

性平台灣

Gender Equality in Taiwan



性別解嚴，幼稚園老師換男生做做看，吳奕樟創辦桃園縣私立小奶爸托兒所，並擔任園長。
With traditional gender norms crumbling, more and more men are working as kindergarten teachers.
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從軍女性也可以流血流汗，鍛鍊成鋼。（聯合報提供）

Women in the military can bleed and sweat just like men, and grow tough and strong too. (courtesy of *United Daily News*)

「性別平等」是衡量文明的指標，
對性平的追求，則是一場長期且全面的社會再造。
2000年推動性別主流化，
2007年簽署《消除對婦女一切形式歧視公約》（CEDAW），
2012年《CEDAW施行法》正式生效，
台灣一路走來，在法規制度、社會習俗等方面，落實了哪些社會工程？
性別圖像，有了什麼改變？

Since 2000, Taiwan has been moving toward mainstream international gender norms. In 2007 it unilaterally ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and domestic legislation to implement the convention's provisions took effect in 2012. With respect to the goal of gender equality, how have laws and social norms been changing, and what social reforms have been implemented? How have gender images changed?

近期幾則和女性有關的消息，成為媒體報導的焦點。

9月，日本內閣改組，18位閣員中，女性占5位，追平女閣員人數最多的紀錄。8月，被譽為數學界諾貝爾獎的「費爾茲獎」，首度頒給女性數學家。

焦點轉回台灣。7月，中央研究院選出18位新科院士，其中有5位是女性，創單屆最多女性院士的紀錄。

以上這些新聞圍繞女性人數打轉，試圖傳達的訊息是：一、女性確實被肯定了；二、從數字上看，雖然被肯定的男性人數仍占多數，但兩性之間正朝著平等的方向邁進，女性未來也有機會撐起半邊天。

消化這些新聞的同時，不禁讓人想問，性別平等所欲追求的，難道只是形式上的男女席次平等？

平等≠均等 放對位子，勝過給她位子

聚焦台灣，目前行政院44位閣員中，女性有5位，分別是文化部長龍應台、國立故宮博物院院長馮明珠、行政院主計總長石素梅、政務委員馮燕，以及政務委員兼蒙藏委員會主委蔡玉玲，占比約僅一成二，低於日本新內閣的二成七。

對比於世界先進國家女閣員占比皆低於三成的情況來看，在閣員席次上追求性別平等，實質意義為何，值得進一步商榷。

《經濟學人》雜誌便試圖戳破閣員性別比例的迷思。今年8月一篇針對各國女性閣員比率所做



宗教界也已開始追求性別平等，例如佛教界具男尊女卑意識的《八敬法》便被提出檢討。

The religious realm in Taiwan has witnessed a push toward gender equality within its ranks. For instance, the Buddhist Eight Heavy Rules (Garudhammas) have been under fire for reflecting and perpetuating sexist values.

的報導，副標題為〈女閣員比男閣員少，但施政績效相等〉，文章指出，女性是否有機會在官場擔任重要、資深的職位，才是值得關注的重點，「平等」的要意，並非計較男女人數多寡。

相較於被拔擢為官，參選民意代表是公民的權利，沒有性別之分，對有志參與公共事務、用女性思維改變大環境結構的女性來說，反而具有較大的發揮空間。目前台灣女性國會議員的比率為三成四，雖不及多數北歐國家，但在亞洲排名第一，她們正藉由立法和修法，落實性別平等的理念。

法律是最後防線 保障平等，禁止歧視

就性別相關的立法來看，今年是《性別平等

工作法》實施滿12年，也是《性別平等教育法》實施滿10年。

台灣是在1987年解嚴之後，政府結合民間團體的訴求，才開始推動性別平等法制化。反觀聯合國婦女地位委員會早在1946年已就成立。台灣相較其他國家推動性別平等，起步雖較晚，但相關立法和修法工作卻能快速跟上，扣緊國際主流價值。

例如，聯合國《消除對婦女一切形式歧視公約》（CEDAW）1981年生效，台灣不是聯合國成員，但為落實性別平等，2007年即加入該公約，並於2011年完成《CEDAW施行法》立法。

至於第二次的CEDAW國家報告，今年6月由國際專家來台完成審議，並提出廢止歧視性法律條文、建立國家人權機構、建立婦女及性別主流化國家機制等35項建議。

Recently, several news items connected to women's advancement have been the focus of media attention.

In September a new cabinet was installed in Japan, and five of 18 ministers were women, the largest number ever.

In Taiwan, the Academia Sinica selected five new women academicians in July, also the most ever.

These are but two of many statistical demonstrations of women's growing success. While their achievements deserve to be celebrated, skepticism remains: Is achieving gender equality really just a matter of comparing figures?

Behind the numbers

Around the world fewer than 30% of government ministers are women. In Japan, for instance, women hold 27% of cabinet positions. In Taiwan the share is lower still at only 12%: Among the 44 cabinet members, only five are women.

The Economist has tried to bring some nuance to discussion of the issue. In an August 9 report on the sexual compositions of cabinets in various nations, titled "Treating the Fair Sex Fairly," the article's subhead read: "Female ministers are fewer than their male colleagues, but equally effective." The piece argued that instead of fixating exclusively on total numbers, it is also important to look at whether women are given important senior posts.

Unlike ministerial-level positions, which are appointed, it is a citizen's right, regardless of gender, to run for political office. And generally speaking women have achieved greater success at attaining elective office. In Taiwan, women currently make up 34% of the legislature. Although that ratio may be below Scandinavia's, it is the highest in Asia. In establishing and amending laws, these women legislators are helping to shape the national vision of gender equality.

Protecting equality, prohibiting discrimination

This year marks the 12th anniversary of the Gender Equality in Employment Act and the tenth anniversary of the Gender Equity Education Act.

It wasn't until the repeal of martial law in 1987 that the government, in conjunction with citizen groups, began to push for gender equality under the law. When you consider that the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women was founded in 1946, the ROC may have started taking its first steps relatively late, but it was quickly able to establish or amend related laws and adhere to international norms.

For instance, the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) went into effect in 1981. Although Taiwan isn't a UN member, it applied to join the convention in 2007. But the ratification document was not accepted by the UN, so instead the convention's provisions were made part of Taiwan's domestic law through the CEDAW Enforcement Act, which was enacted in 2011 and took effect in 2012.

International experts completed their review of Taiwan's second national report on its implementation of CEDAW this June. Although the convention has only been in effect here for two years, real steps toward gender equality had already been adopted in many realms years before.

Laws outpace mores

There are many examples of traditional customs in Taiwan that discriminate against women. For instance, there is the idea that married daughters—described as "water tossed from the cup"—have no right to a share in their parents' property. Yet with changes to the legal system, conceptions of gender equality can gradually become more accepted and eventually even part of tradition. The way that Confucius Day (September 28) is celebrated is but one example.

In ancient times women were strictly forbidden from participating in ceremonies venerating Confucius. From a modern perspective the rule is a clear example of gender discrimination. Today, not only can women play a variety of roles in those ceremonies, they can also participate in them as mayors, county executives and other political leaders.



時代在變，性別平等觀念也與時俱進，古代祭孔大典不允許女性參加，現今以可看到女性在典禮中擔綱各種角色。
(台北孔廟提供)

The times they are a-changing, and gender norms have been moving in step with changing social mores. Although not originally allowed to participate in Confucian ceremonies, women now play various roles within those rites. (courtesy of Taipei Confucius Temple)

《CEDAW施行法》生效的2012年，雖被稱為台灣的性平元年，但性平工作的進行，更早之前就已在社會各領域推動並加以落實。

沙文主義幽靈徘徊 修法快，移風易俗慢

法律、宗教、倫理道德及風俗習慣等，都是屬於社會規範的一環。傳統習俗之中，有許多歧視女性的例子，例如，認為嫁出的女兒是潑出去的水，無權持分娘家的財產，以及貶抑進入婚姻的女性嫁雞隨雞、嫁狗隨狗等。然而，藉由法規制度的調整，性別平等的進步觀念仍可慢慢成為習俗的一部分，並為多數人所接受。每年9月28日舉辦的秋季祭孔大典，即為一例。

古代祭孔大典嚴禁女性參與，從現代的角度觀之，這是嚴重的性別歧視。然而，現今不但可見女性在典禮上職司佾生、陪祭官、分獻官等角色，就連由在地縣市首長執司的正獻官，女性也有機會擔綱。

至於祭孔奉祀官是台灣唯一的榮譽世襲官位，早年明定由孔子嫡系裔孫承襲，婦女團體對此疾呼歧視與不合時宜。內政部檢視相關辦法後，於2009年修改《大成至聖先師孔子奉祀及紀念要點》，規定奉祀官由孔子後裔繼承，只須為孔姓，但不排除女性承襲。

至於宗教方面，因事涉憲法保障宗教自由，較難以法律強制要求教義納入性平措施，但個別宗教內部仍不乏推動改革的聲音。例如，基督教長老教會成立性別公義委員會，在教會生活裡落實性別平等。

僧尼不平等 佛門女俠釋昭慧，力主廢除《八敬法》

被譽為「佛門女俠」的玄奘大學宗教系主任釋昭慧法師，則在2001年公開要求廢除具有男尊女卑意識的《八敬法》，在佛教界掀起極大的波瀾，支持與反對者皆有之。

「我不認為這（性別不平等）只是佛教的問題，事實上全世界的宗教都成立於父權時代，也都有相似的問題，」釋昭慧事後在公開演講中，持續闡述推動僧尼平等的用意。「我希望把它攤

開來，讓社會人士用現代的社會標準，一同檢視它的公平性。」

迄今十多年過去，這場堪稱台灣佛教界最激烈的佛門女性追求平等的運動，影響力仍在發酵。佛光山星雲大師日前便在報端撰文表示，《八敬法》的提出有其時空背景，當代社會不宜再以此約束比丘尼。「眾生與佛尚且平等，為什麼男女不能平等呢？」

社會變遷鬆動性別刻板 高齡海嘯+失業潮，男性照顧者增多

對性別平等的追求，也包括打破刻板的性別分工。女性應扮演賢妻良母角色的傳統印象，在女性接受教育機會增加、社會及經濟地位提升之後，已不再被視為理所當然。

近年來，照顧者家庭發生的悲劇頻頻登上新聞版面。中華民國家庭照顧者關懷總會（家總）指出，這些悲劇凸顯台灣家庭長期照顧的三大趨勢：高齡化（老人照顧老人）、激烈化（照顧者弑親後自殺），以及男性化，亦即越來越多的照顧工作由男性家人擔任。

家總指出，全台失能、失智需要長期照顧者有72萬人，照顧者人數則高達90萬人，雖然各界尚無針對照顧者性別做過統計，但從向家總求助的個案來看，男性照顧者比率雖僅占15%，但案件數顯著增加。

家總理事長、中國文化大學社會福利學系副教授陳正芬表示，台灣和日本皆出現照顧者男性化現象，究其原因，和從事照顧者無法穩定工作有關。

例如，男性迫於經濟不景氣、求職困難或長期失業，在別無其他選擇之下，只好回到家裡從事家庭照顧；即便原本仍在職，但限於需經常請假照顧家人，兩方面無法兼顧之下，毅然選擇提前離開職場，回家擔任全時段的照顧者。

性別特質仍在 女易自責內疚，男不輕易流露情感

「他們是『先行者』！」東吳大學社會工作系副教授王行如此形容逐漸被社會看見的男性照顧者。王行認為，台灣勢必走向長期照顧的社會，但對於男性如何擔任家庭內主要照顧者，外界目



時代女性獨立、自信，拒絕成為男性的附庸。圖為愛爾達科技總經理陳怡君。

Contemporary women are independent, confident, and unwilling to be subservient to men. The photo shows Sally Chen, CEO of ELTA Technology.

The Sacrificial Official to Confucius is the only hereditary title in Taiwan, and it was originally filled by the eldest male of Confucius' direct lineage. After studying the issue, the Ministry of the Interior amended the rules in 2009, so that it must be filled by a descendant with Confucius' surname, irrespective of gender. (In Taiwan women hold on to their surnames after they marry.)

It's more difficult for the law to insist upon sexual equality within religions because of constitutional protections of religious freedom, but there are many voices from within pushing for reform. For instance, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan has established a "gender justice committee" to bring gender equality to the church.

Feminist nun fights outdated rules

In 2001 Shih Chao-hwei, the well-known "righteous nun" who is chair of the religion department at Hsuan Chuang University, made a public appeal to abolish the Eight Garudhammas (Eight Heavy Rules), which are male-chauvinist regulations that govern the behavior of Buddhist nuns. Her appeal caused quite a stir in the Buddhist community.

"I don't believe that gender equality is just a problem for Buddhists," says Shih. "In fact, all of the world's religions were established during a patriarchal era, and all have the same problems." In the years since she launched that campaign, Shih has continued to push for gender equality among the Buddhist clergy. "I hope to throw back the curtains on these rules, so society can use modern social standards to judge their fairness."

More than ten years have passed, and this movement for equality in Buddhism spurred by Shih is still gaining steam. The Venerable Master Hsing Yun of Fo Guang Shan has recently written that the Eight Garudhammas have a historical context, but those rules are no longer suited to the current era. "Since all living things have equality with the Buddha, why shouldn't men and women have equality?"

Crumbling stereotypes: Men as caregivers

Demands for gender equality also involve smashing conceptions of gender-specific work.

In recent years there have been a series of tragic incidents

前所知甚少。

例如，光是在心態上，男性就需要重新調適，才能接納照顧的工作。

王行表示，資本主義制度下，只有家庭外的的工作被視為具有勞動報酬，價值較高，家內勞動則為無償，價值較低，因此，從事家務工作者往往被看成是無業的依賴人口，不事生產。

「事實不是如此。家庭照顧是極大的勞動付出，需有夠強的生產力才能擔負。男性回到家裡擔起照顧者的責任，他們面對的處境是什麼？如何處理？」

透過家總的協助，王行日前完成12位男性主要照顧者生命經驗口述計畫。這些「先行者們」最年長的八十多歲，最年輕的四十多歲，在一、二十年照顧家人的過程中，有人犧牲了婚姻，有人犧牲健康、娛樂、親子關係，犧牲工作，甚至弄到眾叛親離，被懷疑別有所圖。

在他們自我闡述的生命經驗裡，王行感受到「卡」在性別刻板框架中，不輕易流露情感的男性特質。

「以性別差異的概念來看，他們通常不從遭遇到的困難或心裡的掙扎開始訴說，而就只是講道

理。慢慢抽絲剝繭，才可看到那些未表露，但又有一些表露的情感。」

對此，陳正芬表示，家總提供0800-580-097（我幫您，您休息）專線服務時，也發現男性照顧者比較「工具性」，詢問「如何解決問題」為主；女性照顧者則較具「情感性」，透過電話找人訴苦、聊聊心情。

至於對照顧的心態，兩性也有差別。陳正芬說，大致而言，男性照顧者比較「解決問題」取向，優先尋求外部資源的協助；女性則訴諸情感（與被照顧者母女連心），道德壓力較大（若照顧工作無法事必躬親，心裡就會產生罪惡感）。

法國存在主義哲學家西蒙·波娃的名言：「女性並非生而為女人，而是成而為女人。」同理也可說，男性除了生理特徵之外，他那獨立、果決、理性、競爭的男性特質，也都是由父權文化的框架所形塑。性別平等的理念可幫助女性掙脫父權的歧視，也能幫助男性自父權的桎梏中解脫。這些桎梏存在於法律、社會制度及文化習俗中，應被重新檢視、反省。

追求性別平等的道路並不好走，兩性都得付出更大的決心，將其予以深化。 □



性別是穿在身上的符號，何必人云亦云？
Why should one's gender require one to conform to others' expectations?

involving caregivers and their families. The Taiwan Association of Family Caregivers (TAFC) points out that these tragedies have highlighted three trends about long-term care in Taiwan: the aging of society (with the elderly caring for the elderly), the growing intensity of resulting pressures (with cases of caregiving children killing parents and then committing suicide), and the masculinization of caregiving, with more and more men becoming caregivers.

The association estimates that more than 900,000 people are serving as caregivers in Taiwan. Although there are no statistics about how many of these are men, 15% of the cases requesting assistance from the association involve men, and the number is rising markedly.

Chen Zheng-fen, TAFC president and an associate professor of social welfare at Chinese Culture University, points out that both Taiwan and Japan are seeing more men serving as caregivers. The trend is connected to economic hard times, she says.

Often men have difficulty finding work or lose long-term jobs, and without any other option decide to stay home and become caregivers. Even if they start out with a job, they may find that they often have to take time off from work. When the demands at home and on the job become too much to take on together, they choose to leave the workforce.

Women blame themselves, men hide their feelings

"They're pioneers!" says Shane Wang, an associate professor of social work at Soochow University, of the male caregivers who are slowly getting recognized by society. Wang holds that Taiwan by necessity is moving toward becoming a long-term-care society, but most people know little about the issues confronting the many men who serve as a relative's main caregiver.

For instance, just in terms of attitude men need to make major adjustments if they are to become caregivers.

Wang says that in a capitalist society uncompensated domestic work is regarded as being of low value. Consequently, at-home caregivers are typically regarded as unemployed dependents who are not involved in productive work.

"That isn't true at all," he says. "Caregiving at home is a lot of work, and you've got to have sufficient strength to be able to handle it. When men return to the home to take on caregiving duties, what situations are they facing? How do they handle them?"

With assistance from the TAFC, Wang recently com-

pleted a project documenting the oral histories of 12 male caregivers. These pioneers ranged in age from their forties to their eighties, and they had been caring for a family member for a decade or two. They often were sacrificing or neglecting their own marriage, health, leisure, relationships with wives and children, and paid employment. Many found themselves extremely isolated, with their motives questioned.

As they described their own experiences, Wang could feel how they struggled with stereotypical expectations of manhood. "They typically wouldn't start by describing the hardships they faced and their emotional struggles," he explains. "Instead they would just talk about the reasons behind what they were doing, and you would have to gradually infer an understanding of the emotions they were hiding."

Since the TAFC set up a toll-free counseling helpline for caregivers, they have discovered that men and women differ in how they use the service. Chen Zheng-fen explains that men tend to take an "instrumental" approach, inquiring about "how to solve problems," whereas women caregivers are more "emotional" and use the helpline to vent and share their feelings.

The sexes also show differences in their attitudes toward providing care. Chen points out that men tend to take a "problem-solving" approach and more readily look for outside assistance and resources. Women, on the other hand, emphasize emotions more (such as mother-daughter connections) and are under more moral pressure. If women can't handle caregiving duties adequately themselves, they feel more guilt.

The French existential philosopher Simone de Beauvoir said, "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman." By the same token, one could say that the special qualities of men—independence, firmness, logic and competitiveness—are male qualities that have been molded by patriarchal culture. The concept of gender equality, originally aimed at helping women overcome patriarchal discrimination against them, can also help men break free of the patriarchal shackles that confine them. Those bounds can be found in the law, in social systems and in cultural customs. They all require reexamination and reflection.

The road to gender equality will not be easy. Both sexes need to show greater resolve. □

*(Sam Ju/photos by Chuang Kung-ju/
tr. by Jonathan Barnard)*