Rape in the United States and Taiwan:

Cultural Constructions in the (Re)Making of a Self

This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Global Liberal Studies Bachelor of Arts degree at New York University.

Advisors:

Regina Gramer, Ph.D., New York University

Sarah Deer, J.D., University of Kansas

Melinda Chen

April 16, 2018
Rape is a universal problem. One in three women around the world experience sexual violence, and international statistics on rape have yet to consider men or gender minorities. Stigmas surrounding rape can be found in all cultures, and may include chastity, marriage, or racial and sexual shame. These stigmas recycle rape myths, causing harm to the survivor long after the rape itself has ended. It is clear that rape can be considered a global phenomenon, yet very few studies have examined models of treatment for rape survivors through a non-Western lens, prompting the question of whether current recovery efforts indeed work for individuals of different cultural backgrounds.

Most treatment models for survivors today follow Western strategies, such as speaking about one’s experience and reaching out to others for support. In American contexts, rape is often understood as a personal attack on the victim, and Western strategies enacting social support networks can suitably counter this form of traumatization. However, in Taiwan, rape is already understood as part of a broader, gender-based problem, but the nature of rape as a personal assault is largely forgotten. In her exploration of culturally specific forms of rape trauma, Taiwanese sociologist Luo Tsun-yin argued that Western treatment models ground themselves in individualistic self-expressionism, which ignore mainstream Taiwanese values emphasizing the collective. This collective mentality can be expressed as upholding honor through virginity and family unity. The American assumption that re-asserting one’s identity in a group environment can be a form of treatment undermines the Taiwanese relational identity by
diffusing the effects of their traumatic experiences and neglecting the survivors’ roles in society. Different cultural norms and perceptions about sexuality and sexual violence require culturally-specific treatment modalities. Comparing issues surrounding rape in the United States and Taiwan exposes fundamental problems in applying Western treatment models to non-Western trauma.

This thesis urges advocates of sexual violence prevention and recovery to re-examine domestic policies on treatment. I trace American and Taiwanese history and philosophy surrounding rape to distinguish differences in the conceptualization of rape and the rape victim. Parallels between historical legal codes and schools of thought demonstrate a unique study into cultural factors damaging the rape victim’s identity. This analysis seeks to reveal trauma in rape recovery within cultural borders and offers solutions to improve treatment plans globally.
# Table of Contents

Abbreviations...4  
Acknowledgements...5  
Introduction...7  
Chapter One: Culture & Rape...13  
Chapter Two: History...34  
  “The All-American Crime”...35  
  “By purity, one keeps one’s self undefiled; by chastity, one preserves one’s honor.”...53  
Chapter Three: Philosophy & Religion...75  
  “I don’t want my body anymore.”...78  
  “Nourish the Body to Nourish the Spirit”...89  
Conclusion...98  
Bibliography...110
Abbreviations

**APA**: American Psychological Association

**CCP**: Chinese Communist Party

**CR**: Conscious Raising

**DPP**: Democratic Progressive Party

**EBT**: Evidence-Based Models

**KMT**: Kuomintang

**PRC**: People’s Republic of China

**PTSD**: Post-traumatic Stress Disorder

**RAINN**: Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network

**RCC**: Rape Crisis Center

**RMA**: Rape Myth Acceptance

**RTS**: Rape Trauma Syndrome

**STI**: Sexually-transmitted Infections

**WHO**: World Health Organization
This thesis is a product of a year-long journey to understanding sexual violence and its impact on survivors globally. As my first step into the academic world, the thesis initiated a series of spitfire questions that have left me hungry to learn more. I am incredibly thankful for the opportunity to pursue advanced studies into sexual violence prevention and advocacy as I end my undergraduate time at NYU and enter a new stage of graduate studies at the University of Kansas in the coming months.

This thesis is also the first public acknowledgement of the connection between my personal encounter with sexual violence and my professional career. Rarely do I comment on the traumas floating in my past, as I am afraid to share this side of me. But there can be a bright side to an otherwise horrifying experience, and my thesis has brought to light this aspect of trauma. I can empathize with other victims as I share a sense of solitude as a peer survivor. I can understand, clearly, how sexual violence can truly be a destruction of the self, and how we can (re)make our selves in the aftermath. My fire to ending sexual violence will not diminish.

I would be remiss to leave out the people who have helped me grapple with the question of cultural problems in rape:

First, I’d like to thank my primary thesis adviser, Professor Regina Gramer. She has helped me in so many ways. Not only did Professor Gramer comb through multiple drafts of my thesis many times for stylistic suggestions, she also challenged and elevated the arguments I made on a critical platform. She sought to understand what about sexual violence was truly
cultural, and have left me thinking about the multifaceted forms that rape takes. In addition, Professor Gramer has lent a motherly ear to the personal struggles I had when writing this thesis, and I cannot thank her enough for her unwavering support.

Professor Sarah Deer has also been incredible. As an expert on indigenous rape, her perspectives on cultural factors producing trauma have been invaluable. My thesis would not have been as comprehensive without her suggestions. The time she has spent discussing with me over email and phone calls has been extensive and improved how I think about preventing rape using practical applications. I look forward to working with her in the coming years.

I’d like to thank Professor Phillip Washburn as well for his unofficial support. Professor Washburn served no documented role in this thesis, but his regular inquiries on how my thesis was going and his astute questioning of my logic has enormously aided in how I structured my arguments. I recognize how much time he has spent with me over the last four years to improve my research and writing skills, and I am incredibly grateful for his mentorship.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my friends and family for their support, especially Will Kennedy, Sabrina Ku, Azure Zheng, Itmum Momin, Emmanuel Zavaleta, Brian Ho, Amanda Faynor, and Nad Abdelqader. While they may not have been directly involved in helping me formulate my arguments, they have been endlessly kind and supportive. In face of my stress, many have reminded me to take breaks from writing and have encouraged a healthier lifestyle during my senior year. I am happy to know that I have these amazing people around me.

This thesis would not have come about without these beautiful people. Thank you.

- Melinda Chen, April 8, 2018.
Introduction

The subject of sexual violence has always been fraught. Conversations between service providers, advocates, medical professionals, and victims themselves are often contentious due to differences in their visceral understandings of rape. Even if one has never personally experienced rape, sexual violence can be found embedded in our everyday lives. Daily actions such as choice in clothing and employment progress, sustain, or pause rape culture, revealing that every person holds the power to shape the ways we address sexual violence. Regardless of our connection to rape, confronting rape is necessary to advance social norms and reduce stigmas for those traumatized by it. After all, how can we ensure our own safety if violence exists all around us?

Trouble arises when defining the parameters of rape and sexual violence. In English, we use the terms “rape” and “sexual violence” almost interchangeably in modern times, but the history behind the terms differs. Before second wave feminism in the 1970s, “rape” in the United States referred to the “carnal knowledge of a female.”¹ This understanding of rape vaguely defined it as a physical crime between strangers or an adulterous act. Sexual crimes involving any other form of victimization, such as groping and emotional manipulation, were reduced to assault or battery, or dismissed in court for the lack of visible evidence. “Sexual violence” arose out of a desire to eliminate cultural stigmas surrounding “rape,” including the belief that rape could potentially be a consensual act between sexually ‘deviant’ adults. With heavy emphasis on the criminal act as violent rather than sexual, “sexual violence” allows the victim to describe

their violent encounter as a power struggle rather than a sexually promiscuous act. It eliminates the cultural stigma on sexuality and criminalizes violence in rape.²

In Chinese, 性暴力 (Xìng bàolì) and 強姦 (Qiángjiān) run analogous to American terminology. 性暴力 can be literally translated as “gender-based violence” and 強姦 can be literally translated as “forceful wickedness.” In translating the terms according to their understood definitions, 性暴力 becomes “sexual violence” and 強姦 becomes “rape.” Interestingly, there is almost a complete neutrality in employing 性暴力 as opposed to 強姦. The character 姦 in 強姦 contains three 女, translated as “female,” which indicates that the Chinese have historically associated 姦, wickedness, with 女, the woman. The term 強姦 thus intertwines criminality with womanhood, and connects adulterous acts to rape. As discussed later, this connection adds to the difficulty in separating rape myths with the true rape experience. Given the problems in terminology, this thesis uses both terms interchangeably, but nonetheless acknowledges that they carry historical weight.

Sexual violence studies have been a primarily Western endeavor in which globalization and subsequent American imperialism have led to transformations in treatment models for survivors in many cultures. While it is important for nation-states to address sexual violence, the utilization of Western treatment models in non-Western contexts gives rise to the problem of universalism. Universalist agendas tend to overlook the culturally specific physical, psychological, or social trauma from rape in non-Western cultures. In particular, Taiwanese survivors find it difficult to recover from rape using American models because these models

---

assume that the victim’s sense of self is individualized, as opposed to the Taiwanese relational identity.³

Additionally, rape attacks victims structurally and personally, which causes multifaceted harm. The sustaining of rape myths, ineffective rape law, and self-destructive social movements institutionalize problems on a societal scale as well as on the individual level.⁴ The multiplicity of rape highlights the need to redirect attention to its intersectional origins and encourage a deeper analysis into cultural factors enabling the continuation of sexual violence within domestic borders and within the victim’s sense of self.

Perspectives on rape may be divided by culture to draw comparisons. This thesis explores American and Taiwanese perspectives on rape, and employs historical and philosophical disciplines to isolate the origins of rape’s multifaceted harms. The United States was chosen as a starting point to the discussion of rape as a cultural problem. Forays into sexual violence studies in the last century have been prompted by Western feminists, particularly in the United States.⁵ Many theories surrounding the idea of a destruction of a self within the rape matrix begin with American understandings of rape as a mind-body division. The disassociation between the two selves clearly represents how rape can be a dualistic injury.⁶

Taiwan was chosen as a contrast to the United States because of its Eastern roots. A nation just off the coast of southeast Mainland China, the main island and its surrounding islets

⁵ Emilie Buchwald, Pamela Fletcher, and Martha Roth, Transforming a Rape Culture (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 1993), as quoted in Robin E. Field, "Rape Culture" in Encyclopedia of Rape, 1st ed. s.v. “Battered Women” (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 174-175.
are also known as “Formosa,” “Kaitagelan,” and the “Republic of China,” the latter name boldly
defying the Communist People’s Republic of China (PRC). Taiwan proclaims that it is an
independent country despite the lack of recognition from most of the international community,
combining past colonial influences to reform a new Taiwanese way of thinking. Up until the
twentieth century, the country has been influenced by a plenitude of Eastern cultures, including
Mainland Chinese and Japanese forces. Its acceptance of Western thought after globalization and
American ideological expansion further advances the discussion of cultural influences on rape by
discerning aspects to traumatization shared by both cultures.\textsuperscript{7} It is a small country, yet remains
complementary to the United States for its policies on sexual affairs. Institutional problems and
personal traumatization persist for the Taiwanese and Americans alike, but the ways that the
Taiwanese think about rape illuminate the historical and philosophical differences in treating
sexual violence within cultural borders.\textsuperscript{8}

It must be acknowledged that this thesis tends to essentialize American and Taiwanese
culture due to space limitations. Indeed, the idea that there is a monolithic “American culture” or
a monolithic “Taiwanese culture” itself is problematic given that “culture” has many definitions
and is always fluid and multi-faceted. There are also different cultures within a given
nation-state. Drawing from a select group of history and philosophy, though it may be the most
dominant in each culture, may still at times oversimplify the problems of rape and cause
survivors to feel that their experiences have been reduced to a singular, universal trauma when
this is not the intention.

\textsuperscript{7} John F. Copper, \textit{Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?} (Boulder: Westview Press, 2013), 1-3.
\textsuperscript{8} Tsun-yin Luo, “MARRYING MY RAPIST?! The Cultural Trauma among Chinese Rape Survivors,”
In making claims about these two cultures, this thesis provides advocates for sexual violence survivors with tools to reflect on culturally specific distinctions between the “traditional” or stereotypical rape victim constructed by cultural rape myths, and the real, actualized rape victim who has endured traumatic aftermath. It is critical to understand that some components of culture can help survivors of sexual assault re-establish a sense of self in their lives; however, other aspects of culture might actually serve to destroy a sense of identity. Identifying the problems in each culture allows us to consider how cultures can simultaneously destroy and re-create one’s identity as a survivor of sexual violence. By using case studies of American and Taiwanese histories and philosophies, this thesis advances the conversation on non-Western explorations into sexual traumas and introduces a new way of dismantling harmful social factors. This deconstruction of socialization can be summarized by queer theorist Cathy Cohen, who comments, “The reconceptualization not only of the content of identity categories, but the intersectional nature of identities themselves, must become a part of our political practice.”

This thesis also explores cultural factors inhibiting rape survivors from access to appropriate treatment. It intends to improve the lives of survivors by establishing ways to reduce environmental influences rejecting victims and their trauma. Assessing true “recovery” from rape is a difficult and ongoing process, but the following arguments consider how to alleviate the trauma of sexual violence. As Annalise Acorn writes, “Healing...is a dangerous thing to promise and a difficult thing to assess.”

---

Thus we move forward bravely, though cautiously, into the multiple facets of rape.
Chapter One: Culture & Rape

Rape is a global phenomenon. One in three women are raped in their lifetime and many victims remain voiceless as deep-rooted stigmas and legal barriers prevent them from locating effective treatment.\(^{11}\) Survivors come from every part of the world, from the West to the East, from the United States to Taiwan. The increasingly visible violence around the globe has led to advocacy for sexual violence prevention by many international coalitions, including the World Health Organization (WHO) and Amnesty International. As more people are speaking out about rape and more organizations have begun to address sexual violence, contemporary times have seen a gradual but powerful shift in recognizing rape as a crime.

Despite its rising visibility, however, defining “rape” remains a difficult problem. Internationally, there is no single definition for rape, making it difficult to assess its impact on people across the globe. From the WHO’s perspective, sexual violence is defined as:

> [A]ny sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person’s sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work.\(^{12}\)

Rape is defined as:


…physically forced or otherwise coerced penetration – even if slight – of the vulva or anus, using a penis, other body parts or an object.\textsuperscript{13}

Based on its definitions, WHO considers sexual violence and rape as externally-imposed harms produced by one’s surroundings. It targets the “setting” of the criminal act and fixates on the method of penetration, associating physicality with trauma. Advocacy led by WHO accordingly concentrates on improving accessibility to health services countering physical harm. But treatment for rape can be medical, or it can be psychological and social. Support groups and therapy can be more effective than medication for some invisible symptoms, and WHO’s assertion that sexual trauma must be treated medically invokes a mistaken presumption that only visible trauma can be treated. In addition, medicalization for all forms of symptoms can result in victims feeling at a loss or uncomfortable with the types of available care. Survivors may need a service provider in times when only medical professionals are available.\textsuperscript{14} WHO’s understanding of sexual trauma as physical confines treatment to its sole medical function. Victims may find difficulty in seeking out psychological and social treatment as a result.

Amnesty International conceptualizes rape differently, redefining sexual violence as a gender-based crime. The human rights organization rejects the conventional notion of wartime rape, which positions women as “spoils of war” and a side effect of state conflicts. Instead, it proposes that rape is wielded for states to strategically manipulate the opposition’s population.\textsuperscript{15} Amnesty International defines violence against women, including rape:

\begin{quote}
Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{13} Krug et al., \textit{World Report on Violence and Health}, 150.
women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.\textsuperscript{16}

This definition situates rape as a gender-based problem that states must eliminate. The organization specifies “physical, sexual or psychological” harms of “women,” omitting admission of sexual violence against men or gender minorities. It also writes of a “deprivation of liberty” that is both “public” and “private,” suggesting that states are responsible for the aggregate rate of sexual violence due to corresponding levels of sanctioned freedoms. As such, Amnesty International calls for gender equality and improvements to women’s rights. The organization believes that these policies can lead to greater inclusivity in law and reduce the large percentages of female rape victims.\textsuperscript{17} But Amnesty International’s definition restricts the possibilities of traumatization in rape. Rape shifts into a socio-legal crime against a particular minority group--women--instead of a personal act of violence that can affect people of all social identities. Rape victims become remodeled as unavoidable casualties of cultural conflicts without regard to their personhood.

Clearly, WHO and Amnesty International have differences in their understanding of rape. These differences in definition result in different proposals for treatment. WHO, an organization based on health systems, advocates for medicalization\textsuperscript{18} while Amnesty International, a human rights organization, re-affirms the need for prosecution of state-sponsored sexual violence.\textsuperscript{19}

Neither organization successfully encompasses the full effects of rape. As a result, the


\textsuperscript{17} “Rape and Sexual Violence,” \textit{Amnesty International}, 6-7.


\textsuperscript{19} Smith-Spark, “How did rape become a weapon of war?”
international community expresses a multivariable way of thinking, disagreeing frequently on how to prevent, prosecute, and recover from rape.

Migrant victims demonstrate the global variation in understanding rape. As they travel between nation-states, migrants are less protected if the rape happens in a country where they do not have citizenship status. Migrants hold no political power, renouncing their country of origin while navigating their new culture. They have limited access to benefits available to citizens, such as the ability to unionize and to seek criminal justice. Yet migrants are commonly misunderstood to have sexual prowess, believed to have exploited the kindness of strangers in their new culture. In Germany today, refugees from the Syrian War are condemned as “rapefugees,” intersecting conceptualizations of rape with increasing tensions in the refugee crisis. Data published by international organizations and nation-states have been shown to inaccurately amplify bigoted portrayals of foreigner rape, intertwining sexual violence with transnational criminal activities.

Inside state borders, migrant rape reaffirms nationalistic xenophobia and corrupts the idea of the destitute refugee to serve political purposes. Many Taiwanese people suspect immigrant women, particularly Mainland Chinese women, of entering Taiwan for malicious purposes such as bringing foreign ideas of colonization into the country or fleeing their country without intention of returning, despite holding only temporary work or marriage visas. While the Taiwanese are generally receptive towards immigrants, many immigrant rape victims are perceived to have deliberately provoked violence and are blatantly abandoned in judicial courts.

---

due to their foreign status. Migrant survivors in the United States face similar problems. Projections of hypersexualized foreigners often lead to the presumption that migrants “wanted” rape, masking xenophobic and racist sentiments. Nayan Shah, an expert on American migration, highlights the plight of South Asian women in twentieth century America. Hindus wore turbans that covered their hair, and Americans speculated that South Asian women used turbans to disguise themselves as men. They subverted American gender norms through their un-American attire, and subsequent accusations of rape fell on deaf ears due to stereotyping of the foreigner.

Both Taiwanese and American courts eclipse the trauma in transient rape survivors, many undermining the validity of sexual violence in underprivileged populations.

Definitions of sexual violence and rape can also vary inside a nation-state. In Taiwan, rape is considered a crime against women, requiring “a violation of the woman’s will, use of violence, coercion or other means, or the act of sexual intercourse with a woman.” While the majority of rape victims in Taiwan are indeed female, comprising 72.8% of all victims, Section 236 of the Taiwanese Criminal Code presupposes a female victim, enclosing an inherent bias towards men and gender minorities. However, the Ministry of Education published a video in 2013 entitled, “If I Knew Boys Could Be Sexually Assaulted As Well.” The video educated youth on the legal silence for male rape victims and garnered over 800,000 views on YouTube.

---

26 “如果早知道，男生也會被性侵”
provoking social outrage. Discrepancies between legal and social understandings of rape victims in Taiwan exhibit how perspectives on sexual violence can vary inside the country.

The United States demonstrates another form of prejudice against survivors, having no agreed national definition for rape. Although the Department of Justice reformed the definition of rape in 2013 to include victims of all genders and incapacitation by alcohol or other substances, each state outlines the parameters of sexual violence separately from one another due to the fact that crime is largely a state issue: Section 5-14-101 of the Code of Arkansas, for instance, writes that “deviant sexual activity” may be considered rape should the penetration of another person be with an incapacitated or underage person; Title 13A in Alabama splits sexual crimes into first- and second-degree depending on age or ability to consent. In these two state definitions alone, rape victims are automatically classified according to their perceived willingness or unwillingness to engage in sexual activity, revealing that social identities carry meanings according to their local communities. Hence, each state records a unique percentage of reported sexual violence. Alabama stands at 26.9 victims per 100,000 people reporting rape whereas Arkansas lies at 42.3 victims per 100,000 people. Varying levels of reporting rape

---

indicate that subcultures within a nation-state can influence the extent to which rape is stigmatized and addressed.  

Anthropologist Sally Engle Merry, who studies gender violence comparatively among international groups, argues that nation-states define rape based on their cultural backgrounds. Indicators used on international platforms to gauge effects of gender violence are not objective and absolute; rather, they are premised on the collective assumptions of the most powerful socioeconomic states and interpreted independently on a local level. These localized interpretations skew data results in that what may be considered gender violence in one state may not be considered gender violence in another. New York City police, for example, proportionally increased the number of experts on domestic violence in 2016, including teachers and social workers, and enforced stricter disciplinary action or prosecution against domestic violence abusers. However, by making these changes, New York City police also only considered city-wide legal consequences of gender-based violence, overlooking the national rape culture that plays an important role in the prevalence of rape in American cities. While this type of local interpretation of a global issue indisputably has positive effects on the issue of domestic violence, its scope remains limited to the visible effects within a single city rather than the broader national whole. Variations in interpretation on the international scale can be similarly skewed depending on (joint-) state interests, where fluctuating ideas of rape play into the constantly shifting understanding of rape between social levels.

---

In addition to no absolute definition of rape between and within states, acts associated with sexual violence or rape vary considerably. Whether or not the rapist was a stranger or a known person, whether or not the violence involved physical violence or non-physical coercion, all factor into the construction of rape as trauma. Distinctions like these between simple and aggravated rape can play a massive role in influencing the extent to which others empathize or acknowledge a victim’s trauma.\textsuperscript{33} Other forms of rape erupt into greater debates due to their target: Child abuse, marital or intimate partner violence, and wartime rape are considered at times part of the rape agenda according to the perceived level of consent and trauma.

For child abuse, communication between a child with a developing brain and an adult with a developed mind oftentimes results in the exploitation of a minor. While some may argue that child abuse rarely considers the ability to consent of both parties, many around the world continue to believe that minors cannot consent to sex because they are too innocent or too young to understand the power of sex.\textsuperscript{34} British social worker Madge Bray described her encounter with six-year-old Sandie, who commented on her experience during her rapist’s trial as, “The wiggly worm goes in the tunnel and the sticky glue drips down my legs.”\textsuperscript{35} Vividly, Sandie demonstrates an outlook on sex through the lens of a child who cannot consciously realize sex beyond the confines of limited vocabulary and rudimentary abstract thinking. A plethora of studies indicates


that this form of sexual abuse often leads to troubled adult lives, a concept that justifies establishing age-of-consent laws.\textsuperscript{36}

Domestic violence involves a distinct problem of defining consent in rape. Originally, in the United States, a wife could not bring her husband to trial for raping her because marriage laws assumed limitless consent between partners. Married women held little political power and were subject to their husbands’ whims. After women proclaimed themselves as entities independent from their husbands in the 1980s, the “spousal exemption” was finally lifted.\textsuperscript{37} In Taiwan, marriage practices echo historic American marriages. As Confucianism binds couples sexually through strong encouragements from family members to produce an heir, both men and women find themselves unable to leave their abusive partnerships. To end their marriage, regardless of violence, would be to destroy their family connections and thus their own sense of self.\textsuperscript{38} Though the United States and Taiwan are gradually improving legislation surrounding victims of domestic abuse, challenges to social reforms for intimate sexual relations persist.

Finally, wartime rape denotes a special form of sexual harm. Trauma from war is often viewed by rape victims and non-rape victims alike as a shared tragedy in which victims can find solidarity with each other.\textsuperscript{39} But rape during war can produce symptoms much like other forms of rape. While survivors of war rape often share a loss of national, ethnic or religious identity, survivors also feel on another level the pain of losing one’s personal self. As law professor Jennifer J. Llewellyn argues, the idea that survivors of military rape are less traumatized by rape

\textsuperscript{38} Friedman, “Adjudicating the Intersection of Marital Immigration, Domestic Violence, and Spousal Murder,” 226.
\textsuperscript{39} Brison, \textit{Aftermath}, 15.
than other rape victims is a “mistaken presumption that simply inhabiting a common social space makes it possible for victims to hear one another and to recognize their common experience.”

Aggressive nation-states employ rape as a means of “social control” that nullifies consent of the individual victim and reduces the agency of survivors to seek prosecution or treatment. This restriction of available aid for survivors erects greater challenges to achieving recognition for trauma after rape. Indeed, rape in wartime has long been presumed to be a national aberration since the Geneva Conventions, yet the international community has only recently begun to enact claims of rape as a personal trauma since the mid-1990s.

The global effort to expand human rights continues to be marred by the difficulty in representing wartime rape as a multifaceted trauma. In one of the most devastating massacres in history, Japanese soldiers during the Nanjing Massacre raped and killed tens of thousands of Chinese women. Cultural stereotypes were projected onto these women, which led to a loss of autonomy in self-representation. One account reads: “We played with the daughters as if they were whores…,” demonstrating what Sino-historian Timothy Brooks calls a “politically motivated simplification that shows utter contempt for the victims of Japanese aggression.”

---

41 Sutter, “List: States where rape is most common.”
44 Paterson, “When rape became a war crime (hint: It’s not when you think).”
However, trauma in the “Rape of Nanjing” was further compounded by the loss of national identity. Women raped in Nanjing were debased by the subsequent trials of Japanese war criminals. Survivor Wen Sunshi recounted how she and six other women were taken from a crowd of refugees and one-by-one raped by Japanese soldiers. Wen suggested that her association with the defeated Chinese identity produced a special destruction of her sense of self because the soldiers shamed her for her nationality. The “Rape of Nanjing” underscores how an “atrocity must be nested within a larger narrative to which it imparts coherence.” In wartime rape, survivors remake their experience as a dual loss of identity, recovering from losses in both personal self-representation and national identity.

Regardless of its cultural background or form, rape induces a traumatic aftermath to one’s identity. Psychologists A. Nicholas Groth and Ann Wolbert Burgess reported that rape “may symbolize...something they [rapists] want to conquer or defeat. The assault is an act of retaliation, an expression of power, and an assertion of their strength or manhood.” Rapists corrupt survivors’ actions and thoughts by exerting power over the ability to self-represent. A survivor’s sense of self, therefore, transforms as they resist rape and the power of the rapist to dominate. Across different cultures and situations, victims of rape report a range of symptoms: physical pain such as migraines, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and genital injuries; psychological harm including post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and long-term low self-esteem; social disturbances including strained relationships with family and friends, and

low contact with others; and even risky health-related behaviors including high-risk sexual
behavior, use of substances, and engagement in criminal activity."\(^{51}\) These symptoms not only
encompass physical harm, but also psychological and social injuries. Invisible symptoms reveal
that trauma from rape is the loss of control over both one’s body and mind. As control
disappears, a survivor’s sense of self changes.

Ann Wolbert Burgess and Linda Lytle Holmstrom describe these symptoms as “rape
trauma syndrome” (RTS). In the first “acute” phase of RTS, victims’ lives are disrupted and
generally involve stress response symptoms lasting days, weeks or months. In the second
“reorganization” phase, the victim learns to rebuild their lifestyle and regain control over their
life after rape, which can take several weeks or months, or is never attained.\(^{52}\) Modern
psychologists have added a third, in-between phase to RTS. The “underground phase” covers the
duration of the rape victim’s attempts to block out the rape in order to minimize its impact.
However, most victims find that in attempting to elude rape, they in fact place more stress on
themselves by ignoring treatment for their symptoms.\(^{53}\)

It is necessary to point out here that contemporary frameworks utilize PTSD rather than
RTS. PTSD can clarify trauma symptoms endured by the survivor to others who otherwise
cannot comprehend the effects of RTS. Many individuals who have experienced trauma either in
combat or from rape confront similar symptoms, with the exception that RTS can involve sexual

\(^{51}\) “Sexual Violence: Consequences,” *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.* See also Luo,
“MARRYING MY RAPIST?!” and Lenore E. Walker, *Abused Women and Survivor Therapy: A Practical

\(^{52}\) Ann Wolbert Burgess, “Rape Trauma Syndrome” in *Rape and Society,* ed. Patricia Searles and Ronald

\(^{53}\) “Rape Trauma Syndrome,” *King County Sexual Assault Resource Center* (Renton, WA: 2017),
accessed November 18, 2017, 1-2,
symptoms such as sexual dysfunction. From a cognitive-behavioral therapy standpoint, survivors also remedy their symptoms in the same manner, reducing environmental factors that could re-traumatize the victim and extending emotional support. However, RTS can be considered a more specific form of PTSD that allows the survivor to overcome legal hurdles. In examining the extent of trauma in rape, court physicians can determine if an alleged victim is truly experiencing RTS, which can justify certain symptoms like fear of sexual activity to juries. Determinations by medical professionals in courts can aid survivors legally by supporting their claims of abuse. Hence, RTS can be considered a more specialized diagnosis for rape survivors than PTSD, though modern scholars may vary in their use of terminology.

Data from Burgess’s and Holmstrom’s study of 92 female rape survivors affirmed that the trauma from rape can derive from any of its many forms. Survivors between the ages of 3 and 73 in the Boston area revealed trauma from pedophilia, stranger rape, and intimate partner violence. Burgess and Holmstrom moreover noted the prevalence of victims’ geographic relocations after rape as a consequence of environmental factors stigmatizing rape victims. They argued that these socio-political contexts pressure victims in different ways, suggesting that trauma in rape increases or decreases in intensity depending on a survivor’s cultural conditions.

Even after the lived experience of rape has ended, victims experiencing RTS may stagnate at one stage or move fluidly from one stage to another throughout their recovery.

---

55 Yu Yip and Yuen, “Rape Trauma Syndrome.”
58 King County Sexual Assault Resource Center.
Several longitudinal studies on rape victims reveal that symptoms can continue months or years after the violence. Fears of being alone and in the dark are shown to be highly prevalent one month after the assault, transforming into fears of testifying in court and suffocation twelve months after the assault. Though symptoms change forms over time, victims face significant hurdles to combating fears due to the continuum of rape’s effects. One victim recounted in detail how she secured herself at night years after the traumatic event:

> It’s been three years and I still won’t get in an elevator alone or go out alone unless it is very necessary. When I enter my apartment I don’t dead bolt it till I get my knife out and check everywhere -- under the bed, in the show, in the closets. Then I deadbolt the door. I do this two or three times a night. I don’t enjoy walking anymore. I never had these problems before I was raped...I’m scared I will be like this forever.

Psychologist Patricia A. Resick further found that the recovery of rape survivors was significantly longer in duration than victims of accidental trauma such as car accidents or natural disasters. Rape victims typically exhibit psychological symptoms in the first several weeks, before these symptoms subside. Then, after several months, these symptoms may return in strength.

---


A pioneer in psychological studies of rape victims, Patricia A. Resick comments that many longitudinal studies contain initial sample biases and, at the time of her publication, refers to Kilpatrick et al.’s study as the sole unbiased experiment concluding that rape holds long-term effects years post-crime. Her commentary of the field of victimization studies can be found on page 225 of her article, “The Psychological Impact of Rape” (1993). While agreeing with Resick, I provide an additional caveat to her notes, pointing out here that Kilpatrick et al.’s study used only women subjects and did not take into account any male or transgender victims.


61 Victims of accidental trauma, i.e. “non-victims,” are defined as individual persons who have experienced trauma such as car accidents and natural disasters that do not involve an active perpetrator. Dr. Resick’s
Resurfacing symptoms and their strength reflects a rape survivor’s resilience level.

Resilience is defined by the American Psychological Association (APA) as “the process of adapting well in the face of adversity, trauma, tragedy, threats or significant sources of stress.”\(^6^2\)

Trauma theorist Michael Ungar proposes that trauma survivors will recover if their development of resilience positively progresses; however, victims may regress and even gain heightened fears of rape-related situations months after their trauma if their coping mechanisms only focus on one aspect of their trauma. Ungar cites mothers who experienced child sexual abuse to demonstrate his claim. Mothers who developed strengths in parenting did not always develop a coping strategy to address their depression from child sexual abuse. Because they did not develop resilience against sexual abuse, these mothers continued experiencing trauma long after they had regained confidence in motherhood.\(^6^3\) Ungar’s study shows that the effects of rape are not only widespread, but that recovery models for survivors may require specialized treatment specific to the victim’s symptoms.

Differences in symptoms between survivors arise from different cultural rape myths, defined as environmental conditions that normalize aspects of the rape experience.\(^6^4\) Rape myths in both countries bolster the misleading assumption that the victims of rape are at fault for rape. Common rape myths in the United States include “husbands can’t rape their wives,” “women

---


enjoy rape,” “women ask to be raped,” and “women lie about being raped.”65 All together, these myths project women in the American context as desiring rape, nullifying survivors’ feelings of disgust, fear, or shame. In Taiwan, women are told, “You should be careful,” “Don’t dress too sexy,” and “Don’t be alone at night,” purporting a similar myth of victim-blaming.66 Yet although there are commonalities in American and Taiwanese rape myths, mainly their notion that victims are to blame, a closer look at the cultural and historical contexts of rape myths in both countries reveals more subtle yet important differences in both countries' rape cultures.

Rape myths draw strength from invading all aspects of society as given truths, which are reiterated by social institutions and individuals in a culture. Philosopher Michel Foucault expresses this ability for power to invade all aspects of society in the following way:

Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere. And ‘Power’, in so far as it is permanent, repetitious, inert, and self-reproducing, is simply the overall effect that emerges from all these mobilities, the concatenation that rests on each of them and seeks in turn to arrest their movement.67

Arguing against the idea of a top-down hierarchy, which has historically been seen as the dominant model for societies to assert social norms, Foucault’s description of power presents a network of relations diffused throughout society. Rape myths become powerful in a given context because they exist in the structure of a culture itself. Ironically, Foucault failed to understand his own role in purporting rape myths within a web of power. In the nineteenth

---

century, a young girl called Sophie Adams was molested by a forty-year old man named Charles Jouy, who was diagnosed as mentally stunted. Foucault rejected the idea that Adams was “raped,” explaining that Adams’ hysteria following her rape was exaggerated. He claimed that Adams had misunderstood “typical male and adult patterns of epistemic arrogance.” But feminist Linda Alcoff criticized Foucault for his inability to distinguish rape myths from true rape. She argued that the voices of victimized children are often forgotten in the context of rape, and Foucault himself falls prey to the rape matrix by overlooking the survivor’s personal interpretation of trauma. The power of rape arises from rape myths in a given culture’s structure; in Foucault’s case, rape myths could exist because misogyny prevailed.

Rape myths are furthermore recycled throughout a society that sustains these relationships of power degrading the survivor’s experience. Sociologist Cecilia Menjívar highlights how the recycling of rape myths can have adverse effects on survivors, commenting, “[V]iolence constitutes a process, one that is embedded in the everyday lives of those who experience it.” For Menjívar, repetition of violence ensures eventual acceptance of normalized rape culture and denial of trauma even to the survivor themselves. The frequency in which rape myths are recycled throughout a culture strengthens and weakens RMA accordingly. RMA evolves from sex-role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, and acceptance towards interpersonal violence in a survivor’s environment, and high RMA environments discredit the survivor’s experience by assessing their trauma as illegitimate. Correlating with a high rate of acceptance of rape myths, rape can transform from violence to an everyday action. For the

---

survivor, high RMA destroys the validity of their traumatization because trauma in rape is normalized.\footnote{Burt, “Cultural Myths and Supports for Rape.”}

Rape becomes perceived in a specific way to one’s culture, causing trouble for the survivor who experiences the real rape that is unlike their culture’s presumed rape scenario. Among all cases of rape, in the United States or Taiwan, in child abuse or domestic violence, the “absence of the victim’s will and consent” remains an underlying characteristic.\footnote{Aggrawal, Forensic and Medico-legal Aspects of Sexual Crimes and Unusual Sexual Practices, 201.} Consent drives an undercurrent of mutual acceptance for sexual interaction, soliciting a need for two independent entities to engage in dialogue for a pleasurable experience. However, while rape always involves a lack of consent, cultures perceive trauma in rape differently because the production and enforcement of rape myths is dependent on historical conditions. A meta-analysis of existing studies on American rape myths shows that Americans subscribe to rape myths proportionally to their race, gender, class, and other social categories.\footnote{Allison C. Aosved and Patricia J. Long, “Co-occurrence of Rape Myth Acceptance, Sexism, Racism, Homophobia, Ageism, Classism, and Religious Intolerance,” Sex Roles 55, no. 7-8 (2016): 481–492, DOI: 10.1007/s11199-006-9101-4.} They previously thought of rape as both a “black man raping a white woman” crime and a property crime in which the victim is the dependent partner in causing rape, entangling social identities with historical expectations of victimization.\footnote{Pamela Haag, Consent: Sexual Rights and the Transformation of American Liberalism (London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 143.} Taiwan, on the other hand, draws from rape myths entrenched in strict sex roles that restrict the female survivor in seeking out adequate help from family and friends from their emphasis on chastity and silence when handling sexual matters.\footnote{Marietta Sze-chie Fa, Rape Myths in American and Chinese Laws and Legal Systems: Do Tradition and Culture Make the Difference? (Baltimore: Maryland Series in Contemporary Asian Studies, Inc., University of Maryland School of Law, 2007), 3.} The “virgin woman” is the ideal wife for both the husband’s and woman’s family, and collective peace ranks

---

\footnote{Burt, “Cultural Myths and Supports for Rape.”}
\footnote{Aggrawal, Forensic and Medico-legal Aspects of Sexual Crimes and Unusual Sexual Practices, 201.}
\footnote{Pamela Haag, Consent: Sexual Rights and the Transformation of American Liberalism (London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 143.}
higher than individual justice. Each culture prescribe typical victim roles for rape survivors, either the American white woman owned by her husband or the Taiwanese virgin woman who never asked for sex. Problematically, those who don’t fit into idealized categories of victimhood are rejected by their cultures which do not allow for any grey moral zones.

Though the scope is broader than domestic violence and includes all forms of rape, domestic violence scholar Lenore E. A. Walker’s voice rings true: “Culture is not a cause of domestic violence, but it can have an impact on the level of tolerance of the violence and how the violence is expressed.” Cultural views on rape impact the victim’s ability to recover by widening the chasm between the perceived “typical” rape and the actual experience of rape. Victims find that their cultural upbringings, which facilitate and recycle rape myths, create this typical rape experience and deny the true harms impacting the survivor’s physical, psychological, and social well-being in sexual violence.

Treatment models for rape have consistently relied on Western notions of sexual acceptance. Non-Western scholars often look towards the United States and other Western cultures to produce comprehensive rape law and treatment models, but these changes at times suppress certain aspects to reform. For example, Taiwanese rape law followed the American pattern of feminists advocating for reform in sexual violence law, but hardly considered the historical factors that led to the need for reform of rape law in the first place. Lawmakers in

---


Taiwan condensed sexual assault to a crime against women instead of carefully evaluating the definition of a sexual offender and victim. Gaps in Taiwanese rape law therefore exist in understanding rape as not only a violent crime, but also rape as an invasion of selfhood regardless of gender. The haphazard development of Taiwanese culture in reforming socio-legal opinions on rape exposes the delicate imbalance between incorporating Western values on rape recovery and addressing specific rape myths in a culture.

Intrepid ventures in multicultural studies for treatment of trauma are beginning to emerge in Western countries, which can aid in the change in treatment models in becoming more culturally sensitive. Counselors in the United States have begun considerations for their clients’ national, ethnic and religious identities, acknowledging the importance of seeking treatment appropriate to one’s situation. Recognition that one’s perspective of rape can change according to cultural upbringing encourages a dialogue between cultures to form a localized rape recovery model.

Treatment for rape survivors may require a second look to see if non-Western recovery plans address other cultures’ rape myths. Preliminary studies into Eastern cultures, namely Taiwan, indicate that there are indeed differences in the reactions of survivors as compared with symptoms of American survivors. Though trauma from rape is generally known, an analysis of the specific cultural factors that inhibit the recovery process is needed to improve standards for treatment of rape survivors around the world. The context of any given rape scenario is critical,

---

79 Lin, “Failing to Achieve the Goal,” 3.
80 Ratts et al., “Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies,” 5-6
82 Luo, “MARRYING MY RAPIST?!?” 582.
as it determines the conditions to which an individual can respond to rape appropriately according that community.\textsuperscript{83}

In the following chapters, I examine American and Taiwanese culture to explicate the historical and philosophical influences on the rape survivor. Rape myths of each culture as well as current changing notions of rape will be discussed in order to differentiate the needs of Western and non-Western survivors. This thesis brings attention to the lack of in-depth studies towards treatments from cultures other than the United States and serve as one of the beginning calls to helping survivors of all backgrounds.

\textsuperscript{83} Deer, \textit{The Beginning and End of Rape}, 10.
Chapter Two: History

No matter what time or place in history, rape produces trauma. Historically situated rape myths, rape law, and social movements tie the victim to a specific culture that shapes their conceptualizations of rape. State-operated and non-state institutions sustain social norms concerning rape in a given moment by reinforcing the network of relations based on historical assumptions about rape. Because recovery involves access to treatment compatible with survivors’ cultural backgrounds, examining how a culture’s archetypal victim was constructed and changed throughout history can illuminate how trauma is inflicted by cultural factors on the true rape survivor today.

Rape myths become a form of secondary trauma because they reiterate misconceptions and stigmas against survivors, and instigate socio-legal repercussions for discussing sexual violence. An introductory study to non-Western RMA prevalence noted that non-Western countries varied in their gender role expectations and that these differences in gender roles influenced the extent to which individuals opted into rape myths. While some of this evidence remains too cursory to apply generally to the field of sexual violence studies, the findings suggest that examining traditions of certain cultures can isolate the origins of rape myths and their manifestations in law and society. In determining these origins, we may be able to distill the reasons why survivors and those around them are affected by these historically placed myths. Furthermore, in distinguishing the history behind sexual violence of each culture, we add to the

84 Ku, “RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE,” 158.
growing body of evidence suggesting a need for localized treatment that matches victims’ cultural backgrounds.

This chapter begins with American attitudes towards rape. Because most literature on rape has been written by Western authors, situating the rape experience in the United States allows us to illustrate multiple social influences that may impact trauma levels. Thereafter, we discuss Taiwanese historical views on rape as a parallel to the American view. Though it must be noted that Taiwan has been heavily influenced by American culture in the last forty years, Taiwan has its own brand of rape myths that circumscribe a distinct Taiwanese trauma. Both discussions may contribute to the greater question of local treatment that considers the rape survivor’s own cultural attitudes toward rape.

A. “The All-American Crime”

Susan Griffin’s “Rape: the All-American Crime” (1979) brought forward the idea of a normative rape economy in American society. Griffin challenged the then-held assumption that only those who “asked for it” or those who secretly wanted to be raped would in fact be raped, circumventing the idea of isolated incidents of sexual violence to unmask the institutional problems in understanding it. She exposed how the rape experience was normalized through biased assumptions about sexual violence, i.e. rape myths. Rape could be considered an “all-American” crime for its pervasive attack in all levels of American society, and everyone could be considered a responsible bystander for reinforcing social norms accepting rape.

---

85 Luo, “MARRYING MY RAPIST?!” 583.
This economy of recycling rape myths subverted the American image of a culturally accepting society towards victims of sexual trauma. Feminists in the 1970s defined American society as a “rape culture,” asserting that Americans endorsed “a complex set of beliefs that encourages male sexual aggression and supports violence against women.” However, some Americans in modern times are gradually becoming aware of the implications of rape culture, refuting the claim that rape is “just sex.” They instead denounce rape as violence that attacks an individual--especially women--for simply operating in a given rape-normative space as a person identifying with a minority gender or sexuality.

The creation of this rape-normative environment can be traced back to the country’s inception, when social discrimination stemming from European imperialism established norms reconfiguring rape. Early Americans encouraged white men’s control over minority bodies and took autonomy away from (oftentimes) minority survivors. Foucault marks this control over bodies as a form of “biopower” in which authorities in a given society manipulate its population to assert dominance. Though it should be noted that very few historians who recount rape in America concentrate on the treatment of victims, historical records provide clues to how social divisions such as race and gender strengthen two predominant rape myths in the United States: the myth of the “black man raping the white woman” and the myth of “wanting” rape.

The myth of the “black man raping the white woman” derives from racial discrimination towards enslaved and free blacks throughout all regions of the United States. Black men have been historically targeted more than white men for having committed sexual violence against victims, who were stereotyped as white women. Between 1700 and 1820, 174 men were accused

---

87 Buchwald et al., *Transforming a Rape Culture*, 174-175.  
88 Buchwald et al., *Transforming a Rape Culture*, 174-175.  
89 Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 140.
of raping a woman, and of those, 142 men were black, accounting for over 80% of those brought to trial. Yet the population census showed that white men outnumbered black men, including slaves, during this time. For example, Connecticut counted African-Americans as 3% of their total population; however, nearly one-third of the state’s rape trials involved black men. Though recordings of African-Americans as people may have been skewed depending on their free or enslaved status, the large percentage of blacks brought to trial strongly suggests that race was a major factor in determining if an individual committed a sexual crime.

Enslaved men who were accused of rape faced great hurdles legally, illuminating an inherent racial bias when accusing people of color of rape. Before emancipation, a majority of American states enacted separate “slave courts” that paralleled criminal courts of the white population, with one crucial difference. Only a majority from the jury was required to convict a black man of rape while the white criminal mandated a unanimous decision. The stark contrast between the two courts augmented the rate of conviction to 84% for enslaved men, whether or not they in fact committed rape. In comparison, white men accused of rape concluded with a mere 35% guilty verdict rate. Subsequent perceptions of sexual violence utilized widespread animosity towards blacks in the courtroom to fashion a racially charged rape myth.

Language surrounding African-Americans on trial reinforced racial categorizations that led to their association with sexual violence. Newspapers often documented men on trial for rape yet used different terminology to describe rapists depending on their racial identity. For the black man, defendants were often written off as “Negro” while their victims were seen as the “white

---

91 Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*, 171.
92 Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*, 170.
93 Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*, 192.
woman” or “white child,” emphasizing skin color differences that later translated into the image of black men as rapists. Blacks who stood on trial defended against charges of “rape” while their white counterparts, in often noncapital courts, withstood accusations of “assault,” singularly avoiding any mention of sexual misconduct. Accused white men usually remained unnamed in media and their victims written off silently as “woman.” In early American courtrooms, light skin erased any lingual association with sexual violence.\textsuperscript{94}

Perceived hypersexuality of blacks during this time reiterated the archetypal “myth of the black rapist.”\textsuperscript{95} In one of the clearest examples of racial stereotyping, Negro minstrelsy was a nineteenth century American theatrical show intended to amuse white audiences with a romanticized and outlandish version of black culture. Minstrel shows mocked the African-American male as linguistically incapable, vain and gaudy, and highly enamored by women, fawning constantly over them yet failing to achieve a successful courtship.\textsuperscript{96} A guidebook to Negro minstrelsy outlined commonly told jokes, including one entitled “Sweet Kisser,” that stereotyped the black man as simultaneously oblivious to sexual acts and promiscuous:

\begin{quote}
End. [portrayed by a white man dressed as a black man] - That girl of yours is a sweet kisser.
Mid. [portrayed by a white man dressed as a black man] - How do you know?
End. - Oh, I had it right from her own lips.\textsuperscript{97}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{94} Block, \textit{Rape and Sexual Power in Early America}, 200-201.
\textsuperscript{95} Block, \textit{Rape and Sexual Power in Early America}, 165.
\textsuperscript{96} Phillip Cushman, \textit{Constructing the self, constructing America: A cultural history of psychotherapy} (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1996), 43-47.
\textsuperscript{97} Jack Haverly, \textit{Negro minstrels : a complete guide to Negro minstrelsy, containing recitations, jokes, crossfires, conundrums, riddles, stump speeches, ragtime and sentimental songs, etc., including hints on organizing and successfully presenting a performance} (Chicago: Frederick J. Drake & Company, 1902), 15.
Even during the uplift of black status in the Harlem Renaissance, cultural studies scholar Shane Vogel argues that black cabaret performers were observed through the lens of “snow blindness” in which white audiences projected whitewashed versions of black culture on stage. Audience members were segregated, preventing black viewers from participating in performances of their own culture. Despite the prominence of African-Americans on stage, black voices remained at the margins of theatre. Representations of African-Americans in public spaces demonstrate the profound prejudice against blacks for their supposed hypersexuality, lending themselves easily to the creation of racially-motivated rape myths.98

Prejudice against non-white populations extended to other racial groups, revealing that the myth of the black man as the rapist at times enjoined not only African-Americans but also other non-whites. Among indigenous populations such as the Mvskoke (Creek) in pre-colonial times, native communities acknowledged the need for women’s consent in sexual relations and straddled gender roles in a “nonbinary complementary dualism” in which identities blurred and blended together masculine and feminine roles.99 The change in non-binary gender roles emerged with European colonization, when tribal women were forced into sex with European men as a survival mechanism. Legal scholar Sarah Deer argues that, since white Europeans shaped America’s nation status, indigenous populations have lost the ability to freely exist in a safe, rape-free environment. Notably, the United States government has yet to apologize for these past attacks on indigenous communities, resulting in continual silence for raped tribal women.100

Past fears of foreign invasion of European-American values have also lent itself to racial discrimination. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a large increase in Asian laborers

98 Shane Vogel, *The Scene of Harlem Cabaret* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 82.
100 Deer, *The Beginning and End of Rape*, 44
entered the United States seeking work, mainly single men who sought a new life. A gradual increase in labor competition between white and Asian men led to a nationalistic fear of losing jobs to foreigners. Consequently, Japanese, Filipino, and other South/East Asian workers were demonized in an attempt to reassert the white man’s authority at work. They were called rapists and judged for their supposed attempts to seduce European immigrants or white women.\textsuperscript{101} The association between race and rape hints that sexual violence in the United States has long been situated as a perceived threat to Anglo-American homogeneity.

Many Americans today continue to accept the rape myth association between race and rape. Statistics by the Bureau of Justice estimate that the rate of rapists among white and black populations in the United States is sustained at an almost equal percentage.\textsuperscript{102} SUNY Albany professors add that interracial rape is a macrostructural issue dependent on the degree of interactions between white women and black men, classifying rape as a class and spatial problem, not a common crime among a particular set of people. The data suggests that there is no such concept of a natural rapist based on race; rather, social discriminations against certain races influences the rate of sexual violence within and between certain racial populations.\textsuperscript{103} However, studies on rape continue to demarcate differences between racial classifications. For example, the Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network (RAINN), responsible for managing the national sexual assault hotline and research studies on sexual violence, reported a greater percentage of the white population committing rape.\textsuperscript{104} Many Americans also continue to associate sexual relations with

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{101} Shah, \textit{Stranger Intimacy}, 20.
\textsuperscript{102} “Sex Offenses and Offenders,” Office of Justice Programs, \textit{U.S. Department of Justice}, last modified February 6, 1997, accessed February 27, 2018, 11, https://bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/SOO.PDF.
\end{flushright}
racial criminality in social settings. Remarks by Donald Trump at the executive level stereotype Mexicans as “rapists” for their perceived criminal intimacies.\textsuperscript{105} Rape is thus inherently tied to racism in the United States.

The second rape myth of “wanting” to be raped came from the notion of rape as a property crime, materialized through racial and gender discrimination. Non-white bodies have historically been controlled by the state, either through social manipulation by white-dominated institutions or through direct slavery. In particular, female African-American slaves were ridiculed for their perceived large lips and noses, positioned as outsiders because of their physical bodies. White men also concocted black women’s personalities, believing that they commonly manipulated men into showering them with gifts. Black women were seen as “slow-witted, lazy, ugly, vain, unclean, crude, and very sexual.”\textsuperscript{106} These unflattering characteristics conveyed the myth that black women “want” to be raped, erasing the possibility of black women’s choice in sexual affairs.

Like African-American slaves, indigenous peoples were taken as a property and exploited by white American men. Many native people were held captive by slavery, viewed as naturally lesser than European descendants. An estimated two to four million indigenous people were traded as slaves between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. While a majority of male indigenous slaves were kept for manual or domestic labor, or even mediators between parties of different cultures, many masters took advantage of their female captives, either raping their women slaves themselves or forcing indigenous women to marry and reproduce. Especially


\textsuperscript{106} Cushman, \textit{Constructing the self}, 43-47.
evident of the desire to have sexual relations with indigenous slaves was the high discrepancy of women to men. South Carolina in 1708 tellingly showed that indigenous women were three to five times more likely to be captured than men. Although it is difficult to determine slaves’ thoughts surrounding sexual intercourse with their masters, the significant discrepancy between white and non-white control over bodies and consent make it plausible that minorities would disagree strongly with the myth of victims “wanting” to be raped.107

White women were also expected to be subservient to the male dominated society. Alongside their African-American and indigenous sisters, white female victims were required to prove that they had been raped and not seduced, recounting their trauma to male jurors in graphic detail. In 1808, Sylvia Patterson was accused by the jury of being married to a man with six wives and having venereal disease from association with prostitutes. Jurors capitalized on Sylvia’s perceived ‘deviancy’ rather than her story of rape, reflecting how justice for minorities was oftentimes barricaded by racism and sexism.108

Sylvia’s case highlights how property laws can transcend human rights in rape-normative environments. Wives were the property of their husbands, and all accusations of rape could be settled through arbitrary means, such as monetary compensation to the wife’s husband. Material gain became more important than justice for minority groups.109 Trauma is thus amplified by

womanhood. Gender as a social identity grants white American men with the ammunition to
manipulate women into remaining silent about their rape and projects an image of women
secretly “wanting” a violent sexual encounter.\footnote{Smith, Encyclopedia of Rape, 21-22.}

The myth of “wanting it” developed further through the image of the sexually
promiscuous woman. Clothes worn by women are often associated with sexual criminality, and
questions such as “What were you wearing?” or “Did you lead him on?” can be found embedded
throughout autobiographical accounts and police reports. This association suggests that a victim
is typically first blamed before believed in rape.\footnote{Alanna Vagianos, “Art Exhibit Powerfully Answers The Question ‘What Were You Wearing?’,” Huffington Post, published September 14, 2017, last modified September 15, 2017, accessed September 15, 2017, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/powerful-art-exhibit-powerfully-answers-the-question-what-were-you-wearing_us_59badd2e4b02da0e1405d2a.} If an article of clothing is particularly
revealing, the female victim is defamed for having worn clothing that entices men. They become,
in essence, “sluts” and “whores” for simply making a choice. But as sex worker activist Chi
Adanna Mgbako comments, “[A]ll people have human rights regardless of subjective
determinations of worthiness.”\footnote{Chi Adanna Mgbako, To Live Freely in This World: Sex Worker Activism in Africa (New York: New York University Press, 2016), 145.} No matter what race, what personality, or what clothing, all
forms of rape induce trauma and is never desirable.

The "What were you wearing? Survivor Art Installation" at the University of Arkansas
revealed a profoundly construed interpretation of a rape survivor’s clothing that enforces the
myth of “asking for (violent) sex.” Gathering stories from 40 survivors, clothes of what each
victim wore at the time of their attack unmasked the prevalence of victim-blaming in American
culture. A swimsuit, a sundress, even jeans and t-shirt were worn at the time of victims’ rapes,
and they show that clothing is irrelevant when the rapist is deciding who to rape. Yet
victim-blaming because of clothing persists. Survivors shy away from confronting their attacker
and instead blame themselves for their trauma because many Americans continue to denounce
minority survivors, predominantly women, for everyday choices.  

American rape culture assumes that women require the rational male intellect in order to
stave off sexual ‘deviancy’ like wearing revealing clothes. The dependent status of women on
men drew from Enlightenment influences. Count Cesare di Beccaria, a reformist thinker who
influenced John Adams and several other prominent early Americans, wrote in *An Essay on
Crimes and Punishments* that women witnesses to crimes were necessary to judge the immoral
act. Regardless of their gender, anyone could stand trial if they provided critical testimony to
serious crimes. Accordingly, he wrote:

> Every man of common sense, that is, every one whose ideas have
> some connexion with each other, and whose sensations are
> conformable to those of other men, may be a witness.  

Yet Beccaria followed his logic with a critique of women’s ability to provide accurate
testimony in matters of sexual crimes. In the case that a woman is “seduced through weakness, or
overcome by force,” Beccaria believed that the raped woman who became pregnant has a choice
between killing her illegitimate child, becoming “a being who is incapable of feeling the loss of
life,” or keeping the child, becoming an sexually deviant woman. If she chooses to keep her
progeny, the woman is perceived to have gone against the rational mind, as protecting the

---

113 Vagianos, “Art Exhibit Powerfully Answers The Question ‘What Were You Wearing?’”
115 Beccaria, *An Essay on Crimes and Punishments*
116 Beccaria, *An Essay on Crimes and Punishments*
illegitimate child means she protects adulterous acts, even as a victim of externally-imposed trauma. She is depicted as emotionally unstable, incapable of providing accurate testimony.\textsuperscript{117}

This representation of women as unstable laid the foundation for the myth that women can decide for or against their natural instinct, and entrenched dependency in judicial courts on ‘rational’ men’s testimonies. In the courtroom, descriptions of a survivor’s rape were obligatory to establish the legitimacy of an accusation, despite obvious problems in reliving traumatic experiences. Christiana Waggoner of Pennsylvania in 1783 described how a man held her off the ground, where his hands were on her body, how he strangled her, and how he kept her petticoat up and legs apart with his knee. But although Waggoner testified with highly specific details, the jury rejected her story and set her rapist free. The jury had expected Waggoner to be traumatized to a point where she could not recount what had happened.\textsuperscript{118} Lingering effects of Puritan propriety reflect the “double-bind authenticity” in which rape victims cannot be trusted both because they are too hysterical to accurately describe their trauma or because they are too sensible and therefore deemed coherent enough to “want” sex.\textsuperscript{119} Those falling in the latter category who bring their rapist to trial were seen as vengeful. A New York lawyer once summarized a jury’s sentiment: “You all know how strong the passion of revenge exists in a female breast.”\textsuperscript{120}

In a modern-day example of the rape myth of “wanting rape,” Tina recalled that she had sat on a subway staring at a stranger who vaguely reminded her of her father. Only a few short subway stops later, Tina was raped by said stranger. Instead of immediately blaming her rapist

\textsuperscript{117} Beccaria, \textit{An Essay on Crimes and Punishments}
\textsuperscript{118} Block, \textit{Rape and Sexual Power in Early America}, 188.
\textsuperscript{119} Louise du Toit, \textit{A Philosophical Investigation of Rape} (New York: Routledge, 2009), 39.
\textsuperscript{120} Block, \textit{Rape and Sexual Power in Early America}, 185.
for the unexpected attack, Tina, after reflection, believed that she had led him on. “Maybe I did
lead him [the rapist] on by staring at him,” she said. Leading him on, she revealed, was
preferable to simply being a woman who could be attacked at any time because it handed agency
in controlling her surroundings back to Tina.\textsuperscript{121} Susan Brison, a philosopher and herself a
survivor of sexual assault, explains this phenomenon, writing:

> Those who haven’t been sexually violated may have difficulty understanding why women who survive assault often blame themselves, and may wrongly attribute it to a sex-linked trait of masochism or lack of self-esteem. They don’t know that it can be less painful to believe that you did something blameworthy than it is to think that you live in a world where you can be attacked at any time, in any place, simply because you are a woman.\textsuperscript{122}

But the victim is not at fault for rape, though thoughts that one was somehow responsible persist. In addition to being a personal attack, rape is a structural issue through the recycling of rape myths. This cyclic violence distorts how survivors reflect on their experience, and survivors who experience victimization through rape culture, like women in America, cannot be blamed for their trauma. Deer’s reflection on recent legislative changes summarily recognizes the difficulty in understanding the multiplicity of rape:

> Rape does not happen in a vacuum; it is an individual manifestation of a larger societal problem. The challenge, then, is to decolonize rape law by acknowledging this history without allowing perpetrators to minimize personal responsibility.\textsuperscript{123}

Since the cataclysm of sexual violence awareness in the 1970s, Americans have embarked on a journey to shattering rape myths grounded in racial and gender discrimination, and holding rapists accountable for the personal destruction of another person. An urge to

\textsuperscript{121} Richard B. Ulman and Doris Brothers, \textit{The Shattered Self: A Psychoanalytic Study of Trauma} (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1988), 138-139.
\textsuperscript{122} Brison, \textit{Aftermath}, 13.
\textsuperscript{123} Deer, \textit{The Beginning and End of Rape}, 131-132.
reclaim autonomy over oneself arrived in the 1980s with a rise in identity politics that sought to give back control to marginalized communities through self-representation, such as the gay liberation movement and third wave feminism. Modern Americans are gradually shifting towards a view of trauma in rape that accepts victims’ self-identification with any social group including marginalized ones. Legal rights for marginalized identities, while still maintaining differences on the state level, now recognize people of other sexualities beyond the binary. Definitions of rape, rewritten in 2013 by the Department of Justice and FBI, include all genders and all forms of rape, and indicate the change in understanding rape as a societal problem that can attack any individual at any time.

Unlike early America which divided the rape experience according to one’s social classifications, survivors today are more likely to get recognized for their social identity. The rape and murder of Brandon Teena, for example, demonstrated that the conversation of rape applied to transgender individuals as well as cisgender people. In 1993, Brandon Teena was an American female-bodied trans man living in Nebraska. He had hidden his female-bodied self from friends, which, once exposed, led to his rape and murder. Gradual willingness to accept that Brandon was murdered on account of his gender identity suggests a growing acceptance of RTS for victims of all backgrounds. In addition, subsequent rape law in Nebraska has altered since Brandon’s murder, including the clause of “serious personal injury” which permits victims to prosecute based on “[g]reat bodily injury or disfigurement, extreme mental anguish or mental

---

125 Carbon, “AN UPDATED DEFINITION OF RAPE.”
trauma, pregnancy, disease, or loss or impairment of a sexual or reproductive organ.”\textsuperscript{127} Even the enforcement of rape law by Nebraskan police demonstrates the monumental shift in the way Americans think about rape, welcoming LGBT-sensitivity training for all officers since Brandon’s death.\textsuperscript{128}

The number of individuals who self-identify as non-conforming or gender fluid has increased, particularly among the younger generation. A study conducted in 2017 showed that 0.39\% of the American population identified as “transgender,” “transsexual,” or “gender variant,” amounting to approximately one million Americans nationwide.\textsuperscript{129} On college campuses across the nation, many are beginning to change language surrounding gender, incorporating new ideas on identity and sexuality. Mount Holyoke College, for example, has traditionally been an all women’s college, yet in recent years has accepted transgender persons, including in-transition men. During a creative project film, a student demonstrated the transforming view of sexuality as an identity, commenting, “Clumping me as South Asian woman, clumping me as a woman, clumping me as gay or straight, that bothers me.”\textsuperscript{130}

With a rise in people identifying with queer sexualities, historic transformations are underway to band together minority groups against traditional notions of rape. The Women’s


\textsuperscript{130} Sharon Hayes, Ricerche: three, 2013. Single-channel HD video (color, sound; 38:00 minutes). Gift of VIA Art Fund, Inc./Outset Contemporary Art Fund USA, Inc., as part of The International Production Fund.
March of 2017 gathered a diverse crowd of 2.6 million people strong.131 Their original Facebook post directly named marginalized groups, placing victims of rape back onto the national agenda:

[W]omen, immigrants of all statuses, those with diverse religious faiths particularly Muslim, people who identify as LGBTQIA, Native and Indigenous people, Black and Brown people, people with disabilities, the economically impoverished and survivors of sexual assault.132

The official Women’s March statement candidly calls for “ending violence,” writing:

Women deserve to live full and healthy lives, free of all forms of violence against our bodies. We believe in accountability and justice in cases of police brutality and ending racial profiling and targeting of communities of color. It is our moral imperative to dismantle the gender and racial inequities within the criminal justice system.133

Supported by the Women’s March of 2017, MILCK is a powerful icon who represents today’s transformation in bringing together survivors of all identities. The singer wrote “Quiet,” a musical piece dedicated to the stigmas faced predominantly by women, but inclusive of all survivors, and it comments on the institutional problems that facilitate American rape myths. “Quiet” begins with the commonly heard remarks reminiscent of the rape myth of “wanting” rape, “Know your place/Shut up and smile/Don’t spread your legs,” before entering the melodic frame, “No one knows me...If I don’t say something.”134 The chorus sheds light on the shift from remaining silent about rape to speaking up about sexual assault, and it recognizes that holding rapists accountable for their trauma can help survivors reassert their autonomy. Identifying with

---

a particular social group like the Women’s March protesters becomes therapeutic because it returns agency to the survivor. “Quiet” spread rapidly on social media as flash mobs singing MILCK’s words as part of the #icantkeepquiet movement formed a communal bond among all survivors.135

Social media as seen with MILCK has enabled Americans to discuss the effects of rape as a societal problem, initiating changes to institutional problems barring victims from seeking adequate and appropriate treatment. In the now infamous People of the State of California v. Brock Allen Turner trial, victim “Emily Doe” was raped behind a dumpster after a party by Stanford student Brock Turner, who received a six-month sentence on June 2, 2016. Widespread media attention exponentially increased the trial’s visibility. In particular, Palo Alto136 and Buzzfeed published Emily’s impact statement to circulate a refreshingly scathing critique of the criminal justice system that failed to provide her with the support she needed. Americans who read Emily’s letter vocally decried the sentence as too lenient and as a product of institutionalized racism in the American justice system.137

Advancements in media technology have also garnered powerful support for survivors of sexual assault by connecting isolated communities across the United States to each other. Clay Shirky, an expert on internet phenomena, explains the power of modern times’ rapid communication, commenting, “Whenever you improve a group’s ability to communicate

---

internally, you change the things it is capable of.”

On social media, the #metoo movement, which originally began as a community of survivors for survivors, significantly increased awareness of the widespread nature of sexual assault to rural communities and called on lone individuals as well as entire groups to address the epidemic. Although it began in the 1990s by activist Tarana Burke for a different purpose, #metoo has brought together multiple people of different socioeconomic backgrounds by taking advantage of Twitter and Facebook, assembling a community of survivors across all social identities and all geographic spaces to tackle the structural problem of rape.

TIME magazine even named the “Silence Breakers” as 2017’s Person of the Year, demonstrating the shift towards recognizing survivors and their trauma of all forms. In just a few short years, celebrities who have committed sexual violence are no longer safe from the American judicial system. Harvey Weinstein and Aziz Ansari, who were previously incredibly powerful people in the entertainment industry over the last forty years, have been criticized and taken down for their attitudes towards sexual violence, and those who have suffered at their hands now speak up on behalf of their peers.

Improvements in media have led to significant advances socially, encouraging survivors to seek out treatment for rape.

---

In the United States, treatment for survivors focuses on psychological recovery, which empowers survivors to regain control over their identities. Social services for survivors of sexual violence like RAINN and the National Institute of Justice recommend models of treatment that focus on reducing the victim’s environmental triggers, identifying and expressing emotions, and drawing from support groups. These forms of treatment rely on a network of relations in the survivor’s environment, suggestive of the American survivor’s need for others to recognize trauma in order to move forward.

Rape crisis centers (RCCs) as well as domestic violence shelters are growing in numbers across the United States, revealing a swelling support for minority rights. Marital, domestic, and intimate partner violence, as well as previously normative sexual harassment such as those found on-campus and in the workplace, dominate social justice conversations in areas where spousal exemptions were previously accepted. The rising percentages of social services geared towards treatment of sexual assault legally, medically, and socially continue to break assumptions about normative sexual violence.

Social scientist Maria Bevacqua suggests that this conscious raising (CR) towards violence within rape has slowly begun to undermine rape culture in the United States. Survivors can now connect their personal experiences to a political agenda and advocate for radical changes to systemic oppressions found in American society. While it is impossible to predict

---

future outcomes of rape recovery, American survivors can continue tearing down barriers in rape culture by expanding awareness and the ability to communicate with one another.\textsuperscript{145}

From the perspective of a philosopher, Brison writes,

If we are socially constructed, as I believe we are, in large part through our group-based narratives, the self is not a single, unified, coherent entity. Its structure is more chaotic, with harmonious and contradictory aspects, like the particles of an atom, attracting and repelling each other, hanging together in a whirling, ever-changing dance that any attempt at observation—or narration—alters.\textsuperscript{146}

Eloquently phrased, Brison describes the entangled identities of a survivor with others around them. Her statement proposes that the Western self is constructed and performed by one’s environment that either aids or destroys attempts to represent one’s identity. With this in mind, the American survivor reasserts control over self-representation in order to find peace in the contradictions found between the traditionally conceived rape, which are grounded in racial and gender discrimination, and the true trauma of sexual violence that they have lived. Improving relationships can instill a collective mentality towards eradicating American rape culture.

Gradual shifts in discussions of sexual violence may help improve how survivors relate to their trauma, though the full impact of recent events remains to be seen. As current social movements dedicate themselves to speaking up about trauma in rape, and as legal, political, and other culturally constructed barriers are torn down, American survivors may eventually find appropriate treatment by erasing historically situated racial and gender-based rape myths.

\textbf{B. “By purity, one keeps one’s self undefiled; by chastity, one preserves one’s honor.”}\textsuperscript{147}

\textsuperscript{145} Nicola Gavey, \textit{Just Sex?: The Cultural Scaffolding of Rape} (New York: Psychology Press, 2005), 28.
\textsuperscript{146} Brison, \textit{Aftermath}, 95.
Taiwan’s earliest inhabitants were aborigines who came to the small island likely from Southeast Asia or South China several thousand years ago. Sixteen major tribes still live on the island despite its last few centuries’ of colonization, co-existing at times peacefully and at times violently with foreign immigrants who arrived primarily from the Mainland for work or refuge. Today, the Taiwanese government reports approximately 84% of the population as “Taiwanese,” 14% Mainlanders, and 2% Aborigines. The classification “Taiwanese” remains notably distinct for its mixed identity of aboriginal, Mainland Chinese, Japanese, and occasionally European (mostly Dutch) backgrounds.

In writing about Taiwanese culture, one must caution against generalizing its multicultural population. As a people, the Taiwanese often clash with each other politically, economically, and culturally, calling for both its emancipation from and assimilation with Mainland China, supporting yet sometimes denouncing its power as a legitimate nation to the international community. Every definition of Taiwan inflicts a form of violence on some part of the Taiwanese population by suggesting that at least one oppressor in the island’s history has won over the rest of the Taiwanese people. However, it is possible to say that while its colonizers have woven a memory of violent repression into the nation’s history, Taiwan accepts its past as a colonized people and embeds these multiple strands of cultural history into its own unique Taiwanese culture.

148 Copper, Taiwan, 12.
150 Copper, Taiwan, 14.
Because of Taiwan’s multicultural population, multiple beliefs have co-existed at the same time on the island. Taiwanese aborigines, for example, held their own expectations on gender roles that differed from the Dutch or Mainland Chinese. Hakka women worked alongside men in the field and did not bind their feet like Fujianese women.\footnote{152 Denny Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2003), 5-6.} When the Dutch overtook the island in the 1600s, they added another set of social expectations on aboriginal women, forcing aborigine women who were pregnant to abort as part of the Dutch economic agenda to decrease the perceived “uncivilized” population and improve state infrastructure.\footnote{153 Roy, *Taiwan*, 15-16.} Still more views were added as Mainland Buddhists joined the Dutch in Taiwan, building small funeral homes and ancestral grounds that contrasted with Dutch Christianity for their guidelines on gender expectations.\footnote{154 Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: religion and the state, 1660-1990* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999), 4.} These attempts to manipulate the natives were rarely documented; nonetheless they demonstrate that the Taiwanese have historically upheld contrasting views at the same time. Because very little literature exists on the subject of past aboriginal beliefs around sexual violence, I will avoid further discussions on aboriginal culture and redirect attention towards known literature on outsider influences in Taiwan.

The majority of Taiwanese perspectives on rape today draws from Mainland China, with later influences from Japan and the Western world. The Taiwanese see themselves as a part of the broader Chinese culture, and many still hold familial ties to the Mainland or believe that their Taiwanese nationality enables them to connect with Chinese history. Rape myths have thus
centered around dutiful sexual rites and chastity since the Ming arrived on the island between 1368 and 1644.155

Sexual rites are important to the Taiwanese as they provide guidelines to one’s expected role in a harmonious society and implement a powerful resolve to keep conflicts like rape quiet. The first Ming Emperor Ming Taizu established quasi-central control over the Chinese through two forms of legislation: the Code,156 which dictated legal sanctions including punishments, and the Grand Pronouncements,157 which dictated laws governing Chinese society. In the preface of the Grand Pronouncements, Taizu acknowledged past difficulties under Mongol rule arising from inconsistent legislation and sought to promote a unilateral system of justice in territories under Ming control.158 In practice, Taizu’s reforms were later used to advocate for military supremacy over local tribes, causing deadly conflict among Chinese native people.159 This conflict led to mass migrations to other provinces, including Taiwan.160

The basis for Taizu’s rule derived from Confucianism. Many Confucian proclamations grafted the Taiwanese need for protecting the family unit—including criminals—up until modern times. Clear examples of preserving the family unit at all costs could be seen with filial piety. The son was responsible for family affairs, which excluded women from property rights. He was expected to manage familial conflicts as his father’s second-in-command.161 In The Analects, Confucius established protection of the bond between father and son even in crime:

155 Patricia Buckley Ebrey, Cambridge Illustrated History: China (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 190.
156 律 (Lǜ)
157 大誥 (dà gào)
159 Ebrey, Cambridge Illustrated History, 198.
160 Ebrey, Cambridge Illustrated History, 216.
The Governor of She said to Confucius, ‘In our village there is a man nicknamed ‘Straight Body’. When his father stole a sheep, he gave evidence against him.’ Confucius answered, ‘In our village those who are straight are quite different. Fathers cover up for their sons, and sons cover up for their fathers. Straightness is to be found in such behavior.’

Here Confucius promoted privacy when handling criminal matters. Because the foundation of society is based on family units, society requires that families remain intact in order to preserve peace. Crime should be resolved between families, not manhandled by government authorities.

While Confucius did not explicitly recognize rape, he acknowledged that many men prefer to seek out sex over morals, proclaiming sex generally as immoral, or at the very least, a distraction for becoming a moral gentleman. In Book 9:18 of The Analects, Confucius commented, “I have yet to meet the man who is as fond of virtue as he is of beauty in women.”

The verse indicates that Confucius disapproved of the general public’s prioritization of physical, individualistic desires, and he strove to revert men into gentlemen who dutifully uphold dignity. Anything considered unacceptable by the Confucian moral standards fell under things that should be kept in private, which can include sexual crimes.

The Confucian value of protecting even criminals in order to maintain civil peace between families followed Mainlanders to Taiwan, and became embedded deeper into Taiwanese culture through influences of the last century from the Chinese Nationalist Party (also known as the Kuomintang or KMT) and America. The KMT’s ideology was heavily founded on Confucian civil values that allowed the party to seize rapid control over China through the reassertion of a bureaucracy based on merit and morality. KMT followers upheld strict gender roles that formed

---

the nuclear family in attempt to maintain power throughout the country, which subsequently stressed the importance of collective peace and silence on criminal activities.\textsuperscript{164}

During the Rape of Nanjing and only a few years before the KMT fled to Taiwan, the KMT was portrayed as an evil organization bent on destroying all forms of life. Newspaper articles described how the “Kuomintang Army Committed Looting, Raping and Killing Everywhere They Went!”\textsuperscript{165} Indeed, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) painted the KMT as negatively as possible to garner support for the Communist mobilization against democratic ideals and strove to incite conflict in order to upend KMT strongholds in the Mainland. Yet both the KMT and CCP were responsible for sowing violence and raping, causing trauma to any Chinese in the way of either party’s political ideology. This led to a perversion of Confucian morals in the following decades, particularly with regard to rape.\textsuperscript{166}

When the KMT fled to Taiwan at the end of China’s civil war, many soldiers looted and raped the Taiwanese. The KMT established martial law on the island in an effort to install a new stronghold for republican ideas in China, which included a complete suppression of native Taiwanese cultural history. Mainland Chinese influences such as Confucianism were re-instilled as a part of the KMT’s assertion of Mainland superiority, reinforcing patriarchal values. Indigenous populations were targeted specifically for their ethnicity, seen as impure individuals who could corrupt Chinese blood, and were sought out deliberately for rape. KMT’s version of

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{165} Jeffrey C. Alexander, \textit{Trauma: A Social Theory} (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2012), Contents.
\end{flushleft}
Confucianism led to a destruction of non-nationalistic and non-Chinese blood through sexual violence, silencing anyone against their powerful and violent rhetoric.\textsuperscript{167}

At the end of World War II, significant help arrived to Taiwan from the United States who supported the KMT as a response to resisting Communist PRC. America provided Taiwan with the necessary resources to combat its natural resource deficit and to start a consumer goods industry. Taiwan’s economy advanced exponentially from American support, and many Taiwanese workers moved from agricultural farm labor to white collar jobs. The progress economically opened an influx of foreign trade with Japan, the United States, and Mainland China, which both ingrained KMT ideology deeper into the Taiwanese mentality and widened the doors for a separate American way of thinking about sexual violence that today co-exists alongside KMT ideology.\textsuperscript{168}

Radical feminism took root in Taiwan during the early 1980s with American support. The introduction of the American view on sexual violence drastically altered rape law from silence in legislation on rape to prosecutable crime in Taiwan, and roused the first efforts to increase women’s rights. Passage of the Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Law changed the classification of rape from a civil crime to a criminal one, which made it possible to prosecute a rapist even without a victim’s complaint.\textsuperscript{169} In addition, the Gender Equity Education Act\textsuperscript{170} and Sexual Harassment Prevention Act\textsuperscript{171} criminalized sexual harassment in schools and in the workplace,
readjusting how sexual violence is perceived and produced in Taiwanese culture. These forms of legislation further reduced barriers for survivors to speaking out by enacting legal safeguards to maintain the privacy and safety of victims testifying on trial. Survivors’ names cannot legally be published in media sources, protecting the identity of the victim against any retribution from the rapist’s family.

The American idea of state intervention with regard to sexual violence is inconsistent with Confucian beliefs supporting private management of criminal behavior. Laws have enabled abused women to seek out state help, but in practice, survivors rarely receive adequate and appropriate aid. While most sexual violence prevention and protection services in Taiwan today can connect survivors with lawyers and medical professionals, and encourage the use of support groups and visible justice to recover from trauma, only 10 in 14 victims of rape in Taiwan actually report the crime to the police and of those only 17% of cases result in a conviction, suggesting that a survivor must first accept state intervention before receiving treatment. Even when victims go to the police, victims are many times turned away and told to settle their claims with their rapist outside of the judicial system. Traditional values emphasizing collective harmony over individual liberty prevail, suppressing the ability of rape victims to speak out about their trauma in fear of damaging their families’ honor. Survivors are expected to keep their rape a secret from the general public and handle any problems with a rapist in-house, which can

172 “Ending Gender Based Violence is Everyone’s Responsibility.”
173 Fa, Rape Myths in American and Chinese Laws and Legal Systems, 81-82.
175 Fu-yuan Huang, Police and Female Victims: A Observation of Victims in the Response of the Police System (2000), 120, as quoted in Fa, Rape Myths in American and Chinese Laws and Legal Systems, 80.
176 Fu-yuan Huang and Ming K’un Lu, “Practical Research regarding the Connection Between Rape Myths and the Crime of Rape,” Journal of Social Development 99 (1998): 50-64, as quoted in Fa, Rape Myths in American and Chinese Laws and Legal Systems, 81.
include marrying a rapist or settling rape through monetary claims. These means of settlement ignore the personal trauma produced from sexual violence.\textsuperscript{177}

The second predominant rape myth in Taiwan is the perception of raped women as defiled. This myth draws from virginity and its status as a social marker for women, in turn impeding the growth of full recognition of all social identities. Under the Ming \textit{Code}, gender roles were strictly enforced, again aligning to traditional Confucian values that created socio-legal barriers for women. For men, the \textit{Code} provided “Seven Grounds,” or seven reasons, for men to divorce: sterility, lewdness, disobedience to parents-in-law, loquacity, stealing, jealousy and repulsive disease.\textsuperscript{178} Women, however, were required to demonstrate that the potential husband was a “robber” or someone who had committed “crimes punishable by penal servitude, life exile, or relocation.”\textsuperscript{179} Though women had some maneuverability to divorcing or breaking off engagements under the \textit{Code}, women were additionally bound to the “Three Restrictions,” which prescribed three years’ mourning before remarrying, giving their wealth to their husband’s family, or having no family to return to.\textsuperscript{180} Severe limitations to women’s movements in marriage under the Ming Dynasty engendered Confucian expectations in everyday life. Confucius himself once said, on gender roles, “In one’s household, it is the women and the small men that are difficult to deal with. If you let them get too close, they become insolent. If you keep them at a distance they complain.”\textsuperscript{181}

\textsuperscript{177} Luo, “MARRYING MY RAPIST?!” 589-590.
\textsuperscript{180} Farmer, “The Ming Code and Commandments,” 785-786.
Unlike Western women during this time period, however, Chinese women were highly educated, perceived to be the teachers of young men in their families. Women such as mothers, aunts, or sisters were charged with learning classical texts to teach men in their household. Men were expected to know classical texts early in order to gain prominence in the imperial examinations that dictated their families’ social statuses, and they were supported by women’s instructions. Classical texts included Confucian books like The Analects and Song Ruozhao’s Analects for Women.

While the classics educated women, they also reinforced strict gender roles according to centuries old civil thought. Though written in an earlier dynasty, Song’s Analects for Women was highly influential during the Ming Dynasty and clearly outlined the importance of virginity and chastity as a way of maintaining a woman’s sense of self. She writes, “By purity, one keeps one’s self undefiled; by chastity, one preserves one’s honor.” To uphold purity and honor, women were expected to take actions that preserved their innocence, which included improving their parents-in-law’s and their husbands’ domestic livelihood. The female self as a result was grounded in serving the male identity.

Other documents including Empress Wu’s Instructions for the Inner Quarters and imperial court tutor Ban Zhao’s Admonitions for Women gave further instructions on how to carry out one’s duty through strict gender rules. Morality was based on how well the woman

---

could educate her husband, and rites for women describing actions enhancing one’s morals insisted on serving others. These books were written by highly educated women yet refused to counter the power discrepancy among sexes within Chinese society. Confucianism reigned, maintaining a thorough network of power solely benefiting male heirs.

Taiwan under the Qing reinforced Ming Dynasty gender expectations by specifying “sexual violations” in the first Qing Code, which affected how the Taiwanese conceive rape today as a violation of virginity. A revival of Cheng-Zhu Neo-Confucianism between the mid-seventeenth century until the fall of imperialism expanded foundational Confucian ideas. Neo-Confucianism purported that carrying out one’s duties in all actions was necessary to consistently uphold morality. Women were thus required to prove that they had “struggled against her assailant throughout the ordeal” through witnesses, bruises or torn clothing. Qing officials believed women who were ultimately raped did not struggle hard enough to resist sexual advances, and therefore wanted to be defiled. Clearly, however, resistance was difficult given that most rapes did not and still do not occur in public, and that those undergoing trauma may not be physically capable of resisting rape.

As a result of Confucian values, marital partnerships between a man and a virgin woman formed the crux of stable society. In conjunction with in-house resolutions to crimes, the emphasis on chastity suppressed the minority woman socio-legally. For unmarried women, their marriage prospects became drastically limited from their unchaste bodies unless the virgin

---

188 Kelleher, “Empress Xu,” 832-833
191 Ng, “Ideology and Sexuality,” 58-60.
woman denied her rape, showing that she had fought off her rapist and was victorious in maintaining her purity even if she had in fact been raped.¹⁹² For married women, their social status became permanently attached to their husbands. Marital and domestic abuse were not considered rape until the passage of the Sexual Violence Prevention Act in 1997. Today, even with the passage of sexual violence prevention law, only monogamous sexual relations are accepted socially. Many husbands find that they cannot accept their wife after rape because she is no longer pure enough to maintain family honor, having broken monogamy albeit unintentionally. Virginity is of the utmost importance for Taiwanese women because it stabilizes their social identity.¹⁹³

Contemporary Taiwanese sociologist Luo Tsun-yin comments on the need for virginal status today, reflecting what she calls “a distinct cultural construction of rape in Chinese society.”¹⁹⁴ According to her 1994-1995 study, Taiwanese women believe marriage is key to determining family honor. In marrying and having their first sexual encounter with their husband, women can provide legitimacy to their social status. The need for virginal women at the time of their marriage prevents many victims from seeking out legal or emotional help for their trauma. “Sexual shame over virginity or chastity loss” even from rape remained the number one concern for rape victims as it affects future relationships and therefore any potential upgrade in a woman’s social status.¹⁹⁵

Ideas of a pure marriage union consummated through initial sex with a partner dominate contemporary conversations and uphold domestic abuse as the primary medium for rape. One in

¹⁹² “Ending Gender Based Violence is Everyone’s Responsibility.”
¹⁹³ “Ending Gender Based Violence is Everyone’s Responsibility.”
¹⁹⁴ Luo, “MARRYING MY RAPIST?!” 583.
¹⁹⁵ Luo, “MARRYING MY RAPIST?!” 589-590
four Taiwanese women experience intimate partner violence (IPV), with 7.2% experiencing sexual IPV. As the Ministry of Health and Wellness observed, chastity continues to be a major source of concern from Taiwanese women, and most studies on sexual violence in Taiwan today attempt to call attention to social factors such as marriage and chastity that inhibit victims from seeking treatment.196 Taiwanese feminist scholar Doris T. Chang calls the culturally specific emphasis on eliminating traditional notions of chastity “relational feminism” in which sexual violence becomes violence inflicted on a relationship, in addition to violence on an individual. This kind of sexual violence can be clearly represented in IPV-related scenarios, as trauma emerges from the destruction of a relationship.197

In modern law, rape victims are still required to demonstrate that they had resisted, echoing Qing-era bias against rape as a social injury. Although the “resistance requirement” was eliminated nearly twenty years ago, survivors must almost always show physical markings on their bodies during their rapist’s trial for the jury to actually accept their resistance. Echoing the “double-bind,” behaviors after rape that do not fit traditional perceptions of a typical rape scenario, such as a victim speaking coherently about rape, are judged to be fake. On occasion, survivors who could not coherently testify have led to acquittals rather than acceptance of the crime.198 Hsu Jung-chou, a former pilot in the Taiwanese military, was originally convicted in lower courts of the rape and murder of a five-year-old girl. However, the Taiwan High Court overturned the conviction because the prosecution could not show “affirmative evidence” that

198 Fa, Rape Myths in American and Chinese Laws and Legal Systems, 83-84.
the rape had taken place.\textsuperscript{199} While Hsu’s victim could not speak on her own behalf, the Taiwanese rape myth that states that victims must be traumatized at the loss of their virginity and social identity holds true. Without visible evidence even after death, rapists can walk free as the myth of requiring visible trauma persists.

A separate set of social norms surrounding gender roles emerged under the Japanese, resulting in two diametric views on sexual violence that has begun to transform Taiwanese perspectives on gender roles and chastity in rape. Following the Sino-Japanese War after the Qing sacrificed control of Taiwan to Japan in 1894, Japan made Taiwan a special administrative region and sought to improve Taiwan’s infrastructure for security and economic reasons.\textsuperscript{200} Taiwan’s geographic location became the key ‘gateway’ to Japanese southward expansion. Through a series of acts known as the Southern Expansion Doctrine, Japan established overseas trade and banking for the first time in Taiwan. The Taiwanese populace gained technical skills, helping to increase Japanese influence while also benefiting from economic advancements.\textsuperscript{201}

Japanese authorities established local governments in Taiwan to eliminate Mainland Chinese influences. Part of these acts included an early attempt to eradicate the chaste society erected by the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Co-ed schools became popular, increasing the literacy rate exponentially among both sexes. Footbinding, which physically bound women to their household, was banned by 1915.\textsuperscript{202} The changes initiated a greater acceptance of foreign

\textsuperscript{200} J. Bruce Jacobs, \textit{Democratizing Taiwan} (Boston: Brill, 2012), 24-25.
influences in later decades that would transform the ways in which gender plays into one’s identity.

In the latter half of its rule in Taiwan, Japan changed its politics from supporting colonies as part of its economic expansion to a policy of suppression and integration. Female labor exploitation and a reinforcement of binary gender roles in Taiwan became commonplace under Japanese rule as the desire for national industrialization pushed the boundaries of workers rights. Schools restricted the native Taiwanese language in classrooms and enforced a dress code for young girls that included long skirts and pristine attire. The heavy reinforcement of Japanese, not Chinese, clothing as an identity parallels the association between gender expectations and social status, and the drive for Japanese assimilation emerged as an anti-Chinese, pro-foreign movement.\textsuperscript{203}

The two populations diverged, however, in the mid-twentieth century as Japan lost its colonies after World War II. Large proportions of Japanese workers worked part-time despite their college education, and many women left their managerial jobs to take care of children. Taiwanese women, however, at the onset of Taiwan’s rapid industrialization in the 1980s, took on full-time positions and continued to work even after birthing children. Sociologist Wei hsin Yu argues that this discrepancy between labor forces and in time periods created a gap between Japanese and Taiwanese gender equity, impacting the amount of foreign ideas in Taiwan.\textsuperscript{204}


The developments after Japanese colonization produced a more gender-equal society in Taiwan in comparison.\textsuperscript{205} In 2017, Taiwan ranked 38th in the world on gender equity, substantially higher than Japan, Mainland China, and other Asian countries.\textsuperscript{206} Reflecting on global movements for women’s equality, President Tsai Ing-wen has called for national, long-term child care and greater access to entrepreneurial loans for women, commenting, “To fully realize gender equality in our society, we must break the grip of traditional norms, and give every woman the right to choose her role in society, and a chance to pursue her aspirations.”\textsuperscript{207} Tsai and her party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), represent the new revolution towards women’s rights rising in Taiwan today.

Although Japan ultimately attempted to eliminate Chinese thought and assimilate Taiwan into its culture, the Taiwanese maintain strong relations to its former master today, revealing that foreign influences on gender expectation can continue to circulate. Out of all East Asian countries colonized by imperial Japan, Taiwan remains the closest economically and culturally. Exchange of ideas and frequent communication with each other constitute attempts to dissuade the PRC on security matters and increase Taiwan’s international presence.\textsuperscript{208} Many elderly Taiwanese also served in the Japanese Imperial Army,\textsuperscript{209} and tourism between the two countries, which involves tens of millions of visitors, sustain a strong relationship across borders. As a

\textsuperscript{205} Yu, \textit{Gendered Trajectories}, 14-20.


result of this relationship, many Taiwanese people identify with foreign-based gender expectations on women in social life, despite prior imperialization.\textsuperscript{210}

After the Japanese left the island, Taiwan’s major support came from the United States. Coinciding with second wave feminism, Taiwanese women expanded their rights in education and in the workplace. Boosts to the economy encouraged Taiwanese women to seek out employment in multinational companies, which broadened access for domestic violence survivors to voice their concerns in public spaces.\textsuperscript{211} One woman whose husband had abused her admitted that she felt more empowered to seek help for her trauma once she earned her cooking license. It enabled her to immigrate to the United States and regain her authority as an autonomous woman.\textsuperscript{212}

The rise of the gay liberation movement in Taiwan today also absorbed Americanized ideas of sexuality. Past Taiwanese law contained no provisions prohibiting same-sex or adulterous relations, and no provisions recognizing individuals of sexualities other than heterosexual. A majority of the Taiwanese population were previously unaware of the existence of different sexualities or believed that LGBT identities were a Western creation, associating sexuality with prostitution and lewdness.\textsuperscript{213} In recent times, however, an outpouring of advocacy on behalf of the LGBT community in Taiwan has led to the recognition of non-normative sexualities, erasing past suspicions surrounding sexual orientation. The Gender Equity Education Act suspended gender discrimination in the workplace and social environments, and provided the

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{210} Lam, “Japan-Taiwan Relations,” 254. \\
\textsuperscript{211} Yu, \textit{Gendered Trajectories}. \\
\textsuperscript{212} Hsiu-lien Lu and Ashley Esarey, \textit{My Fight for a New Taiwan: One Woman’s Journey from Prison to Power} (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 68. \\
\end{flushright}
Taiwanese LGBT community with a platform to engage in public forums on sexual orientation. Taiwan’s annual Pride Parade in October 2017 counted 80,000 people in support for the LGBT community, the largest of any advocacy movements in the island’s history.\(^{214}\) In 2013, Taiwan’s legislative body, the Executive Yuan, authorized a two year period to reform laws on marriage union, resulting in the first Asian country to recognize same-sex unions.\(^{215}\) The number of people who hold open attitudes towards sexuality today are increasing in Taiwan, shattering the traditional value of chastity through the subversion of sexual identity. As gender scholars Bo-Wei Chen and Mairtin Mac an Ghaill suggest, “processes of detraditionalisation” are now underway in contemporary Taiwanese society.\(^{216}\)

Influenced by Western feminism yet upholding tradition, women’s movements in Taiwan attempt to de-stigmatize rape myths while adhering to Chinese values. Taiwanese feminist Yenlin Ku explains the phenomenon, writing that feminism in Taiwan has been situated as a “reflexive movement” to Western developments, but still remains close to “the tradition of communal collectivism and Confucian ethics of social harmony.”\(^{217}\) While the West constructed a timeline of understanding sexual violence from a building up of liberating perceptions on rape, Eastern attitudes towards sexual violence contain a “‘looping’ of time(s)” in which the dismantling of rape myths concurred at the same time that gender equality and the erasure of


prejudiced social networks arose. Known as the “time of coincidence,” Taiwan’s progress in aiding survivors became entangled with Westernized ideas of sexual violence prevention. Through imperialist expansion of American ideas on sexual violence as an attack on the individualized self, Taiwanese rape victims are constructed twice: once as a victim of the loss of self, and once as a victim of the loss of a relational, gender-based identity. Advocates against sexual violence in Taiwan thus try to ‘catch up’ to the perceived sexual liberation found in American society while attempting to maintain their Taiwanese relational identity.218

Taiwanese survivors hang in a precarious balance between recovering from trauma and maintaining harmony as the discrepancy between cultural values lingers in the country. It is a

---

misconception to believe that to advance socially, one must adopt Western values, and Taiwan’s incorporation of Western ideas has diverged the path for rape survivors’ recoveries. Multiple (not mutually exclusive) forms of rape myths and stigmas now co-exist in Taiwan.²²⁰

The original path to recovery based on Taiwanese understandings of rape revolved around de-stigmatizing rape and increasing legal and medical help. Garden of Hope, one of Taiwan’s premier domestic violence service organizations, established in 1988 their hope to end the perception of sexual violence as a consensual, immoral choice. Their efforts later expanded to ending child sex work and opening medical centers to treat HIV-positive victims of sexual abuse. Garden of Hope illustrates how the initial Taiwanese recovery model gradually sought to eliminate societal presumptions of immorality in rape. The Taiwanese focused on the broader, societal problems in understanding trauma in rape rather than the personal trauma.²²¹

At the same time, this ‘catching up’ to Western ideas in Taiwan has resulted in major gaps in erasing gender biases despite its progress in acknowledging violence in rape. It is particularly evident in Taiwan’s legal definition of a rape victim. As discussed in the first chapter, rape law in Taiwan requires “a violation of the woman’s will, use of violence, coercion or other means, or the act of sexual intercourse with a woman,” observing rape as a gender-based crime rather than an all-inclusive trauma.²²² Though Taiwanese law recognizes today that sexual violence can include psychological, social, and physical harm, its emphasis on womanhood prevents the Taiwanese from viewing how trauma in rape actually manifests, such as in the cases of gender fluid individuals. Transgender activist Wu Xinen (吳馨恩), on the subject of violence

²²² 潘悦, 潘悦律师谈情说法
against sexual minorities, commented, “I hope to increase the visibility of transgender situations by making public and speaking out about my own [experience], and thus improve the common misfortune of transgender groups.” Wu suggests that the personal harm in rape is largely forgotten in the context of Taiwanese sexual violence against gender minorities, and advocates instead for the expansion of public spaces for survivors’ individualized stories of trauma. This, Wu believes, will lead to an overturning of Taiwanese rape myths because it adds a personalized component to the social justice movement and does not depend on gender.

Furthermore, victims of non-Taiwanese identity are viewed with suspicion, resulting in a nationalistic blindside to survivors without ties to colonialist subjugation. Beyond discrimination against migrant women, a crucial component to the seriousness of immigration can be found in the high prevalence of sexual violence against trafficked women. Due to Taiwan’s non-nation status and geographic location as the landing site for many migrants from the Global North to Southeast Asian countries, migrant women are exploited at a significantly higher rate than the native Taiwanese population. Rape in Taiwan thus requires an additional assessment of immigration as a factor in producing trauma.

Turmoil between the two major political parties, the conservative KMT and the liberal DPP dictate an unpredictable future as Taiwan’s unrecognized nation status from the international community influences the extent to which foreign ideas enter and exit the national

223 “我希望透過公開身分、說出自己的遭遇，增加跨性別處境的能見度，進而改善跨性別群體的共同不幸處境。” 吳馨恩 (Wu Xinen), interview by Vincent, “訪問台灣跨性別女性運動者 [Interviewing Transgender Taiwanese Women],” 國際社會主義前進 International Socialist Forward, published November 3, 2016, accessed April 8, 2018, https://www.socialism.org.tw/2016/11/03/%E8%A8%AA%E5%95%8F%E5%8F%B0%E7%81%A3%E8%B7%A8%E6%80%A7%E5%88%A5%E5%A5%B3%E6%80%A7%E9%81%8B%E5%8B%95%E8%80%85/.

political agenda. With growing interest in isolationist policies, Taiwan appears to be on track to intaking sexual liberation from America, but losing necessary progression towards an all-inclusive rape definition as their original, culturally Taiwanese conceptualization of rape diminishes.

The Taiwanese must eventually confront the choice between altering gender roles from traditional value systems and altering perspectives on sexual violence to incorporate Western notions. In either outcome, Taiwan’s cultural history affecting rape will be transformed, and a change in acknowledging survivors will be made as new directions in how survivors identify with womanhood and victimhood after rape emerge.

Cultural rape myths damage survivors on a personal level by recreating trauma in rape. Secondary victimization from these myths occur when the victims live in the environment in which they are harmed, and this habitation of survivors within rape-normative environments prevents survivors from recovering as myths recycle images of the stereotypical rape victim that contrast with the true victim’s experience. Remedying culturally specific symptoms requires survivors to step outside of rape-normative situations, as it is then that survivors enter non-rape-normative—and thus judgment-free—spaces; however, most survivors find that they cannot live outside of rape culture. They must confront their culture’s rape myths in order to live freely from trauma.

Living within the boundaries of rape culture after rape demands that the survivor identify with the traditionally conceived victim. But survivors’ symptoms, while culturally specific, are not always exemplified in a culture’s stereotypical victim. Rape myths can construe how victims are expected to react, yet it is often the case that survivors are different than the expectation. Through culturally specific rape myths, survivors who conjure an image of the false victim may find difficulty in identifying with their culture’s perception because their identity has changed, from a person who accepted cultural myths to a survivor who understands, intimately, the trauma of rape.

The transformation to a survivor’s identity can be exemplified through the reconfiguration of a victim’s past and future after rape. Symptoms of rape may cause the victim
to remember their pre-rape life with post-rape emotions. In the United States, the most common symptoms are fear and anxiety, notably two mental and emotional, not physical, symptoms. Fear and anxiety manifest as “avoidance or intrusions of thoughts of the event.” Survivors may suddenly experience their past trauma in the current moment without deliberately recalling it. Survivor Fran writes:

Nine years passed. Often, in intimate situations, I would shake uncontrollably. Sometimes I would cry after sex was over; once or twice, I became nauseous. For a long time, pain was always there, despite the reality of my own desires and the gentleness of caring partners.

In Taiwan, psychological and social damages to a survivor’s identity also occur, albeit taking the form of specifically Taiwanese symptoms. Taiwanese women whose hymens were broken as a result of rape often describe their fear and anxiety at the prospect of marriage. Because chastity is heavily emphasized, Taiwanese victims feel that they must hide their rape and violated bodies from their future husbands, changing how they interact with others to suppress sexual shame. Many prefer to neglect treatment as an alternative to identifying with the stigmatized rape victim.

In her examination of Tokyo host clubs, anthropologist Akiko Takeyama comments that the future is “a political arena in which individuals are equally foregrounded as autonomous and self-responsible citizens--they may either freely succeed or fail to realize their dreams.” Takeyama argues that a future involves a “stratification” of genders, classes, and ages that

---

228 Luo, “MARRYING MY RAPIST?!” 585-586
determines the empirical cost of pursuing dreams and aspirations; however, it also encourages people to continue struggling against social odds. For the rape survivor, this question of a future applies. Survivors must struggle for their aspirations of recovery despite social barriers. Victims who believe that their rape will affect future decisions, such as American women who unconsciously recall rape or Taiwanese women who feel their broken hymens warrants an unpleasant future marriage, become stuck in the rape matrix, fighting for recovery that is undeniably arduous to attain as they reside in rape-normative spaces.

While Taiwanese symptoms differ from American symptoms in that trauma arises from a need for virginity rather than a fear of the rapist’s return, symptoms affecting images of the past and future remain a prevalent byproduct of rape. Susan Brison writes, “The undoing of the self in trauma involves a radical disruption of memory, a severing of past from present, and, typically, an inability to envision a future.” Even after time has passed, both American and Taiwanese victims remain mired in their symptomatic phase, experiencing symptoms beyond the physical long after their trauma. Victims can feel immense pain at even the thought of their rape, recognizing that rape is not “just sex without permission.” Invisible symptoms like these suggest that survivors of all backgrounds change identities following their experience.

The inability to move forward reveals a chasm between the image of the traditional rape victim and the survivor’s self-image. Survivors find trouble with identifying as the culturally stereotyped victim because their reactions differ. This gap in compatibility consequently disrupts

---

230 Takeyama, *Staged Seduction*, 3.
232 Gavey, *Just Sex?*, 30
a survivor’s sense of self, as survivors confront the choice between accepting their culture’s stereotyped victim and asserting their own identity as a survivor.  

Internal trauma from rape can be examined through an analysis of prominent belief systems in American and Taiwanese cultures. Philosophies and religions can explain how a self is constructed in a given culture; they can also illuminate how one’s sense of self is transformed or destroyed during and after rape, as survivors adhering to these belief systems confront the ideas in philosophies and religions enacting the traditional victim role. This chapter examines American and Taiwanese thought to explain cultural differences in the making of a traditional victim. In discerning expected victim roles per culture and highlighting cultural symptoms arising from how survivors construct their sense of self, I can support the claim that rape myths can adversely affect survivors through differences in culture. Furthermore, I supply evidence to how American and Taiwanese treatment models should look like based on these differences, proposing changes to American and Taiwanese treatment policies to resolve these mistaken beliefs at their origin and directly address culturally-induced symptoms.

A. “I don’t want my body anymore.”

Many American rape victims report feeling a “split” during and after rape between their mind and body. Victims often disassociate their sense of self from the material world in an attempt to avoid confrontation of their defeated physicality. In particular, survivors reject their

---

234 Kadvany, “Stanford sex-assault victim.”
bodies because raped bodies have been tainted by a rapist, and many victims subsequently feel uneasy or disgusted at thinking about the body as a part of the self.

Brison says, of her own experience, “My body was now perceived as an enemy, having betrayed my newfound trust and interest in it, and as a site of increased vulnerability.” She sat in her apartment for days in a trance, unable to move, unable to fathom the change in her body.

“I was like a dish rag,” Sonia Morrell says. A man had raped her and Morrell’s body went limp. After, Morrell recalled feeling confused when her rapist ejaculated, unaware that her body had touched her rapist’s semen.

Stanford victim Emily Doe finds her body no longer hers after rape:

I don’t want my body anymore. I was terrified of it, I didn’t know what had been in it, if it had been contaminated, who had touched it. I wanted to take off my body like a jacket and leave it at the hospital with everything else.

These first-hand accounts of American rape victims highlight a common theme in the creation and destruction of the American self. Each story describes a split between the abstract world and the material world, situating rape as the breaking of a mind-body connection. The American self is only whole when both halves are in harmony and are working together to carry out functions of daily life. Rape disrupts this natural harmony of the mind and body, producing both physical and non-physical symptoms expressed through RTS symptoms.

The fact that American survivors make sense of their worlds during and after rape through a divide in their sense of self gives rise to the need for discovering the origin of this mind-body connection. Where did this idea of a natural mind-body self come from? If we

---

235 Brison, *Aftermath*, 44.
237 Kadvany, “Stanford sex-assault victim.”
understand the prospect of rape through the American survivors’ lens, then it holds that we may adjust treatment to address the kind of trauma destroying the mind-body link. Tracing ideology, one finds that the idea of a natural connection between the mind and body, and its subsequent destruction in rape have long existed in mainstream American thought. This construction of a mind-body sense of self in America is weaved throughout several major philosophies and religions in history: Christianity, the Enlightenment, sexology, and phenomenology.

The American self as a mind-body connection first arose from Christianity. Puritans arriving from England to New England brought Christianity with them, spreading the belief that a person’s existence depended on the union between the soul and body. Theologians argue that this deep-rooted belief in a soul and body harmony came from the idea of a soul transgressing the material world. God permitted one to live or die based on the quality of their soul, which suggests that one’s morals could affect the bodily actions, and vice versa. Christian philosopher St. Augustine, who examined sexual violence through a theological lens, also defended that rape attacked the soul, not just the body. For him, rape was an overcoming of the woman’s willpower, affecting first the body, then willpower. This perception of rape as a gradual violation of the entire self positioned sexual violence as a harm in both the mind and body. As such, “[t]he unity of soul and body is so profound that one has to consider the soul to be the ‘form’ of the

---

body;...spirit and matter, in man, are not two natures united, but rather their union forms a single
nature.”

Christianity further established that the soul is more important than the body. When a person
dies, their body is returned to the earth while their soul meets with God in the holy realm. Early
American Christians believed that this transgression of the mortal world to the holy realm
could only be carried out by pure souls, who could outlive the destruction of the body.

However, although sexual violence can be considered both an external and internal harm, the
problem of visibly showing purity also emerged. In having a willpower that manifests within the
internalized mind, a victim’s mental capacity during and after rape is questioned, as the mind
must have attempted to fight off her rapist to preserve chastity. Jennifer J. Thompson, a scholar
of rape in Christian contexts, writes that this succumbing of a victim to her rapist is inherently
problematic because of the mind’s dependence on the physical to determine whether or not
willpower was in fact subdued. The need for physical proof of rape widens the scope to which
outsiders judge the victim’s rape experience, gauging the victim’s mental state post-rape for
“wanting” sex using external and social factors rather than pre-rape and untraumatized mental
factors. Thompson summarizes, therefore, early Christian sentiment: “[We] are all sluts, men and
women alike, and we are thus deserving of punishment.”

The Enlightenment added to the Christian belief of a mind-body self that prioritizes the
mind over the body. John Locke in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* asked, if the
soul of a prince entered the body of a cobbler, would the sense of personhood draw from the

---

242 Thompson, “‘Accept this twofold consolation,’” 2-3.
prince or the cobbler? Locke answered his question with the comment, “[T]he soul alone, in the change of bodies, would scarce to any one but to him [the prince] that makes the soul the man, be enough to make the same man.” In essence, Locke argued that a sense of self can only be maintained through a constant consciousness contained in the body. Without consistency in the mind, the body is worthless, unable to make sense of the myriad of memories the body holds in storage. From Christianity and Enlightenment thinking, the internal mind is prioritized over the external body to the American sense of self.

Sexology contributed to the discussion of rape as an influence on the mind-body connection. It examined sex through a biological lens, viewing it as a natural phenomenon. This movement to destigmatize sexual relations resulted in sex regulations in the United States revolving around law and medicine. A byproduct of sexology was the reliance on scientific studies that justified male aggression in sexual violence.

Psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing and neuroscientist Albert Moll were two pioneers of sexology who fundamentally transformed sexuality into a scientific exploration and heavily influenced American perceptions of rape. Drawing from evolutionary biology, Krafft-Ebing supported the idea that sexuality is a private identity spanning the physical actions of sexual intercourse to the mental emotions of pleasure and pain, reinforcing the notion of a mind-body

---

self. Because sexuality encompassed the external as well as internal, sexuality became the link between one’s body and mind, and served as the core of one’s identity.²⁴⁵

In *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Krafft-Ebing introduced the idea that sexual urges are as natural as pleasure and pain; hence, they are normal biological reactions. Using Krafft-Ebing’s theory, Moll asserted that feeling pleasure during sex adhered to acceptable social actions and feeling pain during sex rejected norms. These emotions are unconsciously felt because biology is instinctive. For Moll, the unconscious nature of sexuality meant that the self-aware individual and society were responsible for controlling naturally uncontrollable sexual urges against social norms like pain.²⁴⁶

Problematically, this situated sexual crimes including rape as natural phenomena. According to Krafft-Ebing and Moll, the relationship between the sexes was a natural sadomasochistic connection in which the man makes aggressive moves towards the woman due to his biology. Rapists who carried out biological aggression were accepted because they were simply carrying out natural urges. In turn, female victims of sexual violence had no right to attack the misogynistic connection because it was normal to be oppressed. These sexologists’ beliefs purported rape myths of the victim “asking for it” and of normal intercourse as typically aggressive, establishing a culture of rape.

Sigmund Freud in his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* built off of both Krafft-Ebing’s and Moll’s ideas. Though he was an Austrian neuroscientist, Freud can be considered the founder of American psychoanalysis, which expanded the role of aggression in sex. He explained that men are naturally aggressive with a “desire to subjugate; the biological

²⁴⁶ Oosterhuis, “Sexual Modernity.”
significance of it seems to lie in the need for overcoming the resistance of the sexual object by means other than the process of wooing.”

His perspective on natural violence supported Krafft-Ebing and Moll. Freud later advanced this idea, commenting that this biological desire to subjugate becomes “nothing more than an extension of sadism turned round upon the subject’s own self, which thus, to begin with, takes the place of the sexual object.”

From the lens of sexology, the sexual object can be made out to be anything or anyone, and the object of choice ultimately becomes a representation of one’s sexuality. When a male overpowers a woman such as in the case of rape, the man is seeking to find stability in himself through the other, projecting a false image of a victim wanting to engage in sadomasochistic sex, when this is clearly not always the case. He ignores the victim as an autonomous person in order to assert his internal need for power.

Freud paralleled current notions of rape as a power play in which dominant groups like men in American society employ violence to subjugate minorities like women. This power dynamic leaves women as a dependent partner in rape and what early feminist Simone de Beauvoir calls the “Other” without an independent existence. The rapist dissolves the connection between the victim’s autonomous mind and the overpowered body because he operates in a rape-normative environment in which it is natural for men to hold power over women. The victim, in attempt to remain apart from her defeated body, disassociates the material with the immaterial, splitting her sense of self into two.

---

While some consider sadomasochism a form of consensual sex today, the meaning of sadomasochism in Freud’s time was a form of rape that reflected the myth of victims wanting forced sex, a myth that still exists today. Interestingly, Freud also predicted the reactions of victims, suggesting that women’s resistance manifests into “hysteria” and “illness,” as emotions flowing from sexual stimulation transform into an escape for the traumatized self.\textsuperscript{251} American survivors today identify this so-called “hysteria” as symptoms of RTS, which include disassociation from the body. Rape for the American survivor becomes a reflection of the rapist exploiting the victim to reassert his authority via body and subdue her autonomy via mind.\textsuperscript{252}

Throughout the twentieth century, philosophers engaged heavily with existential problems in an attempt to explain the human experience and contextualize it to the living world. Ideas surrounding consciousness provided methods to live a fruitful and truthful life, including applications to living during and after sexual violence. Phenomenology supplemented Freud’s ideas on rape as a mirror by distinguishing the process by which rape divides the mind and body, enacting the mind-body split trauma that American believe in today.\textsuperscript{253}

Early phenomenologist Franz Bretano established that all mental phenomena are intentional, including unconscious acts of consciousness. Intentionality is defined by Brentano as representing an object or objects in the world in a way that is compatible with one’s mental capacity.\textsuperscript{254} For example, an apple could be perceived \textit{consciously} as a rounded, edible object

\textsuperscript{252}Burgess, “Rape Trauma Syndrome,” 240.
with a specific tart taste or it could be perceived *unconsciously* as an object in the world that one does not perceive clearly as this rounded, edible object. Any part of an object that is not represented consciously becomes the *horizon*, the limit to one’s mental capacity to project a representation. Regardless of one’s consciousness of the apple, whether one recognizes or does not recognize the apple’s existence, the apple remains an apple.  

I fashion a phenomenological model to describe how Americans perceive rape based on Bretano’s thesis. In what I call the “victim-object” model, the rapist represents their victim as an unconscious object and intentionally supersedes the victim’s will. The rapist chooses to ignore the victim as anything but an object to be sexually violated, crafting an ideal image of a willing (even if resisting) subject and forming the horizon of the rapist’s mental projection. In turn, the victim, who has not consented, attempts to reveal themselves as a person with a history and emotions, vying for empathy that cannot arrive to the rapist. The rapist takes the victim’s body while the victim resists mentally to retain autonomy. In the end, however, the mind and body diverge as the mind tries to resist dependency and the body afterwards belongs to the rapist.

Western phenomenologist Louise du Toit employs Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel’s construction of intentionality to provide a philosophical basis to this scenario. Examining the relationship between Hegel’s bondsman (female victim) and the lord (male rapist), du Toit argues that minority groups live in constant fear of rape by social authorities. The lord desires a complete identity outside the mirroring bond with minority groups, seeking to kill the bondsman in order to attain a greater sense of affirmation. The bondsman in turn gives up their

---

256 McIntyre and Smith, “Theory of Intentionality,” 22.
separate identity because while they fear the lord, they fear death more. They transform from
*Leib*, the idealized representation of themselves, to *Körper*, a lifeless body manipulated after rape
by their rapist.\(^{258}\) Du Toit writes,

> Instead of clinging to his other world and risking being destroyed
> as a self along with it, the bondsman sells his ‘soul’ and in the
> process trades for himself a self and a world on the lord’s terms.
> The ‘situation’ of the bondsman is thus one of deep complicity in
> his own dehumanization or ‘unmanning’. One could say that he
> chooses a type of ‘living death’ (as *Körper*) over actual
> annihilation.\(^{259}\)

In the United States, as we have already established, rape culture subjugates women by
asserting biological reasoning to men’s aggression, resulting in normalized violence against
women or gender minorities. Victims reportedly stop resisting during their attacks from fear of
death, which suggests that their bodies have given up. In addition, these same victims may also
experience other RTS symptoms following their attack such as long-term depression or anxiety,
indicating that these victims’ minds are still struggling to maintain an autonomous and stable
identity apart from their rapists.\(^{260}\) The “victim-object” phenomenological model reflects a need
to re-establish a connection between mind and body in order to effectively reassert survivors’
identities after trauma tears their sense of self apart.

In addition to liaising the mind and body in treatment for survivors’ split identities,
phenomenology also adds breadth to advocacy calling for improvements in cultural conditions
permitting rape. Rape culture in the United States has historically favored a view of sexual
violence in which powerful groups manipulate minority groups through rape, the common form

---


\(^{259}\) Du Toit, *A Philosophical Investigation of Rape*, 76.

\(^{260}\) Resick, “The Psychological Impact of Rape.”
being (black) men raping (white) women. To counter the effects of rape culture, one must distinguish aspects to the culture in question that normalize aggression.

From a phenomenological perspective, the mind constructs the world, and as such, parts of the world remain normalized until deliberately examined. Applying phenomenology to rape, it appears that the rape victim’s mind sustains a sense of normalcy about the rape-normative world until trauma, which thereafter forces the survivor to acknowledge the universality of sexual violence, as well as the assumed, but likely false, traditional role of the victim. Following phenomenological logic, Brison explains how a lack of conscious awareness about rape culture in the United States can subvert good intentions to help the rape survivor:

One friend, succumbing to the gambler’s fallacy, pointed out that my having had such extraordinary bad luck meant that the odds of my being attacked again were now quite slim (as if fate, although not completely benign, would surely give me a break now, perhaps in the interest of fairness).

Through myths about the world describing it as naturally safe, rape culture can continue to exist in the United States. Asserting the rape myth that rape is a rare occurrence denies victims’ trauma by falsely representing one’s world and placing a horizon on survivors’ revealed truth. Instead, accurately portraying the world as rape-normative instead of attempting to soothe or ignore rape culture may permit the victim accept their traumatic experience. Thus, treatment for American rape survivors may require speaking out and increasing general awareness of trauma in rape.

The arguments made for the philosophical and religious background to the American rape experience can be summarized as the destruction of a mind-body connection. From Christian and

---


Enlightenment thinking, the self is considered a mind-body connection where self prioritizes the mind over the body due to the mind’s ability to sustain a unified sense of identity. Outsiders surrounding the victim gauge trauma depending on the victim’s mind, which inaccurately depict the victim’s trauma. These outsider perspectives reflect a rape culture in which aggression in sexual matters is seen as natural. The normalization of aggression permits the rapist to subdue the victim and reassert his power, subsequently causing a disassociation of the victim’s body with the mind. The split between mind and body results in the loss of autonomy and control over one’s self, thereby destroying the American survivor’s sense of self.

Treatment for American survivors should address the American cultural view of a mind-body split in rape by reasserting one’s autonomy and advocating for changes in social norms. As survivors report disassociation as one of the greatest effects of rape, bringing together a unified identity can subsume rapists’ authority and give agency back to the autonomous individual. Though variations in trauma may differ, as noted in racial and gender discrimination throughout American history, the generalized model for treatment can involve bringing marginalized communities to center of the discussion on rape.

B. “Nourish the Body to Nourish the Spirit”

Taiwanese survivors often speak of pressures to conceal their trauma from rape. In one especially memorable case, a female student at National Jinan University who was sexually

---


violated in 2013 by her professor stopped attending classes and attempted suicide multiple times rather than bring her rapist to trial. She had held feelings for her rapist at an earlier time, which caused her to hide her trauma in fear of debasement from others. In recognizing Taiwanese cultural factors stigmatizing rape victims and the massive barriers to legally proving her rapist’s crime, the student could only successfully prosecute her rapist with the intervention of the university administration, who ultimately rejected Professor Li’s close friends’ and family’s alibis and sentenced him to prison.\textsuperscript{265}

The story of this particular rape trial was retold in the popular film, \textit{Sex Appeal},\textsuperscript{266} where the general Taiwanese public became aware of rape culture. Audiences found themes of structural socio-legal barriers to speaking out about sexual violence embedded throughout the film. Presumptions of social relationships including the mentor-mentee relationship and the role of judicial courts erected difficulties for the victim in speaking out, and the Chinese title for the film, translated literally as “chilling effect,” made it clear that speaking out was the main problem for victims. “Chilling effect” in Chinese legal terms means the silence after the violation of freedom of speech; hence, sexual assault in Taiwan is viewed as a group’s silent submission to rape culture.\textsuperscript{267}

Many rape myths in Taiwan derive from a history of incorporating multicultural perspectives on social norms guiding rape and their gender expectations. These have been established in historically situated social and legal regulations of sex and rape. In delving into the philosophies and religions that have influenced Taiwanese survivors, I illuminate the specific


\textsuperscript{266} 寒蟬效應 (Hánchán xiàoyìng; translated literally into English: “The Chilling Effect”)

\textsuperscript{267} Chen, “Cinematic Metaphors of Autumn Cicadas and Chilling Cicadas,” 77-78.
areas causing trauma in a Taiwanese survivor’s identity, premised primarily on the belief of rape as structural, gender-based problem.

Today, the Taiwanese employ traditional views of sex that persuade the survivor to address rape myths as a gender-based issue. These views draw from three main schools of thought: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Confucianism is commonly thought to be a civil philosophy, anchoring the Chinese to the practical matters of the world, while Taoism and Buddhism relate to the spiritual aspects of living, dictating life for the individual beyond the material realm. 35% of the Taiwanese population identify as Taoist and 33% identify as Buddhist. At times, however, beliefs overlap or fill in gaps of another school of thought, causing a mixture of Taoist, Buddhist, and occasionally folk religions. What seem to be polarizing beliefs found in Chinese culture, however, in fact work hand-in-hand, forming a multivariable way of thinking that has characterized Taiwanese thought.

In beginning to define trauma for the Taiwanese survivor, I first turn to Taoist and Confucian rites. The classic text in Taoism, *Tao Te Ching*, emphasizes the *Dao* or the “Way” as the “source of all being” in which “all the contradictions and distinctions of existence are ultimately resolved.” The *Dao* instructed the Chinese to live in harmony with the universe, proclaiming that the moral man should not engage with human affairs, but instead live a simple existence in accordance to natural laws. Confucianism, which followed Taoism only a few centuries later, concurrently developed a standard set of actions to live morally. While

---


270 道 (Dào)

Confucians engage in human affairs unlike the Taoists, they believe in a similar notion of social order, using reciprocal actions between people to create harmony. Relationships between people such as father to son, wife to husband, and even teacher to student, are built around rites sustaining peace.\(^{272}\)

Rites enable the Chinese to carry out moral lives. Religious texts explicitly outlined sexual rites as a means of improving one’s spiritual self. For the Taoist believer, immortality is the primary goal in life and to attain it, one must engage in sexual intercourse to enhance one’s longevity.\(^{273}\) Nourishing the body via sexual intercourse is known as a “battle of stealing and strengthening”\(^{274}\) between the sexes, and requires participants to follow specific rites to win.\(^{275}\) According to the *Hanshu*\(^ {276}\) (History of the Han), the Chinese believed carrying out these rites and consistently nourishing the body through sex would result in longevity and peace among sages. By carrying out rites, one also generates one’s own moral power.\(^ {277}\)

These rites created expectations on the social identity of sex. Buddhism alluded to the need for sexual union between man and woman for ordinary, non-monk and non-nun followers. Alan Watts, a British philosopher who popularized Eastern thought to European audiences, suggested that the two sexes were expected to fight each other in the battle of sexual intercourse. However, in the end, both sexes were necessary to create harmony. He wrote, “Conflict is always

---


\(^{274}\) 採補之戰 (Cǎi bǔ zhī zhàn)


\(^{276}\) 漢書 (Hǎnshū)

comparatively superficial, for there can be no ultimate conflict when the pairs of objects are mutually interdependent."\textsuperscript{278}

Confucianism reiterated the different sex roles to maintaining collective harmony through an emphasis on filial piety. Filial piety meant that sons were expected to carry out actions in accordance with their fathers, even when they disagreed, because these rites ensured order and harmony within the family and greater society. A passage in \textit{The Analects} reads:

\begin{quote}
It is rare for a man whose character is such that he is good as a son and obedient as a young man to have the inclination to transgress against his superiors...Being good as a son and obedient as a young man is, perhaps, the root of a man’s character.\textsuperscript{279}
\end{quote}

Confucianism designated sex roles according to one’s relationship to patriarchal elders as a means of sustaining peace. For both men and women, strict sex roles were necessary to carry out rites. Thus, rites generating moral power also generated strict sex roles.

Sex roles encouraged by Chinese thought ultimately led to the subjugation of women in Taiwanese society. In Taoism, negative and positive forces known as \textit{yin} and \textit{yang}\textsuperscript{280} respectively are energies that together create a balance in upholding life. Women were thought to be \textit{yin} while men were thought to be \textit{yang}. Men were considered especially important to maintaining balance due to their seminal essence known as \textit{qi},\textsuperscript{281} which gave the sage continued life.\textsuperscript{282} \textit{Qi} manifested as semen, a limited substance that once depleted, would lead to death.\textsuperscript{283}

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{280} 陰陽 (yīnyáng)
\textsuperscript{281} 氣 (Qi); Leo, \textit{Sex in the Yellow Emperor’s Basic Questions}, 49-50.
\textsuperscript{283} Leo, \textit{Sex in the Yellow Emperor’s Basic Questions}, 9.
\end{footnotes}
To achieve balance between *yin* and *yang*, and therefore reach immortality, Taoism states that the woman’s *yin* must be nourished for the purpose of strengthening the man’s *yang*. Sexual intercourse becomes this battle of “stealing” *yin* to “strengthen” *yang*, a means of increasing longevity alongside Confucian procreation. Neither *yin* nor *yang* can exist without the other; however, the woman and her body is the designated source of passion while the man and his intellect restrains any pleasure. Sex handbooks under the early Ming Dynasty instructed men to come as close as possible to increasing *yang* without losing *qi* by stimulating the woman’s body and intaking her *yin* without ejaculating. Man was told to “keep himself under control, his mind as detached as if it were floating in the azure sky, his body sunk into no-being. Closing his eyes, he should not look at the woman but maintain an utter nonchalance so his passion is not stirred.” Women, on the other hand, were often told they were the “enemy” for tempting men to give up their life force during sexual battle. Distrusted because of society’s expectation for womanly sexual passions, a passage from one classical text reads: “Woman’s feelings are naturally ruled by no fixed principle, they are always easily influenced by what they see.” Both men and women were necessary to achieving balance, yet women’s sexual rites were considered against the natural harmonic social order.

As women’s rites were demeaned, Chinese thought enacted controls on women’s morality. *Yin* energy was preserved by women through chastity, and the supply was reserved solely for their husbands as part of women’s duties to upholding social order. Early texts even advocated for virginity over beauty. According to the *Prescriptions of the Immaculate Girl*:

---

284 Ruan, *Sex in China*, 61.
287 A Popular Exposition of the Methods of Regenerating the Primary Vitalities as quoted in Ruan, *Sex in China*, 65.
The females with whom you will have intercourse do not need to be beautiful, but they must be adolescents who have undeveloped breasts and are well covered with flesh. They will prove advantageous.288

A popular folk deity represents the importance of virginity for Taiwanese women. T’ien-hou, also known as Matsu or the “Heavenly Empress,” is the protector of sailors who gained popularity during the Ming and Qing dynasties, notably when Mainland Chinese sailors arrived at Taiwan. She was revered for not only protecting her brothers as they went out to sea, reminding Chinese women of their duty to family,289 but for also preserving her chastity and vowing to never marry in order to care for her mother. T’ien-hou’s sacrifice of placing the family above one’s sexual satisfaction demonstrates the profound connection between virginal status and social status in Taiwanese society.290

Virginity sustains a family’s honor and produces a kind of functionality to the woman’s existence. Most victims feel that chastity can lead to “normal” lives, indicating that their virginal status enables women to achieving a safe marriage. As marriage can elevate status depending on the husband’s social rank, so too can virginity for its importance in legitimizing a partnership to man. Women regain importance for utilizing their biological capacities for the function of procreation and pleasure, and therefore the preservation of a cohesive family, the smallest and most stable unit in Taiwanese society.291

Both the United States and Taiwan view virginity as an important aspect to a woman’s morality and thus social status, causing RTS symptoms of anxiety, fear, and depression. But the manifestation of symptoms for Taiwanese victims arrives in a different form.\textsuperscript{292} Taiwanese survivors feel a need to protect the greater community from the harm in rape. They preserve peace by maintaining silence over individualization. Because the woman, as a whole, is a component in the relationship between a man and woman, her identity cannot be divided; instead, her sense of self comes from identifying within this broader category of gender. The function of womanhood is to preserve virginity until marriage, when it is appropriate to engage in sexual affairs. Any survivor who speaks out faces backlash for being perceived as unclean and unable to maintain virginity. Societal pressures push virginity as a social status to the forefront of Taiwanese victims’ concerns, and the production of trauma in Taiwanese rape emerges from chastity because the violation of virginity destroys a victim’s composite social identity.\textsuperscript{293}

The arguments made for the philosophical and religious background to the Taiwanese rape experience can be summarized therefore as the destruction of a victim’s gender identity. Rites generating moral power also generate strict sex roles, which involves a defamation of women’s role as against the natural harmonic social order. As the only way to uphold social status and retain collective harmony, women must retain their virginity for the benefit of men. Trauma in Taiwanese rape derives from chastity because the violation of virginity destroys a victim’s relationships.

Rape in Taiwan is a structural, gender-based issue. For the Taiwanese victim operating in a rape-normative environment, the need to carry out one’s duty in order to assert one’s

\textsuperscript{292} Luo, “MARRYING MY RAPIST?!” 582.
\textsuperscript{293} Luo, “MARRYING MY RAPIST?!” 590-592.
functional, relational identity prevents a direct speaking out about trauma in rape. In modern times, 55% of the Taiwanese population reported that they preferred to have parents educate their children on sexual affairs, significantly greater than the 7% who believed that the government should handle sex education.\textsuperscript{294} These statistics indicate that the survivor looks to transforming the social duties that are expected of them, rather than legal changes by the state, to resolve discrepancies between the traditional rape victim and the real survivor. Unlike in the American case, where the American survivor learns to realign how one (re)constructs themselves, the Taiwanese survivor instead employs existing structures to enact a change in gender roles.

Treatment for Taiwanese rape survivors should focus on returning to a power balance between \textit{yin} and \textit{yang}, and recognize women’s roles in society as equally important as men’s roles. Gender equality and normalizing relations between men and women in Taiwan can help survivors regain control over their gender and expected gender roles. Improvements in gender relations can further de-stigmatize discussions about rape by lessening an emphasis on virginity and opening access to treatment for trauma among all genders and sexualities. As Wang Ping, secretary general of the Gender/Sexuality Rights Association, comments, “Our sexuality is not just part of who we are, it's the primary thing that makes us a society.”\textsuperscript{295}


\textsuperscript{295} Wang Ping (王蘋), the secretary general of the Gender/Sexuality Rights Association Taiwan (台灣性別人權協會), as quoted by Momphard, “Facing the facts about sex.”
Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, we have examined history and philosophy as mediums for understanding rape and the trauma it produces. Cultures have their own unique backgrounds that create rape-normative environments through institutionalized rape myths, laws, and social norms, as well as through personal ideologies that construct ways of reacting to rape. It is important to understand these cultural distinctions as survivors need ‘localized’ understandings of their trauma for recovery efforts.

Significant disparities exist between American and Taiwanese culture, suggesting that different temporal and spatial environments can create varying levels and kinds of trauma for the rape survivor. Clear distinctions must be made to resolve the problems found in inaccurately perceiving the trauma in rape.

In the United States today, there is a growing momentum to incorporate support networks such as group therapy and social movements into treatment models, reflecting a drastic change for American survivors from silence to recognition. In the past, sexual violence was perceived as isolated incidents rather than an institutionalized problem. Emma de Caunes, one of Harvey Weinstein’s victims, suggests that although everyone knew sexual violence was prevalent, the idea that victims could tackle the issue of sexual violence together was unheard of. She wrote, of Weinstein’s sexual misconduct:

I know that everybody—I mean everybody—in Hollywood knows that it’s happening...He’s not even really hiding. I mean, the way
he does it, so many people are involved and see what’s happening. But everyone’s too scared to say anything.\textsuperscript{296}

In recent times, however, an outpouring of support for sexual violence survivors is increasing the accessibility and recognition of sexual violence prevention. From victims themselves, they write of their regret at not speaking up. One of the executives from the Harvey Weinstein company wrote, “I think a lot of us had thought—and hoped—over the years that it [sexual misconduct] would come out sooner...But I think now is the right time, in this current climate, for the truth.”\textsuperscript{297} Survivors are recognizing the broader, structural harms in rape despite their fear of retaliation, and are moving from the margins of victimization to the center of activist approaches against rape. They demonstrate a powerful shift in countering sexual violence. No longer do victims feel at a loss; instead, they are reaching out for personal support and building networks to prevent future violence. These support networks also reassert one’s identity through its confirmation from others accepting and mirroring one’s true survivor experience, which deepen the ways in which social treatment can aid in a survivor’s recovery. The United States therefore appears to be gathering substantial and culturally appropriate advocacy on behalf of survivors who require methods of reasserting their autonomy.

Conversely, Taiwan may be gathering momentum for a change that may not in fact help survivors express their trauma and find appropriate recovery models. In 2013, several years before the ‘Weinstein effect’ erupted on the American stage, socialite Justin Lee (李宗瑞) was sentenced to 80 years in prison and fined NT$27.75 million (USD $946,275) for drugging.


\textsuperscript{297} Farrow, “From Aggressive Overtures to Sexual Assault.”
sexually assaulting, and illegally taping twenty women. The circulation of rumors between victims had a vastly different effect in Taiwan than in the United States. Instead of remaining silent, these victims pooled together their knowledge and resources to obtain the tapes recording their rapes, and eventually built collective resistance against the previously powerful playboy. In particular, two sisters were responsible for initiating police investigations into Lee’s video collection. This case demonstrates how Taiwanese victims were able to effectively utilize support networks via familial relations already installed in Confucian society. Before #metoo and new American perspectives on sexual violence entered the Eastern Hemisphere, Taiwan’s structural problems were already being addressed.

Domestic violence shelters, women’s organizations providing legal, medical, and social care, and even marches that represent support for stigmatized populations can bring attention to sexual violence as an institutional issue, but Taiwan’s history and ideologies already see rape as a structural problem. Why should the Taiwanese enact a separate, Americanized form of support networks to address sexual violence? Their issues in understanding the trauma in rape come from the materialization of rape as a gender-based, and occasionally xenophobic, forms of violence, not the lack of relational support. Recognizing that gender roles prevented Taiwanese women from seeking out treatment for their personal trauma, feminist activist and former politician Hsiu-lien Lu established the first domestic hotline in the country by organizing activities


subverting gender roles. Men’s support groups conducted historically deemed women’s activities, such as cooking contests, while women’s support groups hosted historically deemed men’s activities, such as tea conversations on career aspirations.\textsuperscript{300} Lu’s interpretation of trauma as gendered suppression demonstrates a clear understanding of how already established gender roles can shape treatment appropriate for Taiwanese victims.

Most of the momentum to change rape laws and norms in Taiwan draws from Japanese and Western influences, convoluting the Taiwanese historical and philosophical understandings of rape and rape victims. Yet, we have seen that while Taiwanese perspectives on rape remain stoutly multicultural, the generalized, essentialist attitude towards rape is bound to the gender bias in ideological frameworks. Changes to the structural oppression of women and of rape may require, therefore, the voices of sexual/gender minorities, who can highlight how structural problems have inhibited their personal recovery. Assessment of individual trauma by service providers and medical professionals can reduce stigmas on traumatized victims adhering to societal roles historically outlined by Taiwan without creating a separate, Western-based model of treatment solely concentrated on support groups. A re-examination of individual trauma may supplement existing treatments better than a public outpouring of support on an issue that Taiwan already understands as a cultural problem.

Components of both cultures’ versions of rape remain the same. The Taiwanese assertion of the loss of virginity as trauma in rape echoes American notions. As discussed in chapter two, American rape was seen as a property crime, now conceived as a violent act towards minority groups such as women. Minority groups reflect the power dynamic in which they are subdued,\textsuperscript{300} Lu and Esarey, \textit{My Fight for a New Taiwan}, 65.
particularly the unequal relationship between men and women that results in the dependency of women. The “Othering” of women’s roles becomes the violence in rape. Like the American rape, Taiwanese rape parallels the need for women to project the typically male, cisgender, and heterosexual identity as an independent entity. Though tradition reinforces the need for both women and men in the yin-yang balance, it also enforces the mind as the authority, and the male as the manipulator of intellectual abilities, creating societal expectations heavily based on gender. It is especially evident that it is the man who ultimately controls the woman’s identity within Confucian and Taoist sexual rites, leaving the woman without an independent existence.

In other words, rape for both cultures appears to be the same subduing of the Other.

Luo’s study comparing American and Taiwanese symptoms from rape, however, cautions us against blending the two culturally different forms of rape. As Taiwanese understandings of rape encompasses symptoms much like American RTS symptoms of fear, anxiety, and depression, it is hard to see where the differences are in the type of trauma rape produces. However, tracing history and philosophy highlights the variations in the origins and forms of rape myths. These myths differed greatly, and these distinct paths of invoking a rape-normative environment only met through the dominant power of Western imperialism and the different sexual norms it entailed. Shirley Saban, a Taiwanese survivor, wrote of the generational gap in understanding rape:

When I was raped at age 18, I discovered how difficult it was to challenge deep-rooted gender stereotypes. At the time, I had to face a group of policemen and investigators — their attitudes, all of whom considered me to be raped as a personal responsibility.\(^{301}\)

Shirley explained that at the time of her rape, she was perceived to be responsible for her trauma. However, today she recognizes America’s influence on the Taiwanese rape experience, writing: “My four children—three daughters and one son—were more aware of gender issues than when I was young. They face these things with grace, dignity, and a more equal attitude.” The amalgamation of Western and Eastern ideas on rape has created a different sense of responsibility for the younger generation, and Taiwan’s conception of rape is beginning to blur. While American ideas of sexual violence may prove beneficial to advancing accessibility to treatment, they may also contribute the problem of ignoring the specifically Taiwanese harms in rape. Maintaining that symptoms are similar, but that cultural factors vary, is necessary in order to advocate for a closer examination of the effectiveness of certain treatment models.

American progression in understanding rape has been mostly its own, with rare exceptions of foreign ideas such as in the case of sexuality as natural (a nod to the European sexologists of the early twentieth century). Since the United States has been dominated by European values, most Americans, in contrast to the Taiwanese, can follow the slow buildup from the elimination of historic racial and gender bias, to calls for human and civil rights today. It is understandable, then, for Americans to maintain more homogeneous attitudes towards intimacy and sexual violence, as their ideas compile in a relatively more unilinear order.

The Taiwanese, however, have been colonized and attacked, accepting multiple histories and beliefs that sometimes contradict each other. Unlike minority groups in the United States, who have been persecuted for their national, ethnic, or religious identities and forced to assimilate or isolate, Taiwanese survival as a people depended on asserting a collective identity

---

302 “雪莉兒・薩班.”
that still remains as diverse as their ethnic backgrounds. But Taiwanese ideas are hardly original as a result, and the problem of deciding which cultural perspectives to include in the Taiwanese identity constantly reminds Taiwanese survivors that the balance between Eastern and Western ideas on rape is as precarious as it is variable. To be Taiwanese, one selectively chooses the ideas that complement past histories and beliefs, rather than destroying or hiding from them.

The major gap in the Taiwanese way of thinking about rape involves gender discrimination. Gender bias runs an undercurrent of unease in discussing rape, pushing aside the need to adjust the understanding of rape to be all-inclusive. The gap results in an ever-increasing wedge between victims of different social identities. As women experiencing domestic violence gain wider treatment options through the restructuring of women’s roles, those identifying as male or genderfluid fall behind legally in achieving recognition.

Of course, Taiwan is not alone when constructing, haphazardly, comprehensive awareness and implementation of sexual violence prevention and recovery. The United States is already facing significant hurdles in equalizing perceived trauma of those of non-conforming or queer sexualities. Transgender persons, while slowly being recognized for their social identity legally, are still seen as separate types of people and are often bound to the umbrella category of “transgender” that they may not even identify with. Even sex workers are viewed as “wanting” to be raped, and those in the BDSM community are similarly stigmatized. Divides between those facing trauma from sexual violence still exist, and America is merely a reflection of Taiwan’s future, unless Taiwan decides to alter its course for greater inclusivity.

This author predicts a tear in the near future among advocacy groups for rape survivors in Taiwan, as different identities descend into violent clashes as to who is the most privileged when seeking appropriate and adequate treatment. This prospect may turn into an eerie reflection of America’s past. While it holds that American attitudes towards sexual violence are different from Taiwanese attitudes, the United States has historically been embroiled in gender, racial, and other social conflicts like Taiwan’s current predicament with gender prejudice. Even among the LGBTQ+ community, Americans find themselves divided between gay and lesbian, and queer theory, the divergence of which continues onwards today.306

Despite massive differences in cultural perspectives on rape, the United States and Taiwan have, at minimum, recognized the core problem of sexual violence. Both cultures revolve around sexual norms, producing expectations on proper intimate relations. They intertwine socio-legal sanctions, such as marriage, and guide individuals into opting into certain beliefs about certain acts. But, as Freud points out, what about sexual intercourse is sexual?307 Rape is a physical and mental subduing of another’s power, not something that should be perceived as a sexual violence. Burgess and Holmstrom in the United States, and Luo in Taiwan demonstrate that physical harm is only part of rape’s detrimental consequences; other components involve internal damages based on cultural conditions. Obviously, one’s genitals makes something “sexual” in the eyes of both American and Taiwanese law, but victims of rape rarely recall genital discomfort as the primary destruction of self and the primary motor of creating victimhood. Instead, psychological and social injuries show that rape involves a loss or misconfiguration of identity: for the American survivor, there is a split between mind and body;

for the Taiwanese survivor, there is a loss of gender identity. Each consequence of rape involves a distinct shattering of a sense of self, involving the external as well as the internal.

These sexual expectations create the double-bind authenticity in both American and Taiwanese cultures. They also are responsible for an emphasis on gender roles, though the level of emphasis varies from culture to culture. Censorship on certain sexual acts becomes a way of controlling people, and it forms what sexuality studies scholar Gayle Rubin calls the “charmed circle” in which identities of sexuality inside the inner circle are deemed appropriate and acceptable in a culture whereas identities on the fringes remain stigmatized and debased.  

Fashioning what is right and what is wrong according to a culture becomes the means of understanding rape, when perhaps a new perspective towards sexual violence is necessary.

Figure 2: The sex hierarchy: the charmed circle vs. the outer limits

---

Dismantling social factors can realign what in fact occurs in rape that produces trauma. Rather than positioning rape as a sexual crime, one can rebrand rape as a damaging of the self, which takes us straight to the core of the effects of rape. The upturning of understanding sexual violence itself and pulling away from assimilationist conceptualizations of rape can allow us to target the cultural factors that indeed produce trauma for individuals of that culture. Recovery plans can be thereby redirected to treating the mistaken historical and philosophical assumptions we hold about rape, overturning the method of understanding of rape itself in favor of seeing rape for what it is.\(^\text{310}\)

Rubin’s call to end the social factors inhibiting sexual discrimination posits the question of ‘localized’ versus ‘international’ trauma. As we noted in our first chapter, international bodies are gravitating towards a universalized treatment model for victims of rape, yet it holds that culturally specific forms of trauma cause victims to suffer in a particular way due to their methods in constructing a self. The (re)making of a self after sexual violence requires a domestic-level eye to effectively treat sexual trauma victims and enable survivors to regain their culturally-made identities.

From the American medical perspective, past stigmas on psychotherapy led to a decline in seeking treatment, particularly for long-term symptoms, and the current field is working towards uplifting its image to better serve survivors.\(^\text{311}\) Its major treatment plans adhere to trauma-informed care in which evidence-based models (EBT) use the survivor’s own cultural

\(^{310}\) Rubin, “Thinking Sex,” 3-44.

background to re-empower them._service_providers, such as RCCs, vary slightly in their treatment, preferring to treat immediate concerns and advocate on behalf of survivors. Examples of their efforts include the use of specific feminist terminology like “survivor” over “victim” during crisis response. Finally, survivors themselves write about a lack of individualized treatment based on cultural background. Trisha Meili, who entered New York City emergency care with severe skull and body lacerations and abrasions, describes how she became a sole, bruised, broken body to hospital staff: “[I]f we defined ourselves by our consciousness, our awareness,” she said, “then for more than five weeks I was not there. There was no Trisha Meili.” Medical professionals, social service providers, and survivors alike in the United States have spoken about their desires for local change.

On the other hand, Taiwanese survivors may demand a change in gender issues. Surgical revirgination, the medical procedure reconnecting women’s broken hymens, foregrounds the treatment for sexual violence victims who feel that their loss of chastity will lead to a failed life, while domestic violence shelters provide primarily financial support for legal services. Significant proportions of survivors who became impregnated by their experiences consistently discuss abortion as an option, and even those who face no physical or externally visible injuries fear disclosing their experience to the general public or government authorities. These

---

313 Woody and Beldin, “Mental Health Focus in Rape Crisis Services,” 97-98.
316 “現代婦女基金會.”
317 Tsorng-Yeh Lee et al., “The Lived Experience of Teen Girls’ Abortion in Taiwan.”
318 Luo, “MARRYING MY RAPIST?!” 591.
methods of revealing sexual violence in Taiwan suggest a need for reconstructing gender roles in order to (re)make the Taiwanese self after rape.

In both cultures, advocacy for better treatment is needed. Indeed, the fight to ameliorate problems of sexual violence is far from over. We are merely at the nexus of turning around views that universalize, perhaps unintentionally, conceptualizations of rape across distinct histories and beliefs. I end this thesis with a call to radicalizing the ways we think about rape recovery. There is no universal way of understanding rape, except that we use culture as the mouthpiece for constructing rape and its trauma. The only way to alleviate problems arising from sexual violence appears to be an end to this construction of cultural factors barring survivors from seeking recovery. We must look to dismantling ideas about sex, sexuality, and sexual violence themselves in order to draw out the problems of rape as a structural and personal trauma—placing localized understandings of rape and de-constructing the making and remaking of our Self after violence at the vanguard of recovery.


Beccalossi, Chiara and Crozier, Ivan. “Introduction: The Cultural History of Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century.” In *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Age of Empire*. Edited by...


https://seop.illc.uva.nl/entries/husserl/.


Haverly, Jack. *Negro minstrels: a complete guide to Negro minstrelsy, containing recitations, jokes, crossfires, conundrums, riddles, stump speeches, ragtime and sentimental songs, etc., including hints on organizing and successfully presenting a performance*. Chicago: Frederick J. Drake & Company, 1902.


http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/is-there-truth-to-refugee-sex-offense-reports-a-1186734.html.

https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/intentionality/.


https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JCnexOFOxCo.

http://icantkeepquiet.org/.


https://www.huffingtonpost.com/china-hands/remembering-1949-finding_b_6882332.html%E2%86%92.


https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/CHINA.CHAP1.HTM.


https://bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/SOO.PDF.


Thompson, Jennifer J. “‘Accept this twofold consolation, you faint-hearted creatures’: St. Augustine and contemporary definitions of rape.” *Studies in Media & Information Literacy Education* 4, no. 3 (2004).


“Tsai highlights Taiwan’s progress on gender equality at women’s conference.” *Taiwan Today.*


Ulman, Richard B. and Brothers, Doris. *The Shattered Self: A Psychoanalytic Study of Trauma.*


https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/powerful-art-exhibit-powerfully-answers-the-question-what-were-you-wearing_us_59badd2e4b02da0e1405d2a.


吳馨恩 (Wu Xinen). Interview by Vincent. “訪問台灣跨性別女性運動者 [Interviewing Transgender Taiwanese Women].” *國際社會主義前進 International Socialist Forward*. Published November 3, 2016. Accessed April 8, 2018. https://www.socialism.org.tw/2016/11/03/%E8%A8%AA%E5%95%8F%E5%8F%B0%E7%81%A3%E8%B7%A8%E6%80%A7%E5%88%A5%E5%8B%95%E6%80%A7%E9%81%B8%E5%8B%95%E8%80%85/.
