Making a Meal of It

Jui-shan Chang

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Sex in Chinese and Western Cultural Settings

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Acknowledgments

Chapter 3 contains revisions from parts of:

Chapter 7 contains revisions from parts of two articles:

I also wish to acknowledge that parts of Chapter 1 and Chapter 6 contain revisions from two articles in which I (the author) own the copyright:

Preface
Journeys

Kinsey …

For several years I have wanted to write about the path I have taken in carrying out sociological sex research over 20 years. The opportunity to present this journey in book form permits me to be reflective about the major twists and turns in this journey—both personal and intellectual. Just as I first embarked on this reflection in 2004, a movie was showing called *Kinsey*. What a coincidence! It is about a pioneer in sex research. The movie documents Alfred Kinsey's transition from a zoologist to a sexologist, studying diverse male and then female sexual behaviours in 1950s' America, and, of course, the relation between his research and his personal life.

One of the major contributions of Kinsey's survey findings was that many "ordinary" Americans did not need to feel guilty, embarrassed or anxious about some of their "abnormal" sexual practices. This movie provided not just a sort of "genre" for my intended writing at that time, but more important, this coincidence has given me confidence to document my engagement with this complex area of human life: after all, something valuable could be documented and debated, even though as a sociologist my name and influence in the field and society is relatively insignificant, particularly compared to someone

like Kinsey!

I grew up in Taiwan. I graduated from National Taiwan University and the University of Michigan, majoring in sociology. I began research- ing sexuality in 1980s' Taiwan at a time when a "quiet" sexual revo- lution started happening. I then extended my research to Hong Kong and mainland China to explore what, if anything, was sexually in common among the three Chinese societies that went beyond varia- tions on an individual, community or regional level.

In the 1990s, I extended the comparison into Western cultural set- tings. This way, whatever was sexually common among Chinese so- cieties and could be called "Chinese sexuality" would leap out at me once I compared what I had studied with non-Chinese societies. From all this emerged a cross-cultural research program into what I call the "embedded meanings of sex" in the Chinese and Western cultural settings.

The embedded meaning of sex in each of the two cultural settings would be harder to be made visible without framing sex under the wider cultural configurations of human nature, sex, self, family, man- hood/womanhood/personhood and individual transcendence, as well as comparing with "the other" via contrasting the wider cul- tural configurations of these aspects of human condition defined by the two world religions, Confucianism and Christianity. The youthful puzzlement with sexuality, informed by sociology and cross-cultural comparison, has ended up in a large canvas upon which I can de- velop ideas about sexuality.

Kinsey's methodology in studying sex had stuck to survey data using statistical analysis. My methodological journey had a similar begin- ning, namely a positivistic quantitative methodology with hypoth- esis testing, using survey data with advanced statistical modelling (particularly event history analysis). I was then at the University of Michigan.

After I started my academic career in Australia, I got closer to the data itself, rather than to statistical summaries. Using various data visualisations, I realised that more nuances could be verbalised than might be captured in statistical models. This opened up into interpretative qualitative methodology in which I analysed diverse forms of data: from focus groups, in-depth interviews and cultural artefacts (such as newspaper reports, movies, popular women's magazines, Confucian classics and the Christian scriptures). From all of this, and from the "bottom up," as it were, I could generate insights and interpretations that could capture deeper meanings about sexuality than was possible in the Kinsey-style approach.

Kinsey's observation about how many Americans were ignorant about sex knowledge and sexual techniques (including a problematic first-sex consummation between husband and wife) and how this "commonsense" sex knowledge was primarily derived from religion and morality, rather than scientific findings, motivated and committed him to scientific research into the sexual practices of Americans.

While finding the number and range of Americans that had had to go through a lot (of nonsense!) in their sexual journeys in diverse orientations, Kinsey had also acknowledged and actualised the "diverse" aspect of his own sexuality. According to a known Kinsey scale to measure sexual orientation (0 defined as "exclusively heterosexual" and 6 as "exclusively homosexual"), Kinsey's own scores sometimes fluctuated between 0 and 6. Various unconventional sexual episodes between him, his wife and a third party (a man) had caused him pain. His personal experience in sexuality would have no doubt made his sex research more relevant, not only to 1940s' and '50s' Americans but also to himself.

Not just Kinsey, for many academics, generally, research and personal lives tend to be intertwined in some way(s). I remember one famous American family sociologist confessing to me in a taxi on our way to a family conference in Taichung, Taiwan, "I've divorced, so I study

divorce. It is the advantage of being a sociologist—when we have problems, we study them!" In my case, I am interested in studying so-called life-course transitions, which (to me, at least) have generated a range of problems, excitements, puzzlements, surprises, disappointments, hope, regression, progression, mistakes, enlightenments, muddle-headedness, wisdom, hurts and love. Beyond my (particularly) life, ultimately, learning to be a man or a woman and achieving self-transcendence, or at least, self-reflection, at a particular time, space and sociocultural context in life's rich journey remains, I think, central to the (general) human condition.

East Meets West

When I went to Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1983, I certainly experienced cultural shock, particularly at how my American classmates expressed and asserted themselves. Initially, I thought and hoped that once my spoken English got better, I could express myself better in seminars. After one year, I did open my mouth in seminars, but I found it more challenging and awkward to express *my* own view than to express sociological knowledge as a sort of third-party entity. I became close friends with a few Americans. Some of them have remained my good friends for more than 20 years. Through the first several years, I noticed the "exoticness" in my friends gradually fading, and I learned that humans are human, regardless of cultures. In a way, this realisation helped me to learn to express myself in academic as well as social settings.

However, such clear but "adjustable" East-West duality in my life in Michigan was challenged again when I moved to Honolulu and worked at the East-West Centre. The majority of people I had interacted with there were Orientals. Somehow, I felt that the communication between me as an Oriental and the Orientals in Hawaii had not been as natural and easy as I had imagined (compared to the

communication between me and my Western friends in Michigan). I seemed more Western than the Orientals in Hawaii.

In (July) 1993, the natural beauty of Hobart made me accept an offer to teach at the University of Tasmania and decline an offer from another university in New York City. My exposure to aspects of Australian culture (in terms of the spirit of collective mateship and "a fair go") in Tasmania, as well as aspects of British culture (in terms of the consciousness of class and status) and the reserved manner of my migrant academic colleagues from England allowed me to experience the diversity within the West and the Western culture. I was perceived by English colleagues as "too American" (outspoken, assertive and straightforward) and perceived by Australian colleagues as "too individualistic." All felt a bit disappointed that I was not the sort of Chinese woman they had expected.

In 1996, I returned to America teaching at the University of Iowa. I experienced living in America differently again, with my newfound understandings about certain aspects of Australian and British contexts. This time, I understood that there was diversity within Western culture, and I did not try to fit Western culture into a single model, "the" American way, which I had imagined as "the" Western way before. I suppose that in the eyes of my American colleagues, I was more "exotic"—being Chinese, American and Australian!

In 1997, I came to Melbourne, starting the Sociology Program with two other sociologists at the University of Melbourne. My experience and understanding of the "West" had been further expanded. My appreciation of/sensitivity to cultural nuances have certainly become more sophisticated by living in Melbourne, a truly multicultural context, with many migrants from Southern Europe, particularly Italy and Greece. I learned from my Italian friends that familism is strong in the Italian culture and in the Mediterranean societies generally, but I found that there remains something "Western" among these familial souls compared to the familial Chinese with whom I am familiar. The

validation of being an Italian man or woman seems beyond fulfilling the familial roles.

In 2009, I started my training to become a psychotherapist and have seen clients in supervised placements. Most of my clients have been Anglo-Celtic adults who tend to have ultimate concerns about self-identity, desire and existential issues. Regardless of their gender, socioeconomic status, age, life stage, marital status or the trigger(s) to bring them to therapy, there are common issues raised, such as "Who am I?" "What do I really want?" or "What is the purpose of my life?" Such identity and existential issues are urgent for people in their 20s who struggle with deficits in actualising their sense of independence as an individual adult. These issues are also urgent for people in their 30s and 40s who wish somehow to transcend their multiple roles/responsibilities in relation to their work and family. They also seem particularly urgent for people in their 50s and beyond with grown-up children who have "done their bit" for the family but who are struggling in redefining/repositioning themselves in terms of exploring who they are, what they want for themselves (rather than for everyone else in the family), and whom they could be becoming.

In contrast, the validation of being a man/woman/person primarily through familial roles remains fundamental for most Chinese people. Perhaps this is why some in the field of Chinese studies argue that many Chinese people don't have a "self" or have a "self" that is primarily defined by relations and roles.

In 2007, I had conducted in-depth interviews with cultural elites,[1] 12 in Beijing and five in Hong Kong, aged from late 20s to mid-50s. They all articulated a common core ideal of harmony (which I call as "the habit of a Chinese heart") and a most generic ethical norm—piety (submitting to, and fulfilling duties for, roles). All elites perceived the essence of roles as meaningful, and to them, "the meaning of life" is closely tied to fulfilling duties or actualising roles, starting from family (in a vertical direction, including parents and children) and being

extended to work, community or society.

After more than two decades of experiencing and "learning" to be a world citizen in these various Western cultural contexts, I feel that I have gradually developed a "self" and have been able to express and act on my own views and arguments in my thinking, writing, teaching, social and personal life (as well as even in departmental politics). While expressing "my voice," I also feel that the underlying "me" still has a "self" more connected with familial roles and relations than an individualistic and/or individualized orientation. On one level, it is "Chinese," but my "Chineseness" is different from being Chinese in other contemporary Chinese societies (including in my homeland, Taiwan).

On another level, while I remain different from "the other" in Western societies, I have been able to appreciate and become "the other" as well as developing a "self" in my own way, grounded in my biography in cross-cultural experiences with numerous trial-and-errors and gains from deep pain. This "self" emerged in the West, despite being grounded in Chinese cultural ideals and a family structure. Certain incidents, situations and moments have provoked me to reflect and raise a question, "Am I *merely* equal to the sum of my familial roles?" However, this question seems to be only situational or momentary to me, rather than being fundamental as to my Western friends or clients in Melbourne.

In my younger days in Taiwan, I had started to be, and have always been, interested in culture(s), particularly when Chinese culture contrasts with "the other" culture (i.e., Western culture). Perhaps if there were no contrasts between cultures, I would not have been interested in culture or fascinated by differences between cultures. Such contrast started from popular songs.

I have been exposed to rock 'n' roll since primary school, when my oldest brother started listening to it. I didn't know what the songs'

English lyrics were, but I was able to taste the different "flavours" between the two: the intense melody and the (up) "beats" excited me, while the soft and sweet Chinese songs, like a river flow, calmed me down. Somehow, both love songs seemed to be expressing love, but in different ways.

The Chinese songs expressed love in a reserved but deep way with descriptions about scenes, while the Western songs seemed direct and intense with a strong "I" in them. Even "love" felt different between the two: the Chinese "love" sounded implicit, delicate and melancholy, while the Western "love" sounded explicit, romantic and lustful.

At age 14, I wrote and published my very first short story in a newspaper after I listened to the Rolling Stones' "As Tears Go By." Although I did not capture the lyrics, a singer's expressive voice aroused my affective feeling toward my second brother, Jui-te, with whom I shared similar academic interests. I wrote that story about a bond between a brother and a sister with a Chinese familial theme. I felt the same way when I was exposed to, and contrasted, paintings and novels from the two cultural modes—I was fascinated by the "other" culture.

I have learned from social studies in high school that family is the primary institution in the Chinese society, and familism is the core of Chinese culture. Given that family is also the primary institution in Western society, I wonder why the "self" is presented and represented in popular songs, novels and paintings so much more visibly and powerfully than in the Chinese cultural artefacts. Why is "love" represented so differently? Do different representations mean that "love" has different meanings in the two cultures? How about sex? Why do Western songs and movies dare to present the lustful aspect of sexuality? What does sex mean? Does sex mean the same in the two cultures? What is the relation between sex, sexuality and manhood/womanhood? What do a man, a woman and a decent person mean in each of the two cultural settings?

Have I found answers for any of the "innocent" questions I posed in my youth? This book, based on my two-decade sociological research, hopes to provide some clues, or insights, which could lead to further research, debates or reflections among numerous individuals and families in Chinese and Western cultural settings.

NOTES

1. Among my 12 interviewees in Beijing (four women), there were:

    - one in cultural policy (a director of a cultural development foundation);

    - five "cultural mediators," including a principal and a (female) director of moral/ethics education of an elite school, a director of students' affairs of an elite university, and an editor of a major magazine on current socioeconomic issues in China; and

    - six "cultural innovators," including one critical intellectual on current education reform and implementing the reform via a NGO in China, a (female) environmental advocate who is also an entrepreneur in the finance industry, a (female) editor for a major imported women's magazine, a (female) academic in Chinese film critique, an artist, a critical intellectual/blogger who owns an elite bookshop, and a critical thinker/innovator on Chinese philosophy.

    Among my five interviewees in Hong Kong, there were:

    - one in cultural policy (a director of a cultural policy research centre in a major university);

    - two "cultural mediators": including the owner of the most influential news corporation and an editor for a major newspaper; and

    - two "cultural innovators": including one artist/art critique, and one female academic in cultural studies and an advocate in heritage preservation.

Introduction

This book presents my original sociological research in *framing* sex with issues regarding self-identity, manhood/womanhood/personhood, marriage and family under the common impacts of modernisation between different contemporary Chinese societies (Taiwan, Hong Kong and mainland China) that have been through different systems of political economy and colonial experiences, as well as between the Chinese and Western societies that have been grounded in different civilisations.

This book addresses the Chinese-style of modernity, particularly starting from the historical turning points of changing sexual mores, marriage, family, self, life-course transitions and manhood/womanhood under rapid socioeconomic transformation and cultural change. It documents my two-decade sociological research and original arguments regarding these aspects of Chinese modernity.

Through my comparative research into Chinese and Western sexuality, I have critiqued the application of Kinsey-type sex (survey) research to Chinese societies. My main argument regarding Chinese sexuality (versus Western sexuality) is presented in Chapter 8. This is because without building upon some of my earlier works as presented from the seven preceding chapters, the specific approach and the major argument I have particularly proposed in Chapter 8 cannot have been developed. I have argued that, with the loosening premarital sexual mores in Chinese societies in the rapid process of

modernisation (including exposure to contemporary Western ideas and values), particularly after the mid-1990s, it might appear there is a "convergence" toward behaviours of the secular West.

My cross-cultural comparative research indicates that, despite the diversity that exists within each of the Chinese or Western settings, the metaphors and embedded meanings of sex actually remain different. Each cultural setting has its own distinct "home base" metaphor and embedded meaning of sex: where sex functions likes a "meal" for "sustenance" in Chinese cultural settings versus it being part of a "game" for individual recognition and validation as a man or a woman in Western cultural settings. This contrast would be harder to emerge unless we do cross-cultural comparisons *and* frame sexual behaviors with issues regarding self, manhood/womanhood/personhood, marriage and family.

This book argues and illustrates that the modernisation argument (to put it simply, the more "modern" a society becomes, the more permissive the sexual mores become) is indeed inadequate when it focuses only on trends, particularly those trends which are "converging" to the West, and fails to ground the trends in the traditions and histories of specific societies. This inadequacy is due to making "truncated" comparisons between societies, particularly societies rooted in different cultural traditions.

In our fascination with our "neighbours" in this global village, we run the risk of imagining that we are all becoming alike, without asking where our neighbours came from or indeed where they might be going!

Parallel to my life journey, which I have sketched in the preface, the chapters in this book highlight the twists and turns in my intellectual journey. More important, they demonstrate a cumulative development not just in sociological approaches of researching sex but also in shifting theoretical paradigms in studying the impacts of modernisation on different cultures and societies—from modernisation theory

into the multiple modernities.

The insights of sex, self, manhood/womanhood, marriage and family presented in this book can particularly critique the conventional modernisation paradigm that equates modernity with Western modernity. Furthermore, these insights can enrich the newly emerging paradigm of multiple modernities (notably Eisenstadt, 2000, 2003), given that this new paradigm has been primarily built upon the studies of varieties in democratic and capitalistic institutions, rather than in family institutions in the contemporary societies across different civilisations on the globe.

The journey presented in this book starts from the post-World War II Taiwan. Why did I start from Taiwan in this stream of comparative studies of sex and exploring what being modern means when sex is framed with the areas of self-identity, manhood/womanhood, marriage and family and its implications for the paradigm of multiple modernities?

Taiwan in the 1960s was a "laboratory" for studying Chinese society and culture, notably argued by Professor Chen Shao-hsin in 1966 (Chen, 1966), a distinguished cultural anthropologist at that time. Since the late 1970s, there has been a movement toward political independence in Taiwan, but I would argue that such a "lab" status of studying the impacts of modernisation on Confucian Chinese culture remains even today.

The pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party entered the multiparty platform in 1991 after martial law was lifted in 1987. It had won presidential elections for eight years (2000–2008) and particularly promoted a Taiwanese political and cultural identity in past decades. However, the newly emerging "Taiwanised" identity promoted by the pro-independence movement emphasises more on Taiwan's geography, history, politics and a culture influenced by multiple cultural/colonial sources than "de-Sinologizing" its traditional Chinese

family structure and values.

This "lab" status derives from Taiwan's particular political and economic situation during the 1950s to the 1990s. Although Taiwan had been under Japanese colony for five decades in the first half of the twentieth century, the Confucian tradition, in spite of being implanted by politics, privileged Taiwan with this "lab" status. The Nationalist Party had intensively implanted an orthodox Confucian cultural tradition in Taiwan.

After the party lost the civil war to the Communist Party in the mainland and fled to Taiwan in 1949, Confucian classics were a compulsory part of the curriculum at every level of education (from primary school to university) and tested in national entrance exams to higher education, public services and all other civil exams. In the same period, Hong Kong remained a British colony and mainland China went through the major 10-year Cultural Revolution. Furthermore, both Taiwan and Hong Kong started the process of modernisation in the 1960s, while mainland started it almost two decades later. Therefore, Taiwan has been the first contemporary Chinese society with orthodox Confucian values and nationalist political ideology to start modernisation.

To study how modernisation has affected Confucian values and different cohorts of Chinese people's life-course transitions from the early stage of modernisation of the 1950s and onward, Taiwan is indeed an unusual, if not the only, "lab" for such research.

Overall, this entire intellectual journey has been like using a "grounded theory" approach with a process of analytic induction. Grounded in the most appropriate data, research strategy and the theoretical paradigm for the questions proposed at the time, each chapter of this book made an "extra" elaboration regarding the topic—further questions posed, more constructs unfolded, deeper insights revealed and my argument expanded.

This intellectual journey starts from positivistic quantitative sociology in a premarital, normative Taiwanese cultural context in the 1980s. At that time, after Taiwan had undergone rapid modernisation in the 1960s and 1970s, one of the effects of the two-decades of social change was on young women's transition to adulthood, including finishing schooling, leaving home, nonfamilial work and living experience, autonomy in dating and the transition to the first sexual experience. Sophisticated survey data were required to study trends and changes in these crucial events occurring during life-course transition to adulthood across two decades of different birth cohorts. The sophistication lies in enhancing the capacity of a cross-sectional survey to collect time-specific data over each individual's life course.

An instrument called an "event history calendar" was used to collect information of the age of each major life event that occurred. When I collected such data along with a major 1986 islandwide KAP (knowledge, attitude and behaviour) survey of 5,000 Taiwanese women, I felt that I was part of this social change, given that my personal transition to adulthood was also occurring during the period of time I was studying. Chapter 1 demonstrates how I used a life-course approach, with the advanced quantitative methodology of "event history analysis" that I learned at the University of Michigan, to study the newly emerging social phenomenon of increasing premarital sex for women who had grown up in 1950s'–1980s' Taiwan and to frame their first sexual experience with other major life events in their transition to adulthood.

After the study on the level of behaviour via survey data, my intellectual journey extended into the exploration on the level of meaning regarding how young men and women perceived and negotiated premarital sexual permissiveness in 1990s' Taiwan.

Chapter 2 presents my approach shifted from using a positivistic quantitative survey into interpretative qualitative methodology using a grounded theory approach with focus groups. I conducted focus groups among Taipei young people in 1994. When I taught at the

University of Tasmania, to my surprise, the interpretative paradigm also involved cutting-edge technology. I learnt how to transcribe my focus group data in videotapes by listening attentively to the tapes, and used digital recording equipment to tag segments of videos and to transcribe back and forth by tracing those tags. Only then did I feel I could venture a thorough interpretation.

When the bigger (academic and social) environment was shifting from the modernisation paradigm to postmodernisation and globalisation, my intellectual journey went into the dynamics between globalism and localism. I became particularly fascinated by the way the "global"/"Western" can be used as a means to achieve the "local"/"Chinese" ends for contemporary Chinese women to construct a modern womanhood with a more fulfilled career, relationships, marriage, family and sexuality.

When I taught at the University of Melbourne, my further exploration in qualitative sociology was moving into the level of discourse represented in popular culture.

Chapter 3 presents a discourse analysis of how globalism and localism interacted in the arena represented by the 1990s' Taiwanese edition of *Cosmopolitan* magazine. I remember for six months I maintained huge spreadsheets of coded "Agony Aunt" columns and *Cosmo* materials in bed with me as my bedtime stories, perhaps allowing me to spot patterns when at times I couldn't fall asleep.

Chapters 1 to 3 set out my investigation of how modernisation has impacted sexual perceptions, attitudes and behaviours as well as popular discourse regarding modern womanhood across different cohorts of people who had grown up during the first three decades of modernisation in Taiwan.

I then questioned if there was something which could be called "Chinese sexuality" and recognised that I wouldn't know it unless I

engaged in comparative research with two levels of comparison required. The first level was to compare the findings and insights obtained from my studies in Taiwan with those from studies of other contemporary Chinese societies, primarily those of Hong Kong and China, which also have been under rapid modernisation in recent decades. The second level was to extend the comparison from "between Chinese societies" to "between Chinese and non-Chinese societies." My intellectual journey had turned into comparative sociology with two levels of comparative studies.

Chapters 4 and 5 present my studies on the first level of comparison, i.e., between the three contemporary Chinese societies. I made my first trip to mainland China and Hong Kong in 1994. These trips were historical for me, having grown up in Taiwan where direct communication between mainland China and Taiwan had been banned for four decades. Everything I saw there was interesting and worthwhile to me as a Chinese person from Taiwan and as a researcher in Chinese studies. I probed every single conversation in my focus group discussions and in-depth interviews as well as in my every conversation with anyone in Shanghai! My local host, Professor Liu Dalin at Shanghai University, with a reputation of "the Kinsey in China," helped in many ways, including suggesting that I wear a jacket outside of my colourful sundress that would be more in keeping with local expectations.

Chapter 4 provides an overview and identifies different pathways of liberalising premarital sexual mores between these contemporary Chinese societies from the 1950s to the mid-1990s, and it explores, after the mid-1990s, what direction these changes in sexual mores appeared to take with implications for the modernisation argument.

Chapter 5 explores issues pertinent to the overall trend of loosening sexual mores in contemporary China, Hong Kong and Taiwan and studies whether these changes in premarital sexual behaviour reflect an underlying attitudinal trend toward secular Western permissiveness. In particular, it explores whether young people growing up in

the most modernised major cities are "loosening up" relative to core traditional values and what "traditional" values are perceived and lived by these young people in the three Chinese societies.

I conducted in-depth interviews of highly educated young Chinese growing up in the major cities of these three societies in 2005. The study revealed that loosening premarital sexual mores has not resulted in these highly educated urban youths becoming less "Chinese" with regard to core values of familism.

Before presenting my studies on the second level of comparison, i.e., extending the comparison to non-Chinese societies, primarily to Western cultural settings, Chapter 6 provides a prelude into the level of contemporary discourse about sex, gender and relationship issues prevalent and represented in popular culture in the secular West.

In parallel to the analysis in Chapter 3 of the Taiwanese edition of *Cosmopolitan* magazine, Chapter 6 analyses the American edition of *Cosmopolitan* magazine. The Taiwanese and American editions of *Cosmopolitan* (*Cosmo*) magazines offer a way of exploring different themes in these two cultural settings. Chapter 3 presents a discourse analysis of refashioning womanhood. In particular, it is focused on the theme of how globalism and localism were intermeshed and represented by the 1990s' Taiwan *Cosmo*. This is the strength of utilising this specific magazine at that time period to explore such a theme, because the content of the Taiwanese *Cosmo* was being gradually localised in terms of using a higher proportion of locally written articles as against translated articles from the *Cosmopolitan* headquarters throughout the 1990s.

In contrast, Chapter 6 has its focus on the "Agony Aunt" columns in the 1990s' American edition of *Cosmopolitan*. This secular advisory system represented in advice columns provides me with a data set with a unique structure (composed the agony presented in real lives of the women who write in, and the specific advice given by the

Agony Aunt). Chapter 6 analyses such texts or representations and constructs theoretical typologies of "Agony-Resolution Pathways" to reveal the nature of gender politics and modern agony and solutions underlined by individualism.

Through the work presented in this chapter, I got into men's studies after a long period of studying women's issues, because I realised that gender issues require study into, and understanding of, both genders. This adventure, thus, started from a cross-gender approach, how American men are perceived by women in the "Agony Aunt" columns of *Cosmopolitan*.

Following the understanding about the condition of gender politics, its agony and resolution in the secular West represented in popular culture, Chapters 7 and 8 present my comparative studies between Chinese and Western cultural settings.

Chapter 7 probes the topic of sexuality further by studying sexual transgression. While witnessing and being fascinated by how marriages worked or didn't work in the Western cultural settings, from statistical figures and representations in popular culture and anecdotal stories, I realised that studying the "nonnormative" extramarital sex can be more illuminating than the study of "normative" marital sex—simply because transgression marks out and crosses social boundaries and reveals deeper meanings. I found myself on many occasions in an "agony aunt" role with people in such predicaments who assumed that I might have useful advice to offer.

Chapter 7 explores extramarital transgressions, using ethnographic content analysis of real stories in newspaper reports in the 1990s, with typology construction regarding the boundary of family and the meanings of (in)fidelity, love and sex in Chinese and Western cultural settings.

In the later part of my journey of conducting comparative studies

between Chinese and Western cultural settings in the 2000s, my approach has deepened. This is because the pervasive differences between the Chinese and Western cultures have driven me to trace each of their "roots"—the aspect of cultural origins represented in the classics of Confucianism and the Christian Bible. In 2002, I reread the Confucian classics with a specific lens (unlike the way I had memorised these texts for exams from primary school to university in Taiwan). In 2003, I started to learn to read the Bible, both English and Chinese editions. I read through the whole Bible, reading certain parts three times, inserting yellow stickers on many pages. Most of my colleagues and students in Melbourne were amazed by this, because none of them had gone through the Bible even once.

The last chapter of this book, Chapter 8, presents how I did my "genealogical" research by digging into the "roots" of the two world religions. Most important, this work has challenged the adequacy of much research into sexual practices in different societies, which has reported a ubiquitous trend toward permissiveness due to modernisation and globalisation. Such Kinsey-inspired research compares rates of specific sexual practices across different societies, presuming that sexual behaviours have the same meanings everywhere.

This work proposes a cross-cultural sociological approach to locate sexual practices at a more fundamental level—namely, the embedded meaning of sex. The "embedded meaning of sex" can more clearly emerge through cross-cultural contrasts of different definitions and configurations regarding human nature, sex, self, human relations, marriage, family and the recognition and validation of being a man, a woman or a "decent" human being. Without cross-cultural contrasts on these deeper configurations defined by different world religions, the embedded meanings of sex would be harder to be made visible, because people in the same culture would take for granted what sex means within that culture.

Cross-cultural contrasts can show the different possibilities, and people in specific cultures have a distinct "home base" regarding their embedded meaning of sex that operates. Different metaphors and the embedded meaning of sex *emerge* from such cross-cultural contrasts: "meal" for "sustenance" in Chinese contexts versus "game" for "individual recognition, validation and completion" in Western contexts. In Chinese contexts, sex is not who you are but what you do—"who you are" is primarily tied to familial roles; in Western contexts, sex is not what you do but who you are.

Finally, "Concluding Remarks" highlights the implications derived from the research and findings presented in this book. Theoretically, the findings of my research in sex, self, manhood/womanhood, marriage and family in Chinese and Western cultural settings can critique the conventional modernisation paradigm and enrich the new paradigm of multiple modernities. Methodologically, this book presents a variety of innovative research strategies to upgrade the Kinsey-style surveys in studying sex.

As for practical implications for the future, I have developed the notion of a "transcultural wisdom bank"—the collection of the "set" of possible solutions from different cultures or societies to *recurrent* problems that are common to the human condition, and which no one culture has (ever) managed to solve completely.

With respect to my cross-cultural research of the embedded meanings of sex, a "wisdom bank" about the metaphors of sex, meanings of sex, sexual norms and sanctions, the relationships between sex, love, marriage and family, and self becomes possible—taking wisdom from this bank, individuals will be less likely to be "stuck" in their own definitions of and issues about sex (particularly if they do not work!).

Afterword

I completed the research of this book in 2007 as a sociologist. Since then, I have been exploring my career and personal journeys from academia, to industry, and to psychotherapy and psychoanalysis. These initiatives were adventurous searching—to understand my being, and to explore who I can be becoming. At the same time, it seems that these adventures have never taken me too far away, because these adventures have not involved "breaks away" but rather "repositioning" myself in relation to a position which is defined by my families (family of origin, and a dispersed and then reunited nuclear family of my own), as well as a Confucian ideal of being an intellectual who not only connects to the wider society/world but also feels obligated to reflect, document and share how I make sense of certain issues and aspects of human conditions.

This book presents my journeys. More important, it presents the turning points, pathways and the processes of a "quiet" sexual revolution occurring in contemporary Chinese societies making their historical transformations into modernity in a globalised world. Although this sexual revolution may have started with being "quiet," as presented in this book, the understanding and implications can actually open up new possibilities to anyone. After all, framing sex with manhood, womanhood, personhood, relationships and family is a core part of human conditions. Thus, it should never be too late for me to share my thinking presented in this book despite the fact that this book may not contain the most updated data.

Part 1:

1950s'–1980s' Taiwan

Chapter 1

A Quiet Sexual Revolution

The influence of social change on family life was a central issue in the social sciences in the twentieth century (Ogburn and Tibbets, 1933; Goode, 1970; Caldwell, 1982; Thornton, 2005). Social scientists have long correlated industrialisation, urbanisation, educational expansion and economic growth with changes in family and demographic behaviour (Goode, 1970, 1982; Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1976; Hareven, 1982; Thornton and Fricke, 1987). A phenomenon of increasing premarital sex was emerging in 1980s' Taiwan, accompanied with the taking off of industrialisation, urbanisation and cultural change in the 1960s and 1970s. This chapter examines and interprets the transition to sexual experience among ever-married women born between 1936 and 1960 who had completed the transition to adulthood during the 1950s–1980s in Taiwan, a society which has been characterised historically as familistic and which had experienced rapid socioeconomic transformation during those decades of the early phases of modernisation.

There are two reasons why this chapter emphasises only the women's side of the story regarding this quiet revolution. One is that historically men in Chinese culture have always had more sexual freedom. Traditionally, the husband-wife relationship was to produce children, but only men had "alternative" sexual outlets (i.e., concubines and prostitutes). This double standard regarding chastity persisted in 1980s' Taiwan—it remained tolerable for men to have sex outside the

marital context. Therefore, given the constant permissiveness of men's sexuality, the real change for the "loosening up" in this quiet sexual revolution in Taiwan was more likely to be from women than men.

The other reason for the focus on women in this study is that, given the fact that both men and women were exposed to this new courtship system and a changing sociocultural environment in 1980s' Taiwan, the new autonomy which individuals gained from education, working outside of the home and living away from home brought more changes to women's lives than to those of men. This, in turn, had an impact on young couples' (particularly young women's) transition to sexual experiences.

According to traditional Chinese norms, sexual intercourse is permitted only in marriage and is considered "adult behaviour." This is evident in a Chinese saying: "Before getting married, one is always a child!" However, a 1980 islandwide survey of married women in Taiwan found that half of the wives in the age group of 20–24 years in Taiwan said they had had sexual intercourse with their future husbands before marriage. Furthermore, the youngest age group of wives interviewed, 20- to 24-year-olds, were nearly 60 percent more likely to have had premarital sexual intercourse with their future husbands than the 25- to 29-year-old wives, and nearly 2.5 times as likely as the wives aged 30 to 34 (Cernada et al., 1986). These statistics provides prima facie evidence of changes in traditional norms from the 1960s to the 1980s.

The dramatic increase in sexual intimacy before marriage in Taiwan was described as "a very quiet sexual revolution" in the 1980s (Rindfuss and Morgan, 1983) and attributed to a shift from arranged marriages toward romantic marriages and changes to dating behaviour and the courtship process (Thornton et al., 1989). However, it can be argued that the apparent increase in the proportion of Taiwanese women[1] engaging in premarital sexual relations before the 1980s is not an indicator that a sexual revolution was occurring as a result of

socioeconomic changes and Westernisation, but rather it is a presentation of preexisting values hitherto imperfectly understood. This interpretation depends on how the term or concept of "marriage" has been defined in Chinese culture.

In Chinese culture, "getting married" is a process that starts much earlier than the wedding day, but the term "being married" means that someone has completed the whole marriage process (i.e., has had the wedding ceremony). Therefore, the term "premarital sex" used in this chapter, which is measured in the Western way (i.e., sex occurring before the wedding day), actually refers to, or should be cultural-specifically identified as sex before the finalised step or the completion of the marriage process.

In the following sections, I first discuss in detail the sociocultural and theoretical background to that thesis regarding the change and persistence of Taiwanese women's transition to sexual experiences from the 1950s to the 1980s. Then I use a life-course approach with data gathered from a 1986 islandwide survey to examine that thesis by incorporating both trend analysis and multivariate analyses.

Theoretical Framework

Virginity Value in Chinese Tradition

Traditional Confucianism proscribes romantic love lest it threaten the parent-child tie, which is seen as the basic structural basis of the Chinese family. "Courtship" practices could not therefore operate. The husband-wife relationship was a utilitarian one, to produce children. The importance of female chastity before and after marriage has long been stressed in Chinese culture as a requisite for orderly family life regarding inheritance and the undisturbed continuation of

the lineage. To ensure chastity, Confucianists advocated the complete separation of the sexes (Gulik, 1974). Historically, the virtuous woman was called *lienü*. The importance of chastity for defining female virtue increased sharply during the Neo-Confucian Era, starting from the Sung (AD 960–1279) dynasty. In the periods Yuan (AD 1299–1368) and Ming (AD 1369–1644), female chastity became virtually the only qualification for *lienü* (Chiao, 1969). In those periods, a woman had to remain chaste at all costs.

Change and Persistence

Particular periods in history have, as Mannheim (1952) notes, a distinctive "spirit of the time." From the 1950s to the 1980s, as a result of rapid socioeconomic transformation and cultural change, Taiwan had become an urban and industrial society with widespread education and extensive contacts with the outside world. Many nonfamilial ideas and values had been added to preexisting Chinese familial ideals during this process of rapid socioeconomic transformation. Individuals were likely to be exposed to these nonfamilial ideals either through their personal participation in nonfamilial activities (such as schooling, labour force participation and living outside of the parental home), or through the mass media, friends, relatives or the community without having direct personal nonfamilial experiences. In addition, many Western ideas and values (including those of democracy, freedom, egalitarianism, romantic love and the dating culture) had been imported or copied directly from Western role models. In general, younger cohorts of women in 1980s' Taiwan had grown up in a period of a greater infusion of nonfamilial and Western ideals, and in a more rapidly changing socioeconomic structure than was the case for women who grew up prior to the 1960s.

Since the 1960s, this new socioeconomic structure has modified young Taiwanese women's entry into adulthood. From the 1960s

to the 1980s, participation in nonfamilial institutions had exposed young women not only to the ideas and influences of a nonfamilial context, but also to more opportunities for interactions with the opposite sex, and had enabled a level of autonomy not evident in their past experiences at home. As a result, increased premarital sexual intimacy had become likely.

Nonetheless, in 1980s' Taiwan, many traditional institutions persisted. The patrilineal system, filial piety and continuity of the family line continued to be diffused across generations and was still emphasised. The double standard regarding premarital chastity persisted. Further, contraception was officially only available for married women, and legalised abortion was accessible to married women only with spousal consent. Moreover, even if the decrease in parental control over the choice of marital partners seemed great, the meaning of engagement and marriage remained a "contract" between the two families, rather than between two young people. While weddings in Taiwan had been "Westernised" in terms of the principal actors now travelling by car (rather than sedan chair) and the bride wearing a white wedding gown (instead of a red one), the structure of marriage remained very much within the Chinese tradition, and the procedure followed the traditional "Six Rites" (Wolf, 1972; Cohen, 1976; Hu, 1982).

The "Six Rites" make clear that in Chinese culture marriage is a *process*. Freedman has summarised the "Six Rites" as follows: inquiries are made in a girl's family by the go-between of a family seeking a bride; genealogical and horoscopic data are sought by the go-between; the girl's horoscope is matched with the boy's; the betrothal is clinched by the transfer of gifts; the date of the wedding (that is, the transfer of the bride) is fixed; the bride is moved (Freedman, 1970).

Among Taiwanese people, the time when the betrothal is finalised by the transfer of gifts and publicised to the close relatives of both sides of the families is called *xiaoding* (small engagement), and the time when

the date of the wedding (that is, the transfer of the bride) is fixed and publicised to a larger group of people, *dading* (big engagement). The boy's family brings to the girl's family a small proportion of *pinjin* (the bride price) on the day of the small engagement and brings a large proportion of the bride price on the day of the big engagement. Taiwanese define "officially getting engaged" as occurring with the first event of engagement, which is *xiaoding*.

Therefore, the *xiaoding* is the first official step in what is essentially a process. It establishes the official bond of affinity between the two families. This bond of affinity between the two families can rarely be broken: "After betrothal a marriage exists that traditionally can be broken only by death or a negotiated rupture; but if one of the two parties dies, the marriage may still be carried to the second stage by the surviving girl proceeding as a widow to take her place in the boy's house or the surviving boy going through the final rites of marriage with the dead girl" (Freedman, 1970, p. 290). The wedding ceremony and the transfer of the bride represent the finalising of this marriage process.

In 1980s' Taiwan, romantic love and a dating culture that impacted this unique marriage system made sex occur earlier within this process. In the Western sense, sex occurring at any time in the process before the actual wedding ceremony would be identified or coded as "premarital sex," but in Taiwanese eyes, this so-called premarital sex was actually occurring in what they saw as a marital context.

Life-Course Perspective

As part of a life-course perspective, transitional events should be viewed in a social context. In one sense, the life-course perspective emphasises that status transitions only take on meaning when they are placed in a social context defined as the significant moments

in "the persistent organic interdependency of the cohort-specific life history" (Ryder, 1965, p. 290). In another sense, a life-course perspective implies that certain status transitions can best be understood when they are related to other status transitions which usually follow or closely precede the entrance to these statuses (Modell et al., 1978, p. 121), as in a sort of causal chain.

Therefore, theoretically, the transition to sexual experience is viewed in a social context in this study by means of two strategies. One strategy is to consider the experiences of different birth cohorts, because rapid social change can produce unique cohort-related constellations of influence (Riley, 1976; Elder, 1979). The other strategy is to place the transition to sexual experience for women in Taiwan in the context of the marriage process and other life events in the passage to adulthood, such as finishing school, participating in the labour force, living away from home, dating, being engaged and getting married. This is because early life experiences are expected to influence later events or transitions and also because, as was discussed before, in Chinese culture, the transition to sexual experience for women in 1980s' Taiwan should be viewed within the context of transition to adulthood, which was culturally defined by marriage.

A Thesis regarding Premarital Sex for Women in 1980s' Taiwan

Based on the preceding discussion, I hypothesise that, in the 1980s' sociocultural setting in Taiwan, premarital sex for a woman most likely occurred in a marital context (i.e., within the context of courtship leading to marriage or when she was being readied for her marriage). At that time, "a marital context" for a Taiwanese woman might have included two situations. One situation was that a woman had been engaged. The other situation was that a woman had not had the "official" engagement ceremony (e.g., *xiaoding, dading*), but she has made this commitment, with the consent and great involvement of

her parents and those of her partner, to a real marriage plan. Either of these two situations "almost" guaranteed the young couple to be married. Therefore, the positive impact of this marital context (i.e., being engaged or "before" engaged) on the likelihood of engaging in premarital sex can be expected.

Furthermore, I hypothesise that this positive impact of "a marital context" on premarital sex was crucially conditioned by the mechanism of autonomy in dating for women in 1980s' Taiwan. Traditionally, marriages were arranged by families, not by individuals, and young couples did not expect to see each other until the day of the wedding. Even if some couples did meet before engagement, they usually could not get to know each other well due to the lack of dating. So, practically, even an engaged couple was not likely to have premarital sex. In 1980s' Taiwan, parental approval was still required most of the time, but the young couple began to play a more active part and to have opportunities to independently meet and to extensively date before marriage. In this situation of having autonomy in dating, premarital sex became a greater possibility and, I argue, more likely. To test this thesis, survey data were used.

The Survey Data

The Survey

The data for this research were taken from a random sample of ever-married women aged 20 to 49 interviewed as part of a 1986 island-wide knowledge, attitude and practice (KAP) survey of fertility and family planning in Taiwan. Sample size was approximately 5,000 and the response rate was 86 percent. This survey was a collaborative project between the Institute for Social Research at the University of

Michigan and the Taiwan Provincial Family Planning Institute. I had participated in every phase of this project. My research questions were formulated and included as part of this KAP survey questionnaire.

Information on each respondent's transition to adulthood was gathered by means of a face-to-face interview with an "event history calendar." The calendar was used to collect information on school attendance, amount of schooling, work experience before marriage, living arrangements while working before marriage, dating experience, first sexual experience with the future husband, engagement, marriage and first pregnancy. The information regarding first premarital sexual experience with someone other than the future husband was gathered by asking the respondent to anonymously fill out a self-administered questionnaire. This self-administered questionnaire was designed to deal with the issues of privacy and embarrassment. The topic of personal experience of premarital sex was still very sensitive in 1980s' Taiwan—particularly for women.[2] Therefore, underreporting the incidence of premarital sex in this society at that time can be expected. On the other hand, the number reporting premarital sex in the 1986 KAP survey may be taken as representing the *minimum* level of the incidence of premarital sex for Taiwanese women.

Methods

With this kind of data, it became feasible to test the thesis that the increased autonomy of dating increased premarital sex particularly within a "marital context" in 1980s' Taiwan. Given the life-course perspective used, I first analyse the historical trends in Taiwanese women's transition to sexual experience through the use of trend analysis in which cohorts are viewed as groups "following each other" through history. Second, I use multivariate analyses to explore the specific effects of autonomy of dating and engagement on premarital sex for women in 1980s' Taiwan. In order to test for these specific

effects, the multivariate analyses will need to include controls for early life experiences, such as education and nonfamilial work/living experiences—as these have been found to be in some ways associated with premarital sex for women in Taiwan (Chang, 1996).

Trend Analysis

Trend analysis classifies the women interviewed by their *birth cohorts* and then compares the cohorts' experiences in their transition to adulthood, which includes such "events" as dating, engagement, marriage and first sexual encounter. If there were historical changes, the proportional distributions and the age distributions of specific events would vary across different cohorts.

The sample for the trend analysis is limited to women born between 1935 and 1960. Women born between 1961 and 1965 are excluded from the analysis, because the selectivity of marriage makes the sample of these ever-married women unrepresentative of women of the younger cohort, 1960–1965.[3]

Multivariate Analysis

The strategy of the multivariate data analysis used can be divided into two parts, based on two types of data.

One type of multivariate analysis is event history analysis and relies on time-specific dynamic models across the period of most marriageable ages (15 to 28) of each woman's life course, using age-specific "event history" data. In general, event history analysis is a dynamic method of incorporating time-varying explanatory variables to account for how an individual changes or develops over the life course. In this context, variables such as the birth cohort of the respondent, education and

nonfamilial work and living experiences and "being engaged" can be tested to see if they affect the likelihood of the first premarital sex encounter occurring at a specific age. In this chapter, for the age-specific models, analysis is limited to women who were still virgins by each specific age being studied across ages 15 to 28 over their life courses. Women who had had premarital sexual relations or had married before the specific age being studied are censored for each analysis across ages 15 to 28.

The other type of multivariate analysis is cross-sectional analysis and relies on non-time-specific regression models, using non-age-specific data. Here, even the cross-sectional analysis in this chapter contains a timing element. I first look at sexual intercourse before engagement, and then, for those with no preengagement sex, I examine sexual experience after engagement but before the wedding day.

The sample for the multivariate data analysis is limited to women born after the Second World War, i.e., the "young generation" in 1980s' Taiwan. This is because the autonomous experiences of schooling, nonfamilial employment and living arrangements were features of passage to adulthood for women in the young generation more than they were for women in the old generation.

Presentation of Results

The discernment of historical trends from the cross-sectional survey, while also paying due regard to the determinants of individuals' age-specific sexual behaviours, requires the kinds of analyses described above. In order to present the results of such work, it is useful to see each of the following tables as "peeling away" different levels of a complex process. The first table describes historical trends which can be read by comparing the proportion distributions *across* different five-year birth cohorts. Distributional discrepancies suggest historical shifts.

The following two tables (1-2 and 1-3) then compare various regression models in which more explanatory variables of premarital sex are controlled. The fourth table reveals the key role of "engagement" in affecting the likelihood of premarital sex. Finally, the last two tables (1-5 and 1-6) involve regressions which are age-specific, that is, the extent to which "being engaged" affects the likelihood of first premarital sexual encounters by controlling for birth cohort, education and nonfamilial work and living experiences.

In looking at these tables (1-4, 1-5 and 1-6), it is important to remember that the age-specific regressions relate to each specific age at which first sexual encounters occurred. All of the regressions involve logits, which is a specific transformation of the dichotomous dependent variable (i.e., "yes" or "no" to premarital sex), which overcome the problems that occur in using ordinary least-square regression on such a dependant variable.

Cohort Trends in Women's Transition to Sexual Experience

Within the theoretical framework, an increase in premarital sex is expected to be associated with trends toward romantic love and dating. Also, an increase in premarital sex is hypothesised to occur within the context of courtship leading to marriage in 1980s' Taiwan. This hypothesis is first tested by a trend analysis. Table 1-1 summarises the historical trends in the process of dating, premarital sex, and marriage for women who grew up and made a transition to adulthood between the 1950s and 1980s in Taiwan.

Table 1-1: Transition to Adulthood for Taiwanese Women, by 5-Year Birth Cohort of 1936–1960

	Cohort 36–40	Cohort 41–45	Cohort 46–50	Cohort 51–55	Cohort 56–60
Autonomy When Dating					
Future Husband					
no dating with future husband before marriage	62.6	51.2	35.9	18.7	10
asked parental permission before dating	29.8	37.9	50.7	60.8	62
did not ask parental permission before dating	7.6	10.9	13.4	20.5	28
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100
N	473	588	785	1022	923
Transition to Sexual Experience					
(for women with the experience of engagement only)[ab]					
first sex with someone else	2.2	0.5	0.8	1.6	1.7
first sex with future husband before engagement	4.4	4.3	5.9	10.3	19.4
first sex with future husband after engagement	2.9	7.9	9.2	12.7	16.9
first sex after marriage	90.5	87.3	84.1	75.4	62
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100
N	455	557	761	993	897
Experience of Having a Publicised Engagement Ceremony					
Yes	91.6	92.4	94.9	95.1	94.6
No	8.4	7.6	5.1	4.9	5.4
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100
N	479	595	788	1030	931

Age at First
  Premarital Sex
(for women with premarital
  sex only)[b]

–15	2.9	0	3	0.9	0
16–18	20.6	25.8	10.1	12.7	11.8
19–20	20.6	19.4	30.3	19.8	26.6
21–22	32.4	30.6	21.2	25.9	29.9
23–25	23.5	24.2	35.4	40.7	31.7
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100
N	34	62	99	212	304
Mean	21.1	22.4	22	22	21.7
Median	21	21	22	22	22

Age at
  First Sex[c]

–18	7.8	9.6	9.8	8.4	7.9
19–20	18.5	16.8	16.8	13.4	15.6
21–22	29.4	27.7	22.2	20.9	22.3
23–25	29.2	29.5	29.1	33.5	34.4
26–	15.1	16.5	22.1	23.8	19.8
TOTAL (%)	100	100.1	100	100	100
N	449	553	756	983	885
Mean	22.5	22.6	22.7	23.2	22.8
Median	22	22	22	23	23

Age at First
  Marriage[d]

–18	6.9	9.1	9.4	7.7	7.4
19–20	18.2	16.7	17.6	12.6	12
21–22	28.2	26.7	22.7	20.6	22.7
23–25	30.5	30.2	29.1	34.1	36.4
26–	16.2	17.3	21.2	25	21.5
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100
N	478	592	788	1030	931
Mean	22.5	22.7	22.9	23.8	23.1
Median	22	22	23	23	23

a.   Here, "with the experience of engagement" is defined as "the experi-
     ence of having the public engagement ceremony."

b.   "Premarital sex" is defined as "sex occurring before the completion of
     the marriage system or sex before the wedding day."

c.   For women with the experience of premarital sex, age at first sex is
     defined as the age when the first premarital sex occurred.

d.   For women without the experience of premarital sex, age at first sex is
     defined as the age of their first marriage.

As expected, the more direct involvement of young people in the
mate selection process was accompanied by greater autonomy of
dating with the future spouse in the courtship process. The data indi-
cate that the percentage of women who said that no dating with their
future husband occurred before marriage decreased remarkably from
62.6 percent for the birth cohort of 1936–1940 to 10 percent for the
cohort of 1956–1960. Furthermore, the substantial increase in wom-
en saying that they did not ask parental permission before dating their
future husbands, from 7.6 percent for the birth cohort of 1936–1940
to 28.1 percent for 1956–1960, implies greater personal autonomy in
the dating period for the younger cohorts of women (see Table 1-1).
At the same time, also as expected, within this dating system, Chinese
parents retained a powerful influence and involvement. Even among
women of the most recent cohort in the 1986 survey with the greatest
autonomy of dating, 62 percent reported that they had asked parental
permission before dating.

As for the transition to sexual experience in the overall courtship and
marital contexts, greater autonomy of mate selection and dating was,
as expected, accompanied by increased premarital sexual intimacy
for women in Taiwan. Table 1-1 shows that the incidence of premari-
tal sexual intercourse substantially increased overall from 9.5 percent
for the birth cohort of 1936–1940 to 38 percent for the birth cohort of
1956–1960. Furthermore, this trend toward increasing premarital sex

occurred both before engagement and after engagement between the 1950s to the 1980s in Taiwan. This trend implies that, for the younger cohorts, the timing of women's first sexual experience tended to be ahead of schedule relative to the wedding day, or sometimes even earlier than the engagement ceremony. However, at the same time, the timing of most of the first sexual experience was actually *not far* ahead of schedule, as evidenced by the fact that most women had sex only with their future husbands. Only 1.4 percent of women reported that they had had premarital sexual relations with someone other than their future husbands, and there was no large or consistent cohort trend toward this phenomenon (Table 1-1).

As for the marital process, overall, 93.7 percent of the women had gone through the public ceremony of engagement. Table 1-1 shows that the prevalence of having a public engagement ceremony had not changed over cohorts. In regards to the timing of the first sexual experience and marriage,[4] a delayed timing at these two transition events is found in the 1986 survey data. For the delayed timing at marriage, data show that the percentage of women who married at age 23 and above increased from 46.6 percent for the 1936–1940 cohort to 59.1 percent for the 1951–1955 cohort, and the percentage started to decrease very slightly to 57.9 percent for the 1956–1960 cohort due to marriage selectivity of birth cohort truncation bias. Likewise, the percentage of women experiencing sex for the first time at age 23 and above had the same timing pattern (Table 1-1). Therefore, the increased incidence of premarital sex was not accompanied by an "early" timing of having the first sexual experience. Instead, the timing of having the first sexual experience was delayed for Taiwanese women as a result of the rising age at marriage. All of the median ages at these two events increased from 22 to 23 over successive cohorts. As for the group of women who had premarital sex, the median age at the first premarital sexual experience increased from 21 to 22 over cohorts (Table 1-1).

These findings, that most women had sex only with their future husbands and that the age at the first sexual experience and marriage were delayed, are consistent with the hypothesis that premarital sexual relations for Taiwanese women (even preengagement sex in the cohorts of 1951–1955 and 1956–1960) was still associated to some extent with marriage rather than in relationships not leading to marriage. In general, "the person I have sex with should be the person I get married to" still seemed to be a deeply rooted idea in women's minds in 1980s' Taiwan.

"Autonomy of Dating" and Premarital Sex

Given that the aggregate level data demonstrate the concurrent trends toward autonomy of dating and premarital sex, then the various individual-level multivariate logistic regression models[5] are used to examine the specific impact of autonomy of dating on the likelihood of engaging in premarital sex for women in 1980s' Taiwan.

The results of cross-sectional analysis for the relationship between autonomy of dating and premarital sex are presented in Table 1-2 and Table 1-3. The logistic regression coefficients in Model 1 in both tables show that the impact of autonomy of dating is very strong on both first premarital sex occurring before engagement and first premarital sex occurring after engagement. After controlling for education and nonfamilial work/living experiences (in Model 3), the regression coefficients of autonomy of dating decrease very slightly (compared to those in Model 1). In other words, regardless of educational levels and nonfamilial work/living experiences, women who dated their future husbands were significantly more likely to have premarital sex with them than women who did not date. So, dating was crucial for a young couple becoming acquainted and sexually intimate.

Moreover, all of the regression coefficients of "high" autonomy of

dating are larger than those of "low" autonomy of dating in all the models in both Table 1-2 and Table 1-3. This pattern demonstrates that among women who dated their future husbands, women who did not ask parental permission before dating were more likely to have premarital sex than women who asked parental permission. This implies that not only dating but also the level of autonomy in dating strongly determined the likelihood of engaging in premarital sex both before and after engagement for women in 1980s' Taiwan.

Table 1-2: Estimates for Multivariate Logit Models for the Likelihood of Having First Premarital Sex with the Future Husband <u>before</u> Engagement for Taiwanese Women of Birth Cohort 1946–1960

Explanatory Variables	Model 1 parameter	(S.E.)	Model 2 parameter	(S.E.)	Model 3 parameter	(S.E.)
Intercept	8.43***	(0.76)	9.96***	(0.93)	10.19***	(0.95)
Cohort	0.12***	(0.02)	0.13***	(0.02)	0.12***	(0.02)
Primary school	-	-	1.34**	(0.53)	1.20*	(0.53)
Junior high school	–	-	1.23*	(0.54)	1.03*	(0.55)
High school	-	-	0.82	(0.54)	0.68	(0.55)
Junior Col/Univ & above	-	-	0.59	(0.58)	0.47	(0.59)
Nonfamilial work experience	-	-	-	(0.11)	0.18	(0.11)
Nonfamilial living experience	-	-	-	(0.13)	0.18	(0.13)
Autonomy of dating (low)	1.20***	(0.28)	1.24***	(0.28)	1.14***	(0.28)
Autonomy of dating (high)	2.04***	(0.29)	2.11***	(0.29)	1.99***	(0.29)
Sample size	2482		2482		2427	
Log likelihood difference[a]	176.84		200.47		202.5	
Fraction explained[b]	0.7		0.71		0.71	
D.F.	3		7		9	
P-Value	0		0		0	

Note: *: $p < 0.05$; **: $p < 0.01$; ***: $p < 0.001$

    a.   Parameters are estimated for two models: the full model, which includes the explanatory variables; and the null model, which includes only the constant term. The value of -2*Log(Likelihood) is computed for both models. The difference between these two values is a statistic with an approximate chi-square distribution when the sample size is large. It is a test of all the independent variables combined.

b.   "Fraction explained" is defined as exp((log(likelihood))/n) for each model, where n is the number of cases.

Dependent Variable:
Having First Premarital Sex with the Future Husband before Engagement, given that women had the experience of an engagement:
No (0), Yes (1)

Explanatory Variables:
Birth Cohort: 1946–1960
Educational Levels:
Primary school: No formal schooling (0), primary school (1)
Junior high school: No formal schooling (0), junior high school (1)
High school: No formal schooling (0), high school (1)
Junior college or university and above: No formal schooling (0), junior college or university and above (1)
Nonfamilial work experience (the most autonomous work experience before marriage):
No work experience or working for the family without pay (1)
Working for money at home (2)
Working for money outside the home (3)
Nonfamilial living experience before marriage: No (0), Yes (1)
Autonomy of dating (two dummy variables):
Low: No dating with the future husband before marriage (0)
Asked parents' permission before dating with the future husband before marriage (1)
High: No dating with the future husband before marriage (0)
Did not ask parents' permission before dating with the future husband (1)

Table 1-3: Estimates for Multivariate Logit Models for the Likelihood of Having First Premarital Sex with the Future Husband <u>after</u> Engagement for Taiwanese Women of Birth Cohort 1946–1960

Explanatory Variables	Model 1 parameter	(S.E.)	Model 2 parameter	(S.E.)	Model 3 parameter	(S.E.)	Model 4 parameter	(S.E.)
Intercept	6.50***	0.72	6.78***	0.78	6.27***	0.76	7.00***	0.81
Cohort	0.08***	0.02	0.09***	0.02	0.07***	0.02	0.09***	0.02
Primary school	-	-	0.03	0.31	0.22	0.33	0.09	0.33
Junior high school	-	-	0.24	0.34	0.06	0.36	-0.12	0.37
High school	-	-	0.29	0.34	0.04	0.35	-0.15	0.36
Junior col/Univ & above	-	-	0.6	0.39	-0.26	0.4	-0.49	0.41
Nonfamilial work experience	-	-	-	-	-0.02	0.1	-0.04	0.1
Nonfamilial living experience	-	-	-	-	0.18	0.14	0.2	0.14
Autonomy of dating (low)	1.40***	0.26	1.50***	0.26	1.34***	0.24	1.44***	0.26
Autonomy of dating (high)	1.85***	0.28	1.99***	0.28	1.83***	0.26	1.96***	0.29
Length of engagement	0.05***	0.02	0.05***	0.01	-	-	0.05***	0.01
Sample size	2116	2116	2100	1955				
Log likelihood difference[a]	49.36	52.71	112.53	137.56				
Fraction explained[b]	0.65	0.65	0.66	0.67				
D.F.	3	7	9	10				
P-Value	0	0	0	0				

Note: *: $p < 0.05$; **: $p < 0.01$; ***; $p < 0.001$
    a.   See footnote a in Table 1-2.
    b.   See footnote b in Table 1-2.

Dependent Variable:
    Having First Premarital Sex with the Future Husband after Engagement, given that women had the experience of engagement and had not had premarital sex before engagement: No (0), Yes (1)

Explanatory Variables:
    Length of engagement: in months
    See the definitions for the rest of the explanatory variables in the footnote in Table 1-2.

Engagement and Premarital Sex

In 1980s' Taiwan, most young couples had opportunities to meet and to date extensively during the courtship process. Once they became engaged—the first official step of the marriage process and the establishment of a contract between two families—the positive impact of engagement on the likelihood of having sex during this period of engagement can be expected. Moreover, sexual relations, even pregnancy, for an engaged couple was supposed to make the contract between the two families more unbreakable. The age-specific data in this study confirm this strong impact of engagement on the likelihood of engaging in premarital sex for women in 1980s' Taiwan.

Table 1-4 shows that the proportions of those engaging in premarital sex were significantly higher for women who had been engaged than for women who had not been engaged across ages.[6] Moreover, all of the logistic regression coefficients of "engagement" in Table 1-5 and Table 1-6 are highly statistically significant. These models demonstrate that engagement had its own strong direct impact on the likelihood of engaging in premarital sex across ages of each Taiwanese woman's life course, even after controlling for the antecedent effects of school attendance, amount of schooling and nonfamilial work/living experiences.

Furthermore, it can be expected that the longer the duration of engagement, the greater the chance of engaging in premarital sex. This is

demonstrated by the significant net effect of "length of engagement" on the likelihood of first premarital sex occurring after engagement. (See the significance of "length of engagement" in Model 4 at Table 1-3.) At the same time, we have to be aware that there might be a reverse relationship between length of engagement and the likelihood of premarital sex, because it is quite likely that engaging in premarital sex might shorten the length of engagement due to premarital pregnancy.

Table 1-4: Age-Specific Proportion of Having First Premarital Sex by Engagement Status for Birth Cohort 1946–1960*

	Being Engaged (Yes)			Being Engaged (No)		
Age	No. of women still virgin	No. of women having first premarital sex	Age-specific proportion having first premarital sex	No. of women still virgin	No. of women having first premarital sex	Age-specific proportion having first premarital sex
15	5	a	a	2423	3	0.001
16	7	a	a	2414	8	0.003
17	12	2	0.167	2390	20	0.008
18	31	9	0.29	2315	31	0.013
19	48	5	0.104	2187	46	0.021
20	70	18	0.257	2005	76	0.038
21	75	12	0.16	1780	65	0.037
22	86	19	0.221	1507	64	0.042
23	110	15	0.136	1215	75	0.062
24	99	13	0.131	911	55	0.06
25	85	9	0.106	646	38	0.059
26	75	11	0.147	434	20	0.046
27	42	0	0.000	263	7	0.027
28	32	2	0.063	164	10	0.061

*Data were collected in spring 1988. The cohort of 1960 was not included for the analysis of ages 26–28, and the cohort of 1959 was not included for ages 27–28.

a. In the early ages of 15 and 16, the number of women who had been engaged is too small (less than 10) so that the age-specific proportion having first premarital sex is not presented.

Table 1-5: Logit Regressions for the Age-Specific Likelihood of Having First Premarital Sex by Birth Cohort, School Attendance, Nonfamilial Work and Living Experiences, and Engagement Status for Taiwanese Women of Birth Cohort 1946–1960*

					Regression Coefficients		
Age	No. of women still virgin	No. of women virgin & finished school	Cohort	Finished school	Having both work and living exp	Having either work or living exp	Engagement
15	2428	1324	a	a	a	a	a
16	2421	1381	a	a	a	a	a
17	2402	1541	0.16**	1.66**	0.14	-0.87	3.04***
			(0.06)	(0.68)	(0.53)	(0.67)	(0.83)
18	2346	1626	0.11*	1.24*	0.11	0.44	3.20***
			(0.05)	(0.57)	(0.46)	(0.41)	(0.45)
19	2235	1604	0.06	1.38**	0.64*	0.15	1.53***
			(0.04)	(0.55)	(0.37)	(0.39)	(0.5)
20	2075	1708	0.14***	0.79*	0.70*	0.47	2.33***
			(0.03)	(0.42)	(0.32)	(0.31)	(0.32)
21	1855	1624	0.17***	1.47*	0.77*	0.25	1.78***
			(0.03)	(0.73)	(0.38)	(0.39)	(0.36)
22	1593	1411	0.12***	1.05*	0.29	-0.34	1.86***
			(0.03)	(0.61)	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.3)
23	1325	1199	0.05*	1.94*	1.26**	1.04*	0.98***
			(0.03)	(1.01)	(0.46)	(0.45)	(0.31)
24	1010	927	0.14***	-0.15	0.44	0.04	0.82**
			(0.04)	(0.5)	(0.43)	(0.42)	(0.34)
25	731	695	0.07*	4.24	0.95	0.33	0.67*
			(-0.04)	(5.75)	(0.64)	(0.64)	(0.4)
26	518	490	b	b	b	b	b
27	305	296	b	b	b	b	b
28	196	192	b	b	b	b	b

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. *: p< 0.05; **: p< 0.01; ***: p< 0.001

* Data were collected in spring 1986. The cohort of 1960 was not included in the analysis for ages 26–28, and the cohort of 1959 was not included for ages 27–28. Analysis is limited to women who had not had premarital sex or had not married by the listed age.

    a.   In the early ages of 15 and 16, the number of women who had been engaged is too small (less than 10) so that the estimates for these ages are not presented.

    b.   In later ages of 26 to 28, the number of women with no formal schooling remaining virgin and unmarried is too small (less than 7) so that the estimates for education variables are not presented.

Dependent Variable:	Having first premarital sex at a certain age, No (0), Yes (1), given that premarital sex or marriage had not already occurred.
Explanatory Variables:	Birth Cohort: 1946–1960
	Finished School: No (0), Yes (1)

Two dummy variables for having nonfamilial work and living experiences before a certain age being studied:

Having both nonfamilial work and nonfamilial living experiences:

    None (0). Having both nonfamilial work and nonfamilial living experiences (1)

Having either nonfamilial work or nonfamilial living experience:

    None (0). Having either nonfamilial work or nonfamilial living experience (1

Engagement Status: Not being engaged (0). Being Engaged (1

Table 1-6: Logit Regressions for the Age-Specific Likelihood of Having First Premarital Sex by Birth Cohort, Educational Level, Nonfamilial Work and Living Experiences, and Engagement Status for Taiwanese Women of Birth Cohort 1946–1960 Who Had Finished School[a]

Regression Coefficients

Age	No. of women still virgin	Cohort	Primary	Junior. High	High	Junior Col & Uni	Having both work & living experience	Having either work or living experience	Engage-ment
15	1324	b	b	b	b	-	b	b	b
16	1381	b	b	b	b	-	b	b	b
17	1541	0.18**	0.22	0.69	-3.94		0.14	-0.86	3.32***
		(0.07)	(1.06)	(1.12)	(16.88)		(0.54)	(0.69)	(0.89)
18	1626	0.12**	0.92	1.14	-3.14	-	-0.17	0.18	3.34***
		(0.05)	(0.84)	(0.86)	(10.53)		(0.47)	(0.43)	(0.48)
19	1604	0.04	4.03	4.14	4.24	0.07	0.72*	0.22	1.72***
		(0.04)	(3.78)	(3.8)	(3.83)	(23.85)	(0.40)	(0.42)	(0.51)
20	1708	0.18***	0.09	-0.04	-0.66	-4.21	0.48	0.37	2.29***
		(0.03)	(0.57)	(0.61)	(0.64)	(11.33)	(0.34)	(0.33)	(0.33)
21	1624	0.16***	0.87	1.33	0.83	1.32	0.68*	0.26	1.85***
		(0.04)	(1.04)	(1.06	(1.06)	(1.47)	(0.40)	(0.4)	(0.38)
22	1411	0.15***	-0.1	-1.15*	-0.49	-4.64	0.38	0.29	1.80***
		(0.03)	(0.58)	(0.68)	(0.61)	(6.02)	(0.35)	(0.36)	(0.31)
23	1199	0.05*	0.06	-0.27	0.02	-0.60	1.25**	0.99*	0.96***
		(0.03)	(0.76)	(0.81)	(0.78)	(0.96)	(0.47)	(0.46)	(0.31)
24	927	0.16***	0.55	-0.59	0.26	-0.50	0.43	-0.16	0.86**
		(0.04)	(1.06)	(1.12)	(1.07)	(1.20)	(0.45)	(0.45)	(0.35)
25	695	0.09*	0.31	-0.07	-0.25	-0.03	0.95	0.36	0.69*
		(0.05)	(1.1)	(1.14)	(1.12)	(1.15)	(0.64)	(0.65)	(0.41)
26	490	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
27	310	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
28	192	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. *: p< 0.05; **: p< 0.01; ***: p< 0.001

a. See footnote a in Table 1-5.
b. In early ages of 15 and 16, the number of women with high school education who had finished school is too small (less than 10) and the number of women who had been engaged is too small (less than 10) so that the estimates for education and en-gagement are not presented.
c. See footnote c in Table 1-5.

Dependent Variable: Having first premarital sex at a certain age, No (0), Yes (1), given that pre-marital sex or marriage had not already occurred.

Explanatory Variables:
Educational Levels:
    Three dummy variables for ages 15–18:
        Primary School: None (0), Primary School (1)
        Junior High School: None (0), Junior High School (1)
        High School: None (0), High School (1)
    Four dummy variables for ages 19–28:
        Primary School: None (0), Primary School (1)
        Junior High School: None (0), Junior High School (1)
        High School: None (0), High School (1)
          Junior College and University: None (0), Junior College and University (1)
Please see the definitions for the rest of the explanatory variables in the footnote in Table 1-5.

Summary and Discussion

Romantic love, dating and premarital sex can be seen as having been changing from the 1950s to the 1980s in Taiwan, but premarital sex in a marital context remained within the Chinese tradition. This chapter has used both time-specific and cross-sectional survey data to examine and support this thesis.

The Chinese term *dinghun* (including *xiaoding, dading,* etc.) has been translated as "engagement" in English. Engagement is almost unbreakable, so people regard an engaged couple as almost married. The Chinese term *jiehun* has been translated as "marriage" in English, but the marriage which is defined as beginning with the wedding ceremony in Western societies is different from the social transaction of *jiehun* in Chinese culture. I argue that Taiwanese marriage is more usefully conceptualised as a process involving a number of steps, none of which can be accurately translated as "marriage."

The engagement ceremony is the first "official" step in the marriage, while the wedding ceremony represents the final step of this process. Therefore, "premarital" sex occurring after engagement is in some ways regarded as "marital" sex for people in Taiwan.

Furthermore, in addition to defining the Chinese term *jiehun* as a process actually starting from *dinghun*, in 1980s' Taiwan, it is also useful to conceptualise *dinghun* in a broad sense as a process involving a number of steps, none of which can be correctly translated as "engagement." The engagement ceremony is to officially mark and complete the process of *dinghun*. The starting point of *dinghun* is rather imprecise. The engagement process may start from the time when a couple make their commitment to get married, or may start after the parents of the two families approve and set up the marriage plans for their children. The "subjectively" perceived timing of "being engaged" for the young couple themselves may be much earlier than the timing of their engagement ceremony. Therefore, premarital sex occurring at any time after a young couple makes this commitment, but before the actual engagement ceremony, could in some ways be also seen as premarital sex occurring in the context of engagement. In this situation, premarital sex would have been categorised as occurring before engagement in the data analysis, but in context may actually belong to the category of "after engagement" (i.e., a marital context).

In summary, the transformation of marital arrangements from arranged marriage toward the love match accompanied with the newly developed dating culture and the broader perceptions regarding the process of getting engaged and getting married can explain why the increase in so-called premarital sex (occurring either before engagement or after engagement) in this study was most likely to occur within a marital context for women in 1980s' Taiwan.

This "Chinese" pattern of premarital sexuality in Taiwan implies that the core cultural ideas on marriage and female chastity persisted in

1980s' Taiwan, despite the fact that women in the younger generation had more autonomous experiences in the transition to adulthood in terms of schooling, nonfamilial labour force participation and living away from parents. This finding is consistent with the finding I have published elsewhere (Chang, 1996). In that article, I found that, in a nonmarital context, Taiwanese women at the less marriageable young ages tended not to take advantage of living outside the parental home to engage in premarital sex, even if they recognised that their parents could not supervise their activities. Young women with nonfamilial jobs and living away from home might be still "living with" their traditional values as autonomous as it might seem in the 1980s.

In situations of rapid socioeconomic change, values may lag behind such change (Ogburn, 1964). People tend to respond to new situations on the basis of preexisting values. This may apply to many Taiwanese women in the 1986 survey working outside the home before marriage, and can explain value continuities in the context of new circumstances. Other studies also found that, in the 1960s and 1970s when Taiwan was industrialising, nonfamilial working was a new activity for women to achieve traditional goals, and filial piety continued to be one of the most important motivating forces (Hu, 1982; Kung, 1983; Greenhalgh, 1985). Since the family remained as an economic unit, parents had expectations for receiving the wages of their children. In particular, many Taiwanese still believed that daughters "will belong to other people after they marry out" so therefore, daughters should financially contribute as much as possible to the family before getting married. In that circumstance, wage earning provided these Taiwanese women with a new way of paying their debt and fulfilling obligations to their parents before marriage (Kung, 1983).

Therefore, for Taiwanese women who were born between 1946 and 1960, as they were growing up and in their transition to adulthood from the 1950s to the 1980s, the old values had conditioned

the potential positive impact of nonfamilial work and living experiences on the incidence of engaging in premarital sex. The impact of exposure to new ideas and autonomy, which these young women gained from nonfamilial labour force participation and living outside the home during the early stage of modernisation in Taiwan, was apparently not great enough for them to engage in premarital sex in a nonmarital context.

NOTES

1. Throughout this book, the term "Taiwanese women" refers to women in contemporary Taiwanese society. Nowhere does "Taiwanese" have any ethnic connotation (e.g., distinguishing Taiwanese from Mainlanders).

2. The data on premarital sexual experience for Taiwanese women were collected by means of the following questions:

    "Before you were married, did you have sexual intercourse with your future husband?" (If yes and respondent had been engaged): "Did you have intercourse with your future husband before you were engaged?"

    "How old were you when you first had sexual intercourse with future husband?" (Chinese age)

    "Before you were married, did you have sexual intercourse with anyone other than your husband?"

    "How old were you when you first had intercourse with someone other than your husband before marriage?" (Chinese age)

    The data on "autonomy of dating" were defined by three categories: (1) "did not date the future husband before marriage" is defined as no autonomy of dating; (2) "asked parental permission before dating the future husband" is defined as low autonomy of dating; and (3) "did not ask parental permission before dating the future husband" is defined as high autonomy of dating. Based on this definition, the "autonomy of dating" was measured in the early stage of dating the future husband. The translation of the Chinese wording of the relevant question was "Did you get your parents' permission when you first

began to date your future husband?" The answer "No" to this question is categorised as "high" autonomy.

As I have emphasised, the term "be married" in Chinese refers to someone who has completed the whole marriage process (i.e., has had the wedding ceremony). "Had been engaged" in Chinese means "has had the publicised engagement ceremony."

3. The problem of representativeness or selectivity results from birth cohort truncation bias. This is because the limitation of the sample to ever-married women restricts the universe to those who were married at the time of the interview. The percentage of each cohort that was ever married and eligible for the survey thus varies by their age at the survey. The earlier birth cohorts include a much-wider range of ages at marriage than the later birth cohorts. The later birth cohorts in the survey are limited only to women who married at a young age. This problem is particularly serious for the birth cohort 1961–1965, which was age 20–24 at the time of the 1986 interview. In 1985, 67 percent of Taiwanese women were still single by age 24 (Taiwan-Fukien Demographic Fact Book, Ministry of the Interior, 1985). In order to avoid the truncation bias of age at marriage or the problems of representativeness and selectivity, women born between 1961 and 1965 are excluded from the trend analysis.

4. Here, age at marriage is measured as age on the wedding day. The age used in this chapter refers to Chinese age (i.e., Western age plus one).

5. From now on, birth cohort will always be the control variable in all of the multivariate models. This is because the cohort trends in women's transition to sexual experience have been discussed in the section on trend analysis. The impact of birth

cohort in the models will not be discussed further for the remainder of this chapter.

6. This difference might be explained by a tendency for underreporting of such activities by those not engaged but actually participating in premarital sex. There are two considerations against such a view. First, the difference is too large to be attributed solely to underreporting. Second, given the self-administration of the questionnaire, such underreporting as is imputed is unlikely to be so large for one group since any strong cultural force against reporting premarital sex could be expected to lead to underreporting for the engaged group as well.