

Western Kentucky University

TopSCHOLAR®

Mahurin Honors College Capstone Experience/
Thesis Projects

Mahurin Honors College

2023

Taiwanese Women In and Out of the Workforce: Perceptions of Working Mothers and Their Roles

Josie Coyle

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.wku.edu/stu_hon_theses



Part of the [Chinese Studies Commons](#), [Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Commons](#), [International and Area Studies Commons](#), and the [Political Science Commons](#)

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by TopSCHOLAR®. It has been accepted for inclusion in Mahurin Honors College Capstone Experience/Thesis Projects by an authorized administrator of TopSCHOLAR®. For more information, please contact topscholar@wku.edu.

TAIWANESE WOMEN IN AND OUT OF THE WORKFORCE: PERCEPTIONS OF
WORKING MOTHERS AND THEIR ROLES

A Capstone Experience/Thesis Project
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Bachelor of Arts with
Honors College Graduate Distinction at Western Kentucky University

By

Josie Coyle

2023

CE/T Committee:

Dr. Timothy Rich, Chair

Dr. Soleiman Kiasatpour

Sara Moody

Copyright by

Josie Coyle

2023

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores how Taiwanese citizens perceive women in the workforce and at home, with a specific focus on how working mothers in Taiwan are perceived. The first section provides a literature review of perceptions of women in and out of the workforce in Taiwan and how policies surrounding maternity leave and breastfeeding can impact these perceptions. The second section will detail the findings of an original survey that asks the Taiwanese respondents their opinions regarding women in the workforce, division of labor in the home, breastfeeding, and gender roles. The data shows that there may be a greater level of acceptance of working women and mothers than previously believed; however, there could also be other factors at play, such as heightened awareness of women's struggles, which could result in people giving more socially acceptable answers. Looking at work done in the house, it can be concluded that women may still be expected to do more housework while also doing the same amount of work outside of the home as men.

(Key Words: Women, Mothers, Taiwan, Pregnancy, Breastfeeding, Work Force, Housework, Division of Labor)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my advisors and committee Dr. Timothy Rich, Dr. Soleiman Kiasatpour, and Sara Moody for their continuous support and help with this project. I would specifically like to thank Dr. Rich for his understanding and patience while I was learning how to interpret data, his help with running the survey that is used, and his consistent support through every single step of this process. I would like to thank Dr. Kiasatpour for his attention to detail while editing and his encouragement to finish this project. I also want to thank Sara Moody for her support throughout my entire college career and her mentorship.

In addition, I would like to thank Fang Jhu Lin for helping me with translation and interpretation, Stella Treumann for her support and mentorship while writing, and Serena White for her help in editing.

This project would not have been possible without the help of the WKU FUSE (Faculty Undergraduate Student Engagement) Grant, which allowed me to run surveys and collect data.

VITA

EDUCATION

Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, KY
Woodford County High School, Versailles, KY

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: International Affairs
Second Major Field: Chinese

PUBLICATIONS

- Brueggemann, C., Coyle, J., Davis, J., Dawson, M., & Rich, T. S. (2021, April 24). *Survey: US public supports action on China's human rights abuses*. The Diplomat. Retrieved April 9, 2023, from <https://thediplomat.com/2021/04/survey-us-public-supports-action-on-chinas-human-rights-abuses/>
- Rich, T. S., Einhorn, M., & Coyle, J. (2021, August 26). *Have immigration and customs enforcement (ICE) detention centers improved under president Biden?* Culturico. Retrieved April 9, 2023, from <https://culturico.com/2021/08/30/have-immigration-and-customs-enforcement-ice-detention-centers-improved-under-president-biden/>
- Rich, T. S., Puhakka, E., Coyle, J., & Mayne, A. (2022, March 10). *Anti-feminism and South Korea's presidential election*. The Diplomat. Retrieved April 9, 2023, from <https://thediplomat.com/2022/03/anti-feminism-and-south-koreas-presidential-election/>
- Rich, T. S., Norman, B., & Coyle, J. (2017, July 6). *Bellicose or bluster? how South Koreans see the North's nuclear threat*. Lowy Institute. Retrieved April 9, 2023, from <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/bellicose-or-bluster-how-south-koreans-see-north-s-nuclear-threat>
- Coyle, J., Schroeder, H., Hopkins, W. T., White, S., & Rich, T. S. (2022, April 24). *Opinion – South Koreans support unification, but do they support integration?* E-International Relations. Retrieved April 9, 2023, from <https://www.e-ir.info/2022/04/24/opinion-south-koreans-support-unification-but-do-they-really-support-integration/>
- Rich, T., Einhorn, M., & Coyle, J. (2022, July 1). *Despite threats, new survey data reveals few in Taiwan pay much attention to China*. Jamestown. Retrieved April 9, 2023, from <https://jamestown.org/program/despite-threats-new-survey-data-reveals-few-in-taiwan-pay-much-attention-to-china/>
- Rich, T. S., Coyle, J., Harry, T., & Hardesty, M. (2022, September 8). *In debates about trans athletes and competition, where is the attention to trans men?* Common Dreams. Retrieved April 9, 2023, from <https://www.commondreams.org/views/2022/09/08/debates-about-trans-athletes-and-competition-where-attention-trans-men>

Rich, T. S., Milden, I., & Coyle, J. (2023, April 5). *Regulate or ban tiktok? How Americans view the Potential Security Risk*. The National Interest. Retrieved April 9, 2023, from <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/techland-when-great-power-competition-meets-digital-world/regulate-or-ban-tiktok-how-americans>

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
VITA.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
PART 1: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	4
Women in the Workforce.....	5
Breastfeeding and Maternity Leave and Career.....	7
Housework and Career.....	10
Motherhood and Career.....	12
Filling in the Gaps.....	13
PART 2: HYPOTHESES.....	15
METHODOLOGY.....	18
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.....	21
Household Duties.....	21
Public Breastfeeding.....	23
Mothers vs. Fathers at Work.....	25
Perceptions of Traditional Jobs.....	27
The Impacts of Perceptions of Women and Mothers.....	30
CONCLUSION.....	31
REFERENCES.....	36

LIST OF TABLES

Figure

Table 1. Household Duties Results.....	21
Table 2. Public Breastfeeding Results	23
Table 3. Men with Children Results	26
Table 4. Women with Children Results.....	26
Table 5. Perceptions of Traditional Jobs Results.....	28

INTRODUCTION

Taiwan has among the highest rates of women's participation in politics, with about 42% of the legislature being women as of 2021 (Gender Quotas Database, 2021); however, it is still uncertain whether this translates to views of women more broadly. In the Taiwanese government, there are quotas for elected offices, meaning that a certain number of seats are reserved for women; in addition, critics say that these women may just be "warm bodies" with very little political power and influence. Since most of the attention is on women who are elected to office and not on the daily experiences of the majority of women, it is hard to determine if these issues in politics bleed over to real life. These underlying biases against women can impact the way the common Taiwanese woman lives her life. Understanding how women are treated, whether that be in the government, in a high-level position at work, or in blue-collar jobs, gives a look into how Taiwanese citizens genuinely feel about women in politics and other areas of work.

Looking at women in Taiwan, we are often shown success stories of how women have been highly involved in politics (Tan, 2016); however, many believe that this is just for show and that these women actually have little say in how their government works. This could lead to a potential disconnect for many. Even if men vote for a woman every few years, they may not be aware of the difficulties women face once in office or the differences in the treatment they experience in the workforce. Due to this possible disconnect, I would like to look not only at perceptions of women in the workforce but also at how they are treated at home. Specifically, I would like to understand how Taiwanese mothers fit into the workforce in addition to what labor they have to do at

home. Understanding how Taiwanese women fit into the workforce and at home is paramount to understanding if a high percentage of women in politics translates to better conditions for women in their everyday lives. If women's lives are not different, then are the policies which make quotas surrounding women in politics effective? I have decided to ask three major questions to understand how women are treated both in the workforce and within their own homes.

1. Are working mothers in Taiwan treated the same as working fathers in Taiwan?
2. How are women in Taiwan viewed when breast pumping or breastfeeding at work/in public?
3. How do people in Taiwan view women's roles vs. men's roles when it comes to taking care of the house and having a job?

These three questions are crucial to the understanding of working mothers because they analyze the way women are treated from three different angles. We can see how mothers are specifically viewed in the workforce, how women combine their work life and their duties they have at home, and how much work women do outside of their work life. In addition, we have seen research on Taiwanese women in politics, women in the workforce, and the analysis of work done within the house. Although these are all critical steps to understanding women in Taiwan's society, analyzing these issues together could reveal a more complex understanding.

To summarize, this thesis aims to analyze the role of Taiwanese mothers in today's society. First, I will research past literature in order to grasp an understanding of how women in Taiwan are perceived in the workforce, when they breastfeed in public

and take maternity leave, when doing household chores, and when they balance work and motherhood. I will then expand the research in this field using original survey data to analyze what women are doing at home and the perceptions of them in and out of the workforce.

PART 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

Throughout East Asia and the world, Taiwan stands out for its high rates of women in politics. Specifically in East Asia, Taiwan stands twelve percentage points or higher above places such as China, South Korea, and Japan when looking at the percentage of women parliamentarians (OECD Data, 2023). Outside of East Asia, Taiwan seems to be on par with Northern European countries. Although many perceive this as a progressive step towards gender equality, it has also, unfortunately, directed attention away from the everyday women's experience and how society perceives them by putting on a show of an equal society through high participation in government. This could lead to the assumed equality of women in Taiwan, even though women are having to do more with less recognition. This research aims to answer how women in Taiwan are perceived in and out of the workforce. This includes their jobs, their involvement in the home, and how they are viewed for trying to balance a work and home life. Understanding how women are perceived outside of the political setting is the key to making sure politics are actually helping women. There can be quotas that put women in office and laws passed that have women in mind; however, the actions mean very little unless they are legitimately working to improve the lives of women.

There are many studies that can fall under the category of women in and out of the workforce. However, for the purposes of this paper, these studies will be categorized into three distinct sections. The first will be perceptions of women in the workforce, and the next two will be comparisons between the perceived traditional roles of women and how they intersect with their careers.

Women in the Workforce

Following trends around the world, Taiwanese women are rapidly becoming more active in the workforce due to the following factors: the need for monetary support and the increase in education across the region. Although their conditions in the workforce are improving, this does not give insight into how they are perceived, nor how they are treated within that workforce.

Aside from the many issues women across the world encounter within the workforce, they also face significant discrimination during the hiring process. Across the board, mothers are more likely to be labeled as “uncommitted to their jobs,” resulting in them being less likely to be hired or brought up for promotion. Once in the workforce, mothers often receive less pay, making close to 8.6% less than the average starting salaries for working fathers (Correll et al., 2007). This perception of being “uncommitted” due to having children has real consequences for women "that attempt to return to" the workforce after having children. Despite also having children, the fathers do not experience the same levels of backlash. This suggests that there is another underlying factor at play. For Taiwan, this could be linked to cultural expectations of fathers. In East Asia, it is still very culturally common for women to take on most of the housework and childcare (Yen & Yang, 2011). This could explain the difference in perception between men and women when it comes to childcare.

The argument that women are moving up in the workforce while still facing a disproportionate amount of scrutiny compared to their male counterparts continues to be echoed throughout the discourse. Women must work harder for upper-level jobs such as management positions; however, once there, they still face harsher criticisms than men in

similar positions. This can be further evidenced by looking at others' expectations of women in leadership roles. For example, in general, women with leadership styles viewed as more feminine will perform well on evaluations; however, more masculine styles of leadership in women will result in lower evaluations (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). This discrimination not only happens in office jobs but also in higher education jobs. When looking at academic leadership as it relates to jobs in higher education, it is argued that although women are now making their way up in higher education, they are often not given the same positions as men, or it takes longer to reach the same levels. Looking at Taiwan, this is revealed through the unequal number of administrative roles women receive in the workplace. It can also be seen through university activities, such as how likely they are to be a keynote speaker at school events. The article also mentions that the major roles women are expected to fulfill take place in the home, which some believe impacts their ability to move up at the same pace as men (Chen & Hsieh, 2018).

Sexual harassment in the Taiwanese workplace has similar rates to that of other regions globally, with many movements occurring around the world in the 1960s, including the United States (Chiao, 2003). Since the 1960s, this general trend of activism and reporting has grown, with around 43% of Taiwanese women reporting sexual harassment in 2023 (Blazyte, 2023). Sexual harassment can lead to women having higher stress levels at work compared to men (Yeh et al., 2019). These higher stress levels may have a significant impact on the lives of women, especially those that are pregnant. For example, a weakening of health, use of drugs or alcohol, and anxiety or depression are reported at higher levels when sexually harassed (Woods et al., 2010). Looking at the relationship between job strain and the health of pregnant women, it is found that intense

work environments can lead women to experience extreme depression during and after pregnancy (Tsai, 2019).

It is also crucial that we look at the cultural factors that play into sexual harassment. In the context of Taiwan, we can see that both language and historical views may play a part in how Taiwanese people perceive sexual harassment. The word 騷擾 (sāorǎo) which is used in the translation of sexual harassment or 性騷擾 (xìngsāorǎo) can be translated to disturbance, commotion, or harassment. Since this word can be used in other contexts, such as a nuisance or annoyance, this could lead to the cultural context being different in Taiwan (Chiao, 2003). Another cultural distinction could be the historical views of women. Taiwan is incredibly patriarchal; however, this has changed due to increased education. Although this increase in education has led to more women in the workforce, there is still the common practice that women are the “last to be hired, and the first to be let go” despite laws that prohibit this. (Bowen, 2003).

Breastfeeding and Maternity Leave and Career

Women in Taiwan are trying to maintain a balance between their work life and their family duties postpartum. Previous research has shown that historical and traditional views of breastfeeding in Taiwan changed in the 20th century due to women's participation in the workforce (Chang et al., 2014). Since these women do not have the same amount of familial support, and paid maternity leave is only approximately 8 weeks (Feng & Han, 2010), it has become increasingly difficult for women to balance caring for their children in early stages of life and returning to a full-time job (Chang et al, 2014). As a result, two diverging perceptions emerge. The first may view traditional postpartum

care, called 坐月子 (zuò yuè zi) (Holroyd et al., 2011), as a dying practice since the rise in popularity of postpartum centers as opposed to actual family traditions. This in turn leads to the judgment of a woman for wanting to return to work. The second perception stems from the judgment of the woman's coworkers or manager for choosing a longer, more traditional maternity leave. Either way, the character of these women could be under scrutiny no matter what they decide to do. This is also cross-cultural. Studies done in the United States show that women will be perceived differently based on what choices they make in regard to their maternity leave. If women choose to stay home more with their children, they are seen as too traditional, but if they don't stay home and return to work shortly after giving birth, they are not traditional enough (Morgenroth & Heilman, 2017).

Despite this cross-cultural comparison, other articles argue that Taiwan actually has one of the better programs for helping women balance their careers and home lives. These articles explain that up to three years of unpaid maternity leave is available to women; however, most people take less time as it could cut into their pension. It also mentions that although infant and childcare is expensive (private care can be up to half of a married Taiwanese woman's salary a year), the government is working on social welfare plans to decrease the money spent on childcare (Yu et al., 2021). In other articles, which analyze work life and traditional values, they add to this by praising Taiwan for having higher salaries for women than other East Asian countries (Takeuchi & Tsutsui, 2016). In a cross-cultural comparison with European countries such as Germany, which allows for about 14 weeks of maternity leave, some argue that Taiwan's eight weeks of maternity leave is insufficient. Although in this aspect, Taiwan is better than other countries, it can be argued that it is behind many OECD countries (Feng & Han, 2010).

This could impact perceptions of women in Taiwan. Many Taiwanese citizens could draw the conclusion that women can take the time they need on maternity leave and return to the workforce without much issue; however, even if women do take some time, they are not taking the full amount of time available. In addition to this, they will experience issues such as finding reliable childcare and possibly breastfeeding in the workplace.

Regarding breastfeeding in the workplace, some conclude that many women working shift jobs do not have adequate space or time to continue breastfeeding after maternity leave. Breastfeeding went from 90.1% of women participating during maternity leave to 21.5% after returning to work. This lack of space and time has made it difficult for women to both engage in their careers and provide for their children (Tsai, 2022). This is corroborated by other studies, with one study stating that both full-time and part-time working mothers are less likely to breastfeed past six months when compared to women who are not working (Ogbuanu et al., 2011). Another study shows that the amount of time a woman has for maternity leave will directly impact how many weeks a woman will breastfeed (Baker & Milligan, 2008).

Outside of Taiwan, we can see that there is a myriad of research on maternal perceptions of support while breastfeeding. This research seems to indicate that the level of support a mother feels directly impacts the amount of time they will spend breastfeeding their child. We are able to see that partner support is critical in the women's ability to continue breastfeeding into the recommended minimum of six months postpartum period (Mannion et al., 2013). Another crucial support system for these women depends on the environment of their specific field of work. If women are

provided the opportunity to pump breast milk at work, they will have higher job satisfaction which could increase the time and effort they put into their jobs (Waite and Christakis, 2015). If mothers feel like they are not supported by their partners, jobs, friends, or other influential people in their lives, it makes it more difficult for them to engage in work and other activities outside of the home (Johnson & Slauson-Blevins, 2022). Going back to Taiwan, although some places of employment have a designated area for women to pump breastmilk, it is not required by law to have this area. In addition, there are very few supervisors or managers who actually support or encourage people who have recently given birth to use these designated areas. (Tsai, 2013)

Housework and Career

Looking at perceptions of women in and out of the workforce, it is paramount to understand the relationship between the amount of housework done by different family members and the happiness levels of women who do housework. This could give us an insight into how other members of the household perceive women doing the work and how the women themselves perceive the work that they do. Looking at how women of older generations feel about carrying high levels of housework, Lee and Tang provide a look into Taiwanese women and their relationship with housework and their levels of happiness. It concludes that women's happiness increases when the housework is divided more equitably. As mentioned, Lee and Tang look at the housework done by middle-aged and older women, which leaves the younger generation out of the equation. There is a major generation gap within the amount of household labor that one performs (Lee & Tang, 2017). It was also found that older women in Taiwan usually do more housework

than younger women. The research regarding the division of household labor across different East Asian countries concludes that the amount of housework that Taiwanese women do is based on three major things. First are their partner's views on gender equality and traditional values, second is the woman's income in relation to her partner's income, and third is education level. This generation gap makes perfect sense since younger women have had more access to higher education, which would lead to higher income, and younger men tend to have a less traditional view than their older counterparts (Hsu, 2008).

Others agree that the amount of housework women in Taiwan do is correlated to their education level; however, they found that if higher educated women have children, then they do not do less housework. They also mention that the case of Taiwan is atypical in East Asia when it comes to the correlation between education and levels of housework. The other East Asian country they studied, Japan, did not have a correlation. They also did a case study of America and found a correlation between education and levels of housework; however, they argue that since Japan and Taiwan are different when it comes to the correlation between education and housework, we cannot draw a broad consensus of the conclusion. They argue that we are looking at things through a western lens and that Taiwan is the outlier in East Asia. This western lens could definitely change the perspective of women and what people believe they do at work and in the home (Kolpashnikova & Koike, 2021). These cultural factors have played a prominent role in how we view ourselves in society. We can see that Taiwanese society has drastically changed since the 1960s in terms of women's education and workplace influence;

however, it is important to note that people still hold traditional values when it comes to the division of labor, especially older generations (Hu, 2002).

Motherhood and Career

Being a parent with a career is a challenge for anyone; however, women tend to have a more difficult time due to the motherhood wage penalty. In addition to being forced into the role of caretaker and household cleaner, women are also paid less for their work at their jobs. This comes from employers believing mothers cannot do the same amount of work or are less committed in comparison to non-mothers. In Chapter II, Article 11 of the Act of Gender Equality in Employment, it is mentioned that “Employers shall not discriminate against [an employee] who become[s] pregnant, engages in childbirth or child care activities...[and] shall not use [the previous] factors as excuses for termination.” (Laws & Regulations Database of the Republic of China, 2022) Although these laws are in place to prevent discrimination against pregnant women/mothers, it is incredibly difficult to know if a woman is not being hired because she has a child or if it is for other reasons. In addition, Article 10 says that wages must receive equal pay for equal work; however it is qualified by seniority, award/discipline systems, merit or “other justifiable reasons of non-sexual or non-sexual-orientation factors.” (Laws & Regulations Database of the Republic of China, 2022) This is incredibly vague and could allow for the wage laws to be ignored or in some cases, excused.

In the United States, it was found that mothers were making up to 4-5% less per child than non-mothers (Yu & Kuo, 2017). Although this is not specifically based in Taiwan, there are also studies that look into how mothers in Taiwan face similar

struggles. Women in Taiwan may leave for more extended periods of time when they have a younger child due to the waitlists for daycares being long and the high price of full-time caretakers (Jao & Li, 2012). If these women leave work and become stay-at-home, non-paid mothers/caregivers, they are more likely to be vulnerable compared to women who work or choose to balance both work and caregiving. It becomes increasingly difficult to reenter the workforce once you leave, which could lead to difficulties in paying for necessities in emergencies (Chou et al., 2012).

In addition to discrimination against mothers in the workforce, we also see that women are forced into traditional maternal roles, which can have a major impact on that woman's job. For example, women in Taiwan are more likely to win custody of their child if there is a divorce between the parents. It is argued that this is because women are seen as primary caregivers and are forced to balance their life and career or give up their careers entirely. Although women are given greater preference in having a say over their children, it still does not effectively reform nor challenge the norm that fathers work and mothers stay home with the children (Chen & Huang, 2019).

Filling in the Gaps

A key aspect that is not discussed in this literature is mothers and their intersection with discrimination in the workforce and at home. Although there is much debate about issues such as maternity leave, breastfeeding, and unfair workplace treatment towards women in general, we seldom look at how these women are perceived and how important they are to Taiwanese society.

There also seems to be a lack of discussion about Taiwanese women and housework. In the literature, we can see how education and age can impact the amount of labor done in the house, but we are missing a critical detail. How much work do men believe they are contributing to the household? We need to understand if men realize they do fewer household chores or if they believe they are doing more than they actually are. This could impact the relationships that they have with women in their lives, including mothers, sisters, girlfriends, female co-workers, and friends. It could also influence how people view certain workplace policies, such as the expansion of maternity leave periods.

In regard to breastfeeding, we see some literature about laws regarding breastfeeding and the spaces provided for working mothers. Still, we do not see literature talking about the actual perceptions of pumping breast milk at work or breastfeeding in public. We also do not have information about how women feel and if they are comfortable breastfeeding/pumping in public and at work.

In summary, we have the literature and the knowledge of what the situation looks like on the surface; however, we do not understand how people actually feel and how this can majorly impact people's relationships. Understanding the true perceptions of people is also critical in making policies that could impact women's everyday lives for better or for worse.

PART 2: HYPOTHESES

I expect to find that many people who say that they support women in the workforce and at home may actually have some underlying biases, which could lead to inequitable treatment of women. For example, they may say they support women because it looks good on paper or they believe that they support women enough, but never support the women in their own lives. In other words, there could be support in the abstract, but minimal concrete action done to support women. This is where the focus shifts to the perceptions of women in and out of the workforce. This question aims to understand how women are perceived at their place of work, in their homes, and how they are viewed for trying to balance a work/home life. Looking more specifically at the questions I asked participants; I have four major hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Men will report a higher amount of time doing chores while reporting fewer amounts of chores, whereas women will report a lower amount of time, yet higher amounts of chores.

Since women generally tend to do more housework (Lee & Tang, 2017), it is reasonable to assume that new data will also prove this. I believe that men will report higher or equal amounts of time doing chores despite doing a smaller amount of chores because they do not realize how little they are doing. Their perceptions may be off because they have not been expected to do any chores in the past. This could lead to them overestimating the time spent. On the other hand, women may underestimate the time spent on chores because they are expected to do them; therefore, they think less about

doing them. Chores more ingrained into their routine, as they have been expected to complete household chores for longer.

Hypothesis 2: Men will be more uncomfortable with women pumping breast milk or breastfeeding in public than women.

Most men do not have to deal with pumping breast milk or breastfeeding in public; therefore, it could be more of a shock to see someone in public breastfeeding. Women are more likely to experience this or have friends who experience breastfeeding, making it seem more normalized. In addition, evidence from the United States shows that the sexualization of women's bodies and breastfeeding could impact the comfortability around public breastfeeding or pumping breast milk at work (Zaikman & Houlihan, 2022). This sexualization of women's bodies could also impact the perceptions of Taiwanese citizens.

Hypothesis 3: Working mothers will be more harshly judged than working fathers.

Working mothers are often judged more harshly when going into job interviews or when at work (Correll et al, 2007). Since women are judged more harshly when they are at work, I expect the public to react in a similar way by favoring a working father's job over a working mother's job. I expect the public opinion of fathers is that they should focus more on their job, whereas they may perceive women as better suited to care for their children. Since mothers are more likely to be given custody over children, (Chen & Huang, 2019) the public may also view them as primary caretakers who should put their

children over their jobs. This may mean they believe the opposite of men, leading them to think a job should come before their children.

Hypothesis 4: Men will be more critical of working women than women will be of working men.

Regarding women in the workforce, it is found that women have a more difficult time getting into higher positions, despite having the same qualifications as men (Correll et al., 2007). Due to this finding, I predict that men will not view women in equal standing with men when it comes to male-dominated fields. If we see this discrimination within the hiring process, we can assume we will also see it in people's personal opinions. In addition, people may want to conform to cultural expectations.

METHODOLOGY

Design and Procedure

The survey conducted to collect this data was done via Macromill Embrain on September 19th-26th, 2022. It was designed to test perceptions of women and underlying biases against them in Taiwan. I conducted this survey with the help of my mentor, Dr. Timothy Rich, and native Chinese speaker Fang Jhu Lin. I asked a variety of questions to help understand the full picture of the underlying perceptions of Taiwanese women. We surveyed 867 Taiwanese citizens using quota sampling for age, gender, and region. Age ranged from 18 to 77, with the average age being 41.45. This is close to the average in Taiwan, which is about 38 years old (Country Reports, 2023). There was a slight imbalance of people who identify as women versus men, with 52.94% of participants identifying as female.

Taipei City was the most common city of origin, followed by New Taipei City and Taichung City, with the least represented being Taitung County. The average monthly income was 70,001-80,000 TWD (about 2,282-2,608 USD). Regarding the highest level of education, 59.98% of people surveyed had an undergraduate degree, and 22.49% had a graduate degree.

Ideologically, 35.29% said they were liberal, 26.99% said they were moderate, and 20.65% claimed they were extremely liberal. Only a combined total of 6.69% said that they were slightly conservative to extremely conservative. Looking into political parties, 55.02% of people surveyed said they did not identify with any party. Of the remaining 44.98% of people, if we remove the option of “no party” and “other party,”

39.52% identify with the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), and 30.77 identify with the Kuomintang (KMT) of the whole population, this would be 17.19% and 13.38% respectively. As aforementioned, only 6.69% of participants described themselves as conservative in any form; however, we can see that 13.38% of people said that they identified with the KMT, which is considered to be a more conservative party. This could suggest that participants who identified as moderate may lean towards the conservative side or that the left-right spectrum does not capture Taiwanese politics in the same way it does, for example, American politics.

Household Duties

The first two questions I asked related to the number of household duties done around the house. The first of these two questions were open-ended, allowing participants to enter any number. The second of the two questions were a traditional multiple-choice question with the ability for multiple selections. The options included dishes, laundry, sweeping/vacuuming, wiping down counters or tables, lawn care, paying bills, and other.

1. How many hours of household chores do you do a week?
2. What are the main household chores you do?

Breastfeeding

The next two questions involved comfort with breastfeeding in public. These were both traditional yes or no questions.

1. Should women be allowed to pump breast milk at work?
2. Do you believe women who pump breast milk in public make other people uncomfortable?

Mothers VS Fathers at Work

After that, we did an experimental question in which each participant was only given one of the two questions. This question looks at how people perceive mothers vs. fathers when it comes to going to work. This question used a likert scale.

1. Men with children should prioritize their children over their jobs.
2. Women with children should prioritize their children over their jobs.

Perceptions of Traditional Jobs

The final set of questions was also experimental, and respondents were given only one of the four questions. This question is meant to understand how people in Taiwan perceive traditionally male and female jobs. This was a traditional yes or no question.

1. Would you be confident in a female teacher with two years of experience?
2. Would you be confident in a male teacher with two years of experience?
3. Would you be confident in a female doctor with two years of experience?
4. Would you be confident in a male doctor with two years of experience?

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Household Duties

Looking at the questions regarding the number of chores done in the house, there is a significant difference in the types of chores men and women are doing. Chores such as washing dishes, sweeping/vacuuming, wiping down counters or tables, and lawn care are reported to be more equally distributed (less than or about 3% difference) than chores such as cooking, laundry, or paying bills (over 7% difference). Women reported cooking as a household chore at a rate of 14.87% higher than men; in addition, women also reported doing laundry at a rate of 13.92% higher than men. Although men reported higher rates of paying bills, it is the lowest of our significant difference rates at 7.46%.

Table 1: Chores by gender

	Men	Women
Cooking	28.92%	43.79%
Washing Dishes	71.32%	74.51%
Laundry	57.10%	71.02%
Sweeping/Vacuuming	66.42%	68.85%
Wiping down counters or tables	46.81%	45.10%
Lawn Care	6.62%	3.49%
Paying bills	45.59%	38.13%
Other	3.68%	2.18%

The participants were also asked to report the hours of chores that were done per week, with the average being almost identical for men and women at 7.27 hours and 7.26 hours respectively. 62.25% of men claimed more than three hours of chores a week, whereas women claimed 60.78%, showing no significant difference.

Discussion

When looking at the household duties section, it is clear that men believe that they are spending the same amount of time on chores each week as women; however, when the data is broken down by the types of chores that are done, more time intensive chores are done by women at a higher rate than men. Two independent variables that stand out are cooking and doing laundry. These had the largest gaps between men and women, and they were also some of the most time-consuming chores. This difference, along with the fact that men reported doing chores for the same amount of time as women, could mean that men are overestimating the amount of time they spend doing chores. The only chore men claimed a significantly higher rate on was paying bills. Although it might be difficult to estimate the number of hours spent on paying bills, many modern-day bills are automated, especially major bills such as phone, rent, Wi-Fi, car, etc. Another chore that stands out is lawn care. The difference in lawn care was about 3.13%, with men claiming the higher percentage. When looking at the specific counties, the county most likely to claim lawn care as a chore was Chiayi County, which makes sense given there is more green space than in Taipei, which ranked number two. This could show a misunderstanding of what lawn care entails and what it means in a cultural context since very few places in Taipei have actual lawns. This data supports the first hypothesis,

which states that men will report a higher amount of chores while reporting fewer amounts of chores, whereas women will report a lower amount of time yet higher amounts of chores. Men did report the same amount of time doing chores while reporting less amount of chores, specifically time-intensive chores.

As far as age goes, people in the 40-59 range reported more hours of chores done per week (20+), which would match with previous research done. It was difficult to determine a correlation of education to higher amounts of chores done, however it seems as if majority of the people who do chores for longer have a high school degree or higher, which does not match with previous findings. This could be in part due to rising education levels across the country.

Public Breastfeeding

Regarding pumping breastmilk at work, there is very little difference in support between men and women, with overall support incredibly high at 92.16%. When asked if they believed others felt uncomfortable with people pumping breast milk in public, men were more likely to say that others do not feel uncomfortable, which was about an 11.14% difference from women.

Table 2: Breastfeeding/Pumping in public (Percent yes)

	Overall	Men	Women
Should women be allowed to pump breast milk at work?	92.16%	92.4%	91.94%
Do you believe women who pump breast milk in public make other people uncomfortable?	21.34%	15.44%	26.58%

Discussion

A bridge to connect women at home and in the workforce is the question of breastfeeding. Overall, 92.16% of people believed that pumping breastmilk at work should be allowed; however, there seems to be a disconnect between the acceptability of breastfeeding and actually being supportive of people who are breastfeeding. Although people are highly supportive of allowing women to pump breastmilk at work, we can see in previous research that women are actually given little space to pump their breastmilk. Even if they do have access to a small, closet like room to pump in, it may cut into their work time, which could cause a higher up to punish these women. It seems as though people are more supportive of the idea; but are silent when it comes to giving people a safe place free from backlash to pump.

When you ask if people feel uncomfortable with women breastfeeding in public, you get another story. Only 21.34% of people in Taiwan believe that pumping breastmilk in public would make people uncomfortable, women were more likely to say that it does make people uncomfortable. This does not support my second hypothesis. Originally, it was believed in the second hypothesis that men would be more uncomfortable because they would be more likely to notice if someone was breastfeeding. Men could feel uncomfortable because of the sexualization of breastfeeding. They may see it as inappropriate or indecent and not as a woman trying to feed her baby. Looking deeper into the data, however, proves that women are actually more likely to notice other people's discomfort. It was not taken into account that women would be more aware of how people feel about the situation because they themselves may have been in a situation where they or a friend had to breastfeed in public and noticed that people were

uncomfortable. Women who are breastfeeding may be more aware of the glances, whereas men or people who do not breastfeed in public may not.

Surprisingly, the largest age group to say that women should not be allowed to breast feed in public is the 30-39 age group, which was followed by the 18-29 age group, most of whom had a graduate degree or higher. The younger generation, although still a small percentage overall, was the most critical of public breastfeeding. These age groups were also not impacted by gender. They were also likely to believe that breastfeeding makes people uncomfortable. This demographic may be more against breast pumping at work because they are dominating the workforce currently, and may believe that it takes time out of work.

Mothers vs. Fathers at Work

When asked the experimental question “X with children should prioritize their children over their jobs,” the majority of respondents fell within the “Neither Agree nor Disagree” category for both men and women. Despite this strong draw to a neutral answer, there are some notable percentages that stick out. Both men and women were more likely to strongly disagree when asked if women should prioritize their children (although women were about 11.52% higher). Looking at the other side of the spectrum, men were more likely to strongly agree that men with children should prioritize their children; women were about 7.55% less likely to strongly agree with this statement. Overall, the trend seems lean neutral, with both men and women believing that men should prioritize their children over their jobs and women should not.

Table 3: Men with Children

	Overall	Men	Women
Strongly Disagree	2.54%	2.62%	2.48%
Somewhat Disagree	9.24%	7.85%	10.33%
Neither Agree nor Disagree	44.57%	40.84%	47.52%
Somewhat Agree	31.64%	32.46%	30.99%
Strongly Agree	12.01%	16.23%	8.68%

Table 4: Women with Children

	Overall	Men	Women
Strongly Disagree	17.74%	11.98%	23.5%
Somewhat Disagree	22.81%	21.66%	23.96%
Neither Agree nor Disagree	37.79%	41.94%	33.64%
Somewhat Agree	17.5%	19.32%	14.75%
Strongly Agree	4.61%	5.07%	4.15%

Discussion

Another connection between women in the workforce and at home is how mothers are perceived versus how fathers are perceived. The majority of people tend to choose the option “neither agree nor disagree ” for both mothers and fathers in the workforce. This could show two things: one, people are choosing the safe option where they do not have to disclose implicit bias one way or the other, or two, they believe that there should be a balance between work and home life.

Once we look past the “neither agree nor disagree” answers, we can see that both men and women are actually more likely to believe that men should prioritize their children over their job than women. This does not support my third hypothesis, which was that working mothers would be more harshly judged than working fathers. Since 55.94% of our participants considered themselves “liberal” or “extremely liberal,” we could be picking up on more progressive ideas. Another explanation for this could be that people who were given the “Women with children should prioritize their children over their jobs” statement wanted to give a more socially acceptable answer. This hypothesis failed because it was assumed that people would conform and would want others to conform to cultural expectations of gender. It also did not assume that there could be a social desirability factor. Despite the fact that there could be some level of social desirability, this data shows a greater acceptance of men being involved in their children's lives as opposed to only being a “breadwinner.” It also shows a greater acceptance of mothers in the workforce, which could help in the future with mothers facing discrimination simply because they have children. In Table 4, we can see that women are more likely to strongly disagree than men, which is expected as they may have experienced a situation or known someone who was forced to leave their job for children. Although it seems like mothers will be given more opportunities due to changing public opinion, it is still possible that this will not translate to the workforce. Even if the public holds these values, institutional changes in the office may take longer to trickle down.

Perceptions of Traditional Jobs

The results of the perceptions of traditional jobs for men and women show stronger confidence in women across all categories. Women also have less confidence in

people regardless of the question asked. Both men and women were the most confident in a female doctor with two years of experience and least confident in a male doctor with two years of experience. Looking at the confidence in a teacher with two years of experience, people also said that they would be more confident in a female teacher over a male teacher. The most divisive questions seem to be the “Would you be confident in a X doctor with two years of experience?” As previously stated, women are less trusting across the board; however, when it comes to doctors, they are much less trusting than men are. Looking at the question “Would you be confident in a X teacher with two years of experience?” there was a 6.88% difference for “female” and a 1.56% difference for “male.” When asked about doctors, there was an 11.24% difference for “female” and a 23.76% difference for “male.”

Table 5: Confidence by gender(Percent yes)

	Overall	Men	Women
Would you be confident in a female teacher with two years of experience?	83.41%	87.5%	80.62%
Would you be confident in a male teacher with two years of experience?	73.73%	74.53%	72.97%
Would you be confident in a female doctor with two years of experience?	87.96%	94%	82.76%
Would you be confident in a male doctor with two years of experience?	54.14%	68.42%	44.66%

Discussion

In the experimental question regarding men and women in traditional jobs, it is clear that women are more untrusting than men; however, they are more trusting of women as teachers and doctors than they are of men. Women seem to trust other women at higher rates, with a difference of 7.65% when looking at perceptions of teachers of different genders and a staggering 38.1% when looking at perceptions of doctors of different genders. Due to the fact that $\frac{1}{3}$ of women globally experience physical or sexual violence (UN Women, 2022), there is a heightened awareness, which could cause women to be less trustful of men and people in general.

Surprisingly, men also seem to be more trusting of women over men, with the highest percentage for both groups being female doctors. This data does not support my fourth hypothesis, which states that men will be more critical of women than women will be of men when looking at qualifications for certain types of jobs. A similar situation could be happening with this question that was brought up in the previous section; when shown a question that asks about trusting a woman, men may feel the need to give a socially acceptable answer. Another reason as to why this hypothesis failed is because I did not take into account the increase of women in Taiwan who are going to school. If there are more women who are in school, men may begin to see them equally in the workforce, at least in the abstract. Although more women are going to school, a question that may arise regarding this data is the number of women in medicine specifically and how this could skew interpretation. More and more women are joining the workforce and becoming educated at higher rates around the world (Leppel, 2002) which could lead to a higher number of women in medicine; however, when looking at Taiwanese women in

medicine, specifically in surgery and urology, we can see that only 10% are female. In addition, studies show that male patients are more likely to refuse care from a woman because of embarrassment or assumptions that they are just their nurse. (Cheng et al., 2021) Even if men do trust women more, women in Taiwan will still face discrimination, such as unwanted sexual advances. In addition, just because they say they trust women in the abstract (on a survey question), it does not mean they trust them in reality. The trust in women shown in the data does not equal respect in the workplace for women.

The Impacts of Perceptions of Women and Mothers

A crucial detail to remember when looking at this data is that women's experiences are not limited to separate tables and graphs; they are a culmination of the data we see and much more. As aforementioned, we tend to forget about mothers and their intersection with discrimination in the workforce and at home. Overall, perceptions of women in the workforce are much more open and positive than previously thought, which could impact jobs that are given to women. Although this is a step in the right direction for women who want to enter the workforce, it could put an immense amount of pressure on the women who still do the majority of the housework. Since women are doing more time-intensive chores and men seem to overestimate the amount of time they spend doing chores, this is forcing working mothers into doing multiple jobs that men are not required to do. In addition, even if women are trusted at higher rates or are not expected to quit their jobs for their children, they can still face discrimination at work for having a family.

CONCLUSION

This research study has explored the issue of public perceptions of Taiwanese women and mothers in and out of the workforce. Existing literature and new data from Taiwan allows us to understand how women and especially mothers are viewed in society and what the expectations for them are. The new data presented in this thesis shows that Taiwanese people broadly support women in the workplace and women stepping away from traditional roles; however, there seems to be a disconnect between trust and respect. In addition, despite women entering the workforce at higher rates, it seems that they are also bearing more of the housework. The data also shows that Taiwanese women tend to be less trusting and more wary of onlookers. These perceptions of women and mothers are critical to understanding relationships in Taiwan. It is also important to understand how these perceptions can impact the stress levels and expectations that working mothers are expected to carry.

The implications of this data on the real world and in the government is vast and varied. Regarding household duties, we are able to see that women tend to do more chores or more time intensive chores; however, the implications of this could be different for different households, as this is not something the government can control. We could see a shift in men doing more household chores in the future, as it has gone up some from the past, but this will be a gradual shift. The men and women that we surveyed may not know that they are overestimating or underestimating what they do, this could lead to discussion and reallocation of chores. Perceptions of traditional jobs results could impact multiple aspects of everyday life. If people have higher confidence in women to be

doctors, there may be a greater chance of a women being hired as doctors. Women would be in higher demand which could help to lower the wage gap not only between men and women but also between mothers and non-mothers. The public breastfeeding and mothers vs fathers at work questions will have a much greater impact on public policy. Public breastfeeding results could impact the availability of breastfeeding/breast pumping rooms. If there is a higher acceptance of pumping breast milk at work, having a designated area in a company for pumping could become a requirement by law. Finally, mothers vs fathers at work results could impact policy which specifically protects mothers from being discriminated against at work since participants seem to lean neutral, meaning that people do not expect mothers to be less committed to their jobs.

There are a number of complexities that this data cannot explain. It is challenging to capture general perceptions of people, especially large groups who differ in age, gender, political ideology, etc. Since people are inclined to give a socially acceptable answer, we may not be able to gauge the true perceptions of a participant. In the question regarding household duties, it is difficult to know how well it is capturing the true amount of work done and how long it takes people to do these chores since they are self-reporting. We can speculate that cooking takes longer than wiping down counters or tables; however, this could depend on what they are cooking. Using an open-ended question to ask which chores they do specifically, or setting each chore up on a scale from “I do this all the time” to “I never do this” could give more insight to what chores people are actually doing. It also does not capture work regarding childcare or pet care, which would take a significant amount of time.

In the questions regarding public breastfeeding and mothers vs fathers at work it can be hard to capture if people are genuinely supportive of working mothers or if they are giving a socially acceptable answer. If this is the case, we can see parallels between real life and the government. Women are put into positions of power but do not have the tools or power to thrive or succeed. To better understand this, one question could inquire about if participants would personally endorse having a room designated for breastfeeding at their place of work, or if they would support allotting time during the work day for people to pump breastmilk. This could enhance the questions regarding comfortability around breastfeeding. Another question that could be asked would be if they personally would prioritize their children over their jobs, or we could ask how much time they spend with their child if they have one.

Although there were numerous questions asked about background, future research could be done on people who identify outside of male and female, such as non-binary people. In addition, there could have been differences amongst people who are a part of the LGBTQIA+ community. These questions could provide an understanding of how queer couples navigate household chores, work, and families in Taiwan. Another question that could make this data more useful in understanding perceptions of working mothers is to ask participants if they had children and what age they were.

I would also like to add to this thesis in the future by doing interviews of Taiwanese women and seeing if they agree with the participants in the study. It would also allow us to gain a broader perspective if we could ask them how they believe this data could impact their everyday lives. In addition, interviews could allow for a more detailed understanding of the questions. For example, they could talk about things they

have observed regarding men doing housework or regarding the comfortability of breastfeeding in public. In terms of interviews, I could use existing contacts that my advisor and I have in Taiwan. I could interview women from as many different backgrounds as possible, including women in the government, high level professionals, blue collar jobs, freelance, and women who stay at home. As of now, I would possibly like to interview Hsiao Bi-Khim of the DPP and other party members of the DPP, KMT, or other smaller parties. In addition, I would like to get in contact with Gwenyth Wang-Reeves who has done a podcast over a similar topic.

This study could also be applied to other countries outside of Taiwan. In the future I believe that countries such as the US, China, or Mexico would be interesting case studies. The US would be an intriguing case study because of the intense split of political ideology, which could impact how women are perceived. China would also be a case worth studying due to more cultural similarities. The Chinese government is incredibly different, however, which could allow us to see if the government or culture has a larger impact on perceptions of women. A case study of Mexico or even South Korea could be crucial in looking at the impacts of an ongoing femicide on perceptions of women and mothers. This addition of another case study could allow for comparisons between different cultures and governments and their impacts on the possible stress levels that women could develop.

Women should feel free to choose what is best for them, whether that be a traditional role or not. All of these questions, interviews, and expansion of other countries could allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the issues that women and mothers face. The more information that we are able to get about women's issues, the

better equipped we will be to solve them. Perceptions are not just thoughts but are able to manifest into greater issues despite culture and government.

REFERENCES

- Act of gender equality in employment*. Act of gender equality in employment - Article Content - Laws & Regulations Database of the Republic of China (Taiwan). (2022, January 12). Retrieved April 9, 2023, from <https://law.moj.gov.tw/ENG/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?pcode=N0030014>
- Baker M; Milligan K (2008). Maternal employment, breastfeeding, and health: Evidence from maternity leave mandates. , 27(4), 0–887.doi:10.1016/j.jhealeco.2008.02.006
- Blazyte, A. (2023, January 4). *Taiwan: Share of women who experienced sexual harassment at work*. Statista. Retrieved January 10, 2023, from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1235201/taiwan-share-of-women-who-experienced-sexual-harassment-at-work/#:~:text=Share%20of%20women%20being%20sexually%20harassed%20at%20work%20in%20Taiwan%202021&text=According%20to%20a%20survey%20among,experienced%20sexual%20harassment%20at%20work>.
- Bowen, C.-C. (2003). Sex discrimination in selection and compensation in Taiwan. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 14(2), 297–315. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0958519021000029135>
- Chang, S., Rowe, J., & Goopy, S. (2014). Non-family support for breastfeeding maintenance among career women in Taiwan: A qualitative study. *International Journal of Nursing Practice (John Wiley & Sons, Inc.)*, 20(3), 293–301. <https://doi-org.libsrv.wku.edu/10.1111/ijn.12148>
- Cheng, W., Lin, S.-Y., Fan, Y.-H., & Chen, S.-W. (2021). Retrospective study of the differences in patient characteristics and revenue between male and female surgeons in Taiwan. *Scientific Reports*, 11(1). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-021-03289-6>
- Chen, P., & Hsieh, H.-chin. (2018). Women’s academic leadership under competing higher education policies in Taiwan. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 49(5), 759–776. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2018.1454826>
- Chen, Y.-R., & Huang, S.-C. (2019). Family Law in Taiwan: Historical Legacies and Current Issues. *National Taiwan University Law Review*, 14(2). <https://doi.org/10.3966/181263242019091402001>
- Chiao, C.-K. (2003). Sexual Harassment in the Workplace in Taiwan. *National Taiwan University Law Review I*. Retrieved 2022, from <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/ntulr1&i=105>.

- Chou, Y. C., Kröger, T., Chiao, C., & Pu, C. (2012). Well-being among employed and non-employed caregiving women in Taiwan. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 22(2), 164–174. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2397.2011.00861.x>
- Correll, S. J., Benard, S., & Paik, I. (2007). Getting a job: Is there a motherhood penalty? *American Journal of Sociology*, 112(5), 1297–1339. <https://doi.org/10.1086/511799>
- Feng, J. Y., & Han, W.-J. (2010, July 1). *Maternity leave in Taiwan*. Family relations. Retrieved September 19, 2022, from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3097106/#:~:text=Employees%20in%20Taiwan%20are%20protected,weeks%20of%20paid%20maternity%20leave>.
- Gallin, R. S. (1989). Women and Work in Rural Taiwan: Building a Contextual Model Linking Employment and Health. *Journal of Health & Social Behavior*, 30(4), 374–385. <https://doi-org.libsrv.wku.edu/10.2307/2136986>
- Gender quotas database | international idea*. Gender Quotas Database. (2021). Retrieved October 21, 2022, from <https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas>
- Holroyd, E., Lopez, V., & Chan, S. W.-C. (2011). Negotiating “doing the Month”: An ethnographic study examining the postnatal practices of two generations of Chinese women. *Nursing & Health Sciences*, 13(1), 47–52. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1442-2018.2011.00575.x>
- Hsu, P.-chun. (2008). *Gender inequality and the division of Household Labor: Comparisons among China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan* (dissertation). Retrieved September 14, 2022, from https://ecommons.cornell.edu/bitstream/handle/1813/11104/Disseration_all.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y.
- Hu, C.-Y. (2002). *The division of domestic labor in Taiwanese households*. Louisiana State University LSU Digital Commons. Retrieved February 25, 2023, from https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2933&context=gradschool_theses
- Inequality - women in politics - OECD Data*. theOECD. (2019). Retrieved March 13, 2023, from <https://data.oecd.org/inequality/women-in-politics.htm>
- Jao, Y.-H., & Li, J.-C. A. (2012). Trends in the employment of married mothers of preschool-aged children in Taiwan. *Chinese Sociological Review*, 44(4), 5–26. <https://doi.org/10.2753/csa2162-0555440401>
- Johnson, K. M., & Slauson-Blevins, K. S. (2022). “Perfectly supportive in theory...”: Women’s perceptions of partner support while breastfeeding. *Journal of Social & Personal Relationships*, 39(9), 2869–2889. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02654075221090185>
- Kolpashnikova, K., & Koike, E. T. (2021). Educational attainment and housework participation among Japanese, Taiwanese, and American women across Adult

- Life Transitions. *Asian Population Studies*, 17(3), 266–284.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17441730.2021.1920147>
- Lee, C.-F., & Tang, S.-M. (2017). Relationship between housework and perceived happiness of middle-aged and older women in Taiwan—The moderating effect of health condition. *Health Care for Women International*, 38(12), 1313–1326.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07399332.2017.1354863>
- Leppel, K. (2002). Similarities and Differences in the College Persistence of Men and Women. *The Review of Higher Education* 25(4), 433-450.
[doi:10.1353/rhe.2002.0021](https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2002.0021).
- Mannion, C. A., Hobbs, A. J., McDonald, S. W., & Tough, S. C. (2013). Maternal perceptions of partner support during breastfeeding. *International Breastfeeding Journal*, 8(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/1746-4358-8-4>
- Morgenroth, T., & Heilman, M. E. (2017). Should I stay or should I go? implications of maternity leave choice for perceptions of working mothers. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 72, 53–56.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2017.04.008>
- Ogbuanu, C.; Glover, S.; Probst, J.; Hussey, J.; Liu, J. (2011). Balancing Work and Family: Effect of Employment Characteristics on Breastfeeding. *Journal of Human Lactation*, 27(3), 225–238. doi:10.1177/0890334410394860
- Ryan, Michelle K. ;Haslam, S. Alexander(2005). The Glass Cliff: Evidence that Women are Over-Represented in Precarious Leadership Positions. , 16(2), 81–90.
doi:10.1111/j.1467-8551.2005.00433.x
- Taiwan median age, birth rate and death rates. CountryReports. (2023). Retrieved February 25, 2023, from <https://www.countryreports.org/country/Taiwan/age-structure.htm>
- Takeuchi, M., & Tsutsui, J. (2016). Combining Egalitarian Working Lives with Traditional Attitudes: Gender Role Attitudes in Taiwan, Japan, and Korea. *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, 25(1), 100–116. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijjs.12039>
- Tan, N. (2016). Gender reforms, electoral quotas, and women's political representation in Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore. *Pacific Affairs*, 89(2), 309–323.
<https://doi.org/10.5509/2016892309>
- Tsai, S.-Y. (2013). Impact of a breastfeeding-friendly workplace on an employed mother's intention to continue breastfeeding after returning to work. *Breastfeeding Medicine*, 8(2), 210–216. <https://doi.org/10.1089/bfm.2012.0119>
- Tsai, S.-Y. (2019). Relationship of perceived job strain and workplace support to antenatal depressive symptoms among pregnant employees in Taiwan. *Women & Health*, 59(1), 55–67. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03630242.2018.1434590>

- Tsai, S.-Y. (2022). Shift-work and breastfeeding for women returning to work in a manufacturing workplace in Taiwan. *International Breastfeeding Journal*, 17(1), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13006-022-00467-8>
- UN Women. (2022). *Facts and figures: Ending violence against women*. UN Women – Headquarters. Retrieved February 26, 2023, from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/facts-and-figures>
- Waite, W. M., & Christakis, D. (2015). Relationship of maternal perceptions of workplace breastfeeding support and job satisfaction. *Breastfeeding Medicine*, 10(4), 222–227. <https://doi.org/10.1089/bfm.2014.0151>
- Woods, S. M., Melville, J. L., Guo, Y., Fan, M.-Y., & Gavin, A. (2010). Psychosocial stress during pregnancy. *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*, 202(1). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ajog.2009.07.041>
- Yeh, W.-Y., Chiu, W.-C., Chen, R.-Y., Hu, P.-Y., & Tsai, D.-M. (2019). A preliminary evaluation of psychological stress amongst workers in Taiwan: a cross-sectional survey. *International Journal of Mental Health Systems*, 13(1), N.PAG. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13033-019-0290-y>
- Yen, P.-C., & Yang, W.-S. (2011). A comparative study of marital dissolution in East Asian Societies: Gender Attitudes and social expectations towards marriage in Taiwan, Korea and Japan. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 39(6), 751–775. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853111x619210>
- Yu, S. W. K., Foster, L., Chau, R. C. M., & Yu, Y. P. (2021). Defamilisation/familisation measures and pensions in Hong Kong and Taiwan. *Journal of Aging & Social Policy*, 33(2), 161–176. <https://doi-org.libsrv.wku.edu/10.1080/08959420.2020.1851348>
- Wei-hsin Yu, & Chen-Lan Kuo, J. (2017). The Motherhood Wage Penalty by Work Conditions: How Do Occupational Characteristics Hinder or Empower Mothers? *American Sociological Review*, 82(4), 744–769. <https://doi-org.libsrv.wku.edu/10.1177/0003122417712729>
- Zaikman, Y., & Houlihan, A. E. (2022). It’s just a breast: An examination of the effects of sexualization, sexism, and breastfeeding familiarity on evaluations of public breastfeeding. *BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth*, 22(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12884-022-04436-1>