC provided the researcher with an intersectional framework to delineate how female teachers interact with Taiwanese sociocultural values and to describe how those interactions influence the implementation of the Act in the contexts of their teaching.

In the context of this study, the application of FSC epistemology (e.g., DiPalma & Ferguson, 2006) corresponds well with the MGCC model (Sinacore, 1995, 2011), as there are similarities between the two epistemologies. Both the FSC epistemology and the MGCC model highlight that identities are not static but are shaped by interactions with sociocultural contexts. In particular, these two epistemologies consider gender as a dynamic construct rather than a fixed psychological trait. Additionally, the FSC epistemology and the MGCC model acknowledge multiple realities and diversity, thereby allowing the researcher to explore the impact of understandings of gender, sex, and sexual orientation on female teachers' educational practice and personal lives.

### **Methodology**

The researcher determined that a qualitative methodology would be appropriate for an investigation of Taiwanese female teachers' understandings of biological sex, gender, and sexual orientation within a Taiwanese context. In particular, the phenomenological approach was considered well-suited for data analysis, as this approach allows the researcher to gather in-depth descriptions of human lived experiences (Creswell, 2007). The phenomenological approach has been employed in the fields of counselling psychology and education to understand a specific phenomenon through exploring the common themes of people's lived experiences (e.g., Wertz, 2005).

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was utilized for data analysis (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009; Smith & Osborn, 2008), as IPA allows researchers to firstly understand participants' experiences and then situate these experiences within a sociocultural context for deeper understanding. By employing IPA for data analysis, the researcher was able to delineate Taiwanese female teachers' common experiences related to gender and to offer contextual interpretations of their experiences through incorporating Taiwanese sociocultural values.

### **Significance of the Study**

The study emphasized that essentialist understandings of sex, gender, and sexual orientation have been pervasive in the context of school and family. Additionally, an intersectional and FSC discourse analysis indicated that Taiwanese sociocultural values perpetuate biology-based understandings of sex, gender, and sexual orientation.

Also of importance, this study highlighted the fact that the Gender Equity Education Act directly confronts Taiwanese sociocultural values in school and family contexts. As such, heterosexual female teachers implemented this Act in a double-bind situation, where they were



required to deliver the idea of gender equity to students but they were expected to conform to traditional sociocultural values. Therefore, this study demonstrated that implementing the Act does not necessarily bring about societal change.

As well, the study shed light on how female teachers negotiate the tension between the policy constructs and sociocultural values. In response to this tension, female teachers developed strategic approaches to delivering the idea of gender equity to their students in order to bring about gradual changes that would not be viewed as extreme and provocative. In sum, the study provided important understandings of female teachers' implementation of the Act in school and how the idea of gender equity influenced their personal lives by juxtaposing the personal identities (e.g., sex, gender, and sexual orientation), the Act, against sociocultural values.

### **Organization of the Dissertation**

The dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter Two introduces a brief sociocultural background, including the history, sociocultural values, and feminist movement in Taiwan. A literature review on gender studies and masculinity studies is also presented. Furthermore, an overview of the Gender Equity Education Act and expectations for its implementation is provided.

In Chapter Three, Research Methods, the two epistemologies employed, namely Feminist Social Constructionism (FSC) and Multicultural and Gender Case Conceptualization (MGCC) model, are discussed, and an explanation is provided regarding their integration. The second section of Chapter Three presents the Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis, which was utilized for data analysis, with a review of the research procedures employed.

The research results are presented in Chapter Four and organized into the following six sub-sections: (a) gender expectations as determined by biological sex; (b) consequences of not

meeting these expectations; (c) expectations and consequences for teachers as determined by biological sex; (d) participants' gender expression and gender roles; (e) sexual orientation; (f) the implementation of the Gender Equity Education Act.

Finally, in Chapter Five, key findings of the study are discussed by employing MGCC and FSC epistemology. That is, an analysis of intersectionality and discourses is presented followed by the strengths and limitations of the study. In conclusion, the implications of the finding regarding educational practice, teacher education, counselling training, and future research are offered.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Introduction**

This chapter reviews the current social science literature on the topic of gender, in particular masculinity, in Taiwan. As such, a specific body of literature was located in the fields of sociology, gender studies, psychology (including counselling psychology), social work, education, history, and communication studies conducted in Taiwan. The search resulted in identifying 47 master's theses and two doctoral dissertations on the topic of masculinity; however, 11 of these documents were not available in full-text form. Therefore, the body of literature in this discussion incorporates the available 38 documents. Additionally, 12 journal articles, including three articles written in English, and one book chapter were incorporated into the body of literature for this review. Finally, the bibliography of each paper was examined to ensure an exhaustive literature search for this review. Thus, the complete search resulted in identifying 51 studies that comprised of 38 theses, 12 journal articles, and one book chapter that serve as the body of literature reviewed in this chapter.

This chapter is structured as follows. First, the ways in which two terms, Taiwanese and Chinese, are used in this research project will be discussed. Given that this study was conducted in Taiwan, a brief history and description of the socio-cultural context of Taiwan will be introduced. Additionally, a history of studies on masculinity in Taiwan will be presented. The terminology used in this study will be defined, followed by a section describing masculinity in Taiwan. Moreover, theories of masculinity employed in the reviewed literature on masculinity will be presented. Further, expressions of masculinity in Taiwan and consequences of masculinity will be outlined, followed by a discussion of gender equity education in Taiwanese junior high schools. The strengths and limitations of the reviewed literature will be delineated.

Finally, the research rationale, research questions, and researcher's assumptions will be presented.

### **Defining the Terms Taiwanese and Chinese**

Given that this proposed research project will examine the definition of masculinity in Taiwan, the terms Taiwanese and Chinese will be employed to describe the socio-cultural contexts throughout the project. These two terms, Taiwanese and Chinese, are often used interchangeably, which causes confusion. To achieve clarity throughout this discussion, it is important to define the ways in which the researcher will utilize these two terms. As such, for the purpose of the present study, Taiwanese refers to a nationality and to the related locality of Taiwan, whereas Chinese defines an ethnicity, a language, and a set of cultural values.

#### **Taiwanese: Nationality and Locality**

The term Taiwanese will be employed to describe an individual's nationality. That is, people who are Taiwanese identify their nationality as being from Taiwan. Technically speaking, for the nationality of an individual to be legally Taiwanese, he or she must hold a Taiwanese identification card issued by the Taiwanese government. In addition to nationality, in this study the term Taiwanese is used to illustrate locality. Additionally, the terms Taiwanese researchers and scholars refer to individuals who are Taiwanese and who conducted their research in Taiwan.

#### **Chinese: Ethnicity, Language, and Cultural Values**

For the purpose of this study, the term Chinese will be utilized to describe an individual's ethnicity, language, and set of cultural values. With regard to ethnicity, the term Chinese refers to individuals who ethnically self-identify as Chinese. To date, the majority of ethnically Chinese people who live in Taiwan are known as the Han Chinese, which refers to their ethnic

origin within ancient China (Liao, 1999). It is important to note that *Chinese* is a broad ethnic category, as there are several subgroups within the Chinese population in Taiwan. For example, in Taiwan, Hakka is one of different sub-ethnic groups of the Han Chinese people.

The term Chinese will also be used to refer to the Chinese language. Similar to ethnic diversity within a group of Chinese people in Taiwan, there are several dialects of the Chinese language. For instance, Hoklo is widely used in Taiwan and is considered one of the dialects of the Chinese language. Further, the Chinese language is the only official language in Taiwan (M. H. Lin, 2009).

Moreover, in this research project the term Chinese is used to also indicate cultural values that are a part of Chinese culture. Thus, given that Taiwanese people originate from China, it is inevitable that they have been influenced historically by traditional Chinese culture.

Specifically, the ideologies of Confucianism and Taoism have been the two most important schools of philosophy within Chinese culture in Taiwan. Beliefs related to education and filial piety, which are essential to the ideals of Confucianism, and respect for the natural environment, which is key to Taoism, have impacted Taiwan (K. K. Hwang, 2000, 2001).

### **A Brief History and the Socio-cultural Contexts of Taiwan**

#### **Brief History of Taiwan**

Taiwan is an independently self-governed country in East Asia that has a total territorial area of 36,192 km<sup>2</sup> (Taiwanese Department of Statistics, Ministry of the Interior, 2012). The current administrative divisions of Taiwan are comprised of five special municipalities, 15 counties, and three cities.

Before Taiwan became an independent, self-governed country, it had a long colonial history. Starting in the 17th century, the Dutch and the Spanish colonized Taiwan for their

commercial interests (M. H. Lin, 2009). In 1662, the General of the Ming Dynasty, Cheng Chen-gong, arrived in Taiwan and defeated the Dutch. After being ruled by Cheng's forces, Taiwan became a territory of the Qing Dynasty in 1683 (F. M. Chen, 2011). In the late 19th century, Japan defeated the Qing Dynasty in the Sino-Japanese War and colonized Taiwan for 50 years from 1895 to 1945. In 1945, during the Chinese Civil War, Chiang Kai-shek, who was the leader of the Kuomintang (KMT) political party in China, fled to Taiwan from China, took rule, and governed Taiwan, transferring all of his governance from China to Taiwan. Consequently, the KMT became the dominant political party in Taiwan and Chiang Kai-shek became the first president of Taiwan; he began ruling the island independently from the nascent communist government established in China. Subsequently, Chiang Ching-kuo, Chiang Kai-shek's son, served as Taiwan's president from 1978 to 1988. During the period of Chiang Ching-kuo's governance, Taiwan developed into a democratic and liberal country after martial law was lifted in 1987 (S. C. Lee, 2011; Liao, 1999). This history of colonization has led to the current cultural diversity in Taiwan.

According to the Ministry of the Interior of the Taiwanese Department of Statistics (2012), the population of Taiwan was 23,252,392 as of 2012. The population is comprised of Han Chinese; indigenous Taiwanese; and immigrants from Southeast Asian countries, including Vietnam and Indonesia (M. H. Lin, 2009). More specifically, the Han Chinese make up 97% of the population (F. C. Hsu & H. M. Chen, 2004). The Han Chinese population hailed from two waves of mass immigration from China. The first wave was when Hoklo and Hakka people immigrated from China during the Ming dynasty, and the second wave of immigrants was a result of the Han Chinese coming to Taiwan in the 1940s during the Chinese Civil War.

The indigenous people of Taiwan constitute 2% of the population. There are approximately 22 tribes of aboriginal people, who mainly live in the eastern plains and the mountains of Taiwan (F. C. Hsu & H. M. Chen, 2004). It is important to note that the present classification of indigenous peoples of Taiwan is not inclusive, as some aboriginal tribes are not recognized by the Taiwanese government. Finally, immigrants from Southeast Asia currently comprise approximately 1% of the population (M. H. Lin, 2009).

### **Socio-cultural Values in Taiwan**

Confucianism has been recognized as the most influential and important cultural value system in Taiwanese society (K. K. Hwang, 1999, 2000, 2001; K. K. Hwang & Chang, 2009). Confucianism is a philosophical system that primarily outlines ethical rules and guides people in how to live and have appropriate interactions with other people and the environment. K. K. Hwang (2001) suggested the five interconnected components of Confucianism: the conception of destiny, a model of mind, ethics for ordinary people, practical methods of self-cultivation, and ethics for scholars. Each component will be introduced as follows.

The conception of destiny can be understood as the relationship between people and the environment. Confucianism considers that destiny is decided by God and the law of nature and that people cannot change their destiny; rather they can transcend their destiny by practicing ethics. To this end, K. K. Hwang (2001, 2005) indicated that a model of mind, which constitutes the Confucian ethical system, is composed of benevolence (*ren*), righteousness, (*yi*), and propriety (*li*). The mind of benevolence (*ren*) is key to Confucian ethical practices and guides the arrangement of social relationships. That is, the mind of benevolence (*ren*) refers to obeying the social order according to different roles, such as between father and son, husband and wife, and a sovereign and subordinates. Specifically, Mencius, a Confucian scholar, considered that

righteousness (*yi*) is the way to practice benevolence (*ren*) and righteousness (*yi*) should start within the family (e.g., by taking care of one's parents) and then extend to other social situations (K. K. Hwang, 2000, 2005). In Ancient China, propriety (*li*) referred to religious etiquette, although it has lost this religious association. However, in modern Taiwanese society, propriety (*li*) refers to appropriate manners that follow social norms.

With regard to the social norms for ordinary people, Confucian ethics offers guidelines for social interaction through which people can navigate their interactions with others by recognizing two dimensions of relationships, namely, intimacy/distance and superiority/inferiority. Through the intimacy/distance dimension people can assess the closeness of a relationship whereas the superiority/inferiority dimension refers to the relative authority of subordinates between the people who are interacting. By judging how close the relationship is and the person as superior or subordinate, people are able to position themselves in the social interaction. By doing so, ordinary people are able to use the social order to make appropriate responses.

Further to this point, Confucianism identified five fundamental social relationships, called the five cardinal relationships (*wu lun*): father and son, sovereign and subordinates, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother, and friends. Among these five relationships, Confucianism considered father and son as well as sovereign and subordinates as the important starting points to practice ethics. As such, Confucianism believed that the relationship between father and son is intimate according to the intimacy/distance dimension and that the father is superior to the son according to the superior/inferior dimension. Thus, Confucianism suggested that the son needs to practice benevolence (*ren*) to the father by



expressing affection as well as respect. In particular, it is very important for the son to practice filial piety to the father (K. K. Hwang, 1999).

However, the relationship between sovereign and subordinate is not intimate and the sovereign is superior to the subordinate. Therefore, subordinates are required to express their respect to their sovereign, which is considered a way of practicing righteousness (*yi*). As well, one way for subordinates to practice righteousness (*yi*) is by being loyal (K. K. Hwang, 1999).

Additionally, the process of practice in the abovementioned Confucian ethics can be viewed as self-cultivation (K. K. Hwang, 1999). Confucianism advocated that people practice self-cultivation through the Way of Humanity (*ren dao*). As a result, they will be able to realize their destiny, which is assigned by the God. Confucians considered that the process of self-cultivation requires people to practice benevolence (*ren*)-righteousness (*yi*)-propriety (*li*) in the abovementioned five cardinal relationships. As such, the process of self-cultivation explained that “fondness for learning leads to wisdom, vigorous practice leads to benevolence, sensitivity to shame leads to courage” (K. K. Hwang, 2001, pp. 193-195). Thus, Confucius emphasized the importance of being enthusiastic about learning from everyone. In particular, Confucius taught his students to not be ashamed to learn from those who are inferior to them. Additionally, Confucius stated that it is also important to apply what one learns in one’s life. Further, Confucius suggested that people should be ashamed when they stray from the path of the Way of Humanity, for when everyone practices self-cultivation in their family and community through the Way of Humanity, harmony of the society results.

Finally, Confucius stated that scholars have to assume more social responsibility and enact higher standard of ethics as they are at a higher social order and are expected to contribute to the world through the Way of Humanity. As such, scholars are considered to have committed

to the Way of Humanity, meaning that they have to be cautious and remind themselves to practice every moment in their life. In addition, scholars are expected to practice the Way of Humanity when they serve their sovereign.

Given these ethical rules, the system of patrilineal society operates by the aforementioned five interrelated parts of Confucianism. Specifically, within the five cardinal relationships, the father and son, and husband and wife are the key relationships because they are the core elements of building a family. In the 1940s, Taiwan was an agricultural society and extended families were the popular family structure since physical work was highly demanding and farming was a family business. However, when Taiwan shifted into an industrial society, the nuclear and stem family became the major family structures (Chu & Chang, 2001). K. K. Hwang (1995) conducted a quantitative study to examine the degree of importance of Confucian values to undergraduate students and people of their parents' generation despite the change in family structure. The results indicated that compared to those who were in the older generation, the undergraduate students reported that traditional cultural values, which denote suppression (such as having a child for the sake of filial piety), were less important for them. However, there were some cultural values on which the undergraduate students and members of the older generation reported placing the same degree of importance, such as having a loving family and having harmony within the family. Therefore, in the context of a social transformation, people have not abandoned Confucian values; rather, Confucian values that are oppressive are less important for the younger generation, whereas the fundamental Confucian values are still embraced by both the younger and older generation.

To conclude, given the colonial history and social transformation in Taiwan, the current socio-economic-political context in Taiwan is different than ancient that of China, where

Confucianism developed. However, Confucian and cultural values are deeply ingrained in Taiwanese society. In addition, the recent feminist movements have contributed a wave of advocacy for equity, which will be further discussed in the next section. In this way, as K. K. Hwang (2011) indicated, the socio-cultural values in Taiwan can be conceptualized as “the coexistence of modernity and traditionalism.” (p. 33)

### **Scholarship History of Studies on Masculinity**

Masculinity studies in Taiwan emerged out of, and were influenced by, the local feminist movement. Thus, in this section the feminist movement in Taiwan will be reviewed first, followed by a presentation of the emergence of the field of masculinity studies.

#### **The Feminist Movement in Taiwan**

The feminist movement in Taiwan started in the 1970s as an extension of lessons learned from the feminist movement in the United States a decade before. As a result, gender became an important topic of discussion. According to S. C. Lee (2009), there were four stages of the feminist movement in Taiwan. First, in 1974, Hsiu-Lien Lu, a Taiwanese female activist for women’s rights, published *The New Feminism*, which was, and has continued to be, prominent feminist writing. In Lu’s book, the following three perspectives, which inspired feminist scholars and activists, were emphasized: “being a human being first, then being a man or a woman,” “looking like who you are,” and “making the most of your potential” (S. C. Lee, 2009, p. 50). Second, in 1982, the launch of *Awakening*, the first feminist magazine in Taiwan, created more space for feminists to demonstrate their ideas about women’s rights and gender equality. Third, more feminist organizations were founded, such as the Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association (TFSA), after the Taiwanese government lifted martial law in 1987.

The fourth stage of women's movement in Taiwan is during the 1990s whereby more advocacy organizations were established and policies were enacted (S. C. Lee, 2009). In 1996, Wan-Ru Peng, a feminist politician and activist who advocated for women's safety and political participation, was raped and murdered. This murder urged the Taiwanese government to respond to the lack of respect and safety experienced by women. In 1997, the Taiwanese government enacted the Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Act (Laws & Regulations Database of Taiwan, 2012a) in response to women's safety issues. In the same year, the Ministry of Education organized the Two Sexes Equity Education Committee to promote equity between women and men, which was an important basis of the Gender Equity Education Act. This act, legislated in 2004, requires that each level of school provide gender equity education to students (Laws & Regulations Database of Taiwan, 2012b).

Throughout the beginning of the 21st century, the feminist movement created a new era of informed policymaking, as seen in the Gender Equity Education Act, which was one of the most significant national policies that addressed gender, and the renaming of the former Sexes Equity Education Committee of the Ministry of Education to the Gender Equity Education Committee. As demonstrated in its title, the Gender Equity Education Act focused on ensuring that education about gender equity is provided to students, teachers, and staff members. One of the policy statements is that schools have to provide at least four lecture hours focused on the topic of gender equity each semester in order to provide students and teachers with greater understandings of gender equity.

The success of these policy-related shifts was enabled in part by Hsiu-Lien Lu, who served as the first female vice-president of Taiwan from 2000 to 2008 and had led the first wave of the Taiwanese feminist movement. It should be noted that Taiwan was the first country in

Asia to have a policy that specifically addresses the topic of gender equity. One of the requirements of this progressive act is that gender equity be addressed in the school curricula at every level of education (Laws & Regulations Database of Taiwan, 2012b). For example, the act mandates four lecture hours per academic year on gender equity at every level in schools. In addition, in 2007 Taiwan acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and submitted the first CEDAW national report in 2009 (Gender Equality Committee of the Executive Yuan, 2014). Further, in 2011 the Taiwanese government announced the Enforcement Act of Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in order to legalize and implement CEDAW in Taiwan, which indicates the Taiwanese government is dedicated to advocate for equality between men and women (Laws & Regulations Database of Taiwan, 2014). Therefore, policy enactment and implementation is one of fruitful accomplishments of the feminist movement in Taiwan.

### **Emerging Field of Study: Research on Masculinity**

Learning from the feminist movement of the 1970s, studies about masculinity in Taiwan started in the 1990s. While allying with Taiwanese feminists to advocate for women's rights, male scholars recognized that for gender equity to be achieved, men would need to address their masculinity. As such, masculinity studies, referred to as men's studies, were developed in the discipline of sociology (Y. K. Wang, 1996, 2007). This topic continues to develop as an important field of study. For example, in 2010, the theme of the annual meeting of the Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association was Men's Studies and Boy's Studies (Taiwanese Feminist Scholars Association, 2010), demonstrating that men's studies is recognized in feminist studies and the social sciences. Yet, over time, masculinity studies have gradually separated from men's studies in order to emphasize that masculinity is socially constructed rather than

solely related to the biological male. In 2011, there was an inaugural conference on masculinity studies to specifically address research on masculinity in Taiwan (Kaohsiung Medical University, 2011).

### **Defining Terminology**

In this section, gender terms will be defined. Additionally, the definition of the term intersectionality will be outlined.

#### **Gender**

For the purposes of this discussion and based on feminist social constructionism, gender is defined as how people act rather than as people's characteristics (DiPalma & Ferguson, 2006; West & Zimmerman, 1987). That is, feminist social constructionists consider gender to be a verb, which recognizes that gender is performance-oriented (DiPalma & Ferguson, 2006; Riger, 1992; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Additionally, feminist social constructionists suggest that the construction of gender changes depending on different temporal, political, and cultural contexts (DiPalma & Ferguson, 2006; Johnson & Repta, 2011).

#### **Masculinity**

Throughout much of the literature, masculinity is defined as behavioral, emotional, cognitive expressions as well as other characteristics that are associated with men. However, some scholars have critiqued this definition because of its strict link between masculinity and male bodies (Halberstem, 1998; Noble, 2004). These scholars have proposed an alternative definition of masculinity that recognizes that masculinity is not necessarily associated with male bodies (Halberstem, 1998; Noble, 2004). In particular, Halberstem (1998) suggested that female masculinity refers to masculinity that is not situated in male physiologies. Thus, for the purpose

of this research project, masculinity will be viewed as a culturally specific construct that is not limited to male physiologies (Johnson & Repta, 2011; Kahn, 2009).

### **Femininity**

Some scholars suggest that, compared to masculinity, femininity is under-researched and less well-defined (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Schippers, 2007). Femininity is usually considered as the emotional, relational, and cognitive expressions as well as other characteristics that are associated with women in a given culture (Johnson & Repta, 2011; Kahn, 2009). Additionally, Connell (2009) pointed out that femininity is often viewed as subordinated to masculinity. Similar to the definition of masculinity, there is a link between femininity and female bodies that has been critiqued by gender studies researchers and feminists (Johnson & Repta, 2011). For example, Johnson and Repta (2011) stated that femininity is “not inherently attached to any particular bodies and instead is constructed and reproduced through individuals’ practices and behaviors in their everyday lives” (pp. 26-27). Thus, for the purpose of this study, the definition of femininity employed will not include a link between femininity and biological females.

### **Intersectionality**

For the purposes of this discussion and based on the Multicultural and Gender Case Conceptualization Model (MGCC), intersectionality is defined as “the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practice, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power” (Davis, 2008, p. 68). That is, intersectionality recognizes that oppression and inequality are impacted by the relations between different social identities rather than solely focusing on one social category.

The term intersectionality was originally suggested by a feminist legal scholar, Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), who pointed out the problematic single-axis framework that ignores the relationship between race and gender. Ever since Crenshaw's scholarly work, feminists of color have employed intersectionality to question the separation of gender from race and other personal identities, such as social economic status (Collins, 2002; Hawkesworth, 2006; Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006; Shields, 2008). Thus, the concept of intersectionality illuminates the complexity of double or multiple oppressions due to gender, race, and other personal identities.

### **Definitions of Gender in Taiwan**

In this section, the definition of gender in Taiwan will be discussed. To begin, how various terminologies (e.g., gender, masculinity, and femininity) are defined in the Chinese language will be presented. In particular, the ways in which masculinity is defined by several social groups in Taiwan will be outlined.

#### **Terminology in the Chinese Language**

**Gender.** Until the feminist movement in Taiwan in the 1970s, there was no Chinese word that corresponded to the English term gender. Prior to the 1970s, the only term in Chinese available was *xing bie*, the term for biological sex, which carries a biological meaning based on genitalia (Lou, 1999). Feminist scholars in Taiwan intended to expand the meanings of *xing bie* by incorporating the meaning of gender (Luo, 1999). However, in the Chinese language, using the same term, *xing bie*, to refer to both gender and sex is problematic. To clearly distinguish these two concepts, Taiwanese feminist scholars suggested that the term gender should be *she hui xing bie*, which literally means societal sex and is therefore consistent with a socially constructed definition of gender. Overall, the term gender has been developed in Taiwan based



on the social constructionism theory in North America, whereas the term sex is employed similarly in both the Chinese and English languages to mean biological sex.

**Masculinity.** Unlike English, in the Chinese language there is no corresponding word for the term masculinity. Thus, Taiwanese researchers developed two Chinese translations: *nan xing ci gai* and *yang gang te jhih*. *Nan xing ci gai* refers to men's social demeanors and *yang gang te jhih* means male traits of courage and boldness. These translations are somewhat controversial; that is, some researchers have disagreed with the first translation because *nan xing* refers to biological men, which implies that the concept of masculinity is compulsorily related to male physiology (Y. H. Wu, 2010; Yeh, 2011). Contrarily, T. W. Wang (2010) argued that the other Chinese translation, *yang gang*, reflects a stereotypical image of men, such as being muscular and physically strong. As such, he suggested that *nan xing ci gai* is a more appropriate translation than *yang gang te jhih*. Consequently, there is no agreement on the Chinese translation of the term masculinity, as a result this is challenging for scholars when communicating about the construct of masculinity in Taiwanese academic contexts.

**Femininity.** Similar to the lack of a specific term for masculinity in Taiwan, there is no corresponding Chinese word for the English term femininity. Thus, the translation of femininity in Chinese is *yin rou te jhih*, which refers to characteristics and traits associated with being tender, soft, and weak (You & Yi, 2002). Additionally, there is another translation, *nü xing te jhih*, which literally means a set of women's psychological and behavioral characteristics (You & Yi, 2002). As such, the meaning of femininity in the Chinese language is similar to the mainstream English definition, both of which indicate a link between femininity and biological females.

### **Masculinity Defined by Various Social Groups**

As previously discussed, it is challenging to define masculinity in Taiwan. As such, several researchers have paid attention to the meanings of masculinity and how these meanings are constructed by different social groups in Taiwan (e.g., Cheng, 2011; T. W. Wang, 2010). For example, Cheng (2011) conducted two focus groups that were comprised of participants of different sexes, education levels, and social economic statuses (SES) to explore their social perceptions of masculinity in Taiwan. Cheng (2011) reported that there are three critical turning points in regards to men's development of masculinity in Taiwan: military service, marriage, and having children. In particular, military service is viewed as a milestone during which men transform from being boys to being "real" men (Cheng, 2011, pp. 128-130, translated quote). Additionally, Cheng (2011) reported that men of different ages, ethnicities, educational levels, and SES have different types and expressions of masculinity because of different social contexts. That is, middle-class men consider mental health as part of masculinity as they have more time and financial resources available to take care of mental health concerns, whereas working-class men view physical health as an expression of masculinity because they make their living based on physical labor.

Additionally, Y.-W. Chen (2007) employed the methodology of participatory observation in two eighth-grade classes in two junior high schools and conducted interviews with 38 male junior high school students in order to investigate junior high school students' definitions of masculinity. Similar to Cheng's (2011) findings, Y. W. Chen (2007) reported that male junior high school students' definitions of masculinity vary based on their SES. That is, the students who came from middle-class backgrounds considered leadership as an important component of masculinity, whereas students who came from working-class backgrounds regarded physical

strength as a main part of masculinity. C. H. Yang (2010) conducted interviews with male senior high school students to examine masculinity in the context of senior high school. In contrast to the results in Cheng's (2011) and Y. W. Chen's (2007) studies, C. H. Yang (2010) reported that male senior high school students have more diverse and flexible definitions of masculinity. For example, male senior high school students considered that boys could be considerate and tender and were not required to be tough.

T. W. Wang (2010) interviewed five male undergraduate students to examine how masculinity is constructed in early adulthood. Applying discourse analysis, this researcher identified three dominant discourses that have an impact on young male adults' constructions of their masculinity: masculinities discourses, gender-related discourses, and socio-cultural discourses. More specifically, masculinities discourses refer to power, competence, and competition between young male adults. Gender-related discourses include the concepts of misogyny and heteronormativity that shape the masculinity of young male adults. Finally, socio-cultural discourses comprise the Western culture (e.g., individualism and capitalism), Chinese traditional values (e.g., filial piety and the importance of family), moral discourse, and academic discourse (e.g., learning queer and/or feminist theory from university courses).

Moreover, there are two studies wherein Taiwanese researchers applied their own definitions of masculinity (Ho, 2006; S. L. Hwang, 2003). In particular, in his study, Ho (2006) examined the relations between the labor movement and masculinity. Ho suggested that there are two types of masculinity in a labor union: militant masculinity and emasculated masculinity. In Ho's study, militant masculinity refers to certain labor unions that fight for pay equity for the employees, whereas emasculated masculinity indicates that some labor unions are obedient to the state enterprise and give up fighting for employee rights. Additionally, S. L. Hwang (2003)

investigated masculinity in the context of a specific phenomenon in business culture called flower drinking. In her study, S. L. Hwang explored masculinity as part of a process whereby men practice gender relations in a hostess club that provides alcohol and sexual services for men. As such, in S. L. Hwang's study of masculinity uncovered that men express power over female hostesses to increase their sense of masculinity.

Overall, definitions of masculinity vary depending on SES, education level, and age. However, the above definitions of masculinity are limited. That is, these definitions of masculinity have determined that masculinity is present only in male bodies and mainly focus on certain social groups, such as heterosexuals and the Han Chinese.

### **Theories of Gender**

Given the challenge of defining the concept of masculinity in Taiwan, it is important to have an understanding of the theories of gender, in particular masculinity, that have been applied in Taiwanese research. To begin, this study focuses on an understanding of gender that is informed by feminist social constructionism, which considers gender to be an action rather than a set of psychological characteristics. In this sense, Judith Butler's theory of gender will be first discussed followed by the *wen-wu* paradigm, the *yin-yang* theory, Connell's four types of masculinity, Clatterbaugh's theory of masculinity, Bourdieu's masculine domination, and Halberstam's theory of female masculinity. These theories of gender will be introduced below, and the studies that employed these theories will also be presented.

#### **Butler's Theory of Gender Identity**

Butler's theory developed under the influence of feminism, Foucault's theory of post-structuralism, and Derrida's deconstructionist theory (Salih, 2007). In contrast to the feminist perspective of biological sex and gender, Butler radically suggests that there is no separation

between biological sex and gender. Butler (1999) proposed that “gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being” (p. 25).

Additionally, Butler adopted Foucault’s ideas of punishment and discipline in that she believes individuals’ daily interactions and actions are conditioned by the dominant norms of heterosexuality. Moreover, Butler’s theory addresses linguistic components of gender identity, which draw from Derrida’s deconstructionist linguistic analysis, such as reiteration and repetition (Butler, 1988, 1999; Salih, 2007).

Butler’s theory centers the construct of gender within the context of dominant heterosexuality and considers gender as being socially constructed in repeated and various forms of compulsory daily interactions, such as texts, speech, and behaviors. A typical example of heteronormativity would be the reproduction of human beings as reproduction is conventionally considered to need a man and a woman to complete (Butler, 1988).

Butler suggests that the individual’s gender identity does not determine the specific behaviors they exhibit. Rather, individuals’ gender identity is shaped by enacting certain behaviors, which are regulated, conditioned, and prescribed by heteronormativity. In this case, Butler argues that individuals cannot subjectively shape or express gender identity; rather, individuals are unconsciously conditioned to perform gender by cultural and social norms of heteronormativity. Therefore, each individual’s gender identity is constructed by repeatedly perceiving messages and conducting ritual behaviors based on heteronormativity.

According to Butler’s arguments, even though gender is unconsciously performed, drag queens and drag kings, who are considered deviant, demonstrate a subversive way to challenge

gender. Therefore, given the fact that gender is unconsciously performed and can also be subverted, Butler suggested that gender is an unstable and flexible construct (Salih, 2007).

### ***Wen-wu* Paradigm**

In traditional Chinese culture, the *wen* (cultural attainment)-*wu* (martial valor) paradigm has been used to conceptualize masculinity (M. W. Huang, 2006; Louie, 2002; Song, 2004). More specifically, *wen* means that male elite should master the four arts: *qin* (a musical instrument), *qi* (a board game), *shu* (calligraphy), and *hua* (painting), whereas *wu* refers to men's physical strength and is manifested through armed conflict and the martial arts (Louie, 2002, 2003). Additionally, *wu* has the meaning of being a chivalrous and loyal swordsman. Thus, *wu* not only refers to physical attributes but also to the spirit of being a knight. Originally, the distinct concepts of *wen* and *wu* were valued equally in understandings of masculinity; however, the value of *wen* and *wu* have shifted in response to changes in political power and wars, as will be discussed below (Louie, 2002, 2003).

Within the *wen-wu* paradigm, *wen* was more highly valued in mainland China prior to the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) mainly because, at that time, Confucianism played an important role in the formation of understandings of Chinese masculinity and Confucianism places social value on education, which is close to the meaning of *wen* (Louie, 2002, 2003; Song, 2004), and intellectualism. Additionally, family values and patrilineage were addressed in Confucianism. For example, C. L. Wu (2011) reported that patrilineage, which refers to paternal bloodlines, is a principal component of representations of "ideal" masculinity. Thus, having a child who is related by "blood" is important for men to maintain their feelings of masculinity (C. L. Wu, 2011, p. 101).

Despite the greater value placed on *wen*, the evolution of Chinese people's concept of masculinity has also been related to political power shifts and armed conflicts. This concept has been particularly impacted by the Qing Dynasty, which was not founded by the Han Chinese but by the Tungusic people, who were formerly one of the nomadic vassals of the Ming Dynasty in an area of northeast China called the Manchu State (S. Y. Wang, 2011) and who valued *wu*, whereas the Han Chinese have historically been influenced by Confucianism and, as a result, placed greater value on *wen*. Therefore, when the Qing Dynasty took over political power from the Ming Dynasty, the Qing governors incorporated Confucianism into their chivalric lifestyle and beliefs (Louie, 2002, 2003). Under one of the Qing's policies related to incorporating the Manchu culture and the Han Chinese cultures into mainstream Chinese culture, the *wen* and *wu* were emphasized equally, which was a change from the previous emphasis on the *wen*. In addition to the impact of Qing's governance, the *wen*-oriented cultural values of masculinity were significantly challenged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century due to the influence of imperialism (mainly British) on China. At that time, the Western colonizers (i.e., the British) viewed Chinese men as "sick men of East Asia" because of their *wen*-oriented demeanor (S. Y. Wang, 2011, p. 21, translated quote). When the Chinese rebelled against colonization, Chinese men needed a stronger *wu* orientation to fight their enemies. S. Y. Wang (2011) reported that masculinity continued evolving from *wen* to *wu* after the war against Japan in 1933 and the Chinese Civil War in 1945 as men were required to be more *wu* in order to be effective in these wars.

A similar pattern to the evolution of *wen* and *wu* in China can be identified in Taiwan. S. L. Hwang (2007) suggested that *wen* is associated with men in Taiwan who have higher levels of education, whereas *wu* is associated with certain professions that demand physical labor, such as soldiers and police officers. Additionally, in the reviewed Taiwanese literature only one study

specifically employed the *wen-wu* paradigm (S. Y. Wang, 2011). S. Y. Wang (2011), who examined masculinity in the context of wars in mainland China and Taiwan, reported that military service and wars emphasize the concept of *wu* as an important part of masculinity.

### ***Yin-yang* Theory**

In addition to the *wen-wu* paradigm, the *yin-yang* theory also contributes to Chinese people's understandings of masculinity (Louie, 2002). To be more precise, Song (2004) suggested that "in ancient Chinese cosmology, the *yin* refers to darkness, the moon, cold, the private world, receptivity, passivity, and femininity; the *yang* is associated with light, the sun, heat, the public world, generative force, activity, and masculinity" (p. 47). That is to say, *yin* is in line with the notion of *wen* (e.g. femininity, feeble mindedness, and even physical weakness), whereas *yang* corresponds with the concept of *wu* meaning masculinity and physical power. Thus, in Taiwanese society, men are expected to exhibit perseverance and introspection, which represent the *yin* (*wen*) perspectives, whereas the compulsory military service for men represents the *yang* (*wu*) perspectives. Although they are considered to be distinct, it is important to note that *yin* and *yang* are recognized as relational, complementary, and dynamic rather than in opposition to each other (Song, 2004). As such, *yin-yang* theory emphasizes that both males and females have *yin* (*wen*) and *yang* (*wu*). Within the reviewed literature, *yin-yang* theory was not employed for Taiwanese research. Yet, as previously discussed, the Chinese translations of the term masculinity and femininity is *yang gang te jhih* and *yin rou te jhih*, respectively. Thus, even though *yin-yang* theory was not employed in the research, this theory was applied during the development of this terminology in the Chinese language.



**Connell: Four Types of Masculinities**

Connell (2005) suggested that there are “masculinities” rather than a single presentation of masculinity (p. 76). Thus, Connell (2005) posited that there are the four following types of masculinity: hegemonic, subordinated, marginalized, and complicit masculinities. Additionally, since Connell suggests a relational approach to theorizing masculinity, it is important to note that these four types of masculinity are relational with each other. For example, hegemonic masculinity only exists in relation to subordinated masculinity because it shows its superiority to subordinated masculinity. Thus, none of the four types of masculinity present themselves separately. To begin, Connell’s (2005) description of hegemonic masculinity is as follows, Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. (p. 77) As such, hegemonic masculinity refers to a collective imagery that represents commonly accepted male authority that is difficult to challenge, such as governmental power and the military. Thus, hegemonic masculinity is conceptualized at the institutional level and implies a taken for granted authority.

Subordinated masculinity refers to a type of masculinity that is oppressed under a gender hierarchy. For example, gay masculinity can be viewed as subordinated masculinity because it is oppressed by heteronormativity. Further, marginalized masculinity exists as a function of intersections between socio-cultural factors, such as race and social class. For example, Black men’s masculinity is marginalized because race and the concept of masculinity interplay in Caucasian-dominated Western society. Therefore, compared to White masculinity, Black masculinity is usually considered to be a marginalized masculinity. Finally, Connell (2005)

points out that complicit masculinity highlights that men gain the benefits of masculinity gleaned from the patriarchal system, which is a hierarchical system wherein women are considered subordinate to men. Thus, this type of masculinity is the most common type and represents masculinity in daily life.

The reviewed literature predominately used Connell's (2005) theory of masculinity (e.g., Bedford & Hwang, 2010; Y. C. Chang & Lin, 2010; C. H. Chen, 2007; Yuan & Shaw, 2011). In terms of Connell's four types of masculinity, Taiwanese researchers identified hegemonic masculinity as those men who come from a relatively privileged group, such as the middle-class and who are heterosexual men. For example, in S. W. Chen's (2011) study, he examined expressions of masculinity in school and identified hegemonic masculinity as the power held by senior male teachers at any given school.

### **Clatterbaugh: Four Components of Masculinity**

Clatterbaugh (1997) posited that masculinity has four components: masculine gender role, stereotypes of masculinity, gender ideals, and gender identity. The masculine gender role refers to an overarching category of behaviors and attitudes that are associated with a certain group of men. For example, if the men in a group tend to behave bravely, being fearless would be considered as masculine gender role. Stereotypes of masculinity are general beliefs related to how men perform in terms of the masculine gender role. With regard to the third component, Clatterbaugh (1997) suggested that gender ideals are distinct from stereotypes of masculinity. Gender ideals refer to people's general ideas related to what men "should" be, whereas stereotypes of masculinity are general beliefs in regards to that people perceive men to be (Clatterbaugh, 1997, p. 3). Further, gender identity is a personal and subjective process of forming one's gender. That is, gender identity is about a self-definition of personal gender. For

example, a man's gender identity might diverge from or be similar to the above three components of masculine gender roles, stereotypes of masculinity, and gender ideal. Overall, Clatterbaugh's theory of masculinity basically focuses on how men identify themselves as men.

Within the reviewed literature, there are two studies that adopted Clatterbaugh's (1997) theory of masculinity (Chao, 2007; Chiang, 2007). For example, Chao (2007) investigated the masculinity of seven incestuous fathers. By employing Clatterbaugh's theory framework, Chao identified that incestuous fathers' perspectives on the masculine gender role include being protective, having power, and making decisions in the family. Overall, employing Clatterbaugh's theory of masculinity allows researchers to have a structure to further understand the content of each component of masculinity.

### **Bourdieu: Masculine Domination**

Bourdieu's theory of masculinity proposes that men gain power and domination over women through the development of the social order that is based on the embodiment of men's and women's tasks, as those done in daily activities. With regard to the specific social order, Bourdieu (2001) suggested that:

The social order functions as an immense symbolic machine tending to ratify the masculine domination on which it is founded: it is the sexual division of labor, a very strict distribution of the activities assigned to each sex, of their place, time and instruments; it is the structure of space, with the opposition between the place of assembly or the market, reserved for men, and the house, reserved for women, or, with the house, between the male part, the hearth, and the female part-the stable, the water and vegetable stores. (pp. 9-11)

As such, Bourdieu (2001) concluded that male and female bodies are socially constructed, as men's power and domination over women are produced and reproduced by social practice and

daily life. Within the body of reviewed literature, one study, Tien and Wang (2006), employed Bourdieu's (2001) theory of masculinity. Tien and Wang (2006) examined the gender power differential in cross-border marriages between Taiwanese husbands and Vietnamese wives. Thus, by utilizing Bourdieu's definition of masculinity, Tien and Wang (2006) identified masculinity as Taiwanese husbands' financial dominance and power over their Vietnamese wives. Therefore, utilizing Bourdieu's theory of masculine domination helps researchers to understand the ways that masculinity contributes to the oppression of women in the context of cross-border marriage where differences in nationalities result in significant power differences between husbands and wives.

### **Halberstam: Female Masculinity**

Halberstam (1998) conceptualized that "masculinity becomes legible as masculinity where and when it leaves the white male middle-class body" (p. 2) and "female masculinity is a specific gender with its own cultural history rather than simply a derivative of male masculinity" (p. 77). That is, Halberstam's theory of masculinity focused on challenging the privilege and power embedded within the masculinity situated in male bodies. As such, Halberstam proposed that female masculinity is essential to break the hegemonic link between gender and biological sex. Thus it is important to recognize that masculinity can exist in both men and women.

Within the reviewed literature, Yeh (2011) employed Halberstam's (1998) theory of female masculinity, which acknowledges that masculinity is also situated in female bodies. Yeh examined the life experience of women in Taiwan who self-identified as masculine. She found that these masculine women present fluid female masculinity, which refers to more than presenting as a butch. Additionally, transsexual FTM (female to male) participants reported experiencing gender oppression outside and inside the LGBT community because their gender

identity was masculine (male masculinity), which is less accepted than presenting as a butch or expressing female masculinity. A limitation of Yeh's study is that she only focused on female masculinity in the population of lesbians and FTM transsexuals. Yet, she is one of the few Taiwanese researchers, who has explored masculinity that was not hegemonically linked to male bodies.

Apart from these aforementioned theories employed in Taiwanese research, a careful review reveals that seven studies conceptualize masculinity as the social standards and expectations relating to men's demeanor in their speech, attitude, behavior, and cognition (Y. W. Chen, 2007; H. Hsu, 2005, 2008; H. Hsu & Cheng, 2007; P. R. Hwang, 2009; R. M. Lee, 2009; Y.-H. Lin, 2007, 2011; Sun, 2009; Yan, 2009). These studies also consider masculinity as the psychological and behavioral traits that men are expected to have, such as being responsible and emotionally reserved. Additionally, even the studies that do not employ a theory of masculinity did consider masculinity as the general Taiwanese socio-cultural expectations of men, as seen in expectations of being responsible for their families (J. H. Chang & Yang, 2010; Y. C. Chang & Lin, 2010; Cheng, 2011; Y. S. Huang, 2010; Ken, 2008; Kung, 2010; Y.-H. Lin, 2007, 2011; Liu, Kuo, & Wang, 2009; T. W. Wang, 2010; Y. H. Wu, 2010; C. P. Yang, 2004; W. P. Yang, 2006). Finally, regardless of these aforementioned theories of masculinity and how they are employed in Taiwanese research, traditional masculinity in Taiwan is portrayed and defined as taking familial responsibility and being emotionally restricted, physically strong, and financially dependable.

### **Summary**

Even though there are various theories that conceptualize what masculinity is (e.g., Clatterbaugh, 1997) and how masculinity is constructed (e.g., Connell, 2005), embedded in all of

these theories is the discourse that masculinity is determined by external genitalia. That is, the theories reviewed situate masculinity within male bodies indicating the fundamental association between masculinity and male bodies that ignores the fact that masculinity also exists in female bodies. However, Halberstam's (1998) theory breaks the link between masculinity and male bodies by proposing the idea of female masculinity. In addition to biology (i.e., genitals), masculinity over time has been constructed on psychological traits (e.g., Yin-Yang theory) and gender role expectations (e.g., Clatterbaugh, 1997).

### **Expressions of Masculinity**

Research has shown that traditional masculinity in Taiwan is reproduced in the military (Kao, 2006), the medical system (C. L., Wu, 2011), and the criminal justice system (e.g., H. Hsu, 2005; H. Hsu & Cheng, 2007; Yan, 2009). That is, traditional masculinity, which refers to men's traditional gender roles (e.g., being emotionally restricted and physically strong) is favored and supported in these settings by ritual activities, such as military training. While alternative gender expressions are not tolerated in these settings, research has identified both traditional and alternative gender expressions in schools (e.g., H. F. Chen, 2007), workplaces (e.g., S. L. Hwang, 2003), and the mass media (e.g., R. M. Lee, 2009). These findings will be discussed below.

#### **Schools**

Constructions of masculine representations of gender at schools will be covered in this section. To begin, the relations between masculinity and teaching styles, particularly in kindergarten classes located in aboriginal neighborhoods, will be discussed. Then, the implementation of gender equity education at schools will be presented. Finally, how masculinity is represented in social interactions (i.e., teachers, students, etc.) will be outlined.

Some studies on the constructions of masculinity in elementary and high schools highlight educators' teaching styles and curriculum designs that address masculine myths and deconstruct traditional masculinity within the classroom setting (H. F. Chen, 2007; P. R. Hwang, 2009; Ken, 2008; Y. Y. Lin, 2006). Since the Gender Equity Education Act was passed in 2004, every level of schooling has been required to integrate the topic of gender equity into the curriculum. Several researchers have focused on the implementation of this policy in schools. For example, H. F. Chen (2007) interviewed one guidance teacher and 32 students to evaluate the implementation of the gender equity curriculum and the prevention of sexual harassment in an elementary school. H. F. Chen's results indicate that in spite of implementation by the teachers, the students did not fully understand the idea of gender equity and were not able to make sense of the concept of gender equity in their school life. Additionally, Y. Y. Lin (2009) employed action research to develop a course for high school students that focused on deconstructing traditional masculinity. In contrast to H.-F. Chen's findings, Y. Y. Lin reported that the high school students were able to deconstruct masculinity by identifying myths and respecting their male peers who performed alternative gender expressions. Additionally, P. R. Hwang (2009) employed a quasi-experimental study and randomly assigned 136 junior high school students into four groups; different approaches to teaching multiculturalism were used for three of the groups and one of groups was a control group, which received an article to read about a generic topic. P. R. Hwang reported that students who read an article that described a real story about gender discrimination were more able to effectively decrease their prejudice toward feminine boys than those who read an essay on multiculturalism and an article that described a peer who has alternative gender expressions. In addition to studies on Han Chinese teachers' teaching style, Ken (2008) examined gender education and interviewed five female

kindergarten teachers, all of whom were aboriginal people, in conjunction with the methodology of participatory observation of a kindergarten located in an aboriginal village. Ken found that aboriginal kindergarten teachers adopted Han Chinese values of gender rather than their own cultural values of gender. That is, the aboriginal kindergarten teachers in Ken's study asked feminine boys to change their expressions of femininity even though some aboriginal tribes have a higher level of acceptance of male's femininity than that held by the Han Chinese.

It is well documented that despite the implementation of gender equity curriculum through teaching and lectures, school climates reinforce traditional masculinity and have been identified as being homophobic (S. W. Chen, 2011; Y. H. Wu, 2010). For example, in Y. H. Wu's (2010) study, eight female junior high school students who identified as masculine reported that they were questioned about their masculine gender expressions by their teachers because there is a norm that the girls should be feminine.

Similar to Y. H. Wu's findings, S. W. Chen (2011) interviewed seven teachers (four female and three male) and nine students (seven lesbians, one heterosexual male, and one heterosexual female) to examine the representation of masculinity at school. The results indicated that interactions between male and female teachers were hierarchical, which implies that a masculine culture exists in schools. For example, less experienced teachers were expected to show respect to experienced male teachers or they would be excluded from the teacher's social group.

### **Workplaces**

With regard to the constructions of masculinity in business, there is a specific tradition called "flower drinking," whereby Taiwanese men go to a hostess club for alcohol and/or sexual services (Bedford & Hwang, 2010; S. L. Hwang, 2003). Additionally, men of different social



classes have different reasons for purchasing sexual services in hostess clubs. Working-class men usually go to a hostess club for recreation, whereas middle-class men often go to a hostess club to discuss business matters with each other, thereby enhancing their careers (Bedford & Hwang, 2010). In addition, Bedford and Hwang (2010), who interviewed 58 men and administered a questionnaire on this topic, found that flower drinking functions as a venue through which men discriminate against one another based on their reasons for going to the hostess club. That is, the men who go to the club solely for entertainment or for female hostess' services rather than for business are considered less manly than the men who use the hostess club as a way to enhance their career. Further, S. L. Hwang (2003) found that certain hostess club rituals in which female hostesses verbally and sexually please their male customers help maintain traditional masculinity because men have power and control over the women in the hostess club.

Additionally, Ho (2006) employed participatory observation at a labor union and interviewed male workers to examine how masculinity is performed there. This researcher found that there is an intersection between social class and masculinity; that is, the male workers in this labor union had certain rituals, such as drinking alcohol and using specific slang language, which illustrates a unique and collective working-class men's masculinity. Moreover, Ho (2006) reported that male workers' masculinity in the labor union was expressed in a more traditional manner as a way of being more "militant" by acting aggressively and, in doing so, gaining power over female workers. This is in an attempt to gain power in a social context where they lack privilege as result of their working-class status (p. 70).

## Mass Media

The current research on the representations of masculinity in men's fashion magazines in modern Taiwanese society concluded that men's images have become less masculine and that male audiences became more comfortable with changes these in traditional masculine norms (K. L. Chen, 2008; C. C. Hsu, 2007; Sun, 2009; Yuan & Shaw, 2011). For example, Yuan and Shaw (2011) conducted a quantitative content analysis of the cover pages of the two most popular men's fashion magazines published between 1997 and 2006 to examine the representation of masculinity. One of the magazines was published by an international publisher from UK and the other was published by a Taiwanese publisher. Their results indicate that a typical image on the cover page of the international men's fashion magazine was of older White men. Additionally, these images tended to highlight men's physique. In contrast, the cover page of the local Taiwanese magazine tended to portray tender and soft men and focused mainly on the men's facial expressions rather than their physical body. Thus, Yuan and Shaw (2011) found that the representation of masculinity in men's fashion magazine demonstrates the "hybridity" in masculinity in Taiwan, which refers to integrating typical Western and Eastern images of men (p. 237). In addition, Sun (2009) reviewed a Taiwanese men's fashion magazine that was published from 1997 to 2007 and then conducted a quantitative content analysis in conjunction with a discourse analysis. Similar to Yun and Shaw's findings, Sun's results indicated that men's images in these men's fashion magazines are portrayed as less traditionally masculine in that they include images of men with long hair and a slim physique.

Further, K. L. Chen (2008) interviewed six male readers of men's fashion magazines, aged 22 to 26, to examine how these male readers made sense of the less traditionally masculine imagery in men's fashion magazine. He reported that when male readers want to apply these

messages in their daily life, such as paying attention to their appearance and dress, they must negotiate between the new masculinity promoted by these men's fashion magazines and the traditional masculinity that exists in their community, family, and workplace.

Despite the less traditional masculine representations in men's fashion magazines, the researchers reported that values of traditional masculinity still exist and are framed by this kind of "new" masculinity (C. C. Hsu, 2007, p. 85, translated quote). In particular, C. C. Hsu (2007) conducted a textual analysis of two Taiwanese men's fashion magazines and interviewed 10 male readers, aged 18 to 29. C. C. Hsu's (2007) results indicate that these men's fashion magazines promote an idea of "metrosexual" that specifically targets the population of young, middle-class, heterosexual men, thereby ignoring other expressions of masculinity in different ages, social classes, and sexual orientations (p. 49, translated quote). Thus, C. C. Hsu (2009) concluded that in spite of a trend of a new masculinity, traditional masculinity still exists in these men's fashion magazines.

Furthermore, R. M. Lee (2009) conducted a genealogical investigation of newspapers, commercial advertisements, and magazines to reveal the ideology of "new masculinity" in Taiwan. This researcher's results indicate that the trend of "being a new and good man" in Taiwan emerged in the 1990s; this trend refers to the fact that men are encouraged to perform less traditionally masculine roles, such as sharing housework with their wives and being more emotionally available to their families (R. M. Lee, 2009, p. 111, translated quote). However, R. M. Lee concluded that, in general, this new trend of masculinity has not changed gender inequality between men and women, which Taiwanese feminists critique.

Finally, research results indicate that masculinity is manifested not only on the cover of men's fashion magazines, but also in the characters of video games. For example, H. Y. Chiu

(2008) conducted a qualitative content analysis on video game scripts and interviewed the company agents of the video game to examine how masculinity is represented. This researcher reported that in video game scripts, male and female characters are designed to be extremely masculine and feminine, respectively. Additionally, males' violent behaviors are essential to video game scripts that promote men's courage and manliness (H. Y. Chiu, 2008).

### **Summary**

Overall, compared to alternative male gender roles, it is apparent that traditional masculinity is allowed to exist more prevalently in schools, workplaces, and the mass media. When non-traditional masculinity are present in these environments, they are often oppressed and marginalized because non-traditional masculinity connotes femininity, which is associated with homosexuality. Yet, as previously discussed in regards to the mass media, when non-traditional masculinity is situated in heterosexual male bodies, it is more tolerated because heterosexuality is ensured. Given that schools, workplaces, and mass media are the locations for the expression of non-traditional masculinities resulting in challenges of learning and working, the consequences of masculinity will be discussed in the next session.

### **Consequences of Traditional Masculinity**

Several studies have indicated that adherence to the traditional and oppressive view of masculinity is problematic in a context where non-traditional masculinity are allowed (e.g., J. H. Chang & Yang, 2010). As such, in this section, the consequences of traditional masculinity in the context of schools, workplaces, and heterosexual marital relationships will be covered.

### **Schools**

It is evident that bullying is highly prevalent in Taiwan and in many cases is a result of male students not being considered traditionally masculine (J. H. Chang & Yang, 2010; Chiang,

2007; Y. L. Kuo, 2005). In particular, Y. L. Kuo (2005) examined the phenomenon of “dirty games” at schools in Taiwan, which refers to a game that is often played between boys involving touching male peers’ genitals (p. 72, translated quote). The results of this study indicated that feminine boys were typically the target of dirty games and these games function to tease boys who are not considered masculine enough. Likewise, Chiang (2007) interviewed four male adults who experienced bullying or violence as a result of their gender expression. Some male participants reported that the experience of bullying in their adolescence influenced them to become more traditionally masculine in order to protect themselves. However, other male participants stated that bullying experiences let them know they were different than other boys as a result of their gender expression and that this understanding helped them embrace their alternative gender expressions and be strategic at performing their femininity.

In addition to the above studies about boys and men who experienced bullying, Y. H. Wu (2010) interviewed five female junior high school students who had masculine gender expressions to understand their experiences of school life. Her results indicate that these masculine girls were usually identified as lesbians by their teachers and peers because of their masculine gender expressions. Additionally, these girls insisted on not wearing skirts to resist the gender norms that indicate that females are supposed to be feminine. Overall, the reactions by peers and teachers to alternative gender expressions in schools is negative and functions to maintain traditional masculinity by silencing and marginalizing the forms of masculinity that are not situated in male bodies.

### **Workplaces**

Several researchers have investigated the expressions of masculinity in female-dominated occupations, such as nurses, flight attendants, and cosmeticians (Guo, 2012; Y. S. Huang, 2010;

C. P. Yang, 2004). For example, Guo (2012) interviewed eight male cosmeticians to examine how these male cosmeticians perform their masculinity in this traditional female occupation. Guo reported that male cosmeticians expressed tenderness to attract more female customers, who are the primary users of cosmetics. Additionally, Y. S. Huang (2012) interviewed four male nurses in conjunction with the methodology of participatory observation at the hospital where the participants worked. The results of this study indicated that according to the professional hierarchy between medical doctors and nurses in the hospital, male nurses demonstrate their physical strength and specific rituals in men's groups, such as drinking alcohol, to confirm their sense of professional power, thereby re-establishing their masculinity. Finally, C. P. Yang (2004) interviewed eleven male and six female flight attendants to explore how these male flight attendants practiced masculinity in their workplace. Similar to Y. S. Huang's (2012) findings, C. P. Yang (2004) reported that male attendants emphasized their physical strength by doing physically demanding work to demonstrate their masculinity, instead of leaving such work to their female colleagues, in the female-dominated occupation.

In addition to men in female-dominated occupations, several studies investigated the experience of women who work in male-dominated occupations, such as in a court of law, law enforcement, and technology labs (Chung & Cheng, 2012; Han, 2009; W. P. Yang, 2006). For instance, C. H. Chen (2007) interviewed nine female and four male superintendents in rising participatory observation at three junior high schools to examine how the female superintendents demonstrated masculinity in the schools. The female superintendents reported that although they have a masculine demeanor, such as being tough and showing authority, their professionalism is not recognized by their colleagues because of their biological sex. Additionally, the female superintendents reported that they experienced sexism and sexual harassment from their male

colleagues (C. H. Chen, 2007). These findings are supported by Chung and Cheng's (2012) study, which examined female prosecutors' work experience in court. They reported that a court of law is a masculine workplace that privileges male prosecutors over female ones. Chung and Cheng (2012) concluded that female prosecutors who work in a male-dominated occupation have to manage gender by wearing conservative clothing, such as a suit; hiding their feminine expressions; and performing masculinity (e.g., speaking with a low vocal tone) to fit into the masculine workplace culture. Overall, even though researchers have focused on women who work in male-dominated occupations, their sexual orientations have not been discussed in the studies. In this way, researchers have focused on the role of gender and biological sex but have ignored the role of sexual orientation. Additionally, researchers have studied workers' experiences of working in gender atypical occupations, but they have not examined the intersections between the personal identities of these workers and their work environments.

### **Heterosexual Marital Relationships**

The ways in which married men's masculinity is represented in heterosexual marriages has been examined. For instance, Liu, Kuo, and Wang (2009) interviewed five married men who identified as being aware of gender equity to examine the relationship between a husband's gender awareness and the quality of their marriage relationship. Liu et al. (2009) found that valuing non-traditional masculinity (e.g., by caring for children and sharing house work with their wives) has a positive influence on a marriage. Y. L. Kuo (2010) interviewed six working-class husbands to examine how these husbands cope with the verbal and relational conflicts between their wives and mothers as well as with the role of masculinity. In contrast to the findings of Liu et al., Y. L. Kuo reported that Confucian beliefs and patrilineality have a significant impact on these husbands' expressions of masculinity in their marriage. That is, these

husbands equated practicing filial piety with being manly and masculine. Thus, when there was a conflict between their wives and mothers, these working-class husbands would likely side with their mothers and ask their wives to be respectful to her mother-in-law, a practice typical of traditional masculinity (e.g., filial piety). Therefore, Y. L. Kuo concluded that husbands who embrace traditional masculinity struggled with conflicts between their wife and mother.

Additionally, gender issues have become key to understanding cross-border marriages, especially as they have increased in popularity in Taiwan. A cross-border marriage is defined as a Taiwanese man being married to a woman whose nationality is not Taiwanese (Tien & Wang, 2006). Tien and Wang (2006) interviewed Taiwanese husbands whose wives were Vietnamese to explore how masculinity is represented in cross-border marriages. The results of their study indicate that belief in traditional masculinity is the primary motivator for these Taiwanese husbands to marry non-Taiwanese women because they perceive that Taiwanese women are aware of gender equity, thereby threatening their sense of traditional masculinity. Compared to Taiwanese women, Vietnamese women are stereotypically considered to be more traditional and submissive to men. Thus, Tien and Wang (2006) reported that traditional Taiwanese husbands can maintain their traditional masculine positions through showing their dominance and control over their Vietnamese wives. Alternatively, Y. C. Chang and Lin (2010) interviewed eight Taiwanese husbands and reported that in cross-border marriages Taiwanese husbands have control over their wives, but also feel frustrated by their limited financial situation. That is, these Taiwanese men often feel more stressed once married because they have to support their wives in addition to their financial difficulties. Thus, these Taiwanese husbands are in a double bind, in that their cross-border marriage ensures their sense of traditional masculinity by giving them



power and dominance, yet they often feel financially limited, which conflicts with their sense of masculinity.

### **Summary**

The above literature highlights that when men do not conform to traditional masculine norms and women perform masculinity, men's masculinity is threatened, which results in specific consequences. For example, men who do not act masculine enough are likely to be bullied and lose their power. Similarly, women who perform masculinity encounter challenges and rejection in both schools and workplaces because they are expected to behave in feminine rather than masculine ways. Therefore, the aforementioned consequences of masculinity function to correct alternative gender expressions that are not traditionally masculine as well as to marginalize the forms of masculinity that are not situated in male bodies. Given such consequences, which frequently occur in the context of schools (in particular at the junior high school level), the Gender Equity Education Act addresses education on gender equity and the management of sexual harassment, bullying, and assault incidents. The next section will discuss the Gender Equity Education Act, its implementation in junior high schools, and the implications for students' and teachers' attitudes.

### **Gender Equity in Taiwanese Junior High Schools**

This section will first present the current studies focused on the way the Gender Equity Education Act has been implemented in Taiwanese junior high school. Next, the existing research examining teachers' and students' attitudes towards gender equity will be discussed.

### **The Implementation of the Gender Equity Education Act**

In 1997, the Ministry of Education determined that gender education (formerly sex equity education) was one of important topics in the Grades 1-9 curriculum guidelines, meaning that

gender education had to be incorporated into Grades 1-9 instruction. In 2004, the Taiwanese government enforced the Gender Equity Education Act in response to the abovementioned severe consequences of non-traditional expressions of masculinity and femininity at schools. This act focuses primarily on providing gender equity education to students, teachers, and staff members. As such, this act requires that schools implement gender equity education programs, such as lectures and workshops focusing on gender equity. Contemporary studies indicate that gender equity education programs improve students' attitudes towards gender equity and challenge their traditional perspectives of gender (M. L. Chang, 2004; He, 2006; Su, 2011; S. C. Tsai, 2013; S. L. Wang, 2011). For example, He (2006) administrated an inventory of gender awareness to students before and after implementing a series of gender equity education programs for junior high schools. In addition to the inventory administration, the researcher interviewed students after completing the gender equity education program. The results indicated that the program inspired students to start thinking about gender-relevant topics in their daily life, such as gender stereotypes in TV advertisement (He, 2006).

Similarly, M. L. Chang (2004), Su (2011), S. C. Tsai (2013), and S. L. Wang (2011) utilized a quasi-experimental approach to examine whether students involved in gender equity education program increased their understanding of gender more than the students who were not involved in such a program. These researchers created an experimental group and a control group. The experimental group of students attended gender equity education programs, whereas the control group did not attend such programs. The inventory used to measure students' attitudes towards gender equity was administrated to both groups before and after implementing the gender equity programs. The results illustrated that junior students expressed more understandings of gender relevant concepts and were more able to identify gender stereotypes

after completing the program (M. L. Chang, 2004; Su, 2011; S. C. Tsai, 2013; S. L. Wang, 2011). Moreover, the experimental group of students' attitudes towards gender equity was more positive than the control group (S. L. Wang, 2011). However, S. C. Tsai (2013) reported that students' perception of sexual harassment did not change significantly after the series of gender equity education programs.

Moreover, some researchers have utilized an action research approach to examine how the concept of gender is represented in academic textbooks as well as the way teachers have integrated the topic of gender equity into their teaching of specific subjects, such as Chinese, integrative activities, physical education, and visual arts (Dai, 2004; H. C. Huang, 2006; S. L. Huang, 2012; Ko, 2011; Peng, 2011). In particular, Dai (2004) examined the Chinese textbooks in grades 7-9 and indicated that there are not many female role models in the textbooks. For example, the textbooks include more articles by male writers than female writers. Additionally, there are many fixed male and female gender roles in the Chinese textbooks. For example, the color of the illustrations in the textbook for female figures is often pink whereas the color for male figures is blue. Therefore, the Chinese textbook materials replicate gender stereotypes.

With regard to teacher instruction on gender equity, S. L. Huang (2012) found that it is important for teachers to initiate group discussion about gender in order to challenge stereotypical gender roles in the textbooks. In addition, integration of gender equity into integrative activities provides students more opportunities to be exposed to the topic of gender equity (Peng, 2011). Further, Ko (2011) stated that integrating the topic of gender equity into physical education motivated students because the spirit of gender equity enhances acceptance and respect among students. In this way, the results indicated that students felt encouraged and supported in class. Likewise, H.-C. Huang's (2012) results indicated that the value of gender

equity corresponds to the diversity nature of the arts as there is variety representations of arts. In this way, it is appropriate and suitable for teachers to integrate gender equity into visual arts courses.

Furthermore, Fang and You (2008) utilized focus group interviews and a national survey to investigate teachers' gender equity instruction in elementary and junior high schools. The results indicated that, overall, teachers integrated the concept of gender equity into their course material; however, the focus of their instruction was on gender equity as an intellectual concept (Fang & You, 2008). Fang and You suggested that one of the reasons that teachers viewed gender equity as an intellectual concept rather than a philosophical stance might be because they had not received training on the topic of gender equity while completing their teacher education programs.

Similarly, Fang, Liu, Long, Lin, and Chin (2012) also employed focus group interviews and a survey to investigate how teachers introduced the concept of sexual orientation in their classes, which was considered part of gender equity education. The results demonstrated that teachers discussed sexual orientation in class but they focused more on heterosexuality than homosexuality (Fang et al., 2012). According to the results, the challenges that prevented teachers from initiating discussions on LGB topics included the conservative social climate at schools, a lack of knowledge regarding sexual orientation, and insufficient time allotted to teachers' instruction on sexual orientation (Fang et al., 2012).

### **Attitudes towards Gender Equity in Schools**

Despite the fact that integrating gender equity into teachers' routine teaching enhances students' leaning motivation, P. C. Chen's (2012) study suggested that, in general, academic performance orientation in junior high school has impeded the implementation of the Gender

Equity Education Act. That is, gender equity education is not considered an academic subject, and as a result the topic is not viewed as important as academic subjects. As such, S. L. Huang (2012) suggested that the management staff of schools, such as the director of student affairs, also needs to receive gender equity literacy in order to effectively implement this act.

Additionally, J. T. Tsai (2006) reported that gender equity programs should be considered as part of the formal curriculum, rather than just being integrated into routine teaching.

Furthermore, given the fact that female teachers, who are the majority of junior high school teachers, do not receive many opportunities for promotion, H. J. Lee (2002) and S. H. Chen (2007) examined female junior high school teachers' experience of receiving promotion. As such, H. J. Lee (2002) administered questionnaires and interviewed female teachers to understand what gender stereotypes influence female teachers to be willing to serve administrative positions. H. J. Lee's (2002) results indicated that gender stereotypes were represented on both the individual and structural levels. With regard to the individual level, half of the female teacher participants held stereotypical beliefs regarding gender roles. For example, participants believed that women are more suitable than men to be teachers because the occupation requires being patient and caring, which are referred to as feminine characteristics. Additionally, work assignments for female and male teachers in school represent gender stereotypes on the structural level, in that female teachers often take on caring and patient roles whereas male teachers play the role of an authority figure. In this way, female teachers are expected to provide guidance and support for students while male teachers are expected to discipline students who exhibit disobedient behaviors. Further, female teachers reported that they perceived that women are expected to manage the household, which make them less willing to take on administrative roles in school. Likewise, S. H. Chen (2007) interviewed three female

junior principals and found that they were criticized by their colleagues for not fulfilling the role of mother because of serving the position of principal.

Furthermore, the division of labor by biological sex not only exists between teachers but also between students. In Taiwanese junior high schools, students practice civic rights and leadership by electing their peers to serve as class leader in a series of formal roles. Hu (2008) interviewed teachers and students who had served such leadership roles in their class, in order to understand whether they considered female and male students as being more suitable for specific positions. Hu's results indicated that female students were considered to be more suitable to serve the chief of academic affairs because female students were viewed as being sophisticated and meticulous. Male students were considered more appropriate for the position of the chief of physical education and the chief of recycling affairs because such positions require physical strength. As seen in the different expectations for teachers and students in terms of the roles of different biological sexes, the sexual division of labor continues to exist in the teachers' work context and in class.

## **Summary**

As shown in the results of the extensive studies on the implementation of gender equity education in Taiwanese junior high schools, gender equity education for students enhances students' attitudes towards gender equity. Additionally, results have indicated that students' gender stereotypes are challenged during such type of education. Despite improvement of students' attitudes, gender inequity still exists on campus at both individual and structural levels. At the individual level, some female teachers hold stereotypical beliefs of gender. Additionally,

at the structural level, the topic of gender equity is not considered as academic curriculum, as a result, it is often not addressed and is overshadowed by academic subjects. Therefore, while the enactment of Gender Equity Education Act is a milestone of gender equity movement in Taiwan, policy-making has not ensured full implementation of the policy and gender equality on campus.

### **Strengths and Limitations of the Literature**

The current literature on gender, in particular masculinity, in Taiwan has some specific strengths. First, the results of the existing research reflects the fact that masculinity and men's issues have been emphasized as a response to the feminist movement in the 1970s. Second, these research results serve as an important starting point to understanding male masculinity in Taiwan. Additionally, the extant literature has been mainly conducted using qualitative methods, thereby providing much contextual information about masculinity in various settings such as schools and workplaces.

Despite these strengths, there are three limitations: a focus on biological discourse, a focus on heterosexuality/homosexuality discourse, and the lack of intersectionality. First, with regard to biological discourse, there is a rigid connection between masculinity and male physiologies in the reviewed literature; that is, most current research indicates that masculinity is solely exhibited by men. As such, the dichotomy between male and female is maintained by situating the concept of masculinity predominately in male bodies. Such a strict link between masculinity and maleness reproduces the biology-based dichotomy wherein masculinity is socially constructed. Since there is an inherent, yet problematic, link between masculinity and maleness, it is important to acknowledge that masculinity could simultaneously be situated across the biological sexes, thereby highlighting the fluidity of masculinity.

Additionally, the literature review reveals that there is a hegemonic link between masculinity and heterosexuality. That is, a dichotomy between heterosexuality and homosexuality is observed because the majority of studies focus on heterosexual men's masculinity and ignore masculinity within the population of gay men. In particular, Cheng's (2011) study indicated that Taiwanese citizens consider heterosexuality as an inherent factor in masculinity. Thus, within the reviewed literature on masculinity, heterosexuality is favored whereas homosexuality is marginalized. While a few scholars point out the concept of female masculinity (e.g., Y. H. Lin, 2007; Y. H. Wu, 2010; Yeh, 2011), they only focus on lesbian women's masculinity, which limits female masculinity to the lesbian population and ignores heterosexual women's masculinity. Moreover, compared to the majority of the reviewed literature on male masculinity, female masculinity that is solely linked to the population of lesbians and FTM transsexuals is marginalized because of not only being situated in female bodies (i.e., biological discourse) but also because of the dichotomy of heterosexuality vs. homosexuality.

Further, there is lack of intersectionality among gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation in the reviewed literature. That is, the hegemonic link between masculinity and male physiologies as well as masculinity and heterosexuality ignores the intersections among gender, sex, and sexual orientation. For example, within the reviewed literature on women who work in male-dominated workplaces (e.g., Chung & Cheng, 2012), the researchers discussed gender and biological sex; however, they did not discuss how these women's sexual orientation intersects with their experiences of working in gender atypical careers. In addition to lacking intersections among gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation, the intersections between gender and other personal identities, such as age, are also absent in the reviewed literature. For instance, Yeh's



(2011) study interviewed 13 masculine women, but she did not address the ways their ages intersect with their expressions of female masculinity. Therefore, the lack of intersectionality in the reviewed literature results in a partial understanding of the constructions of masculinity in Taiwan.

To summarize, the dominant discourses embedded in the reviewed literature result in several limitations. The discourse that masculinity is synonymous with maleness, men's power, and heterosexual privilege remains a challenge when conducting masculinity studies in Taiwan. Additionally, the dichotomies between male and female, heterosexuality and homosexuality, and privilege and consequences are maintained and supported by the system of negative consequences for people who part from traditional gender norms. As such, the masculinities situated in male and female bodies are strictly linked with heterosexual men and lesbians, respectively. Resultantly, heterosexual women's constructions of masculinity are absent in the reviewed literature. Further, such discourses perpetuate men's power and privilege over women. Therefore, research focusing on challenging these dichotomies and the dominant discourses can expand the constructions of masculinity and make the diverse expressions of masculinity visible in Taiwan.

### **Research Rationale**

As demonstrated in the above reviewed literature, it is clear that there exists hegemonic links between masculinity and maleness and masculinity and heterosexuality. When these hegemonic links are broken, for example when men act feminine and women act masculine, consequences may arise, such as violence, bullying, and discrimination in schools (particularly junior high schools) or at workplaces. Thus, such rigid association with gender, biological sex,

and sexual orientation has caused negative impacts on individuals who do not conform to societal prescriptions for gender presentation.

Further, the Taiwanese government has recognized such consequences in schools and has made national policies (i.e., the Gender Equity Education Act) to protect the rights of individuals who perform alternative gender expressions. In particular, the Gender Equity Education Act prohibits discrimination as a result of gender expressions and sexual orientation at all educational levels (Laws & Regulations Database of Taiwan, 2012b). Even though such gender-focused policies exist in Taiwan, their lack of impact is evidenced by the fact that bullying and discrimination based on alternative gender expression continues to occur. Considering that gender-focused policies have not yet effectively addressed the consequences of alternative gender expression, it is important to explore the mainstream understanding of gender expression in order to identify potential barriers to effective implementation of the above-mentioned policies.

To this end, this study aimed to investigate how heterosexual Taiwanese female junior high school personnel, particularly female teachers, perceive and construct gender using the lens of masculinity. The justification for exploring this topic with heterosexual Taiwanese female teachers is to confront the hegemonic links between masculinity, male biology, and heterosexuality in order to challenge privilege and power associated with traditional gender norms. That is, while heterosexual female teachers hold privilege over sexual minorities in society because of their sexual orientation, they are disadvantaged based on biological sex. This is evidenced in the lack of equal access to promotions for female teachers, although they are the majority of the population of teachers (S. H. Chen, 2012; H. J. Lee, 2002).

Further, this study aims to explore an understanding of heterosexual Taiwanese teachers' attitudes toward the consequences (e.g., bullying and discrimination) of alternative gender

expressions. By employing the perspective of intersectionality, heterosexual Taiwanese teachers' constructions of gender can be better understood in the context of how gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation interact to provide an intersectional understanding of consequences based on alternative gender expression. Therefore, this contextual understanding provides insight into the openness to implementing gender policies and the acceptance of alternative gender expression, thereby informing policymaking and helping fully implement gender equity policy in Taiwan.

Finally, even though this study will be conducted in Taiwan, it can also bring an enriched multicultural understanding about masculinity and femininity to Canadian society. Such multicultural and intersectional discussions on masculinity in Taiwan can inform counselling psychology practitioners working with Taiwanese immigrants and international students in Canada.

### **Research Questions**

1. How do Taiwanese heterosexual female junior school teachers understand the intersections of gender, biological sex, sexual orientation, and personal identities in Taiwanese society?
2. What outcomes do Taiwanese heterosexual female junior school teachers perceive of gender expressions that are not linked to biological sex?
3. What informs Taiwanese heterosexual female junior school teachers' educational practices and their personal life in terms of outcomes that they observed and experienced?

### **Researcher Assumptions**

Given the research questions posed in this study, it is important to acknowledge my assumptions that may have influenced the conceptualization of the research questions and methodology through which I investigated gender in Taiwan. I am a 34-year-old Taiwanese

woman who completed a teacher education program and graduated from teachers college. I am a licensed counselling psychologist, and I practiced in school settings in Taiwan. Thus, these professional training experiences and roles provided me with an insider perspective, as I was familiar with the context of Taiwanese schools. Yet, as a doctoral student studying in a counselling psychology program in Canada, I also had an outsider perspective. That is, being geographically and culturally removed from the Taiwanese culture allowed me to examine the intertwined relationships among gender, biological sex, sexual orientation, and Taiwanese cultural values.

Based on my above-mentioned salient identities, I believe that masculinity and femininity in Taiwan are shaped by traditional Chinese cultural values and continue to evolve as a result of the ongoing modernization of Taiwanese society. In this way, I believe that gender is culturally specific. I also believe that masculinity and femininity exist in everyone and are not only situated in biologically male and female bodies, respectively, although I recognize that the dominant definition of masculinity and femininity is strongly related to men and women, respectively. In light of this dominant discourse, I consider that manifestations of masculinity function to perpetuate sexism and gender inequality. Given my views of gender, I believe that masculinity and femininity are intersectional and cannot be solely understood as functions of male or female bodies' performances, respectively; rather, it is important to situate gender within the intersections of individuals' identities and socio-cultural contexts. Finally, I believe that the meanings of gender will vary based on how they intersect with different identities and socio-cultural contexts. I worked diligently to engage in reflexivity to remain attuned to the way that these assumptions influenced the research process and in order to ensure that they did not exert undue influence on the data analysis.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS**

### **Epistemologies**

In this study, two epistemologies were employed, namely, feminist social constructionist epistemology and the Multicultural and Gender Case Conceptualization model. This section will introduce these two epistemologies and outline how they are aligned with this study. Then, the integration of these two epistemologies will be discussed.

### **Feminist Social Constructionism**

The fundamental assumptions of feminist social constructionism (FSC) include that (a) multiple social realities exist; (b) knowledge is co-constructed; (c) oppression exists; d) gender is a verb (DiPalma & Ferguson, 2006; Gergen, 1985; Sprague, 2005). First, contrary to positivism, feminist social constructionism highlights that people's perspectives and understandings of social phenomena "are constructed in social interaction between and among people in the contexts of their lives" (Morrow, 2002, p. 29). Instead of searching for an answer that is objective and can be generalized to every situation, feminist social constructionists suggest that every individual has different perspectives on the same social phenomenon since people's opinions are shaped by the context in which they live. In the same vein, feminist social constructionists critique the notion that truth is commonly accepted in research and day-to-day life. Thus, FSC suggests that there are multiple realities rather than a single truth.

In addition to highlighting multiple realities, co-construction is another postulate of FSC. That is, people make sense of their life experiences through interacting with individuals and the environment in which they live (Gergen, 1985; Sprague, 2005). As such, co-construction illustrates the fact that individuals are actively involved in the process of co-creating knowledge in order to make sense of their life experiences. Moreover, the process of co-construction

involves the historical, social, and cultural contexts wherein the individual lives. Hence, knowledge is historically situated and changes over time.

Additionally, FSC suggests that knowledge is constructed in particular temporal, social, economic, and political contexts (Gergen, 1985; Haraway, 1988). Feminist social constructionists highlight the fact that knowledge serves to perpetuate certain power structures, such as gender order (Lorber, 2010). That is, the knowledge that is produced in certain situations functions to perpetuate privilege. As such, it is not only essential to have an understanding of the contexts and consider these contexts as an integral part of the researched topic, it is also important to analyze the ways that knowledge is produced in these contexts. To this end, feminist social constructionists take an anti-oppressive stance that aims to examine how gender is constructed and who is privileged in this process of construction (Lorber, 2010). In so doing, explanations with contextual descriptions bring rich understandings of people's experience that challenge the privileges and make marginalized population's experiences visible. Therefore, contextualizing experiences serves as a basis to challenge and disrupt the dominant social discourses that result in oppression and injustice, thereby creating social change (Gavey, 1989; Morrow, 2002; Risman, 2004; Sinacore & Enns, 2005).

Finally, feminist social constructionists consider gender as a verb (Bohan, 1993; DiPalma & Ferguson, 2006; Sinacore & Enns, 2005). To be more specific, this argument focuses on "doing gender" as suggested by West and Zimmerman (1987, p.126). That is, gender refers to the performance that people act out rather than just people's traits or characteristics (Risman, 2004; West & Zimmerman, 1987). FSC considers gender to be individuals' behaviors and performance in their daily interactions with others and the social environment. As such, feminist social constructionists suggest that gender is not like biological sex, which indicates a given

status by the presence of different genitals. Rather, gender is embodied, performative, and action-oriented. Further, feminist social constructionists examine power relations embedded within the concept of gender (Lorber, 2010; Riger, 1992). Thus, feminist social constructionist researchers examine the ways in which gender differs and power relations shift across socio-cultural contexts.

### **The Rationale for Employing Feminist Social Constructionist Epistemology**

This study benefited from the application FSC for the following reasons. First, the multiple realities suggested by feminist social constructionists allowed the researcher to deeply explore the ways in which Taiwanese heterosexual female school personnel construct masculinity and femininity as well as how that construction intersects with biological sex, sexual orientation, and other personal identities in Taiwanese contexts. As such, employing FSC provided descriptive information regarding the construction of masculinity and femininity in Taiwan.

Second, FSC suggests that knowledge is co-constructed, which allowed the researcher to explore how meanings of gender are constructed. Additionally, feminist social constructionist researchers consider themselves to be subjective and active participants in the research process, thus allowing the researcher to co-construct the understanding of masculinity and femininity with the study participants. Moreover, FSC's assumption that oppression exists allowed the researcher to explore what power structures are maintained through the construction of masculinity and femininity. As such, by employing FSC, the researcher was able to explore both the consequences and the privileges/power associated with performing both alternative masculinity/femininity and traditional masculinity/femininity in heterosexual female bodies as well as in the context of junior high school. Finally, the concept of gender as a verb allowed the

researcher to explore expressions of masculinity and femininity in greater detail. This exploration includes, for example, the ways that masculinity is defined by daily interactions with other people and the environment.

In summary, by employing FSC in this study, masculinity and femininity are recognized as dynamic and fluid constructs that are formed and shaped by individuals' interactions with their own personal identities, other people, and their living environment. How the meanings of masculinity and femininity are co-constructed between individuals and society will be explored. Additionally, using FSC allowed the researcher to understand multiple and different meanings of masculinity and femininity, thereby giving voice to marginalized groups' perceptions of masculinity and femininity.

### **The Multicultural and Gender Case Conceptualization Model (MGCC)**

In addition to employing feminist social constructionist epistemology, the researcher incorporated the Multicultural and Gender Case Conceptualization (MGCC) model (Sinacore, 1995, 2011; see Figure 2.1 and 2.2 of Appendix A) as the second epistemology in this study. In this section, the Diagnostic Window, which was proposed by Sinacore (1995) and later became the foundation for developing the MGCC model, will be discussed. Then the MGCC model and its assumptions will be presented.

Sinacore (1995, 2011) developed the MGCC model based on the Diagnostic Window. The Diagnostic Window postulates that understanding the client's presenting problem should incorporate four categories in order to make a culturally appropriate assessment. These four components include cultural systems and structures, cultural values, gender socialization, and trauma (Sinacore, 1995). Cultural systems and structures broadly include societal institutions (e.g., schools, health care, and governments), family, and community. Additionally, cultural



systems and structures incorporate specific factors, such as immigration history (Sinacore, 1992, as cited in Sinacore 1995). Sinacore (1995) employed Katz's (1985) analysis of cultural values to describe cultural values in the Diagnostic Window, which include time (i.e., past, present, or future), action orientation (i.e., doing or being), relational orientation (i.e., individual, communal group, or hierarchical structural), person-nature orientation (i.e., being in harmony with, or having control over, nature), and the basic nature of people (i.e., innate goodness or evil). Moreover, gender socialization is addressed in the Diagnostic Window, which means that during the assessment how the client performs his/her gender expression prescribed by his/her own culture should be taken into account. Finally, trauma not only refers to experiences that are solely traumatic but also includes any life-transforming events, which must be taken into account when applying the Diagnostic Window. That is, Sinacore (1993, as cited in Sinacore, 1995) suggested that it is important to consider the client's cultural background when assessing the client's reactions to, or coping mechanisms with regards to, traumatic life experiences because every culture has different reactions to traumatic experiences.

Further, Sinacore (2011) developed the MGCC model based on the Diagnostic Window to extend the discussion on culturally sensitive conceptualization of the client's presenting problem. The MGCC model has two levels of analysis regarding the client's presenting problem. At the first level, the client is understood through exploring their salient identities (see Figure 2.1 of Appendix A). These identities are intersectional, and the degree of salience given to any single identity at any given time is defined by the client. Then, the second level situates the understanding of the client's intersectional identities within the social contexts in which the client lives.

Given that the MGCC model was developed based on the Diagnostic Window (Sinacore, 1995, 2011), two of the underlying assumptions of the MGCC model are diversity and intersectionality. First, with regard to diversity, the MGCC model does not employ restricted definitions of identities, such as gender and sex. Rather, employing the MGCC model allows individuals to name their salient identities and provide their own definitions of those identities (Sinacore, 1995, 2011). Likewise, this model does not limit the definition of socio-cultural contexts, but posits that contexts include social systems, societal values, cultural systems, culture values, and family systems. Thus, this model allows individuals to provide their own descriptions of the socio-cultural contexts in which they live (Sinacore, 2011; see Figure 2.2 of Appendix A). As such, the MGCC model recognizes that every individual has different salient personal identities, which interact with a range of socio-cultural contexts.

Second, the MGCC model can be considered to be an intersectional model (Sinacore, 1995, 2011). Consistent with the aforementioned applications of intersectionality by feminist scholars, the MGCC model takes an inclusive and intersectional perspective when considering individual identities (see Figure 2.1 of Appendix A). That is, Sinacore (1995, 2011) suggested that individual identities are intersectional and prioritized by the degree of salience to the individual. For example, the identity of being a woman does not exist alone; rather, the identity of biological sex intersects with other identities, such as gender, race, age, etc. To extend the discussion regarding intersectional identities, Sinacore (1995, 2011) suggested that the salience of any single identity changes across socio-cultural contexts. For example, occupational identity may be more salient at work, while parental identity may be more salient at home, yet both of these identities are present in both contexts. Thus, this model attends to the intersection of, and

fluidity among, multiple intersecting individual identities, thereby highlighting the complexity of identities.

Furthermore, this model not only highlights the intersectionality at the individual level but also addresses intersectionality at the societal level (see Figure 2.2 of Appendix A). That is, Sinacore (2011) pointed out that individuals' intersecting identities need to be understood within the social contexts where they are situated, such as social systems, societal values, cultural systems, culture values, and family systems. Additionally, Sinacore (2011) suggested that these five societal aspects are intersectional in that they influence each other. As such, an individual's intersecting identities need to be situated within these five intersecting socio-cultural systems in order to be fully understood.

### **The Rationale for Employing the MGCC Model**

The assumptions of the MGCC model are highly conducive to a fundamental examination of masculinity and femininity in Taiwan. First, the MGCC model directly emphasizes gender (i.e., masculinity and femininity) that correspond with the focus of the study (Sinacore, 1995, 2011). The MGCC model considers gender as culturally specific and intersecting with other personal identities and the social environment, which is well-suited with the research rationale. Second, this model highlights diversity, which corresponds with the diverse sociocultural background in Taiwanese society. Thus, utilizing this model can acknowledge heterogeneity within the population of heterosexual women. Finally, the intersectional framework of this model is culturally well-situated to the examination of the construction of gender in Taiwan because the reviewed literature indicates that other personal identities (e.g., social class) influence how people make sense of masculinity and femininity (e.g., Cheng, 2011; Ho, 2006). That is, as Cole (2009) suggested, employing intersectionality in

psychological research resultantly brings “a reconceptualization of the meaning and consequences of social categories” (p. 176). Thus, employing intersectionality allows for the meaning of masculinity in Taiwan to be rich and contextual because multiple personal identities and Taiwanese cultural contexts are taken into consideration. In summary, the MGCC model is highly advantageous to this study because it includes an inclusive, intersectional, and culturally-based perspective in the examination of understandings of heterosexual women’s constructions of gender, thereby revealing a definition of masculinity and femininity that is embedded within Taiwanese culture.

### **Integration of Two Epistemologies**

In the context of this study, the feminist social constructionist (FSC) epistemology corresponds well with the Multicultural and Gender Case Conceptualization (MGCC) model, as there are some similarities between the two epistemologies. Both the FSC epistemology and the MGCC model emphasize an interactional approach to constructing identities. That is, FSC and MGCC highlight that identities are not static traits but are shaped and constructed by interactions with the environment. As such, these two epistemologies consider gender as a dynamic construct rather than a psychological trait. Additionally, the FSC epistemology and the MGCC model acknowledge multiple realities and diversity, thus recognizing that men and women can understand and perform masculinity differently. As such, employing these two epistemologies in this study allowed the researcher to explore the meanings of masculinity of individuals of different sexes, ethnicities, ages, etc.

Despite the aforementioned commonalities, there are nuances between these two epistemologies regarding how identities are shaped. The FSC epistemology highlights that identities are constructed by the interactions between people and society. In particular, personal

identities are shaped by the dominant discourses in society (Gergen, 1985). For example, traditional masculine norms, such as being a breadwinner in the family, can be considered a type of dominant discourse of masculinity. Thus, how men make meaning of their masculinity is shaped and influenced by such dominant discourses. However, the MGCC model takes an intersectional approach to conceptualize identities. The MGCC model considers that personal identities are intersectional and that salient identities emerge based on how an individual negotiates these identities in the socio-cultural contexts with which they interact. As such, in this study the MGCC model considers masculinity as an identity that is influenced by how it intersects with other identities. By employing the MGCC model, the meanings of masculinity in Taiwan can be explored within the context of personal intersectional identities and how those identities intersect with multiple contexts. Overall, the concomitant and divergent aspects of FSC epistemology and the MGCC model will allow the researcher to explore meanings of masculinity within individuals' intersectional identities while situating the discussion of gender within socio-cultural contexts. Therefore, employing the MGCC model is complementary to the FSC epistemology due to its emphasis on salient identities.

### **Methodology**

For the purpose of this study, the researcher employed interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) as a research methodology. As such, this section will be structured as follows. First, an introduction of interpretive phenomenological and the integration of IPA and epistemologies (i.e., the FSC epistemology and the MGCC model) will be outlined. Additionally, procedures for conducting this study will be outlined in detail. Finally, trustworthiness, credibility, and catalytic validity will be presented.

### **Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)**

IPA is a qualitative method that aims to understand the process of meaning-making (Smith et al., 2009; Smith & Osborn, 2008). With a primary emphasis on meaning and the human lived experience, there are three theoretical foundations for IPA: phenomenology, hermeneutics, and idiography (Smith et al., 2009). To begin, phenomenology is central to IPA since phenomenological philosophy provides rich and deep descriptions of human lived experience. The founding of phenomenology has been credited to the German mathematician and philosopher Edmund Husserl (Creswell, 2007; Lavery, 2003). Husserlian phenomenology and its particular assumptions have been considered the origin of this specific philosophical school. First, Husserlian phenomenology addresses the rich and deep descriptions of lived experiences, which refer to events within an individuals' life and which are subjectively perceived by individuals. Second, Husserl theorized that there is an "essence" of experience that individuals strive to approach. To this end, Husserl argued that a deeper description of the phenomenon move research towards the essence of that experience. Third, to ensure a fully described phenomenon without knowing an individual's previous experience, Husserl suggested that the concept of epochés (referred to as bracketing) should be employed to sustain preconceptions that result from previous experiences and, thus, to approach the experience more closely.

The second philosophical foundation of IPA is hermeneutics, as suggested by hermeneutic phenomenologists Heidegger and Gadamer (Smith et al., 2009). While working with Husserl, Heidegger posed the question, what is the meaning of being and existence? In contrast to the notion of bracketing, Heidegger suggested that lived experiences cannot be analyzed through scientific methods, but must be analyzed through the process of discovery and

understanding. That is, Heidegger did not agree with the essence of experience and the approach of bracketing. As such, Heidegger suggested that preconceptions cannot be suspended; rather, they need to be part of the interpretation process (Lavery, 2003; Smith et al., 2009). Similar to Heidegger's arguments about hermeneutics, Gadamer pointed out the importance of addressing history and language during the process of data analysis (Smith et al., 2009).

IPA integrates the Husserlian and hermeneutic schools of phenomenology. That is, IPA adopts Husserlian phenomenology, which highlights rich and deep descriptions of life experiences, as well as hermeneutic phenomenology, which integrates the researcher's perspective into the analytic process. As such, IPA does not accept the concept of epochés from Husserlian phenomenology. Instead, IPA emphasizes that it is necessary to include the researcher's preconceptions or underlying assumptions that have resulted from his/her personal history into the process of interpretation. Therefore, IPA keeps the descriptive nature of Husserlian phenomenology while including the interpretative approach suggested by hermeneutic phenomenology (Smith et al., 2009, p. 21).

In addition to Husserlian and hermeneutic phenomenology, the third philosophical foundation of IPA is idiography, which attends to the particular (Smith et al., 2009, p. 29). That is, idiography highlights the particular experiences of the individual in a particular context. While the researcher has a general description of the given phenomenon based on phenomenology and hermeneutics, idiography allows the researcher to identify specificity in these general statements. Thus, idiography enables IPA to examine general ideas and the particular meanings of the social phenomenon that is being researched.

### **The Integration of IPA and the Epistemologies**

In the context of this study, employing IPA is in line with FSC. First, in this study IPA will be employed to describe how masculinity is constructed in Taiwanese society, which is consistent with the FSC assumption that knowledge is constructed. Additionally, IPA seeks to incorporate the researcher's assumptions. The fact that the researcher's preconceptions are incorporated into the research process rather than being bracketed fits with the notion of co-construction in FSC. Thus, the way that the researcher's underlying assumptions influence the research process will be considered as a part of the process of co-constructing social realities with the participants.

Additionally, using IPA fits well with the MGCC model. First, employing IPA in this study will provide a descriptive and interpretive analysis of how masculinity and femininity is constructed and how it is made sense of by individuals, which corresponds with the fact that the MGCC model considers gender as identity that intersects with other identities and the environment. As such, the description and interpretations of constructing masculinity will illustrate how the identity of masculinity is shaped and influenced by multiple forces. Moreover, IPA will highlight how other personal identities shape the construction of masculinity, which aligns with the understanding of intersectionality emphasized in the MGCC model. That is, employing IPA illustrates the dynamic process of constructing masculinity in Taiwan, as well as the relationship between masculinity, other personal identities, and the environment.

### **Procedures**

#### **Ethics**

Once the ethics approval from McGill Ethical Board was received (see Appendix C), the researcher started recruiting the participants. The research advertisement (see Appendix D and



Appendix E) was posted on the Taiwanese Bulletin Board System (BBS), which is similar to Craigslist. Participants were able to withdraw from the study at any time without any penalty. After recruitment and securing the informed consent (see Appendix F and Appendix G), each participant took part in a 90-minute semi-structured interview, which was conducted in Chinese. The interviews were audiotaped and transcribed verbatim to Chinese.

With regard to the storage of the research data, electronic versions of data (e.g., spreadsheets created for analysis and transcriptions) were stored in the researcher's locked cabinet. The audio recordings were transcribed verbatim. To ensure the participants' anonymity, the demographic information in the transcripts was redacted to eliminate personally identifying information. The audio-recorded interviews were erased once this research project was completed.

### **Recruitment**

The recruitment process in this study aimed to obtain 10 to 15 Taiwanese heterosexual female junior high school teachers who are over 18 years of age. Participants were recruited using several methods, including posting the research advertisement on the Taiwanese Bulletin Board System (BBS) and through word of mouth.

### **Materials**

The materials of the research included the informed consent (see Appendix F and Appendix G), demographic information sheet (see Appendix H and Appendix I), and the interview protocol (see Appendix J and Appendix K). The interview protocol was developed by the FSC and the MGCC model in order to explore the Taiwanese heterosexual female junior high school teachers' constructions of masculinity and femininity as well as the intersections between gender, biological sex, sexual orientation, and the social environment. The interview protocol

addressed the ways in which the intersectionality of masculinity and femininity at the individual level interacts with the cultural and social environment.

After the interview protocol was developed, the researcher piloted the interview protocol to ensure the interview questions would generate the research data. After the pilot, the researcher translated the English version of the interview protocol into Chinese. After a bilingual scholar who has expertise on the topic of gender verified the researcher's translation, the researcher conducted a pilot interview in Chinese to ensure that the Chinese version of interview protocol would address the topic under study. Moreover, the informed consent form and demographic information sheet were translated into Chinese and subsequently verified by a bilingual scholar who has expertise in the field of gender studies.

### **Participants**

The study was conducted using semi-structured interviews with Taiwanese heterosexual female junior high school teachers who are over 18 years of age, had at least 2 year of teaching experience, and were willing to share their perspectives or personal life experiences related to constructions of masculinity and femininity in Taiwan. Purposive sampling was employed for this study to ensure that the participants were able to provide rich descriptions of the phenomenon of interest. Purposive sampling is the method of participant selection that is guided by a particular research interest or goal. Additionally, the utilization of purposive sampling was congruent with the phenomenological approach taken for this study, as this data collection method aims to gather deep, rich, and detailed descriptions of lived experiences (Groenewald, 2004; McKinney & Deeny, 2002). The Taiwanese heterosexual female teachers were recruited for this study regardless of their age, SES, and other social categories. The semi-structured

interviews were conducted in person and each interview was audio taped. After the interview, each participant was compensated with a \$10 (300 NTD) gift certificate.

Recruitment resulted in 13 Taiwanese female participants between the ages of 27 to 46. At time of the interview, eight participants held a bachelor degree, and five participants had a master degree. Seven participants had over 10 years of teaching experience and three participants had over five years of teaching. The other three participants had over two years of teaching. Two participants served administrative positions in addition to teaching roles in their schools. Further, the school subjects which participants taught included Guidance (4), Chinese (3), Social Science (3), English (1), Arts (1), and Physics (1). The locations of schools where most of the participants worked were at suburbs (8) whereas four schools were located in urban area. One participant reported that her school was located in rural area.

Additionally, the participants representing three ethnicities, such as Hoklo, Hakka, and immigrant from China. As for participants' sexual orientation, all participants identified as heterosexual. Moreover, participants identified their relational status as married (8), partnered (3), and single (2). Finally, most participants described their gender expression as "neutral", "non-traditional feminine", or "boyish."

### **Data analysis**

The researcher utilized interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) to analyze the interview transcripts (Smith et al., 2009; Smith & Osborn, 2008). The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews in Chinese and the transcripts were transcribed verbatim in Chinese. Throughout the process of data analysis, the researcher translated the themes, subthemes, and categories from Chinese into English instead of translating the entire transcripts. Using this approach to translation helped ensure the original meanings in the Chinese transcripts.

IPA begins with reading a transcript several times to become familiar with the participant's account. While performing the initial reading, the researcher took notes on any aspects in the transcript that appeared unique or interesting. Next, the researcher re-read the transcript and identified the focus points and themes (Smith & Osborn, 2008), which were written in Chinese (see Appendix L). Once the themes were identified, a judge who was fluently bilingual verified the themes. If the themes verified by the judge did not match those of the researcher, the researcher discussed this with the judge until a consensus was reached. After completing the verification, the researcher translated these themes from Chinese into English. Then, a bilingual judge translated these themes back into Chinese to ensure the accuracy of the researcher's translation. The themes were in English whereas the transcript remained in Chinese. Then, a data chart was created to organize line numbers and the transcription content. Next, the researcher merged these themes into the categories, which were in Chinese. After completing the verification of the categories, the researcher translated these categories from Chinese into English (see Appendix M). Then, a bilingual judge translated these categories back into Chinese to ensure the accuracy of the researcher's translation. Subsequently, the researcher wrote a case story based on the data chart. Finally, a graphic figure was generated to present an overall understanding of each participant's accounts (see Appendix N). This process was conducted for each individual transcript.

### **Trustworthiness and Credibility**

Qualitative researchers must employ the standards of trustworthiness and credibility that are consistent with the philosophical assumptions of a qualitative paradigm to ensure rigor and quality in the research process (Morrow, 2005; Shenton, 2004). Therefore, the techniques that

were adopted in this study to guarantee trustworthiness and credibility included: reflexivity, verification, dependability, and catalytic validity.

### **Reflexivity**

Reflexivity is essential to the quality of the qualitative phenomenological study as qualitative researchers themselves are one of the research instruments (Creswell, 2007; Morrow, 2005). As such, it is important to be aware of the influence of a researcher's own assumptions on the research process. Aligning with a feminist social constructionist epistemology, the researcher's participation in the research process is considered to be one of co-constructing the research data with the participants. In addition, according to the interpretative phenomenological analysis, the researcher's own perspectives need to be incorporated into the research process rather than bracketed. Therefore, reflexivity is significant, as it is important for the researcher to reflect upon her personal values and beliefs related to the research process.

Given the importance of reflexivity in the context of the proposed research project, the researcher employed self-reflection journaling to maintain reflexivity in the research process. Consistent with Morrow's (2005) suggestion, an ongoing conversation with the supervisor in the research process supported the researcher's reflections on the influences of personal assumptions and biases.

### **Verification**

In addition to reflexivity, verification is another important technique to enhance the trustworthiness and credibility of this proposed research project. It is noteworthy that the research data were collected in Chinese, whereas the research project was written in English. Employing verification aims to ensure that data analysis is accurately presented through the translation process. Ægisdóttir, Gerstein, and Çinarbaş (2008) suggested that it is important to

use back translation while conducting cross-cultural studies. Thus, after the researcher completed the analysis of each transcript and translated these coding themes from Chinese into English, a bilingual judge (who was fluently literate in Chinese and English) translated these English coding themes back into Chinese to ensure the accuracy of the researcher's translation. Moreover, the researcher's dissertation supervisor served as an auditor, who scrutinized the themes drawn after the researcher completed individual analysis and cross-case analysis. Verifying the research data by a judge and an auditor ensured the trustworthiness and credibility of the current study.

### **Dependability**

Within a qualitative inquiry, dependability refers to the fact that the research process, including data collection and analysis, should be conducted and reported in detail, thereby providing an explicit audit trail (Shenton, 2004). Thus, the researcher conducted this study by following a step-by-step protocol and maintaining a detailed journal of research activities, including procedures, anomalies, recruitments, semi-structured interviews, and data analysis. By so doing, the dependability of this study was enhanced.

### **Catalytic Validity**

Catalytic validity refers to the degree to which the research process can empower the research participants and social actions can be facilitated by the research (Koro-Ljungberg, 2008; Lather, 2003; Morrow, 2005). Catalytic validity indicates that qualitative research can be empowering and emancipatory through translating the research results into alternative perspectives or social actions. As such, this research process has the potential to orient participants to different perspectives on their lived experiences. To that end, the current study recognized that the concepts of masculinity and femininity span across biological sex, thereby

helping participants understand the life experience of performing alternative expressions of masculinity and femininity. Additionally, another research question explored the benefits and consequences obtained by performing masculinity and femininity. Further, the research questions address the link between masculinity and consequences. In so doing, participants may have become aware of both the oppression and privilege of performing traditional masculinity. Thus, this study was conducted with the hope of suggesting systemic changes as a result of acknowledging the privileges and consequences embedded in masculinity and femininity.

## CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

### Introduction

This chapter will present the results of this study that address the research questions related to the relationship among the concepts of biological sex, gender, and sexual orientation as well as the consequences of unmet gender expectations. First, the participants' accounts of overall gender expectations that are determined by biological sex will be presented. Second, the consequences of unmet gender expectations will be discussed. These expectations and consequences for teachers will be illustrated. Further, participants' own gender expression and gender roles will be outlined, followed by a section on the notion of sexual orientation. Finally, the findings regarding the implementation of the Gender Equity Education Act in junior high school will be presented.

### Gender Expectations as Determined by Biological Sex

Participants described that different gender role expectations for males and females are based on their biological sex. Their accounts highlighted a strong link between biological sex and gender. These gender expectations fit into the following categories: social-cultural, physical, academic, and were all determined by biological sex.

#### Socio-Cultural

Based on an analysis of the interviews, participants perceived that individuals' gender roles and behaviors are based on their biological sex. One teacher stated, "as for a female, the society expects her to be quiet, gentle, and graceful and that is because of her biological sex. The expectations for a girl's gender expression are based on her biological sex" (101). 社會就會對他有所期待，女生來說，會有文靜、溫柔、動作優雅的想法，我覺得這是因為生理性別的關係，所表現出來的社會性別就會有所期待。



Additionally, there are specific social expectations for biological females. In particular, the expectation that women will marry by a certain age exemplifies this social expectation. “If they [other female teachers] know you have a boyfriend, they ask about your plan to get married” (105). 要是她們知道你有男朋友，她們會問你那你打算甚麼時候結婚。

Contrarily, participants stated that gender expectations for biological males include specific characteristics, such as being independent. For example, one participant reported, “for a male, the society expects he is competent at working and fighting, is independent and doesn’t show his vulnerability. He is expected to find a good woman to be with and to take care of his own family” (113). 對男生來講，男生就是要有工作能力，要能夠驍勇善戰哪，可以單打獨鬥啊!不可以示弱，要找一個好女生照顧好自己的家庭，社會上的期待是這樣...

Further, some teachers observed the differences between female and male junior high school students. These participants stated that female students were more mature than male students. One teacher described her observations:

I think we are stuck on an idea that female students are competent and have more leadership skills than male students. Female students are more psychologically mature than male students. The other reason might be I’m a female teacher and it’s easy for me to communicate with female students and I find that they manage class relevant matters pretty well. (111)

我覺得我們被一種觀念束縛，好像女生就很會做事...女生比男生在心理成長比較快一些，所以我們會比較覺得女學生比較成熟一點，或者是我們是女老師，很多事情就直接跟女同學溝通，由她們去帶班上，目前我會這樣子。

Given such observed associations between gender expectations and biological sex, the participants hypothesized that individuals whose biological sex and gender are not aligned would feel pressured to conform to expectations regarding conventional expressions of gender. “You are lucky in a way if your biological sex is consistent with your gender; you are likely accepted by everyone and you won’t encounter difficulties when you grow up.” (104). ...覺得現在就是

你幸運的是，如果生理性別與社會性別相同是一樣的話，大家就會比較容易接納跟包容你，成長過程中不會遇到那麼多困難...

Nevertheless, the boundary between biological sex and gender expression is currently being blurred. According to one teacher's account, males and females are currently becoming more androgynous in terms of gender expression, since there is no clear line to distinguish male and female gender expression.

The term *xing-bie* usually refers to physiology. I think males and females are just different in terms of physiology. Currently we don't really expect males and females to do different things, for example, males are not expected just to be breadwinners; females can do that, too. The expectation from society [for males and females] is not distinct. Rather, being androgynous is better. (110)

性別，可能第一個就是生理上...生理上我覺得男生、女生除了生理上的差別之外，現在越來越不會去強調男生或女生一定要怎樣，男生不一定要主外，女生也可以主外，就是在社會上賦予的東西，現在沒有那麼分明，反而是說中性的東西是比較OK的。

Yet, some participants identified that some students have traditional beliefs about gender expression, meaning that the students believe that females and males have to act feminine and masculine, respectively. For example, male students are expected to express masculine characteristics, such as being athletic and dominant and getting along with other male peers and they would be criticized if they did not conform to male stereotypes.

Our schoolteachers are from rural areas and they consider that boys have to be responsible for what they have done. If they see that boys are not being responsible or they are afraid to do something, they blame the male students by saying "Are you really a boy?" or "Be a boy!" (102)

...因為那邊老師很多是CC(某縣市)人，會覺得男生就是要有擔當，如果他們做了很沒有擔當的事情、或是很卒仔的事情，他們就會用這種...「你這樣算是個男人嗎？」這種的，「男子漢敢做敢當啊！」這樣子的話罵男生...

### Physical Appearance

One person who participated in the study stated that males are expected to be physically strong in order to protect women. "I think gender refers to some assigned tasks in terms of

biological sex, for example, males are expected to be muscular and strong. Males are expected to protect females” (106)...那對...我覺得社會性別就是因著你的生理性別特質而給你一些任務，比如說男生長比較多的肌肉阿，比較健壯，所以男生被要求說要保護女生的呀...

In addition, another participant reported, “I think there is a difference between males and females. Males want to have more physical contact but females don’t necessary need this.”

(110)...我會覺得，我在國中的時候，我覺得男孩子和女孩子比較不一樣的地方，男孩子想要有身體上的碰觸，女孩子不一定要有...

Moreover, the different physical boundaries that exist between teachers and students who are of different biological sexes represent a type of physical difference, as male teachers’ assistance of female students might be misunderstood. One participant explained this as follows:

If a teacher and a student are of different biological sexes, they would have less physical contact whereas it is ok for a teacher and student to have physical contact if they are the same biological sex. For example, if a female student needs a check-up, [a male teacher] would let a female teacher take this female student to the washroom. (105)

可能身體界線的部分吧，比如說我們平常相處，老師之間或老師與學生之間，我覺得要是不同的生理性別的話，他們比較少會有肢體上的碰觸，如果是同樣的生理性別他們可能會有比較多的生理接觸，比如說檢查的話，[男老師]就會請女老師帶女生去廁所...

Moreover, another teacher talked about the relationship between gender and hormones, explaining that people have different gender expressions depending on the degree of estrogen and androgen. “I think biology seems to influence gender as estrogen and androgen more or less influence how you think and behave [in terms of gender expression], and even influence people’s sexual orientation. The way people behave is about gender” (109). 我覺得生理的東西好像也是會影響到社會性別的部分...雄性激素或雌性激素，多一點或少一點就會影響到你的想法，因為這些變了，性傾向應該也會改變。

## Academic

With regard to female and male students' learning, one participant, a physics teacher, reported that male students perform better than female students in physics. Given her belief that females and males need to be treated equally and her observations that female and male students' have different levels of competency in physics, she pays specific attention to encouraging female students when they make progress in physics.

In my teaching area, natural sciences, male students usually perform better. With regard to the bias related to biological sex, I have to admit that there are differences between male and female students. I have to say, based on my many years of [physics] teaching, over 85% student who perform better are male. However when I come across female students who perform well, I specifically encourage them. I find that female students can perform as well as male students if they are willing to make the effort. I have a [physics] class where the performance of the female students exceeds that of the male students. (113)

其實在我的教育領域裡面來講，老實說男生表現比女生好是普遍的，我教的是自然科，本來就沒辦法.....我不小心還是會提到，就是關於性別這種偏見，不過實際上我必須承認有真的有差異在，以這麼多年教學統計下來，這個科目百分之 85 以上就是男生學得比較好。但要是女生表現好的話，我就會大大的誇獎，我發現其實就國中階段的難易度，孩子如果願意努力，女生其實還是大有可為...現在我手上就有一個班級...他們班這個女生的表現本來就比男生好...

Despite the abovementioned link between gender expression and biological sex, some teachers disagreed with this rigid association and considered that it could be loosened. One participant explained:

I don't think these associations [between biological and sex] are related. For example, even though I look soft, in fact I'm androgynous [not submissive]. Even if you are female, you can be very assertive and strong as well as express what you think. It is possible to break the [rigid] link between biological sex and gender. (113)

從我的觀點來看，我覺得沒有非常有關聯，因為我覺得雖然我外表雖然是很溫柔的女生，但實際上我根本就是一個中性人....就算是妳是女性的角色，還是可以活得很堅強、做妳自己...生理性別和社會性別妳要打破框架不是辦不到的...

### Consequences of not Meeting Expectations

The participants reported that there are various consequences for male and female students who do not meet the abovementioned gender expectations. The consequence for these male and female students will be presented.

#### Male Students

Some participants reported that male students who do not meet masculine gender expectations and have specific personal characteristics, mannerisms, and social circles are considered feminine and, as a result, are teased and socially isolated. With regard to personal characteristics, tone of voice is one of the significant indicators used to distinguish between femininity and masculinity in Taiwan. A soft tone is considered feminine and thus a male with this vocal characteristic would be considered feminine.

I felt his [a male student] behavior is way too feminine, I had a chance to ask his classroom teacher and he said many people definitely can't tolerate that [the male student's femininity]. People like to laugh at him or bully him, as he is very different and he is more feminine than girls. For example, the way he walks is like a girl, he is very thin, and has a soft tone (111).

但我覺得他的表現真的太陰柔了...有一次我問他們班的班導，他的班導說要是很多人看到一定會很受不了，也想笑他或欺負他，因為他樣子就是太那個(陰柔)，比女生還那個(陰柔)...他這樣比較明顯，因為他比較明顯，他每次尖叫的時候，都讓我嚇一大跳，這太那個了...女性化...走路也內八字，整個就太女性，就像古時候的女生，他們都瘦瘦的...聲音一定尖尖的...

Additionally, other personal characteristic expected for a boy are being outgoing and athletic. A boy who is quiet and gentle would likely be considered feminine. For example, one participant specified that one male student likes dancing and he is teased for being feminine: “We held a talent show and there is a male student, who is really good at dancing. However, he dances in a sexy style, not a masculine style. He was teased by other male students” (106). 我們

學校會舉辦才藝競賽，我們學校有個男同學蠻會跳的，他跳的舞是屬於肢體，比較柔媚，比較多的扭動，像男生跳舞都會比較用力阿，就被隔壁班男生拿來說嘴...

Likewise, mannerisms are another indicator used to judge someone's gender, and in Taiwan specific social demeanors are considered feminine, such as stamping one's feet and being shy. For instance, one participant observed that male students who stamp their feet are viewed as weak and as lacking the emotional control expected of male students: "There is a male student whose behavior is gentle. He has some feminine behaviors, such as stamping his feet. His peers think that he is a sissy. As a result, this male student is socially isolated" (104). 有個男生行為舉止比較溫柔，然後比較有女性化的行為，像是跺腳，[其他同學]就覺得他有點 sissy，就有點娘娘腔，那學生就有點受到排擠...

Moreover, men and women are segregated in terms of social circles. When this norm is violated, as in the case of a male getting along with females, there is the automatic assumption that he is feminine. Further, teachers reported that there are consequences for male students who do not meet expectations in regards to masculine gender expression, in that they would likely be bullied and their sexual orientation would be questioned. One participant stated, "Some students said 'sissy' or 'fag' to some male students who were teased because of getting alone with some female students and often hung out with them" (111). 我在校園裡面聽到的霸凌比較是，比如說娘砲或娘娘腔...剛好這樣子(被霸凌)的男學生，他的好朋友就是這幾個女生，兩個三個左右，放學一起阿，很有話聊...

### **Female Students**

Some participants described that some female students' gender expression does not meet the expectations of being feminine. These expectations are illustrated by junior high school

uniforms, which are required in Taiwanese junior high schools. In particular, in the summer, female students are expected to wear uniform skirts whereas male students wear uniform pants. Participants described that some female students prefer wearing pants rather than skirts. Resultantly, those female students' gender expression is considered to be neutral in Chinese, which means neither masculine nor feminine and is similar to the term *androgynous* in English. One teacher said, "the classroom teacher found that a female student was dressed androgynously [refused to wear uniform skirt and wears uniform pants instead]. The classroom teacher referred her to Counselling Services and hoped that we would work on her 'gender issues'" (103). 班導發現這件事情，發現她穿著[不穿裙子，只穿褲子]很中性，有戴耳環...他就會寫轉介單出來，希望你協助做處理這個孩子的性別問題...

In addition to female students' androgynous style of dress, teachers reported that female junior high students are expected to be closer with their female peers than their male peers. Thus, participants reported that female students who often play and interact with male peers would be considered boyish. "A girl who would be considered masculine usually doesn't care too much about how she behaves, often hangs out with her male peers, and plays basketball with them and looks very wild" (101). 其實我覺得你剛剛講一個陽剛的女生，表現比較大啦啦，她也比較粗魯，跟男生鬧在一起，跟他們下課去打籃球，感覺起來很野

Additionally, participants mentioned that female students are considered masculine if they have the power to lead some of their male peers. These female students usually give orders and make decisions, which are behaviors typically expected of male students. For example, "some female students often have two male students besides them, just like her followers. Some female students who act like that are masculine" (102). 有的還會女生旁邊帶兩個男生，很像

她的小弟，中間那個是女生喔!她會有她的小弟，她會那種自己好像大姐頭，可是她是那種男性化的大姊頭

Participants identified that female students who express masculine gender performance are more likely to be assumed to be homosexual, whether or not they are. For example, one participant reported that female students who have short hair and take on a leadership role with some of their male peers are likely to be assumed to be lesbians. She stated, “For a masculine female, I think it is related to sexual orientation; people would probably think she has a girlfriend or she is interested in girls” (101) ...那如果是陽剛特質的女性，那我覺得這個就跟性傾向有關，大家就會期待她交一個女朋友，然後她可能對女生會比較有興趣...

### **Similarity and Differences of the Consequences for Male and Female Students**

The participants reported that one of the consequences of students not meeting these expectations is being considered gender atypical, as a result of which their sexual orientation is questioned. That is, male students who do not perform in masculine ways are considered feminine and gay. In contrast, female students who do not perform in feminine ways are likely to be considered neutral, which has no link to sexual orientation, or masculine, and therefore lesbian. The assumed connection between gender expression and sexual orientation is imposed on the students regardless of their actual sexual orientations.

Despite the similarities of the consequences for male and female students, when participants discussed students who have atypical gender expression, they reported that female students' neutral characteristics and mannerisms are more accepted among their peers than male students' femininity. Moreover, participants described that female students' neutral characteristics receive positive feedback from peers. One participant said:



Masculine female students are less likely to be isolated and even attract some other female students. They are considered cute and “refreshing.” However, a feminine male student would likely be disliked by their peers and he would be considered weird. (101)  
男性化的女生比較不會受到排擠，甚至她會吸引到某一部分的女生，她會覺得你很帥氣，但今天假設一個男生娘娘腔或女性化的時候，男生和女生都不喜歡，他們會覺得他很奇怪。

### **Expectations and Consequences for Teachers as Determined by Biological Sex**

#### **Male Teachers**

**Expectations.** Some participants described that male teachers are expected to express masculinity, meaning that male teachers are expected to fit within socio-cultural norms of masculine expressions, such as in their style of dress and mannerisms (e.g., speech patterns).

Several participants described male teachers who have high-pitched voices and are sophisticated as typically feminine. A high-pitched voice is considered feminine in Taiwan since it is thought that only women have such a tone of voice. Being sophisticated, another feminine characteristic, refers to being a discreet, considerate, and well-rounded individual who is able to manage complicated matters. When male teachers display these features, they are considered feminine. “I think he [a male teacher] is male but he is like a female as his tone of voice is pretty high and the way he argues with other female teachers is just like a woman” (102). 我覺得他是男老師喔，假如扣除他生理性別，我會覺得他是一個女生...然後他的言行都讓人家覺得他有點...三姑六婆，講話的那種方式啊、嘴臉啊...而且他都找女老師吵架...分貝很高

Additionally, in Taiwan the role of a male teacher is associated with the masculine characteristics of physical strength, such as being able to manage severe physical conflict between students and do physical labor in school. As such, several participants talked about the fact that male teachers are assigned to administrative matters involving safety concerns, which are not considered to be suitable for female teachers. For example, as one participant explained,

“Some positions are considered more suitable for male teachers, such as the director of student affairs. As this position requires managing students’ affairs or disciplining students, male teachers are considered as appropriate authority figure to do so” (108). 可能有一些職位，有一些職業，學校覺得還是要有男老師來做比較適合...比如說學務主任，要處理學生事務或管理學生，那如果是男老師的話，那個威嚴感會比較存在，學生管理就比較[順利].

Moreover, participants were keenly aware of how gender roles play out in collaborative work activities. When working on a joint physics project, the male physics teachers were seen as focusing exclusively on their own matters and letting the women take responsibility for the tasks they were supposed to share. One participant stated:

Their [male teachers’] wives probably are very considerate and take care of everything. So, they [male teachers] might take many things for granted. A mature man should change after getting married and starting a family in terms of taking on different roles. However, I don’t see many men change and in fact most men don’t change. The reason might be that their wives take care of everything and they can just be who they were before marriage. (113)

他們可能遇到太好的太太...就是可能太太也都負擔了很多事情，這樣很多事情就很理所當然吧!...我覺得一個成熟的男性，如果進入婚姻及家庭，如果在他的家庭裡賦予他一些角色，他應該有一些轉變吧，但我看到的不是這樣，的確有一些人有改變，但絕大多數的人是沒有轉變的，所以我猜想，他們的另一半幫他們負擔其他事情，讓他們維持一貫的原貌，然後就這樣下去...

**Consequences for male teachers.** When male teachers are not married or have feminine characteristics, rumors quickly spread about their sexual orientation. For example, one participant indicated, “We have two male teachers who haven’t been married, one is teaching arts and another one is teaching performance art. Others suspect that they are gay because they haven’t been married” (103). 比如說我們有個老師，有兩個男老師，一位是教美術，他也沒有結婚，另外一位男老師是教表演藝術，也是沒有結婚，沒有結婚就會被別人猜是不是同性戀...

In situations where male teachers show feminine characteristics the consequence is often one of being teased. According to one participant's report, a male teacher expressing feminine characteristics was teased by his students, which made it challenging for this teacher to establish his authority in the class.

We had a male substitute teacher who was feminine. It is difficult for a feminine male teacher to control students. Students will probably make jokes about the male teacher's femininity. Sometimes students came and said, "That teacher is sissy and he's weird." One time, students even video-recorded the teacher during class and posted the video on social media with derogatory messages. (108)

另外有出現代課老師，比較女性化男老師，像這樣的男老師比較難控制小朋友，那小朋友可能私底下會把女性化的特質去做文章，學生有時候會跟我們老師說那個老師娘娘腔，很奇怪，甚至有一次學生在課堂上錄影 PO 下來，在上面寫不好的語詞...

## Female Teachers

**Expectations.** Similar to the gender-based expectations of male teachers in Taiwan, female teachers are expected to exhibit feminine personal characteristics, such as being patient, having a feminine style of dress (e.g., wearing skirts), and having long hair. These norms of traditional feminine expression are reinforced by the administration. For example, one participant said, "With regard to dress code, the school expects female teachers to wear skirt suits, especially for big school events, such as parents' day. The school thinks that female teachers' appearance makes an important impression on parents" (104). 學校對一位女性教師的期待會是...就外觀上面是...因為我有一一直被提出疑問是...在我之前的學校，只要是大日子、家長座談會或是有外賓來的日子，規定是女老師是要穿上裙裝的...他覺得那是形塑給家長的形象

Participants were aware of the association between gender and occupation. In Taiwan, there are very specific expectations of female teachers related to marriage and family, as teaching is considered a stable career. This expectation is based on the understanding that

teaching requires being able to follow a structured work schedule and take care of household duties. For example, one participant stated:

They [other teachers] think that you have got a stable job, the next step is getting married. This kind of message is constant and the assumption is that female teachers don't have other things to do except getting married. I don't like this kind of message. (105)  
他們覺得既然工作穩定了，接下來就是要成家，一直給你這樣的訊息，女生[除了成家]好像沒有別的事情要做，我不喜歡這樣的感覺...

Further, participants' accounts demonstrated that their senior female colleagues' beliefs and interventions reinforce this stereotypical association between motherhood and being a teacher. For instance, one participant described the phenomenon of senior teachers promoting and encouraging junior female teachers to get married.

They [other female teachers] encourage you to marry. If you didn't have a partner, they would want to introduce a potential boyfriend to you, they wouldn't ask if you needed them to introduce you to a potential girlfriend. I found that their "ultimate goal" was making sure you get married, have a child, and have a happy family. They followed this route and they forced themselves and others to go that route. (103)  
就叫你要結婚啊!...要是我今天沒有伴，是不是他們會問說要不要幫你介紹男朋友，他們就不會問說要不要幫你介紹女朋友，他們的最"終極目標"是結婚生子，美滿家庭，他們會 follow 這個腳步，逼迫自己和別人去走那個終極目標...

Nonetheless, one participant reported that senior female teachers do not arrange dates for single female teachers who had androgynous characteristics:

Junior teachers easily get attention [from senior teachers]. Some [senior] teachers would like to introduce you to someone. I rarely heard that these [senior] teachers introduce someone to the female teacher who is considered androgynous. I guessed that teachers would prefer to introduce someone to those more feminine female teachers...(109).  
然後年輕的在學校裡就會關心你呀...就會幫你介紹什麼的，我就比較少聽到有人要幫她[外表中性的女教師]介紹...大家在講的時候，不會特別講到她，誰還沒有結婚什麼的，名單上就不會有她。因為一般那種介紹會從看起來比較像女孩子先那個[介紹]吧...

In addition to attitudes toward marriage expressed in school, the other gender specific issue is how teachers' roles are assigned. There are typically two roles for teachers in junior high schools in Taiwan: the classroom teacher, who is assigned a class to supervise and teaches their

subject of specialty to all classes (such as Chinese, math, or English), and the subject teacher, who only teaches the subject of specialty to all classes. Thus, being a classroom teacher means that the teacher needs to manage a class of students in addition to doing their own teaching.

Female teachers, because of their assumed feminine attributes of being caring and considerate to colleagues and students, are thought of as being better able to manage complicated class matters in a well-rounded manner. Two participants specified “they [the administrators at school] want us [female teachers] to supervise the class...” (111). 還是他[排課的老師]就希望我們好好的帶班級 and “they assume that female teachers are patient and are more suitable to supervise the class” (107). 會覺得女生就比較有耐心，會比較適合當導師

Moreover, the abovementioned gender expectations are reinforced by the school administration. For example, “during the commencement, the principal explained to the students that male teachers are suitable to supervise the mechanical class and female teacher are well-suited to supervise the culinary class and the hairdressing class” (105). 那時候我們始業式校長會跟同學說...說男老師帶機械課非常適合阿，那女老師[就帶餐飲、美容美髮科]...

Despite the general trend of assigning different work for female and male teachers, a few participants described that, in their schools, work assignments were based on personal characteristics and not gender roles associated with feminine or masculine characteristics. For example, one participant reported “...all the directors in my school are female teachers as male teachers aren’t willing to serve as [directors]” (101). 像我學校主任都是女生，因為男生比較沒有意願[擔任主任]...

**Consequences for female teachers.** When a female teachers’ style of dress and appearance was less feminine, such as frequently wearing pants or having short hair, participants saw this as a violation of gender-based expectations regarding dress and appearance and thought

of this person as neutral in Chinese, which is the equivalent to being considered androgynous in English. Participants noted that when that female teachers get along with their male colleagues, other teachers assume that this is because they have more masculine characteristics and similar interests as their male colleagues. For example, one participant reported:

One [female] teacher is considered androgynous, because she has a certain hairstyle and rides a motorcycle. She rides the motorcycle and that's the model guys would ride. Obviously many male teachers hang out with her. (109)  
 ...其他我有感覺到有幾個老師是比較中性的...就她的髮型阿，她會是騎打檔車...是男生的打檔車...很明顯的男老師跟她好的還蠻多的。

In addition, some participants stated that these female teachers who are considered neutral and masculine are often suspected of being lesbians. Even when the actual sexual orientation of this female teacher is not known, teachers gossip about her sexual orientation behind her back, which starts rumors about the possibility of she being a lesbian. As one participant put it, "The androgynous female teachers were suspected of being homosexual" (109).  
 [中性化女老師]應該比較偏同性那塊吧...

Moreover, some participants described that if female teachers did not plan to marry, other female teachers would be curious about the reasons, as shown by one participant's explanation: "Regarding some androgynous female teachers who haven't been married, some other teachers question 'Does she like girls, instead of boys?' People got curious about androgynous female teachers' sexual orientation" (106). 我們學校有一些比較中性的女老師，沒有結婚，可能會說你覺得她喜歡女生嗎？對於她的性傾向就會有些好奇

### **Similarities and Differences of the Consequences for Male and Female Teachers**

Participants reported that while in school, both male and female teachers are expected to express traditional forms of femininity and masculinity in their personal characteristics, mannerisms, and social circles and when these expectations are not met, their sexual orientation

is questioned regardless of their true sexual orientation. This often results in teasing and the spreading of rumors.

However, there are different consequences for male and female teachers who do not meet traditional gender expectations. There is no neutral or androgynous category for men. For female teachers, their gender is considered neutral or masculine depending on the degree of atypical characteristics. For example, female teachers who have a less feminine style of dress would be considered neutral, whereas other female teachers who perform more atypical gender expression and befriend male colleagues are considered masculine. Thus, there is a dichotomous labeling of gender expression for male teachers (i.e., either masculine or feminine), whereas there is more diversity in the descriptions for female teachers (i.e., feminine, neutral, or masculine).

### **Participants' Gender Expression and Gender Roles**

#### **School**

When describing how gender is implicated in their roles as teachers, some participants acknowledged their feminine appearance, but they stated that nevertheless they are assertive and persistent when interacting with students and colleagues. One participant said:

Students have said that I have a feminine appearance but the way I teach makes them “confused.” This is because I look feminine; however, the way I work is not feminine. Students are shocked because I don’t look like a natural science teacher [due to my feminine appearance] and the way I teach natural science is like a man, even more masculine than a man. For example, students have said when something goes wrong when they are doing experiments, I always deal with it in a very calm and efficient manner. They said the way I react is “chill.” (113)

學生有這樣形容過我，老師妳這麼女性的外表，每次做起實驗來，我覺得妳真的太猛了，你這樣很可怕，學生說會讓他們精神錯亂，因為我外表很女性，但每次只要我一做事或一講話，學生都快要昏倒，因為真的差太多了，學生很 shock 是因為他們覺得我的外貌看起來就不像個自然老師，等到我教書，他們就覺得我像自然老師也就算了，有時候他們會覺得我比男生還像男生...他們覺得你實在是太 man 了，只要是實驗發生什麼事情，我都會迅速冷靜處理好，現在的講法叫做淡定。

Further to this point, some teachers explained that female teachers are expected to demonstrate professionalism in a humble and gentle way, while male teachers are expected to be assertive and firm. For example, one female participant firmly stated her opinions during an administrative meeting, and her assertiveness was considered inappropriate, whereas male teachers were allowed to demonstrate their assertiveness.

Sometimes they [the directors] dismissed me on purpose, and said something like “Don’t say that, just calm down.” For example, in one meeting, I said why didn’t you talk to other subject teachers [about changing their classes]? Why do you make guidance teachers compromise every time? The director said to me, “Don’t say that, don’t be that loud.” I have seen male teachers say something like this and people think it’s ok for male teachers to do that. Why can’t female teachers do the same thing [express their opinions]? (105)

就覺得他們有時候會故意壓我，就是說不可以這樣講，會跟我說主任在外面，或是不可以這樣講，會說息怒息怒...就我有一次在那個...為了課程爭取學習權，每一科課堂數這件事情，當時我就在輔導室裡面大聲咆哮說，你為甚麼不叫別的領域怎樣怎樣，他們就會說，你不可以這樣說，不要這麼大聲，那為什麼我有看過同事，甚至是男生可以這樣講，他們會覺得說哇~這老師很有 guts，但是為什麼今天是女生就不可以這樣子

Additionally, in Taiwan, a hierarchical system exists among teachers based on seniority and biological sex. Male teachers and personnel are higher in the hierarchy than female teachers and personnel. As a result, female teachers are expected to be humble, gentle, and obedient towards male senior teachers. However, for the most part, the female teachers in this study identified the ways they do not confirm to this stereotype of being humble and obedient to senior teachers.

Another example of this hierarchy is with regard to the ways in which female and male teachers communicate with students and manage classes. In Taiwan, female teachers are expected to communicate with students in a patient and caring manner, whereas male teachers are allowed to do so in an authoritative manner. However, participants specified this did not actually play out in the classroom, as some participants defined their own classroom



management and interacted with students in a serious and authoritative way. Thus, these participants reported that they were considered as tough as male teachers. “They [other teachers] said that so and so [my name] is very tough and you can be the director of students affairs. They think I would be a good fit to be the director because I look tough and assertive” (107). 他們會  
OO(107 名字)那麼兇，你去當訓導主任好了…他們會覺得我很適合，因為我看起來就很  
兇…

When participants performed administrative tasks, the expectation was that they would be gentle and submissive even though they had important responsibilities. One participant stated:

They [other teachers] think I am not like other female teachers because as the section chief of guidance services, I work with students in a very direct manner. I work efficiently as well. I feel I am like a “bad cop” in the Counselling Services. I know I have a tough personality. They have an impression of a female guidance teacher but I just didn’t fit in that box. (103)

女性教師的期待…對他們而言，我覺得我好像他們覺得我跟別的女老師不太一樣，因為我是做輔導組長的角色，然後我對於孩子的處理方式，說實在我說話蠻直接的，我就會直接點孩子，我在處理事情的節奏是很快的…我覺得我算是輔導處的黑臉，我自己覺得啦！我自己的個性就比較強一點，他們也知道我的脾氣，大部分的狀況是這樣，他們會覺得輔導老師的話應該會要有一個仙女的框架，可是我不是這好像不是我走的路線。

## Family

Several teachers reported that they expressed their gender slightly differently when playing various roles in their family. Participants explained their gender expression varied depending on their roles as daughter, daughter-in-law, wife, mother, and sister.

To begin, as a daughter, some female teachers described that their parents did not have certain expectations that required girls to act feminine. One participant said:

My parents only have three daughters and my father doesn’t have a son to compare us to. It’s natural for him to let us be the way we want to be. Because my parents don’t have a son, they don’t favor boys over girls. In my family, I can be the way I want to be; my parents give us a lot of freedom. My parents have said that as long as you don’t do anything criminal or culturally inappropriate, then you can be yourself. (108)

因為我們家就三個女孩子，我爸也沒有兒子來比較，自然而然這三個女兒要怎樣就怎樣啊，要怎麼發展就怎麼發展。因為我們家沒有兒子，所以在我們家也不會有重男輕女的情況發生，因為也沒得比較...在我們家你想做自己就做自己吧...

However, one teacher talked about the fact that her parents expected her to dress femininely, behave gently, and use feminine body language. She reported,

I think I have to be aware of how I behave and what I wear as my family cares a lot. They have trained me to act like a girl since I was little. For example, I was in my father's car and since it was very hot that day, I just opened my legs to feel cooler. My father pushed my legs down and said a girl wasn't supposed to act like this. (105)

...我覺得外面的儀表、舉止、穿著就要很小心，家人會在意，從小到大他們會把我訓練成像一個女孩子，有一次我坐我爸的車，那時候天氣很熱，然後我就把腳開開就抬很高，因為我穿的其實是不會被看到，這樣吹風很舒服，大熱天的，但是我爸用手把我的腳撥下去，跟我說女孩子不可以這樣子...

A teacher from the study said that when she was young, her parents told her that she had to be a good wife and a good daughter-in-law. One of the criteria for being a good daughter-in-law is having a son as soon as possible after getting married so that she could help to expand the bloodline of her husband's family. She reported, "Right after I got married, my mother told me that I needed to have a son. When I was pregnant, my mother said, 'If this one wasn't boy, you needed to do something like X-Y Enrichment'" (101). 我媽媽在我結婚後沒多久，她就說你一定要生一個男的，那我懷孕了他就說如果你一胎生出來不是男的，那就趕快去做那種精蟲分離術

With regard to the role of daughters-in-law, in Taiwan when women marry they tend to live with their husband's parents. Even married women who do not live with their husband's parents are expected to respect and express filial piety towards their parents-in-law, just as they would towards their own parents. In this study, the participants who lived with their mothers-in-law described their perceptions of their mothers-in-law's traditional expectations of them as

mother and wife. These expectations included considering their husbands as the authority and being respectful and obedient to their husbands.

Further, seven teachers were married and they reported that in their heterosexual marriages their gender expression was not considered feminine, meaning that they were not submissive to their husbands. Moreover, participants described that they did not act like heterosexual women were expected to behave, as they did not demonstrate typical feminine characteristics in marriage, such as being gentle, patient, obedient, and tender.

The androgynous gender expression of the participants whose husbands had more neutral gender characteristics was accepted in their marriage. According to two participants' accounts, their husbands respected the way that they expressed their gender in their marriage; moreover, their husbands' androgynous personal characteristics helped the participants maintain an atypical gender expression in their marriage. One of the participants reported that "my husband is very neutral [in terms of gender] and so am I. I think it works perfectly. I think in relationship being yourself is the most important" (113). 我先生很中性我也很中性，所以就剛剛好...就是我覺得做自己最重要，就是在情感的世界裡面，做自己是最重要的，其他都不重要。

However, a heterosexual female teacher, who served as the director of academic affairs in the school, discussed her husband's traditional gender role in her family and explained that she had experienced gender inequity in her family, indicating that this had shaped her understandings of gender roles. She reported:

I think [gender] inequity exists in my family and it is easier to change myself. I feel I have a lot of jobs. My husband feels I don't have time for him as my daytime is for work and at night I am with my children. My husband can just focus on his work and me, not the children. That's what we argue about in our marriage. Biological sex is not an issue for me but I often experience gender issues in my work and my family. (112)  
改變自己比較快...我覺得家裡才是非常不平等的。我要身兼好幾份這樣，當他[丈夫]要求我的時候，像他都覺得我沒時間陪他，白天切割給工作，晚上切割給小孩，他又要求我陪他，因為他的對象只有工作跟我，對小孩也是一種付出，這種事是我

們婚姻關係是常常會有爭吵的地方....生理性別對我來說不是那麼重要，那社會性別我覺得會一直存在我的工作和家庭這一塊。

One teacher described her fluid gender expression because of assuming familial roles. She said, “In my family, to my husband or to my child, I am the mother and I will show more femininity. However, I when I am alone, I act more androgynous” (018). 在我的家庭，對我的先生或小孩，我就是母親，那我的中性偏女性就會多一點，但是我覺得我的個性上是比較偏中性。

Another teacher shared her perspectives about whether or not women should take on traditional gender roles. The participant stated that women often encounter the dilemma of choosing a career or a family. The participant reported that she saw that some women had their own careers; however, they missed the opportunity to get married and have their own family.

I find that there are some women would give up their family for their academics or work, such as some one of my student's parents. The husband wanted to know why his wife didn't take care of the children, the wife ended up being herself and getting a divorce. She is pretty happy now and has friendship relationships with her children. She said that she couldn't take care of her family and her career at the same time, and she didn't agree with her husband that she was the one to take care children. I just feel that more and more women want to pursue their dreams; however, if women miss the time to build a family, they don't have the chance to have a family. (110)

...而且我慢慢發現很多女生會為了自己的學業或工作，然後選擇放棄家庭，我的學生家長也有阿，但她的先生覺得你為什麼不帶小孩，但她最後決定做她自己，然後離婚，她現在也很快樂，小孩子就是保持朋友的態度，那她當時說她沒辦法家庭和自己的事業兩全，她會覺得我有追求，為什麼一定要我去帶小孩，那就離婚，所以讓我覺得，現在越多女性，會去追求自己的夢想，但很多時候女性的母性光輝會表現出來，錯過那時間，一輩子就這樣子。

### **Social Situations**

In social situations, most participants considered their gender expression to be androgynous, meaning they believed that they did not have many feminine characteristics and mannerisms, such as wearing feminine clothing and speaking in soft tones. In addition to personal characteristics, participants discussed their mannerisms as being androgynous, meaning

that the way they interact with their friends is direct and not necessarily gentle, as is typically expected of Taiwanese women. For example, participants reported that their friends often considered that the way they interact with others as not being feminine. “Outside of school, my friends who have known me for a long time know I am a woman and my behavior is like a boy” (104). 學校以外...自己比較熟的朋友圈，其實還蠻符合的啦!認識夠久知道我還是個女生，只是動作比較大辣辣，比較像男孩子而已...

Specifically, one participant reported that her gender expression was considered masculine due to her personal characteristics, such as being a little lazy and impatient, which are considered to be masculine characteristics in Taiwan. “In terms of communication, I feel that I have a boyish personality and I think I can get along with men. I usually don’t care about the details” (111). 我覺得溝通的話...我會覺得個性就像男生，個性，或者是說我覺得我跟男生比較能夠合得來...而我都大而化之，有時候我覺得我會跟幾個男生比較相處得來。

Further, several teachers reported that they expressed their gender differently depending on the social context. For example, they acted more androgynous in social settings with their friends. However, they would intentionally act more feminine when they were with seniors because they believed that seniors have traditional gender expectations. One teacher said:

I have to pretend [to be feminine] especially when I am with seniors in order to fit with [their] expectations of girls. However, I can’t always pretend to be feminine like that and it is just occasional. I don’t believe that being female necessarily means acting in a [feminine] way. (102)

尤其有長輩或者是老一輩人在的時候，還是要偽裝一下，符合他們覺得你當女生應該要怎麼樣、應該要做些什麼，我覺得那個東西無法長時間的，偶一為之可以啊!我會覺得自己不是那麼制式的覺得女生一定得怎樣。

As outlined in participants’ descriptions of their gender expression in social contexts, overall participants considered that they had both feminine and androgynous characteristics and mannerisms, and they performed them depending on with whom they were interacting. However,

some teachers experienced struggles related to performing femininity. As such, though participants were keenly aware of the societal prescriptions of gender for themselves, they found these prescriptions limiting and as a result maintained flexibility in their expressions of gender in different social situations.

### **Sexual Orientation**

Sexual orientation will be discussed in this section. To begin, sexual orientation is defined as emotional, physical, and sexual attraction and the expression of that attraction with other individuals (Diamond, Pardo, & Butterworth, 2011). In this section, participants' perceptions of overall acceptance of sexual orientation will be first discussed. Next, school and community members' attitudes towards sexual orientation will be presented followed by the participants' perspectives regarding lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) populations. Then participants' reports of LGB school members and LGB education at school will be described.

#### **Overall Climate of Sexual Orientation in School**

Several participants explained that the academic-oriented climate in middle school has implications on how the topic of sexual orientation and intimate relationships were addressed in their schools. Given the academic-oriented atmosphere in Taiwanese junior high schools, it has not been considered necessary to address romantic relationships and the related topic of sexuality. Based on participants' accounts, the topic of sexual orientation is not emphasized in schools mainly because this topic is perceived to be strongly associated with sex and sexuality, which are considered to distract students from studying. This perspective can be seen in one participant's comments: "Junior high school students are not allowed to have romantic relationships in the first place, so there is no possibility to discuss whether the partner in a romantic relationship is male or female" (106). 因為國中生本身你要選擇戀愛的對象就已

經不一定會被允許的事情，所以說不會討論到對象是男性，還是女性這麼細節的部分，普遍上國中生談戀愛都被禁止。

Similarly, one participant stated, “with regard to sexual orientation, this topic has not been addressed in junior high school, they [junior high school students] don’t really understand, partially because they don’t have much information about it” (103). 性傾向的部分，在國中生談到性傾向好像比較少...但是對孩子說明性傾向，他們好像沒有那麼懂...應該是說資訊少...

### **School and Community Members Perspectives on Sexual Orientation**

**Teachers.** As outlined above, based on participants’ accounts, the topic of sexual orientation is considered strongly associated with sexuality, which is a sensitive topic and is related to legal concerns, as grade 7-9 students are under age 18 and they are protected from having non-consensual sex by law in Taiwan (i.e., through the Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act). According to this Act and the Gender Equity Education Act, teachers have to officially report junior high school students’ sexual behaviors. Additionally, pregnancy is another one of teachers’ concerns, as it usually leads to many legal matters between the female and male students’ families. As such, one teacher said:

During junior high school, we can’t really make student fully understand the idea of sexual orientation as it is related to sexuality. In our school, there are one or two students who have been in romantic relationships. Heterosexual romantic relationship result in legal issues. Even when it [sexual intercourse] is consensual, one of the students would likely sue the other student. Thus, we usually tell students: if you want to be together, that’s fine, but don’t get yourself into a place that you can’t get out of [sexual intercourse]. Otherwise, you might have legal responsibility for that. (102)

因為我們在國中階段，其實我覺得性傾向，大概沒有辦法了解得太深，因為到性的階段，畢竟是少部分，像我們的學校，一個班級頂多大概被知道一、兩個，異性之間都不被允許了，因為會牽涉到犯法的問題啊...就算是你情我願，你家裡要...告就是告，所以我們會拿一些 case 跟學生說，你們要交往，學校沒有意見，但你們不能發展到你們無法承擔的部分，會有法律責任...

In particular, the results of the study indicate that the discussion of the topic of sexual orientation would likely be directly linked to attitudes towards LGB individuals. Several teachers observed other teachers' attitudes towards the LGB population, an attitude based on a lack of understanding of this population. Additionally, grades 7–9 are considered to be a critical period of physical and psychological development during which time students are in the process of developing and have not reached a mature and stable stage. As such, several participants reported that students' sexual orientation was considered to be in the process of evolution and would change in the future and thus could be viewed as temporary. One teacher stated:

I think junior high school students are still exploring their sexual orientation and they aren't sure about their sexual orientation. They are during a process of exploration during which students might express feelings for others of the same-sex as a way to show their uniqueness. (108)

性傾向...這麼說好了，因為國中生對於性傾向還處於摸索的階段，不是很確定...他們處於就像我說的可能還在摸索的階段，他或許覺得他喜歡同性或是在這個青春期的想表現比較獨特的自我...

Moreover, another teacher explained, "In the school where I previously worked, homosexuality was considered an illness that can be healed" (104). 以前那個學校，它覺得同性戀是種病，是可以被治癒的...

Nonetheless, sometimes it is difficult to identify teachers' overall attitudes towards LGB individuals. One teacher described her colleagues' comments on the LGB population:

Sometimes I'm not sure about my observation [of my colleagues' attitudes toward the LGB population]. Some teachers say that they don't mind about the LGB population, but I don't know if "I don't mind" means "I don't want to get into trouble so I am not going to discuss this [LGB issues] with students" or if it really means that they don't mind. It's hard to tell what the teachers' attitudes toward LGB individuals are. (103)

有時候我們這樣觀察也不知道狀況到底對不對，因為有些老師會跟你說不介意(同志)，但我不知道這個不介意，是不想惹麻煩，不想跟孩子討論這些事情，還是真的不介意，我無法判斷說學校裡有沒有這個人[歧視同志的老師]。



**Students.** Several participants described that because the majority of students expressed feelings towards the opposite sex, other students were likely influenced to engage in opposite-sex romantic relationships. One participant reported:

They [the students] seemed to be forced to like the opposite sex. Therefore, if you are a boy and you have feelings for a girl, that is very reasonable. People at this period of time would likely go to the opposite sex for a romantic relationship because everyone is going that route and they are likely influenced by that. (104)

因為好像被迫要去喜歡異性，所以你呈現出來，你去追的對象就是個異性啊!在國中階段，如果你喜歡女生，ㄟ，這樣很合理啊，因為你是男的。如果你在那時候，因為談戀愛就是找異性，因為所有人都往那條路走，自己好像很容易受到影響。

According to several teachers' accounts, students held different attitudes towards LGB individuals: some students expressed acceptance towards LGB individuals whereas other students did not. In particular, one participant reported that in her school, female and male students had different attitudes towards the LGB population. The participant explained that female students were more open to their peers' sexual orientation and they expressed acceptance towards homosexuality. "I feel female students are usually sensitive to their peers' homosexuality whereas male students are more blunt about it. Or some male students are very direct and would likely point it out" (113). 我覺得比較敏銳的通常是女生，比較容易察覺[同學的同志身分]，有些男生就比較鈍鈍的，有些男同學講話比較容易一針見血，他就會直接點破。

**Parents.** Several teachers described parents' attitudes towards their children's sexual orientation. One participant reported that some parents viewed homosexuality as being a temporary condition that could change as a young person matured.

A parent told me that one student in her daughter's class said that he is gay. This parent asked if his situation [gay identity] was real or fake? They are saying that this "situational homosexuality" in teenagers is part of a transition period. (105)

像家長會問過我說，她女兒班上有個學生說自己是同性戀，他會不會...那這個狀況是真的假的...他們會說會有假性同性戀，在青少年是過渡時期。

Some participants explained that when some parents found out about their children's same-sex relationship, they did not accept their child's relationship and brought the student to see a psychiatrist: "His parents weren't willing to admit it [his gay identity] and brought him to see a psychiatrist" (107). 可是他的家長又不願意承認，然後就帶他去看心理醫生。

### Participants' Perspectives on Sexual Orientation

**Perspectives on their own sexual orientation.** All teachers in the study identified as heterosexual and reported that they felt that they fit the norm in school in terms of being in a heterosexual relationship, getting married, and then having children. For example, one participant stated:

Working at school, the first thing you are asked is whether you have a boyfriend. People think it's normal to have a boyfriend, rather than a girlfriend. In this case, I fit quite well into people's expectation. Everyone thinks I am "normal." (101)

來學校，第一件事會問說有沒有男朋友，人家就會很正常認為妳應該交一個男朋友阿，而不會說妳應該交一個女朋友，所以我是很符合大家期待的，那大家就會覺得正常嘛！

Despite identifying as heterosexual, some participants reported having explored their sexual orientation through discussions with their friends and reflecting on their close relationships with women. For example, one participant explained:

I thought about this [my sexual orientation] during my undergraduate. I often had conversations with my [female] roommate. I really had a good time with my roommate and neither of us had boyfriends at that time. I was thinking that was it possible for me to have a relationship with a girl. One time we got so close, as we were talking about secrets, and then I turned to her. I found that I wasn't able to kiss her, so I think I am not a lesbian. (104) 我在大學時候有想過一次，有一個室友我們很常溝通對談...我們常在講內心，真的很談的來，我們那時也都沒有男朋友，我那時候就在想我有沒有可能跟女生發展...因為有一次我們臉靠著臉講祕密，然後我轉過去嘴對著她，這麼近的時候我發現我就沒有辦法親下去，我就在想我應該不是[女同志]。

Further to this point, some teachers stated that they felt that there were no opportunities for them to explore their sexual orientation, even if they had close relationships with females.

One participant reported:

During my school years, I had feelings for girls; however, I couldn't be sure whether those feelings were the kind of "liking or wanting to become a partner." I was sure that I cared about this person but I wasn't sure about what this feeling was. I had a hard time being sure about these kinds of feelings. I have been in relationships with men. I think my sexual orientation is related to biological sex and gender. (106)

... 我求學過程中，我也對女生有很多的好感，但我無法確定那個是不是喜歡，要成為伴侶的那種，但會很在意這個人也會有，我很難去確定那是什麼樣的感情，我很難確認，但是我到現在交往或發展的對象，是男生比較多...我會覺得我現在的性傾向跟生理性別及社會性別有關係。

Similarly, another teacher shared that although she experienced emotional and psychological closeness with both a male peer and a female peer while she was in junior high school, she did not have opportunities to explore relationships with women, as there was not much information regarding same-sex relationships when she was growing up.

When I was in my junior high school, I liked a girl in my class and I also liked a boy, too. The way many people define homosexuality is about physical attraction. I don't have the opportunity to develop how I show my passion to girls, such as hugs. I don't have a chance to determine whether I am [a lesbian] or not. However, in society men are allowed to show their passion for girls. If you don't get a chance to try it out, how you would know you if like [the same biological sex] or not...(110)

因為像我以前國中，除了我喜歡我們班的女生，也喜歡我們班上某個男生阿...只是有很多人對同性戀的定義是對身體上的熱情，那我沒機會發展對女生...擁抱，我沒機會去證明我是不是阿，但是男生就社會所允許阿，如果有機會發展你就會知道喜歡不喜歡。

**Perspectives regarding the LGB population.** Some teachers reported that their understanding of the LGB population developed through having LGB friends, taking relevant courses in their undergraduate, receiving relevant information through the mass media and organizations advocating for LGB individuals, and experiencing different cultures.

Having LGB friends directly influenced some teachers' perspectives regarding the LGB population, as they had the opportunity to know the challenges that LGB individuals encounter and the stressful and hostile environment LGB individuals often experience. This transition can be seen in one participant's remarks:

I didn't know any gay men in the past. I only knew of a gay man who was friends with my husband and I was also his classmate. In this case, I got a chance to hang out with him a number of times and I just realized that he is interested in men, not women. I think that maybe sometimes he has a breakdown because this [his gay identity] is not accepted.... I think his breakdown or weird responses are because his parents, significant other, and workplace don't accept that he is gay. As a result, he has a lot of pain and faces pressure. I have gotten a chance to understand what the life of a gay person looks like. Before that, my understanding of their life was very superficial, especially because the news often has horrible reports about gay persons. Right now, I feel they [gay people] aren't that different from other people. (102)

我以前比較少認識男同性戀者，然後像是我先生的同學，我才比較熟識一點的男同性戀者，因為他跟那個男同性戀者也蠻好的，也會跟我說一些那個男生的事，你就真的有接觸過這個人，你就跟他去吃飯啊、玩耍啊!你才會說...喔，原來他其實喜歡的是男性，可是對於這個人，我會覺得他的這些失常、反常是因為這件事情不被接受...因為他喜歡男生這件事情沒有辦法被父母接受，被他重要的人接受，被他的工作環境接受，他的壓抑痛苦是來自這些，所以我才比較可以真的有認識這樣的人，從他的這些相處的細節當中，才去認知不同的事情，否則我以前想的事情都很平面，對於同性戀者都很平面，因為看到的新聞都很不堪，如果撇除那些去認識他們，其他他們也沒有太大的不一樣。

Additionally, another participant stated that one of her female friends with whom she had not been in frequent contact recently came out to her. The friend's coming out shocked the participant, although the participant had suspected her friend might be a lesbian. She said "Since I know that my friend has come out, I feel myself having more acceptance of the LGB population. Her coming out changes my perspectives" (109). 我知道我的那個朋友同性戀出櫃之後，好像自己接受度有比較高...我的想法有衝擊到。

Moreover, undergraduate studies were an important time for some participants to develop understandings of LGB individuals, as they had the opportunity to be exposed to LGB-related lectures and curriculum. For example, one guidance teacher from the study reported, "My major

is in guidance and counselling. In my training, exploration and respect is addressed. I got a chance to know many gays and lesbians and realized that it is a very normal phenomenon”(103).

大學讀輔導與諮商嘛!有很多探索與尊重，也認識很多同性戀傾向的男女生，就慢慢去解釋這是一個很正常的現象。

Some participants stated that their awareness and understanding of LGB individuals and the LGB population has increased and deepened because of LGB movies, TV programs, and celebrities. For example:

When I traveled abroad, I saw that a man kissed a man or I saw the movie “The Wedding Banquet” or the novel “Crystal Boys” written by Pai Hsien-yung. Before knowing about the movie and the novel, I just didn’t understand how the same sex could be able to love each other. It’s weird. (111)

我在國外就看過男生跟男生親嘴阿，或者是人家說...在電影阿，喜宴是嗎?還有看一些小說，孽子，白先勇的孽子好好看喔，以前那時候只是覺得同性跟同性怎麼可能，頂多是兄弟或姊妹，可是肢體碰觸，我想說怎麼可能，或者是在心理上產生愛慕，會很怪異...

In addition to the above venues, some participants learned about LGB individuals at other places, such as at a lecture that was held by an organization advocating for LGB individuals.

One teacher reported:

I attended some workshops held by an LGBT hotline organization. Sometimes the school invites them to share their experience. After listening to lecturers who are LGBT share their experience, I just realized that many things I have known are very different than what they say. As they are LGBT individuals, I believe that their feelings are real. Based on their sharing, I have re-thought the whole thing [LGB individuals] from a heterosexual perspective. (105)

我去聽很多的同志熱線，像是協會這些機構，他們有時候會辦一些講座，像學校有時候會請他們來..他們本身是同志來做經驗分享，然後聽他們的想法，我才知道很多東西是，跟我過去看到的是不一樣的...但他們本身是同志，我相信他們的感受是真的，不是一般相信的那樣，從他們的分享，讓我重新用異性戀的角度去看待這件事情...

Additionally, another participant stated that she went abroad and experienced Western culture, which she found to have more open attitudes towards LGB individuals than those held in

Taiwan. One participant reported that her husband was open to the LGB community and she learned about LGB issues from him. “Sometimes I have conversation with my husband about LGB, I ask him if your daughter or son is gay, he says it’s totally fine”(110). 我有時候也會跟我先生談，談說同性戀這件事…問他說假如你女兒或兒子是的話，他跟我說這樣很好啊…

As a result of learning about LGB issues, some participants reported that their attitudes towards LGB individuals had changed from originally not accepting LGB individuals. Greater understanding of LGB individuals led these participants to gradually have greater acceptance of the LGB population. For example, one participant stated:

At the beginning I couldn’t accept [LGB students] and I was stupid to suggest that parents bring the student to see the psychiatrist. Then I found that every year I have LGB students in my class, I asked a guidance teacher and realized that the ratio is high, so it is normal to have one or two LGB students in a class with 30 students... (113)  
...從一開始我是完全無法接納，還跟家長說要不要帶去看心理醫生，到後來我發現不大對，帶了兩三屆，因為你每一屆都會碰到...我就跑去問輔導老師，我後來才知道，原來那個比例是很高的...大概百分之五左右，去換算一個班出現 1 到 2 個是正常的，一班 30 個人來算...大概 1 到 2 個是正常的。

### **LGB School Members**

**LGB students.** Some participants discussed their observations of LGB students in schools. Participants explained that gay students kept lower profiles than lesbian students in schools. In this way, gay students would not likely be identified unless they were out to teachers and their peers. The school environment was described as not being safe for gay students to be out because there was a risk of being teased and bullied. One participant reported:

In junior high school, gay students are hidden so we rarely find gays in school. I think it’s because that they perform socially prescribed gender expression [being masculine] and they can hide their gay identity. It is risky that letting people know you are gay (101)  
在國中方面，男同性戀是很隱藏的，我們會很少發現這區塊的人，因為他的生理性別很符合一般人所期待的社會性別，他可以把他的身分隱藏的很好。但當他是同性戀，讓人家知道同性戀是有風險的。

Several participants stated that in contrast to gay students' situations in school, lesbian students were more likely to be out and open about their sexual orientation. These participants reported that they had observed female students having intimate physical contact in schools with other female students, such as holding hands and hugging.

A female student said she has a "boyfriend" who is a girl and they had shared some intimate behaviors downtown, such as hugging. As it's a small town, the school knew what they were doing. We actually have nothing to do with it, we only can talk to them in private and remind them not to do something inappropriate when they are wearing the school uniform as it's a small town and everyone would eventually know. (102)

她那時候，好像是有那個女生...那時候她的男朋友是女生，是隔壁班的女生，她們在市區那兒，在中心點的地方，兩個摟摟抱抱被人家看到，有人就是傳回學校來，可是因為那個事情不是在校內，我們其實不能夠太怎麼樣，我們只能私底下規勸，就說你們穿著運動服，不要做一些...一看到就說，那是你們學校的學生，因為是小地方，就會立刻傳回學校來。

Additionally, one participant reported that she knew a lesbian student who was in a relationship with another female student. The participant reported that the lesbian student openly discussed her relationship with her girlfriend in front of her peers.

I find that girls are pretty open about it [their lesbian identity]. Some female students were in relationship with other female student and they say "my girlfriend" in an open manner, whereas gay students were pretty private about it. (106)

...我覺得女生在這方面比較坦白，在這個部分，女生她們不是我的個案，但是就是有些女同學是跟女同學談戀愛，就會說我女朋友怎樣怎樣，她是很大而化之的說，反而男生同性戀的學生，在這方面是很隱諱的。

**LGB teachers.** With respect to LGB teachers in school, several teachers reported that they knew the sexual orientation of gay and lesbian teachers only when they came out to them. That is, LGB teachers did not make their sexual orientation known in school mainly because of conservative attitudes towards the LGB population. One participant spoke about her lesbian colleague's situation:

I have a female colleague and she is a lesbian. We didn't know about it at the beginning because her appearance is cute, like a little girl. She has short hair but I didn't think she was a [lesbian]. Probably I have the impression that lesbians look masculine.... She [the

lesbian colleague] doesn't dare come out in school. I think that the field of education is still too conservative. (102)

...我有同事是女同性戀者，她是女教師，她那時一開始的時候不知道她是，因為她的外型就是可愛可愛的，小女生這樣子，當然也是短的，可是我不覺得她有什麼，就我自己以前的[印象]，我以為同性戀可能就有看起來[陽剛]...她不敢[出櫃]，我覺得教育圈還是一個太封閉的。

Additionally, another participant reported that a gay teacher did not come out as he worried that students' parents would question his teaching competency and might consider gay teachers as strange.

Like my gay colleague, he doesn't dare to talk to other colleagues about being gay. He is scared. He told me and two or three other colleagues who he is close with. He is worried that he might be treated differently if he lets everyone know he is gay, and that parents might have concerns about his sexual orientation. (107)

像我那個同志同事，他也不敢跟同事說他是同志阿，他不敢呀，他有跟我說，他只有跟 2、3 個比較好的說，因為他還是需要有人了解，剛好是比較好的，他是覺得他要是讓大家知道他是同志的話，他會被投以異樣的眼光，包含老師是同志被家長知道的話會很不好，家長會覺得你很奇怪。

## **LGB Education**

Despite the abovementioned attitudes of teachers, students, and parents towards the LGB population, LGB education was sometimes provided at school, as it is included in gender equity education based on the terms of the Gender Equity Education Act. The Gender Equity Education Act requires that there is a minimum of four hours focused on gender equity each semester. LGB-related topics could be incorporated into this program. According to the participants' reports, incorporating LGB-related topics into gender equity lectures was challenging due to overall conservative attitudes towards the LGB population. One participant stated, "I think we still need to work on getting people to accept LGB individuals and I think it is really hard" (101). 我覺得同性戀者這個部分是蠻需要再花力氣讓人家接受，但我也覺得這部份蠻難的。

Moreover, another reason that it is challenging to implement LGB education at school is that there are various existing educational programs in school (e.g., character education and



civics education) and, as a result, the school staff do not have enough time and energy to implement LGB education. Consequently, the existing education programs are prioritized over LGB-related topics. One guidance teacher stated:

There are various perspectives about LGB education in school. Parents question LGB education in school. Nobody has problems with Character Education, which is more neutral. However, LGB education is a bit sensitive. Schools don't want trouble, such as concern from parents. Some parents are concerned that LGB education teaches students that being gay is normal. Parents still have traditional perspectives so the schools won't have LGB education. (103)

...在學校推同志教育，有很多聲音出現。家長會質疑說為什麼要講這個，他們就說為什麼要講這個...像我們辦這種品德教育，這種比較中性的議題，比較沒有人會說話，但只要辦比較有敏感度的東西的話，學校會...不是覺得不好，是覺得怕麻煩、怕家長來跟學校反應，怕家長認為會讓學生覺得同性戀是件正常的事，他們還是有些傳統觀念在，那這種傳統觀念一旦有，就變成學校端會省去太多麻煩，那乾脆就不要辦...

Additionally, another participant reported that in her school the program focused on pregnancy, which was considered to be more important than the LGB education program. She said, "The good thing is that there is no possibility of pregnancy issues for LGB students. If they [LGB students] have sexual intercourse, they won't get pregnant. If they are heterosexual, we need to contact their parents" (105)...在同志方面就還好，因為不會有懷孕的關係，不知道這擔心是怎麼來的，要是同性發生性關係，反正他們也不會懷孕，要是今天發生在異性，那就不得了，要請雙方家長來...

Further, according to participants' accounts, parents' feedback also influenced LGB education implementation in schools. As mentioned above, students' academic performance in junior high school is a major area of focus due to the competitive national entrance examination at the end of grade 9. One participant reported:

Some parents prefer not talking much about LGB education and they think we don't have to provide specific information about it [LGB issues] or go that far. I think one of the reasons is that getting into a good senior high school is still the priority. (103)

那有的家長就會 prefer 說不要講這麼多，不要特意給觀念或講那麼深...我覺得也是大環境加乘，第一個是他們的狀態，因為還在升學當中...對，優先順序就會放在後面。

Some teachers commented on the ways that LGB education could be implemented more efficiently at school. LGB education is challenging because teachers and parents are concerned about the terms *sexual orientation* and *LGB*, which connote sexuality. As such, one participant reported that the implementation of LGB education at school would need to be strategic by incorporating discussions about heterosexuality:

I think if we talk about LGB education, we have to explain it clearly. When we talk about LGB individuals, we also need to talk about heterosexuality, as they are related. In this way, LGB education won't be criticized as only focusing on the LGB population. Thus, LGB education needs to include heterosexual and homosexual individuals. We have to explain the differences between these two populations. Why shouldn't we take on a more neutral stance and make LGB education more inclusive? I think if we make LGB education more neutral, LGB education would be more effective. (112)

...如果要講這個的話，你就要把它解釋清楚，講同志一定要講到異性，就是說要把相對的知識給大家，因為在學校一下子講到同志觀念，大家會開始批判，讓他比較有大方向的，讓他同時有兩種的觀念，我覺得這個是好的事，如果是好的教材，只是這個凸顯出來，可是他就已經是生活了，當然要把同性和異性解釋的非常清楚，用對照表之，用一種正向的態度...你為什麼不是用一個比較中性的，中間的那種，你順便可以講到很多種，讓大家去認識各種的...如果可以用一個比較中性的標題去介紹，這樣效果應該會更好...

Additionally, another participant suggested that current LGB education only addresses the definition of LGB and same-sex physical and emotional attraction. This teacher believed that LGB education could address a more full perspective on the experiences of LGB population, not just a focus on the biological sex of sexual attraction. This participant reported:

I think we can teach them [students] to understand the LGB population. I think LGB education is not just about helping students figure out whether they are gay or not. I believe that you just like a person regardless of his/her biological sex. I hope students understand the different sexual orientations through LGB education. Students would come to know that the LGB population is not that different but they [LGB individuals] encounter more pressure, and we hope students learn to respect them. (106)

我覺得可以教他們認識啦，認識這個區塊的族群，因為其實我覺得教同志教育，不是教他們認識你自己是不是同志啦....然後我自己個人的觀念，我自己個人覺得當

下你喜歡什麼性別你就是喜歡他阿....我希望讓學生了解那只是跟我們一般不同的性傾向，但沒有什麼太特別的，可是的確他們會受到比較多的壓力，希望他們能對這些族群能夠尊重或理解，你不一定要是那樣的人，但是那樣的人也不奇怪，對。

### **The Implementation of the Gender Equity Education Act**

In this section, the participants' experiences of the implementation of the Gender Equity Education Act in school will be discussed. Additionally, the way schools manage sexual harassment and sexual bullying incidents will be presented. Finally, the implications of the policy implementation for teachers' teaching, students' learning, the school climate, and social values of gender will be delineated.

#### **Policy Implementation at School**

**Gender equity education at school.** The Gender Equity Education Act, implemented in 2004, requires all levels of schooling to provide gender equity education for students, teachers, and staff members. To begin, most of the participants reported that their schools observed the requirements of the Gender Equity Education Act and conducted gender equity education programs for students, teachers, and staff members every academic year, such as providing lectures for students on the topic of gender equity.

One teacher reported that after the government enforced this Act in 2004, gender equity education officially became one of the important educational focuses in the compulsory education system in Taiwan (i.e., from grades 1-9), along with environmental education, information and computer education, domestic education, human rights education, career development education, and marine education. The Ministry of Education requires elementary school and junior high schools to integrate these important educational topics into their curriculum and provide related continuing education programs for teachers. "School just follows

what the policy mandates; however, the level of implementation differs” (106). 大致上就這樣吧，學校就是依規定辦事，該做的都會做，程度到怎樣就不太一定了。

### **Management of sexual harassment, sexual bullying, and sexual assault at school.**

The other important part of the Gender Equity Education Act is about managing sexual harassment, sexual bullying, and sexual assault incidences occurring in school. This Act requires that the Student Affairs Office receive reports of such incidents. As well, this Act requires that every school organize a Gender Equity Education Committee that is composed of school teachers who manage sexual harassment, sexual bullying, and sexual assault incidents. Moreover, the Gender Equity Education Committee is responsible for initiating the investigation of the incidents.

However, some teachers reported that sexual harassment is not reported because the investigation is seen as too stressful. Therefore, one participant stated that investigation of sexual harassment is never done properly in part because the school's reputation might suffer.

Our school had two male teachers who sexually harassed students but the school didn't make a report. I didn't know about these incidents at the time. When I heard about them afterwards, I thought that it was very dangerous not to make a report. The director and the boss had concerns about making a report, fearing that the school's reputation would be effected or parents would be worried. (103)

我們學校兩年前有兩位男老師有類似的狀況，像他們就沒有被報出去。我不知道，我是後來才被告知的。我那時候知道的時候，就說：「可是這樣不是很危險嗎？」但上面的人覺得報出去的話，會影響到學校的校風或名譽，有人查... XX 國中，就會發生性平事件。是不是就會阻擋有些...家長會擔心...

Likewise, another teacher stated that policy implementation requires a great deal of paper work, which decreases the effectiveness of implementation.

I think that the formality stuff is too much because there is a lot of paper work. After every event, I have to write a report. In addition to that, I have to submit a monthly report back to the coordinator. I know the intention of the Act is positive but we feel pressured and don't think we can document each activity or event. In this case, sometimes we held

an event and then simply took some pictures as it's just for the paper work. I think if they didn't require us to do so much, we could do our best. (106)

我覺得形式上的東西太多了，需要呈報非常非常多的報表，辦完活動有要呈報，關於性別的呈報，每個月每次都要這樣做，其實立意是好的，但學校覺得壓力非常大，那到最後覺得會辦不完，我就交個成果給你看就好，其實不要要求那麼多，我們也會去做啊，我們可以做到甚麼就做到哪些...

Furthermore, a few participants discussed their concerns about the member composition of the Gender Equity Education Committee and the way this Committee operates, because some teachers who are members of this committee hold conservative views regarding gender equity and are not competent as members. One teacher stated:

I feel that the gender equity committee meeting is an act for parents and teachers are usually tired of the meeting. At that school, the Gender Equity Education Act and gender equity committee meeting is such trouble. We just want to deal with [sexual assault incidences] in private. The composition of gender equity committee is not fair because there are many conservative teachers in the committee. (104)

所以我那時候就覺得這個會(性平會)是開給家長看的，老師很累....所以後來我們自己的認知就是，在那間學校，性平法和性平會是個很擾人的事情，那如果我們自己手上能夠處理掉就處理掉...因為學校的組成就是一個不公平的組成啊...那指派就是同一群保守的人在那邊組合...

In addition, another participant expressed her concern about the structure of the committee meeting, stating:

I don't know what the purpose of this meeting is and I also question the composition of this committee. Teachers are tired of class management already; they have to use lunch time for that meeting. Due to the confidentiality policy, they can't talk to other teachers about the cases. If they just feel tired during lunch time and they just listen to the case, they are going to space out. Probably they would just agree with other teachers. I guess probably they usually manage the cases in this way. (102)

...我會搞不懂目的性，還有組成我也有點質疑，因為學校老師處理班上事情都很忙很累，中午的時候去開會，去那邊老師都不知道在幹什麼，他們也不能對外透露嘛，他們就是聽一聽案件，就是那個陳述者講一講看有什麼質疑，如果我中午太累我就聽聽...就放空，喔，就好啊好啊!我覺得很有可能大部分案件都是這樣處理。

**Challenges of policy implementation.** Despite the fact that the Gender Equity Education Act has been implemented at each level of schooling since 2004, several participants discussed challenges and barriers to policy implementation. First, some participants underlined

that the top-down nature of the policy implementation results in a lack of communication among staff members, management, and policymakers. As a result, when the administrators and teachers encounter barriers related to implementing the policy, they feel frustrated, as there is no way for them to communicate these barriers to the school management and policy makers. One teacher stated:

Sometime we don't know how to expand the topic of gender in education practice and we only integrate gender in our teaching. If we go up to policy making, there is no one we can communicate with. Currently the policy is top-down, the government requires us do many thing; however, if we want to respond to it, there is no one we can give our feedback to. I really hope the national and local governments really listen to those people who are at the frontline. Right now teachers are very frustrated and powerless... we can't do everything and we are given too much responsibility... (105)

...有時候我們不知道要往哪裡延伸這些東西(性別)，譬如說只能說對學生教學可以，你向上的話或是立法，對其他的話就沒有出口可以對話...現在就是上面一直丟東西下來，下面做好底線，一直就是這種感覺，當有心的老師看到甚麼想要去回應，卻沒有窗口...我會很希望就是上面的階層，中央也好，地方政府也好，他們應該聽聽下面的東西，不然教改這些東西，都要重新做起，要求基層老師，現在老師很失望也很無力...我們推不動很多事，把太多責任加在我們身上...

Additionally, several participants described the continuing education workshop for gender training and specified that it was not well organized. One teacher explained, "I think people need to take the continuing workshop seriously. Lecturers are very important. I heard that the lecturer just played the film in the workshop and didn't provide any training [on gender issues]" (105). 但我覺得(性平)研習課程這種東西應該要玩真的...聘請的師資真的要篩選過...你來研習坐在那裏，就是在打混，看影片混過去。

Finally, two participants stated that school principals' conservative attitudes towards the topic of gender equity prevented the implementation of the Gender Equity Education Act. For example, one person explained that her principal, who held traditional gender views, implemented the policy by strictly following what is outlined, rather than educating students, teachers, and staff members more actively. "He [the principal] just follows the Act. If the

superior requires us to do some projects, we will just do that” (108). 他就是依法行事吧，他也是上級交辦，該推動的工作就推動。

Given the barriers and challenges of the implementation of the Gender Equity Education Act, one participant considered that gender equity education needs to be implemented strategically. For example, this participant reported that it is not necessary to address equity between women and men, as this content would probably make teachers nervous. In this way, this participant reported:

As a teacher, I try to educate students about the concept of equity; however, I don't emphasize equity between boys and girls. The way I do this is by focusing on equity between people. I think gender equity is more related to human rights. (112)  
...站在老師的立場，我覺得可以試著去將一些平等的概念去告訴學生，但是我不會那麼強調說是男生、女生平等這樣子，我不會特別強調男、女，我會強調平等，人的平等，應該是這樣，我的觀念是這樣啦!..對我覺得跟人權比較有相關。

**Participants' implementation of the Gender Equity Education Act.** Most teachers in the study implemented the Gender Equity Education Act mainly by integrating the topic into their teaching of academic subjects, such as geography and art. For example, one participant stated:

In the social sciences, we have to teach gender when we talk about countries' populations. In grade 9, I teach foreign geography and I talk about the prime minister of Iceland, who came out as a lesbian, and the chancellor of Germany, Merkel, as examples for gender equity education. (109)  
我們(社會科)內容本來就有，講到人口就會提到性別，國三外國地理，冰島的總理就是出櫃的，我們就跟學生談，還有德國的梅克爾，都可以談啊。

Additionally, guidance teachers emphasize gender equity related topics in class, as this topic was originally planned for the guidance class. For example, one participant reported that she explained the concepts of biological sex, gender, and sexual orientation: “I explain to students that we changed the title from ‘sex equity education’ to ‘gender equity education’ because we don't just have two biological sexes. We have to recognize that the topic of gender is

very inclusive” (106).... 因為我會跟他們說，為什麼早期叫兩性，現在叫性別，因為現在真的不只兩性，那你要說三性嗎，也不是，性別包含的項目太廣了。

### **The Implications of Implementing the Gender Equity Education Act for Schooling**

**Students’ learning.** Many participants reported that the implementation of this Act has had positive implications on students’ values and perspectives on gender. In particular, one participant reported that after the policy implementation, students have gradually come to understand gender stereotypes and are able to challenge such stereotypes:

With regard to career planning, I usually did an overall survey of family responsibilities. In my first year, most of the students said men work outside the house and women take care of the family. Even though right now, a few students still have such ideas, the Act is still effective and people now have more and more flexible ideas about family responsibilities. (105)

...比如說在生涯選擇這件事，我就會做全班的家庭大調查，去問他們家庭的責任分工、職業呀，去做個調查，從我第一年調查幾乎都是男主外、女主內，到現在即便還是有一點這樣的比例，一直都在改進的狀態，我覺得法律的推行還是有它的效用在，包括大眾傳播的影響，大家會比較接受這一塊。

**Teachers’ teaching.** Based on some teachers’ reports, implementing this Act has made teachers become more aware of the topic of gender in their teaching. In particular, one participant stated “Right now teachers avoid traditional gender roles or bias in class. I feel the climate is friendlier in school. In spite of [the gender education instruction only being] four hours, these [gender equity] concepts are constantly being implemented; it makes things different” (113) 在老師們在給功課或授課的時候，我們會盡量想辦法不要把之前的性別角色，第一個，在隱藏式的情感教育部分，就是情境教育的部分，你會把以前的偏見或想不到的把它拿掉，那在校園裡第一個就比較友善，再來是因為那四個小時雖然看起來沒什麼，但多少這些觀念都有一直再宣導，我覺得還是有差。



Yet, a few participants stated that the time structure in class was one of the challenges for teachers in integrating the topic of gender into their teaching. One participant explained that each class is only 50 minutes, which is already tight for teaching. “I feel conflicted because I would like to teach students something important but I don’t have enough time [in class]. I only have one class per week” (103) 所以有時候我自己會很衝突，我自己會很衝突說，我想給學生一些東西，可是時間被這些東西佔滿，那我一個禮拜只有一堂課...

Similarly, another teacher found it difficult to evaluate whether teachers integrate the topic of gender equity into their teaching, as teachers are only required to write teaching proposals but their teaching is not required to be evaluated. “It’s hard to incorporate gender equity concepts into teaching. They just require us to submit teaching proposal but we aren’t sure whether teachers really teach or not” (106). 但是很難融阿，那怎麼去看有沒有融入，就是交教案嘛，然後看你的教學的成果，很多東西和資料都做的出來啊，我們也不確定老師到底有沒有教。

**Management of incidents.** A few teachers mentioned that the Gender Equity Education Act made teachers have more serious attitudes towards sexual harassment, sexual bullying, and sexual assault incidents in school. “I think the Act reminds me that we have the responsibility to make a report. Right now the reporting is more effective” (101). 我們有通報的責任...所以說真的現在通報是比較確實。

In this way, another significant impact of this Act was having a clear procedure to manage incidents at school. For example, “there is a problem and we can follow the policy. If there is no policy, we probably just let parents come to school and talk” (107)...可是真正問題

發生的時候還是要遵循他的一些東西。如果沒有政策，我覺得就是抓到兇手，然後請雙方家長來學校講一講就沒事了。

**School climate.** Some teachers reported that, overall, the school climate had become more gender friendly, meaning that students respected each other's physical boundaries, incidents of sexual bullying had decreased, and female and male teachers were treated more equally than before. In particular, one participant stated, "The policy on anti-bullying has been promoted in the past two years and it's probably the reason that bullying incidents have decreased" (108). 可是因為這兩年霸凌一直在推，所以這樣的事情發生比較少了。

Yet, one participant mentioned that making reports of sexual harassment could become a way of dealing with tension not related to sexual harassment between teachers and students. For example, based on the participant's report, a female student might use the Act to discredit a male teacher whom she does not like. "Some male teacher said that they are careful as some female students are often coming to the office to find male teachers" (111). 男老師自己也講過，這個女學生很麻煩碰不得，但要是學生很熱情的來找老師...

Some people might take the policy as a tool. Male teachers say that they are worried about being with female students in private. However, overall the policy is good, in particular it is good for female students. (110)

有些人可能會拿(政策)來當作一種手段，有些男老師都很害怕，有些男生說他絕對不敢跟女同學單獨，對!我覺得整體而言是好的，尤其對學生、女性是好的...

**Traditional socio-cultural values.** According to some participants' accounts, the Gender Equity Education Act has implications on social values about gender, meaning that some traditional perspectives regarding gender have gradually loosened. For example, one participant reported, "I think teachers in this generation have more training and they understand that there is more fluidity between biological sex and gender" (106)...我想現在老師都受過很完整的訓練，他們大概會有一點，尤其比較年輕的老師，生理性別和社會性別之間會有比較大的彈性...

However, one participant stated that social values themselves contradict the spirit of the Gender Equity Education Act, meaning that some traditional values related to gender, such as social expectations of women (e.g., being submissive to seniors and caring for their family), are in fact contradictory to the core values of this Act, namely those related to gender equity. She reported:

Probably due to traditional expectations from society, I have to be a good mother, a good daughter-in-law, and a good wife. This message says that women need to contribute and compromise and I agree with this part. In this case, these social values still exist but these values themselves are against the core value of the Act. (110)

...也可能是因為傳統社會的期許，我一定要是個好媽媽，一定要是好媳婦和好妻子，這幾句話的意思是說女生就要奉獻、無私、放棄，而我是可以認同這部分，所以社會的價值觀還是存在，但這就違反性平法的精神阿！

In this way, some participants believed that it takes time to change traditional and stereotypical expectations of biological males and females since such traditional beliefs have existed for a long time. One teacher said:

After this Act, we have more tasks to do; however the change in the climate [at the school] is slow. I don't feel much different. The values won't change overnight just because of the Act. I believe that real change of the climate is slow. (108)

當然有這個法案之後，相對的上級要求要推動任務就變得比較多，但是在學校氛圍來講，可能氣氛轉變是比較緩慢的，我沒有感受太明顯的區別，對，因為這比較屬於價值觀念的轉變，所以不會說法律推動之後，喔！大家一夕之間轉變了，所以我想這種真正的氣氛的轉變是慢的...

## **CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION**

### **Introduction**

The findings of this study highlight the ways in which Taiwanese heterosexual female teachers understand gender in Taiwanese culture, particularly in school and family contexts. The key findings will be discussed by employing the lenses of Multicultural and Gender Case Conceptualization (MGCC) (Sinacore, 1995, 2011) and feminist social constructionist (FSC) (DiPalma & Ferguson, 2006; Gergen, 1985; Sprague, 2005) epistemologies. As such, following the MGCC epistemology, an analysis of intersectionality will be presented. The implications of intersectionality for the participants' teaching, gender policy implementation, and personal lives will be highlighted through an application of FSC discourse analysis. Finally, the strengths, limitations, and implications for educational practice, counselling psychology training, and future research will be outlined.

### **An Analysis of Intersectionality and Discourses**

#### **Rigid Associations among Biological Sex, Gender, and Sexual Orientation**

The findings of this study suggest that gender roles are strongly associated with biological sex in school and family contexts. Specifically, most of the participants reported that an individual's gender expression (masculine or feminine) is related to their biological sex, such that females are expected to be feminine and males are expected to be masculine. For example, a male is expected to act in a tough and assertive manner whereas a female is expected to behave submissively. Given this association between sex and gender, participants readily acknowledged and perceived that there is a clear expectation of appropriate behaviors linked to being biologically male or female. This finding highlighted the interconnections of biological sex with gender, and points to the centrality of biology as the foundation for gender role expectations.

Furthermore, these results are consistent with previous research exploring teachers' views of gender in Taiwanese junior high schools (e.g., H. J. Lee, 2002).

In addition to the aforementioned relationships between sex and gender, most participants described a deep-rooted assumption that people who conform to socially prescribed gender expressions are heterosexual whereas people with non-conforming gender expression are assumed to be lesbian, gay, or bisexual (LGB). Yet, this clear and rigid association between sexual orientation and gender has not been highlighted in the extant literature in the area of gender studies in Taiwan (e.g., Guo, 2012; Y. S. Huang, 2010; C. P. Yang, 2004). The absence of discussion on sexual orientation in Taiwanese literature may reflect a pervasive and problematic assumption that any individual is heterosexual regardless of their gender. However, a key finding in this study emphasizes that heterosexuality is presumed to be linked to socially prescribed gender expression, and that gender is situated in biological or essentialist understandings.

An implication of these essentialist understandings of biological sex, gender, and sexual orientation is the oppression and marginalization of individuals who do not conform to these associations, as demonstrated by the teasing and bullying that the participants commonly reported. These findings are consistent with the literature demonstrating that students' gender non-conformity results in bullying and teasing (e.g., Chiang, 2007). Additionally, in this study, the results indicated a low tolerance for males' atypical gender expression, which might reflect that traditional masculinity has been inextricably linked to patriarchal power in masculinity theories, such as the proposed by Clatterbaugh, (1997). Male students and teachers who performed gender in non-conforming ways were bullied, demonstrating a loss of power in a patriarchal system. That is, theorists suggest that masculinity is strongly tied with maleness,

which is related to patriarchal power and implies that femininity is linked to femaleness, which is considered relatively less powerful than maleness. Similarly, participants reported their observations of the firm links between masculinity, maleness, and power in school and family contexts. For example, in schools, male teachers acted in a masculine manner, therefore demonstrating power; in families, husbands focused on their own careers and asked participants to adapt to their schedules.

Additionally, consistent with Y. H. Wu's (2010) work, the results suggest that for the female teacher participants, their atypical gender expression resulted in people assuming that they were lesbians. However, female teachers' androgynous and masculine behaviors were acceptable in the classroom because such characteristics were considered necessary for assuming authority (e.g., in the teacher role). However, when female teachers' androgynous and masculine expressions were conveyed in circumstances where they were interacting with their male colleagues, these characteristics were not accepted, as this type of expression was seen as challenging the men's masculinity and, therefore, threatening to male power and privilege.

Further, married female teachers reported that they had more opportunities to express themselves in an androgynous and masculine manner, whereas single female teachers' androgynous and masculine expression was often noticed and commented upon by senior teachers. This difference in acceptance of the atypical gender expression of married versus single female teachers suggests that female masculinity may not directly confront male power when it is accompanied by heterosexual marriage. The reason for the discrepancy in acceptance between married and single female teachers may be that heterosexual marriage confers the automatic associations between femaleness, femininity, and heterosexuality. Taking into account the abovementioned discrepancy, married female teachers' androgynous expressions are less

threatening than single female teachers' androgyny. As such, heterosexual female teachers may only be free to engage in expressions of androgyny and masculinity under the condition of submission to their male colleagues or husbands in order to not usurp male power and privilege. Such essentialist intersections between sex, gender, and sexual orientation unfortunately result in restricting both male and female teachers' expressions of gender and maintaining the heteronormative phenomenon of male power and privilege.

### **Contextual Analysis**

For the most part participants did not agree with the essentialist interconnections between sex, gender, and sexual orientation, yet they reported feeling limited in their ability to confront these ideas. The challenges that female teachers encountered were intrinsically tied to sociocultural values (e.g., the values of patrilineal and heteronormativity), which reinforce the biological associations between sex, gender, and sexual orientation in Taiwanese schools and families. Thus, consistent with S. W. Chen's (2011) findings, patrilineal values were reflected in the results, with participants describing how male teachers have more control than female teachers in terms of choosing their administrative duties and workload.

Likewise, H. J. Lee (2002) and S. H. Chen (2007) found that although female teachers comprised the majority of the teacher population at school, they did not have the same degree of social power as their male colleagues, due to their femaleness. Similarly, in this study, female teachers reported that they were expected to conform to patrilineal values in school by performing femininity in front of their male peers. Resultantly, despite gender policy implementation, female teachers felt that it was difficult to confront the male-centeredness in schools because male-centeredness maintains the biology-based association between sex and gender through setting hierarchies and power differentials between male and female teachers.

As previously discussed, the results reveal that heteronormativity in school and family life perpetuates the essentialist links between sex, gender, and sexual orientation. Most single female teachers described feeling pressured to marry. Moreover, at school, senior female colleagues were eager to match romantically single teachers in the hopes that they would eventually marry. The value of heteronormativity also demands that married female teachers fulfill familial responsibilities in their heterosexual marriages (e.g., having a son to extend the family's bloodline), which parallels the findings of K. K. Hwang (2001). Thus, the value of heteronormativity, which is pervasive in schools and families, contributes to biology-based understandings of sex and gender by coercing female teachers to enter into heterosexual marriages. This value, combined with patrilineal values, results in perpetuating the essentialist associations between sex, gender, and sexual orientation. Therefore, heteronormativity systematically demands a certain social order that erodes their chances of self-determination regarding marriage, thereby leaving female teachers feeling disempowered in both school and family contexts.

### **Schools**

Most participants believed that they could only challenge the predominant values of patriarchy and heteronormativity in their classrooms by delivering a curriculum related to the Gender Equity Education Act. Several participants reported that they could not confront these values outside of their classroom. The intersections between female teachers, sociocultural values, and the context of school resulted in a discourse around the conflict between *inside of class* and *outside of class*. A careful analysis of this discourse indicates that female teachers encountered a double bind situation, where they are only able to apply the policy pedagogically



with their students, but were not able to alter systemically the persistence of patriarchal school culture.

One of the implications of this discourse for teachers is that they may feel frustrated in role modeling the policy to students in class, as they are unable to confront conventional values of gender outside of class. As a result, students may receive mixed messages about the idea of gender equity as they are being taught one thing inside the classroom and yet, they continue to observe gender inequity outside of the classroom. Therefore, students might not be able to internalize the value of gender equity and apply it to their lives because gender equity is not fully endorsed by the school system as a whole. Previous research has demonstrated that ignoring the value of experiential learning has been found to be detrimental to the integration of gender equity for students (P. C. Chen, 2012; M. L. Hu, 2008; Nieto, 1999).

Further, the double bind of female teachers being expected to implement gender policy while conforming to traditional sociocultural values, can be interpreted as another discourse around the contrast and tension between *gender equity instruction* and *Taiwanese sociocultural values*. The idea of equity that is central to the Gender Equity Education Act directly contradicts the patrilineal nature of Taiwanese society. That is, this Act requires teachers to promote the idea of gender equity, which includes having an egalitarian attitude, and emphasizing respect for every individual regardless of biological sex, gender, and sexual orientation. However, the patrilineal, and in particular, male-centered, value system that is upheld in Taiwanese schools and family contexts impedes any opportunity for egalitarian values to be consolidated and expressed.

One of the implications of this discourse for educational practice is that female teachers in this study had to negotiate the tension between teaching gender equity and enacting

sociocultural values, by strategically promoting gender diversity. By modifying the way that they framed the idea of equity and diversity, they did not disrupt the status quo in a radical manner. For example, some participants reported that LGB education would be more effective if it was introduced in a more neutral and inclusive manner, as teachers and parents expressed concerns about isolating LGB issues in a heterosexual culture. Other teachers and parents might be more willing to engage with LGB-related topics and learn more about the LGB population, if LGB issues were integrated into heterosexually-based topics of interest. In a sense, the findings demonstrated that by advocating for gender equity, heterosexual female teachers played the role of “cultural brokers” who promote gender equality within a patrilineal value system. In order to negotiate this discourse, teachers employed a number of strategies, including reframing gender diversity language and taking an approach that they felt would best deliver the idea of gender equity to a conventional group of teachers.

However, female teachers’ “middle-ground” strategies may be criticized as reproductions of patrilineal and heteronormative values by gender advocacy groups who take radical stances (e.g., directly challenging and confronting conservative values). Although these strategies may not appeal to gender advocates, it is important to acknowledge that female teachers are working in a patriarchal school system that is resistant to rapid and drastic change.

### **Family**

Even though most participants were exposed to and have greater understandings of gender equity due to implementing the policy, some of them reported that gender inequity persisted in their families and they did not see many changes in gender equity at the societal level. This finding exposed an important gap between female teachers’ experience of gender equity in their educational practice and in their personal lives, which has not been identified in

the reviewed literature on teachers' policy implementation (e.g., M. L. Chang, 2004; Su, 2011). This study highlighted that female teachers' experience a cognitive dissonance regarding gender equity; their delivery of the policy in school does not translate into meaningful change in their family roles, resulting in a discourse around contrast between *school* and *family*. In this way, when policy issues and information are limited to the classroom and are forbidden to be expressed and practiced outside of school, the traditional sociocultural values are perpetuated within families, and the oppression of female teachers continues.

Despite the challenge inherent in confronting these sociocultural values in the family, some female teachers reported that they received role modeling from their family members. For example, female teachers' husbands or parents acted in ways which promoted gender diversity, allowing the participants to assimilate values of gender equity. Additionally, family members' openness to gender non-conformity provided female teachers with opportunities to develop more egalitarian perspectives on gender that enhanced their sensitivity towards gender inequities. As a result of their increased sensitivity to gender inequity, female teachers more proactively intervened in bullying incidences in school, which included bullying related to gender non-conformity.

In direct contrast to the aforementioned participants, other female teachers' husbands and parents had patrilineal perspectives of gender and disregarded the participants' efforts to promote gender equity. Thus, the intersections between the degree of family members' flexibility with regard to gender and traditional socio-cultural values results in a discourse around the contrast between *with familial role models* and *without familial role models*. This discourse is central to the embodiment of gender equity in the lives of female teachers, empowering them to confront societal inequities, such as the systemic oppression of females.

### **Summary of Intersectionality and Discourses Analysis**

To conclude, the female teachers who participated in this study described feeling disempowered, as they were required to implement the gender policy in Taiwanese classrooms, but they were bound to oppressive sociocultural values in their school and family. This challenge of promoting gender equity highlights the engrained nature of Taiwanese sociocultural values, and clearly depicts the conflict between traditional Taiwanese sociocultural values and the promotion of gender equity.

Despite heterosexual female teachers' relatively privileged social status in schools, they still had to negotiate the tension between long-standing sociocultural values and promoting gender equity through policy implementation. Thus, heterosexual female teachers, put in the role of gender diversity advocates, needed to take strategic approaches to promote equity and diversity in their schools and families. That is, although the goal of the policy is to challenge the essentialist intersections between sex, gender, and sexual orientation, the rigid relations between the three constructs are so ingrained in Taiwanese socio-cultural values that it is almost impossible to explicitly confront these intersections. As a result, a more creative approach that unites teachers to advocate for gender equity for the purpose of societal change is urgently needed in order to create a gender-friendly school environment and more critically, an egalitarian society.

### **Unique Contributions to the Scholarship of Gender Studies**

In order to acquire a contextual understanding of gender equity in Taiwanese culture, an intersectionality and discourse analysis is essential. Existing research by Taiwanese scholars ignores both the intersectional nature of gender, sex, and sexual orientation, and Taiwanese

cultural values, resulting in viewing the three personal identities through a heteronormative lens (e.g., Beford & Hwang, 2010; Y. L., Kuo, 2005).

Comparatively, this study recognized the essentialist nature of gender, sex, and sexual orientation reinforced by Taiwanese culture. By integrating a discourse analysis into an intersectionality analysis, this study acknowledged that gender, sex, and sexual orientation are separate entities, while also appreciating the fluid nature of the three personal identities.

Additionally, previous quantitative research employed an overly simplistic approach to investigating the implementation of the Gender Equity Education Act, ignoring the importance of taking into account the Taiwanese cultural context (e.g., H. F., Chen, 2007; Y. Y., Lin, 2009).

In contrast to previous Taiwanese research, this study recognized the need to integrate Taiwanese sociocultural values into an analysis of gender policy effectiveness. Instead of measuring the efficacy of the policy, this study probed deeper, providing a contextual understanding of how the policy is interpreted by female teachers, utilizing MGCC and FSC epistemologies.

### **Strengths and Limitations of the Study**

A major strength of the study is the application of a feminist social constructionist epistemology, which allows the researcher to deconstruct the essentialist associations between gender, sex, and sexual orientation. In addition, given that recognizing oppression is a key tenant in feminist social constructionism, this study provided an innovative way to examine the impact of Taiwanese sociocultural values on policy implementation. Given the current cultural climate of oppression, the full integration of gender equity into Taiwanese culture is almost impossible.

A second strength of this study is the unique application of MGCC epistemology, which emphasized the fluidity and interaction between sex, gender, and sexual orientation. By regarding the association between sex, gender, and sexual orientation from a narrow and static perspective, researchers studying these issues previously have failed to recognize the fluidity of the interaction among the three personal identities (e.g., Y. L. Kuo, 2010). As a result of this static viewpoint, researchers may risk reproducing the status quo. Through the use of MGCC epistemology, this study attempted purposefully to challenge the status quo maintained by Taiwanese sociocultural values.

A third strength of this study is the use of an interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA). Using IPA gave the researcher the freedom to describe in depth how the familial and school contexts uniquely shape the nature and extent of gender inequality. As Taiwanese sociocultural values are so entrenched within gender inequality, IPA allowed the researcher to highlight the difficulties in translating government policy into meaningful societal change.

Even though this study has its strengths, it is not without its limitations. First, the research interviews were conducted in Chinese and then translated into English. Many Chinese-English translations were made throughout the research process. Although the researcher employed back translation and peer auditing to ensure the participants' accounts remained accurate when translated into English (Ægisdóttir, Gerstein, & Çinarbaş, 2008), the accuracy of these translations was limited by the fact that certain words in Chinese lacked English equivalents and vice versa.

As well, this study focused only on heterosexual female teachers' perspectives on gender. Thus, it would be worthwhile to include LGB and heterosexual male teachers' perspectives on

gender to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how teachers representing different social locations construct the intersections of gender, sex, and sexual orientation in Taiwanese schools.

### **Implications and Recommendations**

#### **Educational Practice**

With regard to educational practice, the results shed light on the ways in which heterosexual female teachers practice gender equity, and how they are influenced by sociocultural values at school and in the family. Specifically, when encountering gender inequity, they first adhered to traditional sociocultural values (e.g., male-centeredness) and then strategically waited for the “appropriate” time to educate students on gender equity. Instead of pushing for radical change, their promotion of gender equity was more subtle, allowing for a gradual integration of the policy into the school environment.

Secondly, senior teachers’ stereotypical negative comments on gender diversity implied that they do not share the values of gender equity that are accepted by the younger generation. Therefore, gender equity education in Taiwanese schools needs to be focused on addressing the discrepancy in values in the older versus younger generation of female teachers, in order to ultimately promote greater dialogue of gender equity in schools.

Moreover, according to the Gender Equity Education Policy, the school administration is required to offer support and resources to implement the policy. Given the “top-down” nature of the policy implementation, administrators who are on the higher end of power structures in school systems need to provide support and resources for teachers. For example, the results indicated that the director of counselling services, who was trained in gender equity education, provided a wealth of resources and knowledge to assist teachers in working with their LGB students.

Additionally, according to the results of this study, policy implementation would be more effective if female teachers advocated for gender equity without singling out gender and sexual minorities, for example, integrating gender and sexual minorities-related topics into dominant and mainstream education programs, such as character education. This approach facilitates the building of alliances between heterosexual and gender normative teachers and parents, and the LGB population. A sole focus on an LGB-related topic threatens the majority of teachers and parents, as discussing sexual orientation in Taiwan is thought to promote LGB identities. Thus, integrating LGB issues into the curriculum or daily conversations would be a better way to build alliances in schools.

### **Teacher Education**

From this study, there are also implications for teacher education programs. Several participants expressed that they reflected on their own gender and sexual orientation throughout the research interviews in ways that helped them consolidate their teaching and personal lives with regards to the idea of gender equity. Additionally, the FSC discourse analysis revealed that teachers needed to relate to the gender policy on a personal level for more effective policy implementation. Considering this finding, it is important to integrate the component of personal reflection into teacher education programs, particularly on the topic of gender identity (Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Kelchtermans, 2009). The reflection-oriented approach will prepare future teachers to assist students experiencing gender-related challenges. For example, in Taiwan, there are various courses offered on gender issues in teacher education programs. Within these classes, it is recommended that teachers-in-training develop self-awareness regarding their own experiences with gender, sex and sexual orientation. This self-reflection would strengthen prospective teachers' understanding of and openness to the idea of gender equity. Accordingly,



by the time they are working in schools, teachers would be more likely to relate to the gender policy at a deeper, and more meaningful level (Cochran-Smith, 2003; Nieto, 2000).

Additionally, given that teachers received limited support from the school administration for policy implementation, this personal reflection on gender would serve as an important foundation for teachers to apply the idea of gender equity not only in their curriculum, but also in interpersonal contexts. Promoting gender equity in daily interpersonal interactions is a powerful and influential means of producing systemic change (P. C. Chen, 2012).

Finally, in order to address the conflict between the Gender Equity Education Act and the sociocultural value system, teacher education programs would benefit from the incorporation of social justice training, in order to provide prospective teachers with the awareness, knowledge, and skills needed to confront inequities in the school system. Building on the foundation of gender equity principles that is already established in teacher education, training programs need to be designed with a social justice perspective to empower and equip future teachers to recognize injustices and act upon situations of inequality (Bemak & Chung, 2005; Nieto, 1999, 2000).

### **Counselling Psychology Training**

Even though attention to diversity and multicultural issues are emphasized as core competencies for counselling psychologists (Pope-Davis, Coleman, Liu, & Toporek, 2003), counselling psychology educators need to be culturally sensitive when addressing gender-related issues by attending to how these issues are perceived in various cultural systems. For example, during training, educators should encourage trainees to reflect on how gender equity is interpreted in their own culture. This culturally-appropriate training will allow trainees to

develop competencies in promoting gender equity for the purposes of confronting the oppressive values in their respective cultures (Byars-Winston & Fouad, 2006; Sue & Sue, 2012).

Further, in addition to culturally-appropriate training, social justice needs to be emphasized so that future counselling psychologists are prepared to advocate for clients and work toward social change (Arredondo & Perez, 2003; Mallinckrodt, Miles, & Levy, 2014; Sinacore et al., 2011; Sinacore, Ginsberg, & Kassan, 2012).

### **Future Research**

In light of the prevalence of school bullying resulting from atypical gender expression, future research applying intersectionality may help researchers to examine more thoroughly gender inequity and its intersections with other cultural variables, such as age, socio-economic status, and disability. Given the tension between Taiwanese sociocultural values and the Gender Equity Education Act, it is critical to further explore the power differential between male and female teachers inherent within the school environment not only to prevent future incidences of bullying, but to promote societal change.

Future research should examine male and LGB teachers' experiences of policy implementation to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the experiences of teachers with different levels of social status (e.g., sex, gender, and sexual orientation) who deliver the policy. For male teachers, who are traditionally privileged in Taiwanese society, collaboration will provide valuable opportunities for gender equity education, with the hope of ultimately creating allies for gender advocacy. For LGB teachers, who are traditionally marginalized in Taiwanese society, collaboration will enhance the visibility of their community in an otherwise LGB-invisible culture. When female teachers collaborate with these groups, the effects of implementing the policy will not only be evident at a pedagogical level (i.e., providing gender

equity education for students in the classroom) but more importantly, it will provide the impetus for reform at a cultural and societal level.

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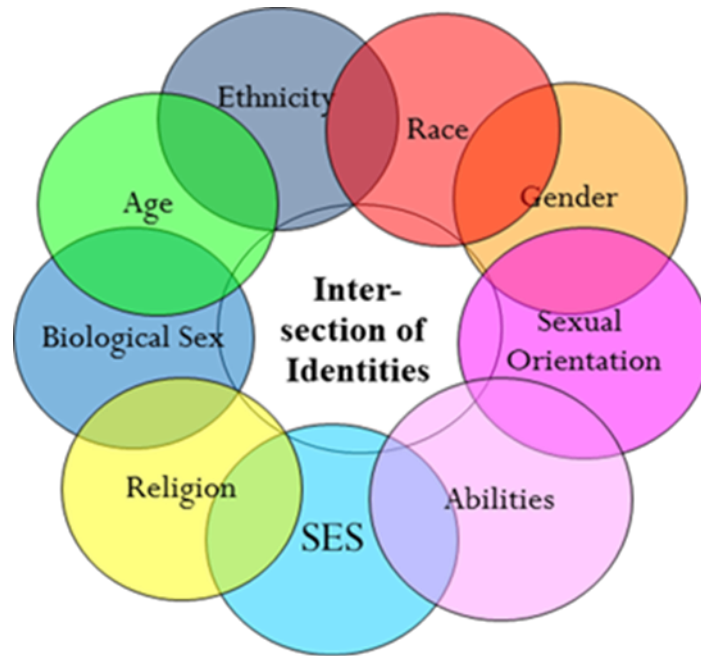
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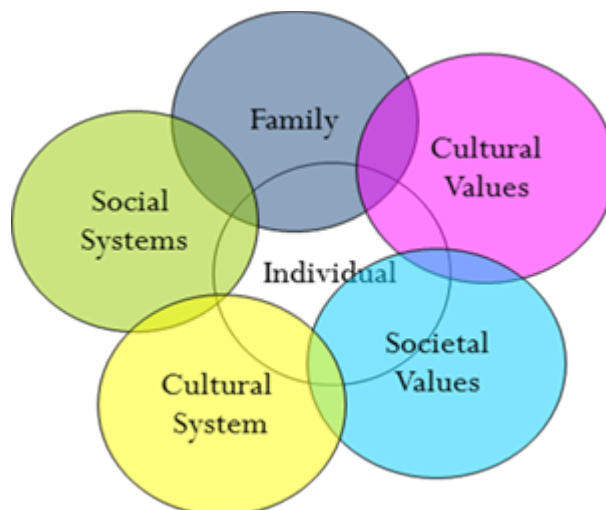


## Appendix A

## The Multicultural Gender Case Conceptualization Model



*Figure 2.1* Multicultural and gender case conceptualization: individual level. Adapted from “The diagnostic window: Culture-and gender-sensitive diagnosis and training,” by A. L. Sinacore-Guinn, 1995, *Counselor Education and Supervision*, 35(1), 18-31. Copyright 1995 by the American Counseling Association.



*Figure 2.2* Multicultural and gender case conceptualization: social context. Adapted from “Using Social Justice and Multicultural Perspectives in the Development of International Counseling Psychology. by A. L. Sinacore, 2011, *paper presented at the meeting of Professional Development Seminar the Department of Guidance & Counseling, the National Changhua University of Education, Changhua, Taiwan.*

*Appendix B*

Applicable Research Ethics Board

\_\_\_REB-I \_\_\_REB-II \_\_\_REB-III

## Application for Ethics Approval for Human Subject Research

(please refer to the Application Guidelines [[www.mcgill.ca/research/researchers/compliance/human/](http://www.mcgill.ca/research/researchers/compliance/human/)] before completing this form)

**Project Title:** The Intersections between Gender, Biological Sex, and Sexual Orientation in Taiwan: Heterosexual Female Secondary School Personnel's Constructions of Masculinity and Femininity

**Principal Investigator:** Chao-Mei Chiang**Dept:** Educational and Counselling Psychology**Phone #:** 514-224-4755**Email:** chao-mei.chiang@mail.mcgill.ca**(a McGill email MUST be provided)****Status: Faculty** \_\_\_**Postdoctoral Fellow** \_\_\_**Other (specify)** \_\_\_**Ph.D. Student** X**Master's Student** \_\_\_**Undergraduate** \_\_\_**Type of Research: Faculty Research** \_\_\_**Thesis** X**Honours Thesis** \_\_\_**Independent Study Project** \_\_\_**Course Assignment (specify course name and #)** \_\_\_\_\_**Other (specify)** \_\_\_\_\_**Faculty Supervisor (if PI is a student):** Dr. Ada L. Sinacore**Email:** ada.sinacore@mcgill.ca**Co- Investigators/Other Researchers (list name/status/affiliation):** N/A

**List all funding sources for this project and project titles (if different from the above). Indicate the Principal Investigator of the award if not yourself.**

Awarded:

Pending:

**Principal Investigator Statement:** I will ensure that this project is conducted in accordance with the policies and procedures governing the ethical conduct of research involving human participants at McGill University. I allow release of my nominative information as required by these policies and procedures.

**Principal Investigator Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Faculty Supervisor Statement:** I have read and approved this project and affirm that it has received the appropriate academic approval. I will ensure that the student investigator is aware of the applicable policies and procedures governing the ethical conduct of human subject research at McGill University and I agree to provide all necessary supervision to the student. I allow release of my nominative information as required by these policies and procedures.

**Faculty Supervisor Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

Respond directly on this form below each question. Do not delete the text under the question. Do not omit or reorder any questions. Answer every part of each section. Forms with incomplete sections will be returned.

### 1. Purpose of the Research

*Describe the proposed project and its objectives, including the research questions to be investigated (one page maximum).*

The current Taiwanese research on masculinity has hegemonically linked masculinity to male physiologies and heterosexuality (e.g., Cheng, 2011). That is, studies on expressions of masculinity are predominately focusing on men and ignoring other populations' constructions of masculinity, such as heterosexual women's perspective of masculinity. That is, the majority of the extant literature has focused on heterosexual men's masculinity; resultantly, heterosexuality is favored whereas homosexuality is marginalized within this body of literature. The few studies that have focused on female masculinity tend to focus on the lesbian and transgender populations (female to male). This limited focus on female masculinity risks stereotyping female masculinity to lesbian population thereby overlooks heterosexual women's masculinity and their constructions of masculinity. Moreover, the current literature lacks an understanding as to how masculinity, biological sex, and sexual orientation interact. In particular, the research on the consequences of masculinity identified mostly in schools, such as bullying and marginalization because of alternative gender expressions, has not attended to intersectionality.

Given these limitations in the current Taiwanese literature, this study aims to investigate Taiwanese heterosexual female secondary school personnel whose constructions of masculinity and femininity as well as the intersections among gender, biological sex (i.e., female), sexual orientation (i.e., heterosexuality), and other personal identities. Additionally, this study will address the lack of focus on the intersectionality of gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation. To do this, this study will investigate the population of heterosexual Taiwanese female secondary school personnel whose constructions of gender using the lens of masculinity. Therefore, 10-15 Taiwanese heterosexual female secondary school personnel will be recruited and participate in semi-structured interviews. The main research questions are: a) How do Taiwanese heterosexual female secondary school personnel understand the intersections of gender, biological sex, sexual orientation, and personal identities in the Taiwanese society? b) What do Taiwanese heterosexual female secondary school personnel perceive the outcomes of gender expressions that are not hegemonically linked to biological sex? c) What informs Taiwanese heterosexual female secondary school personnel's educational practices and their personal life in terms of outcomes that they observed and experienced?

*What is the expected value or benefits of the research?*

This study will provide information about the intersections among gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation in Taiwan, especially in the context of secondary school. Additionally, the consequences of masculinity will be explored. Taiwanese society can benefit from this research because it will challenge the hegemonic links among masculinity, maleness, and heteronormativity and this perspective can then inform policymaking and policy implementation in the contexts of secondary school.

*How do you anticipate disseminating the results (e.g. thesis, presentations, internet, film, publications)?*

Results of this study will be disseminated across a wide range of audiences such as presentation at national and international conferences and peer-reviewed publications.

## **2. Recruitment of Participants/Location of Research**

*Describe the participant population and the approximate number of participants needed.*

The recruitment process aims to obtain 10-15 heterosexual Taiwanese female adults. To be eligible for the study, participants will be Taiwanese women who a) are at least 18 years old, b) identify themselves as heterosexual, and c) have worked in secondary school for two years, and d) would like to share their personal perspectives of masculinity/ femininity and their personal experience associated with their own gender.

*Describe how and from where they will be recruited. Attach a copy of any advertisement, letter, flier, brochure or oral script to be used to solicit potential participants (including information to be sent to third parties).*

Participants will be recruited using a snowball sampling technique that allows the researcher to contact individuals who can identify potential participants (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997). As such, participants will be recruited by several methods, including advertisements (see Appendix A) posted on the Taiwanese Bulletin Board System (BBS), which is similar to Craigslist and through word of mouth. The recruitment letter and message will include a McGill email address that is specifically created for the purposed of this study. Thus, the participants can directly contact the researcher via this email address. Once the researcher receives an email from potential participants, the researcher will contact the potential participant and explain the purpose of the study and confidentiality. If potential participant is still interested, an interview will be scheduled.

*Describe the setting in which the research will take place.*

At the beginning of the interview, the researcher will restate the purpose of the study and the ways to protect the participant's anonymity. If the participant has questions, the researcher will clarify and provide further explanation. Once informed consent is received and secured, each interview will be conducted in person in Taiwan or via Skype if the researcher is back to Canada.

*Describe any compensation subjects may receive for participating.*

Compensation for each participant will be a 10-dollar (300 NTD) gift certificate for their participation.

## **3. Other Approvals**

*When doing research with various distinct groups of participants (e.g. school children, cultural groups, institutionalized people, other countries), organizational/community/governmental permission is sometimes needed. If applicable, how will this be obtained? Include copies of any documentation to be sent.*

Not applicable.

#### 4. Methodology/Procedures

*Provide a sequential description of the methods and procedures to be followed to obtain data. Describe all methods that will be used (e.g. fieldwork, surveys, interviews, focus groups, standardized testing, video/audio taping). Attach copies of questionnaires or draft interview guides, as appropriate.*

##### Methodology:

In order to investigate Taiwanese heterosexual female secondary school personnel's constructions of masculinity and their personal experience related to their gender, a qualitative methodology will be employed. Specifically, phenomenology inquiry was selected in order to gain rich and deep descriptions of participants' experiences. Phenomenology inquiry is a qualitative research approach that attends to the essence of people's lived experiences (Creswell, 2007). In-depth semi-structured interview will be employed as the method for data collection.

##### Procedure:

The procedure for the study is as follows. First, ethical approval will be received from the McGill Research Ethics Boards. Then, 10-15 Taiwanese heterosexual female secondary school personnel will be recruited in Taiwan. After securing informed consent, the participant will be asked to complete a demographic information sheet and a semi-structured in-depth interview will be conducted in person (see Appendix D). Yet, if face-to-face interviews are not possible because of the location or schedule, interview will be conducted via Skype. The semi-structured interview will cover the participants' understanding of expectations of gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation, the consequences whereby these expectations go unmet, and the intersections between gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation. The Multicultural Gender Case Conceptualization Model (Sinacore, 2011) will be utilized as material in the interview to allow the participants to identify their personal identities (see Appendix E). All interviews will be audio recorded and carried out in Chinese. The interview data will be transcribed verbatim in Chinese. Data will be analyzed followed by Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) steps; that is, the hermeneutic circle which refers to whole-parts-whole (Smith, 2009). Additionally, utilizing IPA allows the researcher to understand how participants make sense of their personal experiences associated with their gender and the intersections among gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation.

The IPA begins with reading a transcript which will be transcribed in Chinese several times to become familiar with the participant's account. While performing the initial reading, the researcher will take notes on any aspects in the transcript that appear unique or interesting. Next, the researcher will re-read the transcript and identify the focus points, which are written in Chinese (Smith & Osborn, 2008). A judge will verify the focus points. If the focus points verified by the judge do not match those of the researcher, the researcher will discuss with the judge until a consensus is reached. After verification of focus points, the researcher will merge focus points into themes based on similar meanings. The researcher will translate these themes from Chinese into English. Then, a bilingual judge will translate these themes back into Chinese to ensure the accuracy of the researcher's translation. The themes will be in English whereas the transcript will stay in Chinese. Then, a data chart will be created to organize line numbers and the transcription content. Next, the researcher will conduct thematic analysis in the data chart in Chinese and generate subthemes. After completing the verification of the subthemes, the researcher will translate these subthemes from Chinese into English. Then, a bilingual judge will translate these subthemes back into Chinese to ensure the accuracy of the researcher's translation.

Subsequently, the researcher will regroup subthemes into categories and write a case story based on the data chart. This process will be conducted for each individual transcript. Finally, across case analysis will be conducted.

### **5. Potential Harms and Risk**

*a) Describe any known or foreseeable harms, if any, that the participants or others might be subject to during or as a result of the research. Harms may be psychological, physical, emotional, social, legal, economic, or political.*

There are no significant foreseeable risks. During the interview, participant may experience minimal level of emotional discomfort when they answer personal experiences related to their gender.

*b) In light of the above assessment of potential harms, indicate whether you view the risks as acceptable given the value or benefits of the research.*

The risks associated in this study are minimal, but they are acceptable because examining heterosexual female educators' perspectives of masculinity could provide valuable insight into the constructions of masculinity in Taiwan and offer intersectional understandings of the construct of masculinity in the context of secondary school in Taiwanese society to inform policymaking and policy implementation.

*c) Outline the steps that may be taken to reduce or eliminate these risks.*

In order to minimize risks, participants have the right to refuse to answer any and all of the questions, decide whatever they choose to share in the interview, and withdraw from the study at any point during the course of the study without any penalty. In case of any unforeseen psychological disturbances, the primary researcher who is a licensed psychologist in Taiwan will have the skills to address any problems that may arise. Further, the researchers will provide referrals to appropriate mental health professionals should the need arise.

*d) If deception is used, justify the use of the deception and indicate how participants will be debriefed or justify why they will not be debriefed.*

Deception will not be used in this study.

### **6. Privacy and Confidentiality**

*Describe the degree to which the anonymity of participants and the confidentiality of data will be assured and the specific methods to be used for this, both during the research and in the release of findings.*

For the duration of the study, all hard copies of data along with consent forms containing the names and email addresses of the participants will be stored separately in a locked cabinet and only the Principal Investigator and Supervisor have access to these documents. To ensure the participants' anonymity, the demographic information in the transcripts will be coded to eliminate personally identifying information. Electronic versions of data (e.g. spreadsheets created for analysis, transcriptions) will be stored in a locked cabinet. Additionally, these data will be encrypted and require a password to access.

*Describe the use of data coding systems and how and where data will be stored. Describe any potential use of the data by others. Who will have access to identifiable data?*

The Principle Investigator and supervisor are the sole persons with access to identifiable data.

*What will happen to the identifiable data after the study is finished?*

Once the study is completed the audio recordings will be erased.

*Indicate if there are any conditions under which privacy or confidentiality cannot be guaranteed (e.g. focus groups), or, if confidentiality is not an issue in this research, explain why.*

Not applicable.

## **7. Informed Consent Process**

*Describe the oral and/or written procedures that will be followed to obtain informed consent from the participants. Attach all consent documents, including information sheets and scripts for oral consents.*

Interviews conducted in person:

At the beginning of the interview, the research will explain the goal of the research, voluntary nature of the participation, and confidentiality. The research will invite the participant to ask any questions with regard to the research process. After the participants understand the nature of the study, they will be asked to complete the informed consent form of research participation (see Appendix B) and audio recording (see Appendix C). Additionally, participants will be asked to fill out the demographic information sheet (see Appendix D). The researcher will restate that the participants can withdraw from the interview at any time without any penalty.

After securing the informed consent, the researcher will start audio recording and ask the introductory questions that explore the participants' experience. The Multicultural Gender Case Conceptualization Model (Sinacore, 2011) will be utilized as material in the interview to allow the participants to identify their personal identities and social context variable (see Appendix E). Once the interview is completed, the research will ask debriefing and closure questions to invite the participant to talk about their perspectives of the interview. Finally, a 10-dollar (300 NTD) certificate gift card will be given to the participant as compensation.

Interviews conducted via Skype:

The researcher will first conduct a brief phone or Skype interview that will not be audio recorded to ensure that the participants understand the goal of the research, the voluntary nature of the participation, and confidentiality. In this unrecorded conversation, the researcher will answer the participant's questions with regard to the research process. After this discussion, the researcher will set up password for the documents (i.e., the informed consent form of research participation, informed consent form of audio recording, and the demographic information sheet) and then send out a separate email that contains the password to the participants. Once the participants complete these forms, they will return these documents to the researcher via email. After securing the participant's informed consent, a Skype interview will be scheduled.

At the beginning of the Skype interview, the researcher will restate that the participants can withdraw from the interview at any time without any penalty. Then the researcher will start audio

recording and ask the introductory questions that explore the participants' experience. The Skype interviews will be only audio taped, not video taped. Once the interview is completed, the research will ask debriefing and closure questions to invite the participant to talk about their perspectives of the interview. A \$10 (300 NTD) gift card will be promptly mailed to the participants.

*If written consent will not be obtained, justification must be provided.*

Not applicable.

#### **8. Other Concerns**

*a) Indicate if participants are a captive population (e.g. prisoners, residents in a center) or are in any kind of conflict of interest relationship with the researcher such as being students, clients, patients or family members. If so, explain how you will ensure that participants do not feel pressure to participate or perceive that they may be penalized for choosing not to participate.*

Not applicable.

*b) Comment on any other potential ethical concerns that may arise during the course of the research.*

Not applicable.



*Appendix C*

## The Approval from Research Ethics Board Office



Research Ethics Board Office  
James Administration Bldg.  
845 Sherbrooke Street West, Rm 429  
Montreal, QC H3A 0G4

Tel: (514) 398-6831  
Fax: (514) 398-4644  
Website: [www.mcgill.ca/research/researchers/compliance/human/](http://www.mcgill.ca/research/researchers/compliance/human/)

**Research Ethics Board II**  
**Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans**

**REB File #:** 31-0613

**Project Title:** The Intersections between Gender, Biological Sex, and Sexual Orientation in Taiwan: Heterosexual Female Secondary School Personnel's Constructions of Masculinity and Femininity

**Principal Investigator:** Chao-Mei Chiang

**Department:** Educational and Counselling  
Psychology

**Status:** Ph.D. Student

**Supervisor:** Prof. A. Sinacore

**Approval Period:** July 15, 2013 to July 14, 2014

The REB-II reviewed and approved this project by delegated review in accordance with the requirements of the McGill University Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human Participants and the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans.

Deanna Collin  
Research Ethics Administrator

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\* All research involving human participants requires review on an annual basis. A Request for Renewal form should be submitted 2-3 weeks before the above expiry date.

\* When a project has been completed or terminated a Study Closure form must be submitted.

\* Should any modification or other unanticipated development occur before the next required review, the REB must be informed and any modification can't be initiated until approval is received.

*Appendix D*Recruitment Flyer<sup>1</sup>

**Have you confronted situations related to masculinity or femininity  
at the school where you work?**

**Have you been aware of situations related to masculinity or  
femininity at the school where you work?**

**Share your perspective; let your voice be heard.**

By participating a 90-minute interview, you will be able to share your perspective on expected boys and girls behaviors in your school.

You are eligible to participate in this study if

- You are a Taiwanese female adult who is at least 18 years of old
- You identify yourself as heterosexual
- You have been working in secondary school over two years
- You are willing to share your personal perspective of masculinity as well as personal experience of your own gender.

A \$300 (NTD) gift certificate will be provided as compensation.

For more information, please contact Chao-Mei Chiang at (a McGill email account for the research) or at (the researcher's Taiwanese cell phone number).

Chao-Mei Chiang  
Doctoral Candidate  
Department of Educational and Counseling Psychology  
McGill University

This research project is under the supervision of Dr. Ada Sinacore at the Department of Educational and Counseling Psychology at McGill University.

---

<sup>1</sup> The actual posting will be written in Chinese

*Appendix E*

## Recruitment Flyer (Chinese version)

在您服務的國中校園，

是否親臨或觀察”展現男性氣概、女性特質”的情境？

亦或覺察某些情境是與男性氣概、女性特質連結的呢？

本研究邀請您分享親身觀點

藉著參與 90 分鐘訪談，邀請您分享在國中校園脈絡中，對於男孩/女孩/男性/女性期待的觀察。

如果您是

- 女性成年人，18 歲以上
- 認同自身為異性戀者
- 在國中校園已服務兩年(含)以上
- 願意分享自身的性別經驗、或是自身對於校園中性別相關議題的觀察

本研究將贈予 300 元的禮券，做為您參與本研究的酬謝

期待您分享珍貴的觀點，請聯繫研究者姜兆眉

Email: [chao-mei.chiang@mail.mcgill.ca](mailto:chao-mei.chiang@mail.mcgill.ca)

電話：0975-609-453

姜兆眉 敬邀

加拿大 McGill 麥基爾大學

教育與諮商心理學系

博士候選人

本研究將在 Dr. Ada Sinacore 督導之下執行，Dr. Ada Sinacore ([ada.sinacore@mcgill.ca](mailto:ada.sinacore@mcgill.ca))為加拿大 McGill 麥基爾大學教育與諮商心理學系副教授

*Appendix F*

## Informed Consent Form

**INFORMED CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH**

This is to state that I agree to participate in the research project entitled: *The Intersections between Gender, Biological Sex, and Sexual Orientation in Taiwan: Heterosexual Female Secondary School Personnel's Constructions of Masculinity and Femininity*

Conducted by: Principal Investigator: Chao-Mei Chiang, PhD Candidate, Dept. of Educational and Counselling Psychology, McGill University, 0975-609-453(Taiwan)/ (514)224-4755(Canada), chao-mei.chiang@mail.mcgill.ca

Supervisor: Ada L. Sinacore, Ph.D., Dept. of Educational and Counselling Psychology, McGill University, (514)398 – 3446, ada.sinacore@mcgill.ca

This study aims to explore Taiwanese heterosexual female school personnel's understanding of the relationships between gender, biological sex, sexual orientation, and other personal identities in Taiwan. Additionally, the consequences of expectations of gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation will be discussed. The researcher will make recommendations as to how counselling psychologists and researchers can address the consequences related to expectations of biological sex, gender, and sexual orientation in counselling practice and future research.

The interview will be audio recorded and transcribed verbatim in Chinese. The audio recording produced from this study will be stored on computer which is password protected, in a secure, locked location. Only the principal investigator and her supervisor have access to them. The recordings will be transcribed verbatim and all personal identifying information will be removed from the transcripts. The audio files will be destroyed when the research project is complete.

**The use of research data**

The research data will be used for the researcher's dissertation and may be used for future studies. You may consent below to allow your transcript to be used for future studies. The results from this study will later be disseminated at peer reviewed conferences and in professional publications. As per University Policy <http://www.mcgill.ca/secretariat/policies/research>, "The McGill Regulation on the Conduct of Research states that research data be maintained for a period of 7 years from the date of publication in the absence of any specific sponsor requirements." Thus, the data will be kept for 7 years from the date of publication.

**Participants' confidentiality will be secured in the following ways**

- Only the Principal Investigator, Chao-Mei Chiang, and her supervisor, Dr. Ada Sinacore will have access to the participants' identifying information.
  - No identifying information will be attached to participant's data (i.e., audio recordings of the interviews and the transcripts). Further, the informed consent and the data will be kept in separate, secure environments.

- The results that emerge from this study may be disseminated at professional conferences and/or published in scholarly journals. Throughout the process of communicating these results, your confidentiality and anonymity will be safeguarded;
- If quotes are used, all identifying information will be removed.

I \_\_\_\_\_ consent to have the transcription from my interview be used for future studies.

I \_\_\_\_\_ do not consent to have the transcription from my interview be used for future studies.  
(Please check)

I do not have to answer any question that I do not want to and I can stop the interview at any time. I have the right to withdraw at any time from the study. I understand that data will be anonymized at the end of the study (August, 2015, approximately) and withdrawal will, therefore, no longer be possible past this point in time.

**I have read and I understand all of the above conditions. By signing this form, I freely consent and voluntarily agree to be recorded and participate in this study.**

Name: (please print) \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights or welfare as a participant in this research study please contact the McGill Research Ethics Officer at 514-398-6831 or [lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca](mailto:lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca)

*Appendix G*

## Informed Consent Form (Chinese version)

## 研究參與同意書

本人\_\_\_\_\_同意參與此研究，研究題目(暫定)：社會性別、生理性別與性傾向在國中校園場域中的交織：國中異性戀女性教師對於男性氣概與女性特質之建構

本研究旨在於探討台灣異性戀女性國中教師，對於生理性別、社會性別與性傾向三者概念之間關係的理解，本研究亦探究國中校園對於這三個概念的期待。本研究將對諮商心理實務工作以及未來研究提出建議，如何著眼對於生理性別、社會性別與性傾向的期待，以及這些期待所衍生的可能結果。

研究訪談將被錄音，並於之後謄錄為逐字稿。研究訪談錄音檔案將存放於以密碼保護的電腦，電腦將被置放於安全的處所。只有研究者與指導教授能接觸具識別性的文件。謄錄完成的逐字稿將會移除具識別性的個人資料。錄音檔在本研究結束之後將予以銷毀。

**研究資料的使用：**

研究資料將被做為研究者的博士論文以及未來研究使用。若您同意您的資料作為後續研究使用，請於下方勾選同意。本研究結果將發表於具審查制度的研討會以及專業期刊。根據麥基爾大學研究倫理法條明文規定(<http://www.mcgill.ca/secretariat/policies/research>)”麥基爾研究之執行明文規定研究資料，在無額外被要求情形下，將予以保存七年(自研究結果發表之日起算)”。據此，本研究資料將被保存七年(自發表日起算)。

**研究參與者的隱私與保密性將以下方式維護：**

- 只有研究者本人以及其指導教授會看到研究參與者具識別性的資料
- 任何具識別性的資料將與研究資料分開存放，例如：參與研究同意書將與逐字稿分開存放
- 研究結果將發表於專業研討會與專業期刊。發表過程中，將嚴格維護您的隱私與匿名性
- 若逐字稿內容被引用，所有具識別性的個人訊息將予以隱匿或改造

本人\_\_\_\_\_同意將我的逐字稿做為未來研究使用。

本人\_\_\_\_\_不同意將我的逐字稿做為未來研究使用。(請勾選)

研究訪談中，我無須回答我不想回答的問題。我可以在任何時刻停止訪談。我有權利於任何時刻退出參與研究。並且，我了解研究資料將被匿名保護直到本研究結束(預計為2015,8)，因此無法在此研究結束後退出此研究。

我已閱讀以上並了解上述之情況。我同意並志願參與本研究，進行訪談並接受被錄音。

姓名：\_\_\_\_\_

簽名：\_\_\_\_\_ 日期：\_\_\_\_\_

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若您對身為研究參與者的權利或福祉有任何疑問或疑慮，請聯繫麥基爾大學研究倫理承辦人員，聯絡方式為 514-398-6831，[lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca](mailto:lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca)

*Appendix H*

## Demographic Information Form

**DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FORM**

Please answer all of the following questions by circling the appropriate response/s. Please fill in additional information where necessary.

**Background Information**

1. Year of birth: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Age: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Highest educational degree obtained:

☐ Senior High School

☐ Bachelor's

☐ Master's

☐ Doctorate

☐ Other

Specialization \_\_\_\_\_

4. Name and Place of Institution where you received your Highest Degree: \_\_\_\_\_

5. The region you are currently living

☐ Urban

☐ Suburban

☐ Rural

How long you have been living in this area: \_\_\_\_\_

6. Relationship status:

☐ Married \_\_\_\_\_ year(s)

☐ Single \_\_\_\_\_ year(s)

☐ Partnered \_\_\_\_\_ year(s)

☐ Divorced/ Separated \_\_\_\_\_ year(s)

☐ Widowed/widower \_\_\_\_\_ year(s)

☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

7. Do you have children?

☐ Yes

☐ No

8. Ethnicity/ies: \_\_\_\_\_



9. Languages you speak: \_\_\_\_\_

10. Country of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_

11. If you were not born in Taiwan, indicate the year you arrived in Taiwan: \_\_\_\_\_

12. If you were not born in Taiwan, indicate your reasons for moving/immigrating to Taiwan:

---

13. Primary Religious Affiliation:

☐ Buddhist

☐ Taoism

☐ Aboriginal religion

☐ Christian

☐ Catholic

☐ Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

### Occupational Information

14. Location of your school

☐ Urban

☐ Rural

☐ Suburb

15. Your role of school

☐ Teacher

Subject(s) you teach \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Administrative staff

☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

16. How long you have worked in your school

☐ Over 10 years

☐ 5-9 years

☐ 2-4 years

17. Number of students at school

☐ > 2000 students

☐ 1000-1999 students

☐ < 999 students

18. Annual household income of students' family

☐ > 65,000 CAD ( 200,0000 NTD)

☐ > 30,000 CAD ( 100,0000 NTD)

☐ 25,000~29,999 CAD ( 75,0000~100,0000 NTD)

- ☐ 8,001~24,999 CAD ( 25,0000~75,0000 NTD)
- ☐ < 8,000 CAD ( < 25,000 NTD)

*Appendix I*

## Demographic Information Form (Chinese version)

## 受訪者資料表

請回答下列問題，若您願意提供額外訊息，請書寫於下方空白欄位，謝謝！

## 個人資料

1. 出生年：\_\_\_\_\_

2. 年齡：\_\_\_\_\_

3. 最高學歷：

☐ 高中

☐ 學士

☐ 碩士

☐ 博士

☐ 其他\_\_\_\_\_

主修 \_\_\_\_\_

4. 取得最高學歷的學校與地點 \_\_\_\_\_

5. 您目前居住的地方

☐ 都會區

☐ 市郊

☐ 住商混合

☐ 工業區

☐ 農村

☐ 山區

☐ 其他 \_\_\_\_\_

您在這個區域居住多久? \_\_\_\_\_

6. 關係狀態

☐ 已婚 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

☐ 單身 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

☐ 有伴侶 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

☐ 離婚/分居 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

☐ 喪偶 \_\_\_\_\_ 年

☐ 其他 \_\_\_\_\_

7. 您有孩子嗎？

☐ 有

☐ 無

8. 種族：\_\_\_\_\_

9. 您使用的語言：\_\_\_\_\_

10. 出生的國家：\_\_\_\_\_

11. 如果您不是在台灣出生，您是何時搬到台灣？\_\_\_\_\_

12. 如果您不是在台灣出生，請說明您搬到台灣的原因：

---

13. 主要宗教信仰

☐ 佛教

☐ 道教

☐ 民間信仰

☐ 原住民信仰

☐ 基督教

☐ 天主教

☐ 其他：\_\_\_\_\_

### 職業相關訊息

14. 您學校所處的地理區域

☐ 都會區

☐ 市郊

☐ 住商混合

☐ 工業區

☐ 農村

☐ 山區

☐ 其他 \_\_\_\_\_

15. 您在學校的角色

☐ 教師

您任教的科目 \_\_\_\_\_

☐ 行政人員

☐ 其他 \_\_\_\_\_

16. 您在這所學校任教的時間

☐ 10 年以上

☐ 5-9 年

☐ 2-4 年

17. 學生人數

☐ > 2000 人

☐ 1000-1999 人

☐ < 999 人

18. 平均來說，學生家庭的年收入

☐ > 200,0000

☐ > 100,0000

☐ 75,0000~100,0000

☐ 25,0000~75,0000

☐ < 25,000

*Appendix J*

## Interview Protocol

Listed below are the research questions that will be explored in the semi-structured interviews. In this protocol, each research question is followed by the specific overall topic in the question to be explored. These concepts are followed by the initial interview prompt that will be given to the participant to facilitate their exploration of the topic. This initial interview prompt is followed by a list of more detailed prompts related to the topic and its key concepts. These questions will be used to elicit the participant's overall experience of the dialogue and to help them debrief. The researcher will use this list as a checklist to assure that the participants thoroughly discuss the topics. If the participants cover these key concepts then the researcher will position themselves as a listener and will not provide additional detailed prompts. If the participant does not highlight the key topic's concepts, the researcher will use more detailed prompts to assure more information will be discussed. Therefore, these prompts are provided to demonstrate what might be used to facilitate an exploration of the key concepts. The detailed prompts will be used flexibly if necessary.

Research Questions

1. How do Taiwanese heterosexual female secondary school teachers understand the intersections of gender, biological sex, sexual orientation, and personal identities in the Taiwanese society?
2. What do Taiwanese heterosexual female secondary school teachers perceive the outcomes of gender expressions that are not hegemonically linked to biological sex?
3. What informs Taiwanese heterosexual female secondary school teachers' educational practices and their personal life in terms of outcomes that they observed and experienced?

Introductory Questions

1. The researcher will explain the purposes of this study.
2. The researcher will ask the participant to define gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation and discuss the definition.
3. The researcher will state how gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation will be defined in this study.

**Topic A: Participant's understandings of gender equity policies**

- Have you heard about the "Gender Equity Education Act"?
- How do you feel about the Gender Equity Education Act?

- How do you think of the way that “gender” is defined in the Gender Equity Education Act?
- How does the Gender Equity Education Act influence your work in your school?

**Topic B: Participant’s observation of phenomenon/event related to gender equity policies in school contexts**

Initial Prompt: Could you tell me about an incident or incidents that happened at your school that is related to the Gender Equity Education Act?

Detail Prompts:

- In your classroom/office, does anything happen related to the Gender Equity Education Act?
- Could you describe it? What happened?
- How do you think this situation was related to Gender Equity Education Act?
- How does your school respond to this situation?
- What did you think their response indicates about the school values?
- What are your thoughts on these school values or not?
- Why you agree/disagree with the school values?

**Topic C: Participant’s observation of expectations for biological sex, gender, and sexual orientation**

Prompt 1: Expectations for biological sex

- In terms of your observation of this situation, how was it related to the expectations of behaviors based on biological sex?
- In your school, could you describe what does it mean to be a boy/a girl/a man/a woman?
- What happens in your school when these expectations based on biological sex go unmet?

Prompt 2: Expectations for gender

- In terms of your observation of this situation, how was it related to the expectations about being masculine/feminine in your school?
- In your school, could you describe what does it mean to be masculine/feminine?
- What happens in your school when these expectations for being masculine/ feminine go unmet?

Prompt 3: Expectations for sexual orientation

- In terms of your observation of this situation, how was it related to the expectations about sexual orientation?
- In your school, what happens when these expectations about sexual orientation go unmet?

**Topic D: Participant's perspectives of intersections between gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation.**

- In that situation you observed, what role did biological sex and gender play?
  - o What was the relationship between biological sex and gender in that situation?
- In that situation you observed, what role did gender and sexual orientation play?
  - o What was the relationship between gender and sexual orientation in that situation?
- In that situation you observed, what role did biological sex and sexual orientation play?
  - o What was the relationship between biological sex and sexual orientation in that situation?

**Topic E: Participant's personal experience of the expectations of biological sex, gender, and sexual orientation**

Prompt 1: Personal experience of the expectations about biological sex

- What is the expectation of you as a woman working in your school?
- What's your perspective/opinion of these expectations of you as a woman?
- In what ways you think you meet this expectation of being a woman in your school?
- In what ways you not meet the expectations about being a woman? What happens when you haven't met the expectations of being a woman?
- How are the expectations of being a woman different for you in other contexts, outside of school?

Prompt 2: Personal experience of the expectations about gender

- How would you describe your gender?
- What is the expectation of you being masculine/ feminine in your school?
- What's your perspective/opinion of these expectations of being masculine/ feminine?
- In what ways you think you meet the expectations of being masculine/ feminine in your school?



- In what ways you not meet the expectations of being masculine/feminine in your school?  
What happens when you haven't met the expectations of being masculine/ feminine?
- How are the expectations of being masculine/feminine different for you in other contexts, outside of school?

**Prompt 3: Personal experience of the expectations about sexual orientation**

- What is the expectation of you as being heterosexual working at your school?
- What's your perspective/opinion of these expectations of you as a heterosexual?
- In what ways you think you meet the expectations of being heterosexual in your school?
- In what ways you not meet the expectations of being heterosexual in your school? What happens when you haven't met the expectations of being heterosexual?
- How are the expectations of being heterosexual different for you in other contexts, outside of school?

**Topic F: Participant's perspectives of the intersections of their biological sex, gender, sexual orientation, and other personal identities**

**Initial Prompt**

- Are there other personal identities that influence your understanding of expectations about gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation?

**Detailed Prompts:**

- If so, what are these personal identities?
- In what contexts do these personal identities influence your understanding of expectations about gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation?
- What is the order of the personal identities that you have filled in these circles of the MGCC model in terms of their significance to you?
- Could you describe why this personal identity is the most significant for you?
- Could you give me more examples to explain how these personal identities are salient to you?
- What personal identities are missing when you fill in the circles?

**Topic G: Participant's perspectives of intervention and policy implementations**

- Overall what do you feel about the Gender Equity Education Act?

- What do you think about policy implementation in your school?
- Are there the ways in which your school values influence policy implementation?
- In terms of the situation we discussed, what do you think could have been done to address this situation?
- How do you think the Gender Equity Education Act or other gender related policies can be more effectively implemented in your school?
- Has this discussion changed/influenced your opinion of the Gender Equity Education Act?

**Closure/ Debriefing**

- Is there anything important about expectations for gender, biological sex, and sexual orientation you want to talk about?
- Is there anything important about your school or the Gender Equity Education Act?
- What was this process like for you today?
- What was helpful about the discussion? What was not?
- What initially made you want to take part in this study?

*Appendix K*

## Interview Protocol (Chinese version)

## 研究訪談大綱

**前導問題：**

1. 研究者說明本研究目的
2. 研究者邀請研究參與者定義社會性別(gender)、生理性別(biological sex)、以及性傾向(sexual orientation)。
3. 研究者說明社會性別(gender)、生理性別(biological sex)、以及性傾向(sexual orientation)在本研究中如何被定義。
4. 詢問研究參與者：你是怎麼知道這份研究的？考量是否接受研究邀請的想法是什麼？參與研究的考量是什麼？

**主題 A：研究參與者對於性別平等相關政策的了解**

- 您是不是聽過性別平等教育法？
- 您對性別平等教育法的想法為？您對於此法的緣起、立法精神的理解是什麼？請用您的話說說看？
- 如果從您的話來解釋的話，您認為性別平等教育法中所指稱的”性別”是怎樣被定義的？
- 有沒有這個性別平等教育法，對於您在校園中工作的影響分別是什麼？

**主題 B：研究參與者在校園脈絡中對於性別平等教育法相關事件/現象的觀察**

- 請您談談在學校場域中，近日發生與性別平等教育法相關的事件/現象？
  - 就您所知，在您的教室/辦公室中，近期內發生與性別平等教育法相關事件為何？
  - 請您描述該事件
  - 您認為此事件所勾勒出的哪個部分/議題，與性別平等教育法有關？
  - 您的學校本身怎麼對這件事件做出回應？校園裡平常對於這個事件/現象通常是怎麼被回應的？例如：師長的回應、行政人員的回應、學生的回應
  - 在學校脈絡之下，這些上述您說的回應，整體反映出什麼樣的價值觀？
  - 您自己對於這樣的價值觀的想法為何？
  - 跟您自己本身的價值有何相似、相異之處？您同意/不同意此價值觀？同意/不同意的原因為何？

**主題 C：研究參與者對於生理性別、社會性別、與性傾向的期待的觀察**

- 對於生理性別的期待

- 根據您對這個事件/現象的觀察，您認為哪些部分跟生理性別有關？
- 在您的學校，身為一位男孩/女孩/男性/女性的意義為何？(就外觀上來說，一個男孩子/女孩子會受到甚麼樣不同的待遇？有沒有差別的待遇？如果有，是什麼?)
- 當沒有符合這些期待時，會發生什麼事情？
- 對於社會性別的期待
  - 根據您對這個事件的觀察，您認為哪些部分跟社會性別有關？在您的學校，男性化、女性化的意義為何？
  - 當沒有符合這些男性化與女性化的期待時，會發生什麼事情？
- 對於性傾向的期待
  - 根據您對這個事件的觀察，您認為哪些部分跟性傾向有關？
  - 當沒有符合這些性傾向的期待時，會發生什麼事情？

#### 主題 D：研究參與者對於生理性別、社會性別與性傾向之間關係的觀點

- 就我們剛剛的討論，就這三個概念，如果兩兩配對、或是三個合在一起，你想要怎麼樣去談剛才的事件？
- 您所觀察到的事件/現象，生理性別與社會性別扮演甚麼樣的角色？
  - 在此事件/現象中，社會性別與生理性別的關係是什麼？
- 您所觀察到的事件/現象，社會性別與性傾向扮演甚麼樣的角色？
  - 在此事件/現象中，社會性別與性傾向的關係是什麼？
- 您所觀察到的事件/現象，生理性別與性傾向扮演甚麼樣的角色？
  - 在此事件/現象中，生理性別與性傾向的關係是什麼？

#### 主題 E：研究參與者對於生理性別、社會性別與性傾向相關期待的個人經驗

- 有關於對生理性別期待的個人經驗
  - 您在學校工作時，感受到對於一位女性的期待是什麼？
  - 您個人對於這些期待有何想法？
  - 您覺得在哪些部分，您符合這些期待？
  - 您覺得在哪些部分，您沒有符合這些期待？當沒有符合這些期待時，有發生什麼事情嗎？
  - 當您在校園脈絡以外時，這些對於身為女性的期待是否有所不同？
- 有關於對社會性別期待的個人經驗
  - 您會怎麼描述您自己的社會性別？
  - 在您的學校中，什麼是對於男性化的期待？什麼是對於女性化的期待？
  - 您覺得在哪些部分您符合男性化的期待/女性化的期待？
  - 您覺得在哪些部分您沒有符合男性化的期待/女性化的期待？當這些期待沒有符合時，有發生甚麼事嗎？
  - 當您在校園脈絡以外時，這些對於男性化、女性化的期待是否有所不同？

- 有關於對性傾向期待的個人經驗
  - 在您的學校中，什麼是對於異性戀者的期待？
  - 身為一位異性戀者，您對於這些期待的觀點是甚麼？
  - 您覺得在哪些部分您符合異性戀者的期待？
  - 您覺得在哪些部分您沒有符合異性戀者的期待？當這些期待沒有符合時，有發生甚麼事嗎？
  - 當您在校園脈絡以外時，這些對於異性戀者的期待是否有所不同？

### 主題 F：研究參與者對於生理性別、社會性別、性傾向以及其他個人認同之間的關係的觀點

- 您的哪些社會文化脈絡(例如：宗教、年齡、種族...)影響著您對於社會性別、生理性別、以及性傾向展現於外的期待？
  - 如果有，是哪些個人認同影響您？可以分別簡單描述嗎？
  - 這些您所談到的個人認同，影響力如果從高到低，你會如何排列？
  - 何以這些個人認同對於你來說影響性是大的？
  - 請您舉例說明，何以這些個人認同對於你對這三個概念的理解有所影響？
  - 高低排列的影響、理由是什麼？
  - 當您在說明這些個人認同時，哪些個人認同你沒有提到？

### 主題 G：研究參與者對於介入以及政策實施的觀點

- 我們的訪談到現在，如果再回到性別平等教育法，你的想法是什麼？
- 您認為您學校在性別平等教育法的的落實如何？
- 您認為校園價值觀對於政策落實的影響是什麼？
- 政策的落實對於校園價值觀的影響是什麼？
- 根據我們所討論的與性平政策相關的事件/現象，您認為可以再多做些什麼呢？
- 您認為性別平等教育法或其他相關法令如何能在校園中更有效的落實？
- 我們這樣的討論是否改變你對於性別平等教育法的看法/觀點？若有，是什麼？
- 您覺得在性別這個議題上面，在校園裡面，我們還需要做些甚麼？

### 澄清/結束詢問

- 您是否有想到其他有關於生理性別、社會性別與性傾向的期待，想要與我分享的？
- 您是有想到其他學校、或是性別平等教育法相關的事情？
- 您認為今天這樣的過程對您來說像什麼？
- 今天這樣的討論對您來說，什麼部分有幫助的？什麼部分是沒有幫助的？

## Appendix L

## Example of Coding

Line numbers	Transcript (Chinese)	Focus points	Themes
1-11	<p>I105_001:就是剛才你有說到你是從○○那邊知道這份研究，剛剛資料上面寫你對性別有興趣才參與這份研究，那可以再請你說說為什麼願意參與這份研究？</p> <p>P105_001:就是為什麼想要參與？</p> <p>I105_002:對</p> <p>P105_002-1:因為我以前對性別的研究就很好奇，就很想知道大家在研究些什麼?(笑)然後...就像你剛剛講的，因為這幾年很多人都在探討同志這方面的議題，恩...我會覺得自己在求學過程當中那些東西並不是非常清楚明瞭，到底那些是什麼東西...</p>	參與研究的原因是好奇於性別議題	1.參與研究原因
1-11	<p>I105_001:就是剛才你有說到你是從○○那邊知道這份研究，剛剛資料上面寫你對性別有興趣才參與這份研究，那可以再請你說說為什麼願意參與這份研究？</p> <p>P105_001:就是為什麼想要參與？</p> <p>I105_002:對</p> <p>P105_002-2:...一直到出來工作之後，才會真的遇到一些議題或是一些個案，就是學生會有一些狀況，我現在也很難去定義要怎麼叫做性別，所以我就...還蠻想要了解這個東西(笑)。</p>	參與研究另一個原因為工作中也常遇到性別議題	1.
658-660	<p>I105_094:你覺得今天訪談下來，對你有什麼感覺。</p> <p>P105_094:可以跟一個懂得我在講什麼的人談是件很開心的事。很難得可以跟一個懂得講甚麼的人，講得這麼開心。</p>	訪談過程中訪員能理解自己所說，感到開心	42.對於訪談的感受
12-21	<p>I105_003:你剛才講到剛好是我下一個要問的，想請你說說看，用你自己的話，你覺得性別是什麼?雖然你剛剛說了很難定義，但你可以用你的話來講，你覺得性別是甚麼。</p> <p>P105_003:我看到訪談大綱的時候，感覺我好像在考試噲</p> <p>I105_004:但我們等一下訪談的時候不會這樣...</p> <p>P105_004-1:是~我知道(笑)，我覺得...我自己在教書我也會去蒐集一些資料，可是我覺得我並不清楚哪個是什麼?要怎麼去講這個東西，只知道我可能把它分成像生理性別...</p> <p>I105_005:你說不同的區塊...可以請你談一下，一個是生理性別，另一塊是...</p> <p>P105_005:另一個是社會期待的部分...</p>	認為性別分為生理性別	2. 對生理性別的理解
453-484	P105_075-2:...生理部分...我覺得很多東西是根深蒂	認為生理性別	2.

	固，沒有辦法去看，然後...像我自己有時候會去開玩笑，我覺得我有點是無聲的抗議啦，會跟他們說為什麼女生一定要怎樣怎樣，我會去用一句玩笑話跟同事甚至主任，可是提完之後，氣氛會有點尷尬，所以我會笑一笑就算了，自己會收回來，大家會不知道你在講什麼，可能會覺得你是來挑釁的，還是來亂的...	相關的概念已根深蒂固難以調整	
418-423	I105_0:還有嗎?你剛剛所提到的例子跟觀點 P105_0:可能身體界線的部分吧，比如說我們平常相處，老師之間或老師與學生之間，我覺得要是不同的生理性別的話，他們比較少會有肢體上的碰觸，如果是同樣的生理性別他們可能會有比較多的生理接觸，比如說檢查的話，就會請女老師帶女生去廁所，很多事情會去劃分生理性別。	生理性別的劃分顯現於不同生理性別的老師之間、老師與學生之間	29.學校中的生理性別差異
491-502	I105_077:如果要請你說的話，你認為這三個部分有沒有關聯? P105_077:我覺得他們關聯還蠻緊密的 I105_078:那你怎麼去說他們的關聯 P105_078-1:嗯...我覺得到平等這件事很難去講什麼是真正的平等，像我在講社會期許的部分，我會讓他們知道男生、女生你們有一樣的權利...地位嗎，這個還算比較好講，但是只要講到性別平等，就要去解釋很多概念，畢竟男生跟女生在生理上還是不一樣，對...	難以向學生清楚說明性別平等概念，生理性別差異仍是存在的	29.
519-534	I105_080:好像你的做法在教學時要分成兩邊，但對外或對學生是要有一套說法，是可以讓他們懂的，這還蠻有趣的，那這個段談的比較多是你的教學經驗、教學觀察，接下來要談談您個人的部分，你剛剛也提到被介紹等等，接下來想請問您會怎麼描述你的社會性別。 P105_080-1:我覺得在上大學之前，我非常滿意我是女性這件事情，甚至得意我是個女生...	自己驕傲生為女性	36.自己的生理性別
12-23	P105_004-2:...就是甚麼社會期待的部分，它可能有很多的區塊，然後...可能不同的類別會有不一樣的特質...或是特徵嗎？大概是這樣子吧。 I105_005:你說不同的區塊...可以請你談一下，一個是生理性別，另一塊是... P105_005:另一個是社會期待的部分...	認為性別的另一部分指稱社會期待	3. 對社會性別的理解
399-417	I105_066:就目前為止，聊到這些例子，我想要邀請你再次回顧你剛剛所說的例子裡面，什麼跟生理性別有關。 P105_066:我覺得蠻常見的狀況是搬東西的事情，學校常常要搬花盆什麼的，然後就會說派出你們班的壯丁，因為我第一年去教書的時候是當班導師，我會說班上有沒有自願的，就是自願的就過來幫忙，當下男生就愣在那、女生舉手，我覺得我們班女生很優秀，我就跟他們說，太好了我們班女生怎麼那麼優秀就出	帶班的經驗不認為男生就一定有力氣，需要擔任搬東西的工作	3.

	<p>來，我當下沒有說我們班女生很優秀，我說的是我們班怎麼都那麼優秀，學生就會跟我說為什麼男生都不做事，我會說沒關係呀，有意願就來幫忙這樣很好，可是他們會覺得搬東西通常不是是男生來搬阿之類的，學校有時候要搬一些東西，就會廣播班上派五個男生到哪裡搬東西，我們班女生有時候也會抗議，就會說為什麼每次都叫男生不叫女生，女生也可以呀~我覺得班導師的角色很重要，我就會跟他們說女生也可以，那你們去吧~我們班級就會認為說這是理所當然的呀，有的班級男生又瘦又小，叫他們去搬是怎麼回事，他們也搬不動啊</p> <p>I105_067:是發展比較慢的話</p> <p>P105_067:因為國一的學生落差很大，為什麼一定要叫男生去搬，明明有些女生長的又大又壯，他們也可以搬呀!就會一直叫男生去，就是會有這樣的現象</p>		
424-429	<p>I105_068:就你的觀察，那些跟社會性別有關?</p> <p>P105_068:社會的部分，我覺得介紹結婚對象，他們覺得男生可以等，女生要趕快完成終身大事，會提醒你時間不早、年齡不小，帶有一點威脅與恐嚇，我在想到時生不出小孩怎麼辦，我就懷疑說為何一定要婚後生，難道不能婚前生嗎?可是我又不能這樣跟他們說，我要婚前與婚後生及要不要結婚是我自己的事</p>	校園中常詢問結婚的規劃與社會性別有關	31.校園中的社會性別
597-604	<p>I105_086:然後...那你覺得這樣的性格在學校教書，你覺得有什麼好處或是後續的效應，剛剛提到比較多是被禁止，被制止呀，如果沒有沒關係。</p> <p>P105_086:我覺得當女生唯一的好處，大概就是像那種謝師宴聚餐的場合，不會被強迫灌酒，對我來說唯一好處是這個，不會勉強我喝酒，因為我覺得為什麼不行（拒絕），憑甚麼不行（拒絕），我就是沒有要勉強自己。那個場合今天要是男生的話，就會被說你是不是男人，男人就要一定要喝，我會覺得男生好可憐，因為像我同學或學弟，去學校第一件事情就是要學敬酒，我會覺得這是什麼文化啊！</p>	認為女生不用奉行敬酒文化，是唯一的好處	38.
103-108	<p>I105_019:你覺得不適當，何以他們會覺得適不適當。</p> <p>P105_019:我覺得比較有 sense 一點，有性別意識的老師會覺得說他的發言有點過頭了，那有些老師則是覺得這是應該要提醒的</p> <p>I105_020:學校會有兩種聲音</p> <p>P105_020:我覺得學校老師...有性別意識的老師會比較敏感而另外擇是非常保守的，差很多。</p>	認為學校也有對性別較有意識的老師，但與保守的老師差很多	10. 學校老師對性別議題的態度
158-164	<p>I105_030:所以會有很多對策去回應不同層級的要求與期待，還有趣的，但聽起來蠻累的。</p> <p>P105_030:像我同學就有吃過這種虧，他沒有在黑板上寫性別平等四個字，剛好校長在巡堂的時候，就看到比較煽情的畫面，他會就覺得你怎麼給學生看這個</p>	聽聞同事在課室播放較煽情的影片，被校長指正	12. 學校行政人員對性別議題



	東西，而且它們是國三生，他會覺得他們都要準備考試，幹嘛要給他們看這個東西，引起很大的反應，所以後來為了要保護自己，會在黑板上寫上性別平等。		的態度
165-167	<p>I105_031:你覺得這樣的打通關，有很多的溝通之後，教授性別平等之後，狀況有變得比較好嗎?老師們還有在反彈或反應嗎?</p> <p>P105_032:我覺得家長那塊比較難去管耶，就是如果有意見的話還是有意見</p>	某些家長仍是對校園中的性別平等教育有意見	17.家長對於性別議題的態度
204-224	<p>P105_038-1:... 因為我覺得我自己在學習的過程，包括在大學和後來實務經驗上，這方面的東西好像很少耶</p> <p>I105_039:性別的部分嗎?</p> <p>P105_039-2:...像家長會問過我說，他女兒班上有個學生說自己是同性戀，他會不會...那這個狀況是真的假的，那哪有甚麼真的假的，那時候就會有一個部分讓我覺得 <b>confuse</b> 的是，因為之前我也看過一些資料，他們會說會有假性同性戀，在青少年是過渡時期，但我看資料說青少年從小可以知道自己的性傾向，並沒有什麼假性同性戀的解釋，資訊這麼多那，到底哪一個是真的</p>	有些家長詢問自己有關「假性同性戀」的相關議題	17.

*Appendix M*

## Example of Themes and Categories

行號 Line number	意義單元 Focus points	Themes	主題 Categories
1-11	參與研究的原因是好奇於性別議題 One of the reasons for participating in the study because she is interested in gender issues		1. Comments on participating in the study
1-11	參與研究另一個原因為工作中也常遇到性別議題 The participant would like to participate in the study because she has encountered gender issues in her work		1.
658-660	訪談過程中訪員能理解自己所說，感到開心 The participant felt understood since the interviewer understood what she said		1.
12-21	認為性別分為生理性別 One part of gender refers to biological sex	Perspectives of biological sex	2. 對生 Perspectives of biological sex
453-484	認為生理性別相關的概念已根深蒂固難以調整 Perspectives associated with biological sex has been ingrained and difficult to be changed	Perspectives of biological sex	2.
418-423	生理性別的劃分顯現於不同生理性別的老師之間、老師與學生之間 The difference between biological sex represents between male and female teachers or between teachers and students	Perspectives of biological sex (difference)	2.
491-502	難以向學生清楚說明性別平等概念，生理性別差異仍是存在的 It is difficult to explain to students about gender equity since biological sex difference still exist	Perspectives of biological sex (difference)	2.
519-534	自己驕傲生為女性 The participant is proud of being woman	Self	2.
12-23	認為性別的另一部分指稱社會期待 The meaning of the term gender includes social expectation	Perspectives of gender	3. 對社會性別的觀點 Perspectives of gender
399-417	帶班的經驗不認為男生就一定有力氣，需要擔任搬東西的工作	Students (M)	3.

	It is not necessary that male students are responsible for labor work		
424-429	校園中常詢問結婚的規劃與社會性別有關 Teachers at school often ask other teachers' plan for marriage which is associated with gender	School (attitudes towards marriage)	3.
597-604	認為女生不用奉行敬酒文化，是唯一的好處 Women don't have to follow the "toast" culture and it is the only benefit to be a woman	Perspectives of gender (women)	3.
103-108	認為學校也有對性別較有意識的老師，但與保守的老師差很多 Some teachers are sensitive to gender issues but some not	Teachers (attitudes towards gender issues)	3.
158-164	聽聞同事在課室播放較煽情的影片，被校長指正 The Principal is concerned about one of the participant's colleagues teaching because he let students see a movie at gender education class without writing "Gender Education" on the blackboard	Teachers (teaching)	3.
165-167	某些家長仍是對校園中的性別平等教育有意見 Some parents don't agree gender education at school	Parents (attitudes towards gender education)	3.
204-224	有些家長詢問自己有關「假性同性戀」的相關議題 Some parents asked the participant about "whether LGBT individuals is temporary"	Parents (attitudes towards gender education)	3.

### Example of Graphic Figure

