

The Representations of Taiwan's First Female President in the Media

Yasmine Anabel Pandjaitan

Faculty of Humanities Universitas Indonesia, West Java, Indonesia

yasmine.anabel@ui.ac.id

Article Info

Article history:

Submitted Oct 31, 2018

Revised Dec 5, 2018

Accepted April 4, 2019

Published April 22, 2019

Keywords:

Critical discourse analysis,
Female president,
Gender quality,
Representation,
Women empowerment in
Taiwan

ABSTRACT

As the first female president in Taiwan, Tsai Ing-wen's actions and words are crucial to the advancement of gender equality within the Chinese patriarchal society. Likewise, the media also have a role in shaping gender discourse which may or may not support the president's attempt at empowering women in politics and other sectors of life. This paper examined the linguistic strategy used by President Tsai to represent herself as a strong female leader through her official statements and how the media represented her in their reports. The data were collected from local news reports and international news portals, and from her speeches as quoted by the media, starting from the year she was elected in 2016 to 2018. Using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, it was apparent that President Tsai struggled with her role as a female leader in politics, with critics from persisting patriarchal society and pressure from emerging new values in Taiwan. The media, on the other hand, was divided in making representations for and against Tsai. The conclusion of this research is hoped to give a general description of gender and political dynamics under the new era of Tsai Ing-wen.

Corresponding Author:

Yasmine Anabel Pandjaitan,
Faculty of Humanities Universitas Indonesia
West Java, Indonesia
Email: yasmine.anabel@ui.ac.id

INTRODUCTION

The rise of women participation in politics among many Asian countries has brought hope in the fight for gender equality. One of the most recent celebrations is the election of Taiwan's first female president, Tsai Ing-wen. Indeed, a modernized version of Taiwan has been known to involve women in its political system, as proven by the number of women legislators which is higher than most of its Asian neighbors (Sui, 2016). Still, President Tsai's victory came a bit of a surprise to many, as reported by The Economist ("Not trying to cause a big sensation", 2016). The fact that it is considered a big move for Taiwan suggests that Taiwanese people may not actually be fully ready to embrace the idea of men and women as equal partners. This mentality can be traced back to its history, philosophical beliefs, and traditional values, where many of them cemented the gender-biased labor division in the minds of the people. Men are expected to be the aggressive one, as the breadwinner or the chief of the tribe, whereas women are to be the feminine, motherly one that should take care of the household. Especially in politics, Taiwan's political system is still founded on rooted patriarchal values which present challenges for a female leader.

Sun (2004:163) describes some of the obstacles that may be encountered by female politician in Taiwan. First, informal networking still heavily relies on kinship and other traditional relations which are patriarchal. Second, to gain respect women are often forced to act like men. Even so, they are still prone to some forms of sexual harassments, such as receiving subtle sexist jokes during formal meetings. Moreover, when women are involved in politics, they are expected to take the supporting roles instead of the leading roles. Another extra burden imposed on women's shoulders is the expectations that these women should work harder and perform better than their male colleagues. In other words, a woman will be less likely to be chosen for a job unless she is indispensable. To make it worse, the media often highlight the domestic aspects of female politicians. Despite their achievements and intelligence, reports are still focused on their marital status, sexual scandals, and even on their fashion sense. In short, the numbers of female participating in politics are good, but the quality is still poor. Hence, reforming this old cultural norm will not be a speedy and easy work even for a country as progressive as Taiwan.

With the rise of Tsai Ing-wen to presidency, there is a question of whether it is really a way paved towards women emancipation, or it is just a desperate political maneuver to save Taiwan from the economic downfall. Before Tsai Ing-wen from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) won the election by a landslide, the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) ruled the island for a long time. However, under the presidency of Ma Ying-jeou, Taiwan not only suffered from the economic crisis but also from Ma's "closer ties to Beijing" (Campbell, 2016). This suggests that Tsai's victory is mainly because the people had no other option than choose the opposition party for a wind of change. If this assumption is correct and in line with Sun's argument that a woman is deemed as the last resort, Tsai's government will likely face more obstacles and critique because she is a female.

Even so, Tsai's rise to power should be able to give assurance that Taiwan will not stop trying to become, quoting President Tsai, a "gender-friendly" country (Chang, 2016). At least, with her being the first female to head Taiwan, it will generate coverage from the media that will bring issues regarding women to surface. If Tsai Ing-wen plays her card well, she can make women emancipation successful in Taiwan. Here, we see that in promoting gender equality, discourse and power play a significant role. In this case, we see that President Tsai has the power to build a discourse through her talks, speeches, and written statements, which she can use to create a positive mindset in her people for empowering women. However, another power that comes to play is the media. The media naturally act as the middleman in the communication between a leader and the people. In the process of transferring these ideas, the media can re-shape the discourse by opting to leave out some information, blow up issues, quote the source out of context, and so many more, according to their own agenda. As they are not neutral in reporting news, it is safe to assume that their reports can be a good starting point to observe the political process in Taiwan under the new female president. The research is hoped to answer the following questions: How does President Tsai build discourses in favor of women participation in politics? How do the media reflect Taiwan's attitude towards the idea of gender equality?

THEORY AND METHODS

To answer these questions, Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis was utilized. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a tool that can be used to show how discourses operate within the framework of culture. Fairclough (1995) believes that sociocultural practice limits the scope of meaning-making processes. How we understand the world is shaped by how our social, cultural, and historical background creates a specific meaning. These ideas (discourses) are produced, circulated, and consumed in society through formal education in schools, the media, government's policies, and many other channels of circulation. They are what direct us into understanding texts and other phenomena in life.

In the case of Taiwan, where Confucianism is still the dominating principle, its “emphasis on social harmony and hierarchical order hampered the development of individualism and the notion of equal rights” (Ku, 1998). Women are expected to know their position—that is inferior to men—to ensure peace and order. In addition to that, in the early twentieth century, the colonialization by Japan, which upholds similar philosophy, only strengthens this notion of women as a second-class citizen. Even though Taiwan has started to acknowledge women’s roles outside the domestic setting, evidence of discrimination towards women is still apparent in texts that circulate in society. Especially with the current political development in Taiwan, these texts (in form of newspaper reports) are a reliable source of analysis.

This paper follows Fairclough’s three-dimensional CDA model analysis. In the first dimension, a textual analysis is done to see what is said about Tsai and how Tsai herself address several issues. What is found in the first stage is further analyzed by looking at the expected discursive practices of a female leader. The second step, which is the interpretation, is performed to examine how Tsai’s discursive practice is in alignment with the social expectancy, and how the media reflect the alignment (or the misalignment). The findings in the second step are discussed in the context of Taiwan’s sociopolitical background, which will be the third and final dimension.

Reports about President Tsai were collected online over the course of more than one year since she took her seat (May 2016 to early 2018). The data were mainly taken from news portal that were either regional or international and written in English or Mandarin. The one-year period would provide the research with sufficient data regarding the topic. It also allowed some time for President Tsai to gain footing in carrying out her presidential duty. From these newspaper reports, linguistic evidence was examined to see how a female leader is represented. Tsai’s official statements, which are thought to be crucial in the war of building discourses surrounding her presidency, were also taken into consideration.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

FINDING

Tsai’s Balancing Act

When Tsai entered the presidential election, she foregrounded her singularity: being a female candidate from the opposition party. To many Taiwanese facing the weakening economy and growing pressure from the Mainland, Tsai seemed to offer what the ruling party KMT had failed to deliver: a solution. With a new hope in the horizon, Taiwan saw its first female leader almost thirty years after the martial law ended in 1987. In response to her supporters’ needs, Tsai mentioned “change” (改变 or *gǎibiàn*) seven times in her inaugural speech. She emphasized that Taiwan needs to unify for a change, and that it was her most profound expectation for the country (团结是为了改变, 这是我对这个国家最深切的期待.) (“Tsai Inauguration Speech”, 2016).

Unity is indeed a task for the Tsai’s administration, and a lot is at stake. First, she needs to show that a small party like DPP has the driving force to change the island. Taiwan has been used to the ruling under the martial law or by a big party (KMT). Her success as the representative of DPP will set a new course for future Taiwan, and in doing so she will need the support of many political powers. Second, she steps in to lead a people of two extreme spectrums. On one hand, the older generation pressures her into the betterment of the economy, so far as to soften up towards China for in-bound Chinese tourists. On the other hand, Taiwanese youth aims for more modern goals, among which are marriage equality (same-sex marriage) and indigenous rights. (Wang, 2017). With that comes another dilemma: Tsai needs to bridge the demand from religious and conservative groups and those from the marginalized LBGT and indigenous groups.

Her unity concept of unity seems to give the latter a chance to be heard. In August 2016, Tsai made an official apology to the indigenous people “for the four centuries of pain and mistreatment you [the indigenous people] have endured.” (“Full Text of President’s Tsai Ing-wen’s Apology”, 2016). Her apology was bold and unprecedented, but it greatly contributed to her success in the area of cultural education. In other areas, Tsai is trying to lean towards the youth. In her inaugural speech (“Tsai Inauguration Speech”, 2016), she subtly hinted at the age-old system that did not benefit youth.

“If there is no change in the unfriendly structure, the emergence of more individual elites is not enough to make the overall situation of young people better.”(如果不友善的结构没有改变，再多个人菁英的出现，都不足以让整体年轻人的处境变好.)

She then continued by saying that “Changing the situation of young people is changing the situation of the country” (改变年轻人的处境，就是改变国家的处境.) Most importantly, as a female leader, Tsai is clearly trying to win female supporters by promising higher female labor participation. In her speech, she presented herself as evidence that women can strive to be the best, and that Taiwan had to set an example to the other nations pertaining to gender equality. Tsai’s call for a modern and gender-friendly Taiwan implied that there is a need to loosen existing social structures for equal opportunity.

Inward looking, Tsai’s balancing act revolves around two contrasts: young and old people; oppositions and supporters; religious and progressive parties; women and male-dominated society; elite and the people; Taiwanese and the indigenous. Addressing these challenges is a positive step taken by Tsai. Outward looking, she still needs to face the biggest obstacle: Taiwan sovereignty amid One China Policy. Her take on that is of peaceful one, asking China and Taiwan to change their political approaches for the benefit of the people’s (Hsu, 2017). From her inaugural speech and some remarks during her first six month of residency, it is clear that Tsai wants to bring change to a more diverse Taiwan.

“The new government will use the attitude of apology, to face the issues related to indigenous peoples, to reconstruct the history of Yuanmin, to gradually promote self-government, rehabilitation of language and culture, and promote life care, which is the change I want to lead the new government to promote. I will let you see the change in this country.” (新政府会用道歉的态度，来面对原住民族相关议题，重建原民史观，逐步推动自治，复育语言文，提升生活照顾，这就是我要领导新政府推动的改变。我会让大家看见这个国家的改变.) (“Tsai Inauguration Speech”, 2016)

The Media and the Declining Popularity

Although Tsai swept the elections by a landslide, the media was quick to observe how Tsai’s popularity declined within months. To this, there are two kinds of media coverage. Mainstream newspapers kept a more neutral (if not positive) tone, whereas individuals lent a more critical voice through independent online media, such as Ketagalan Media and editorials in fledgling news portals like the News Lens.

A. The support for Tsai

Mainstream media have been focusing their report on Tsai’s work inside and outside Taiwan. News on workers’ protesting 12 consecutive working days is titled “Tsai kept her campaign pledge: MOL” by Liberty Times Net (LTN), quoting headline and reports by its sister company Taipei Times (2018). According to the news, the protest was directed at the amendment of the labor law, which allows employees to work up to 12 days consecutively under exceptional circumstances. LTN/Taipei Times reported that the Ministry of Labor (MOL) defended President Tsai Ing-wen by saying that Tsai still kept her campaign promise and that the labor law

amendment gave more flexibility for workers and businesses. It was quoted in the news that according to Minister of Labor Lin Mei-chu (林美), "President Tsai Ing-wen definitely did not break her campaign promise. The amendments to the Labor Standard Act (劳动基准法) did not change the underlying principles of the previous amendments, but only added more flexibility." Although LTN/Taipei Times included the protestors' aspirations in their report, their choice of headline resonated the government's claim.

On another report, Taipei Times in early 2018 wrote about Tsai's low rating approval with its headline (Chen, 2018), and clearly presented statistical numbers that were not in favor of Tsai's performance. However, Taipei Times slipped in an analysis, suggesting that the betterment of the economy was overlooked: "Although most economic indicators have shown signs of progress since last year, 41.5 percent of the respondents still believed that the economy took a downturn last year." It delicately pointed out the respondent's ignorance of factual growth and that they had a false belief.

Epoch Times in November 2016 chose to highlight Tsai's determination in strengthening women position in socioeconomic sectors ("Tsai: Promoting Female"). The paper reported Tsai's success in submitting two CEDAW reports on women participation in public affairs. Under the United Nations, CEDAW or Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women requires committed countries to submit reports on the advancement of gender equality in their counties. The same report also quoted Tsai's remark on the number of women participating in her government: "...more than 1/3 female parliamentarians in this Congress, and half of the 6 major metropolitan councils are female speakers." (这届国会有超过1/3比例的女性国会议员, 6个主要都会中, 有一半议会是女性担任议长.) Tsai's willpower to pedal women's way to emancipation is also reported in one of China Time's articles. In "After 2 Years in Office" (Yiwen, 2018), Tsai reflected on the hardships and discrimination as a woman in the family and workplace and urged for the reformation in the judicial system.

"As a woman, it is understood that gender pressures can occur in families, campuses and industries, and in particular, in the workplace. Because of the dual unequal authority and gender power, the disadvantaged party is always difficult to obtain sufficient support and may even become the subject of review. People of Taiwan should use greater empathy to understand the plight of the victims. Therefore, we must promote the reform of the judiciary and ensure the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the judicial system." (蔡英文表示身为女性, 很了解性别压力可能发生在家庭、校园以及各行各业中。尤其在職場上, 因为职权和性别权力双重不对等的情况下, 弱势的一方总是很难得到足够的支持, 甚至可能反过来成为被检讨的对象。台湾社会应该要用更大的同理心, 来理解受害者的处境。所以我们推动司法改革, 务必在司法制度中落实性别主流化.)

B. A Critical Eye on Tsai

The sudden turn against Tsai's administration is much better described, explained, and criticized in new media, such as Ketagalan Media and the News Lens, and in newspapers leaning towards the opposition party. With exception of Tsai's effort in restoring the indigenous' rights, most of her campaign promises receive a bad report. The most blow came from women themselves, who claimed dissatisfaction. Notably, the dissatisfaction was concluded in the polls held by the opposition party, KMT. The results were both covered in Taipei Times, and in China-based The China Review News (CRNTT). And although Taipei Times also acknowledged that Tsai received small numbers in five women issues ("sexual discrimination, verbal abuse, sexual harassment in the workplace, drugs on campuses and online addiction"), CRNTT went as far as to include KMT's question if Tsai as a female "president" really carries weight in improving the lives of women ("KMT Polls", 2017). This question, with emphasis on the word "president" and the fact

that Tsai is a woman herself was a direct attack on Tsai's failure in improving her own gender group.

Another hit aimed at Tsai occurred when she was compared to Trump's infamy. As reported by the East Asia Forum in October 2017, "Tsai's personal approval rating dropped to 29.8 per cent, making her a less popular leader than US President Donald Trump in the same period." ("Tsai's mid-term blues", 2017). However, the Australian-based news portal which focuses on Asia Pacific countries was not spiteful when mentioning the two world leaders. Rather, as a news portal covering multiple countries in Asia Pacific, it was considered an honest observation. Taiwan-owned news portals like Taipei Times and The New Lens also noted the continuing declines in Tsai's approval rating. However, they steered out of such a comparison, focusing only on numbers and probable causes. The News Lens, a relatively new media, suggested that there was more to the staggering numbers in their report titled: "Does President Tsai Deserve Declining Approval Ratings?" (Rich, 2017). The question was immediately answered when the article underlined the fact that people need to see the problem from a broader context, and that declining rate was a common trend in any new government. "From the U.S. to France to Mexico, presidential approval rates commonly decline within months of taking office... Just as even the best hitter in baseball failed to get on base in even half of his at-bats, no administration, however well intended, will be able to meet all of its campaign pledges." Rich (2017) also stated that a more objective observation by public could only be done as they watch and see over time.

Apparently, more blatant comments can be read in citizen journalism platforms as in Ketagalan Media. The media welcomes writers giving their two cents on issues surfacing in Taiwan, as well as the world. The contributors there did not seem to hold back on their opinions and readily pointed out where Tsai mis-stepped. Contrary to the initial hype that the people felt towards their new leader, more articles have since been written to criticize Tsai's slow progress in many sectors. Among those were issues about the legalization of same-sex marriage, dissatisfaction from female workers, the realization of promises to the aborigines, and the One China Policy. Pertaining to the legalization of same-sex marriage, Tsai was deemed "people pleaser" when she stalled and did not proceed to revise the draft bill on marriage equality (Yang, 2017). On a point most important to Tsai as a female leader, women claimed dissatisfaction after working condition did not improve (Brown, 2016). About her apologetic speech to the indigenous tribes who suffered discrimination over years, many still think it lacked comprehensive and practical solutions. (Yang, 2017) When it comes to the discussion of China, Tsai received a nearly 60 per cent rate of dissatisfaction ("KMT Polls, 2017). Her peaceful bearing was translated into inaction and not stability. All in all, through the media reports, both independent and conventional, local and foreign, we see that the wave of comments is shifting into restlessness and disappointment.

DISCUSSION

President Tsai chose her words carefully, steering away from potential conflicts by not condemning nor issuing a warning against her opponents. Her stance on one-China policy remained complaisant, provided that China did not make threatening moves towards Taiwan. This supposedly peaceful decision gave rise to her people's restlessness and China's being even more aggressive by severing Taiwan's connection with Panama. According to Taipei-based Citizen Congress Watch, with nothing to say from Tsai, the situation was actually "typical of a cold war" (Jennings, 2017). The stalemate eventually put Tsai's popularity lower than that of the infamous US president Trump. Whereas her approval ratings kept plummeting, Tsai seemed to be unyielding with her soft approaches to solving problems faced by her country. Believing that Taiwan should be like "a plate of salad" (Wang, 2017), Tsai delivered an unprecedented apologetic speech to the aborigines "for centuries of pain and mistreatment" (Full Text of

President's Tsai Ing-wen's Apology", 2016). Addressing the issue of women in the workforce and LGBTs, Tsai promised that her gender group and the LGBTs would see improvement. However, her people already grew impatient waiting for her actual actions.

Why Tsai opted for a softer approach when addressing a problem can be traced back to the expected discourse performed by a woman. Women are not commonly associated with power, and therefore women in superior positions may find themselves "uncomfortable" (Lakoff, 2003:161). Women in higher positions are aware that some expectations are imposed on them, and this is evident linguistically. One of the expectations is that women are expected to be less direct, and those that deviate from this is seen as a "shrew or a bitch", and that "denying expressive power to women is a political act." (Lakoff, 2003:162). Another stigmatized expectation towards women involves anger issues. Forbes released "The 10 Worst Stereotypes about Powerful Women" (Goudreau, 2011) and reported that women who displayed anger would be considered "less competent". It is contrary to their male counterparts who got rewarded when they did show temper in workplace. The report also stated that Michelle Obama fell victim to this social bias when in supporting her husband campaign in 2008 she was labeled "angry black woman" for being too fired up. She then tried to "conscientiously softened her image and speeches in order to be more 'likable'."

That Tsai chose to be a peacemaker instead of a general of war should therefore not come as a surprise and should have been expected at the first place by her voters. However, given the political circumstances surrounding Tsai's election, Tsai was at that time the best option compared to the old stagnant governing party KMT. That is also the fact that only reinforced stereotypical women who could rise to power: the glass cliff. The glass cliff is a phenomenon where women are more likely to rise to power in times of crisis (Ryan & Haslam, 2007). Patriarchal institutions purposely put women in precarious leadership roles in the most tough time. And while Tsai has managed to use this as her bargaining chip, it is indeed precarious and vulnerable to critics. Among many things, the glass cliff may trivialize her achievement and contributions in politics. And when she failed, she took the blow for being incompetent both as a leader and as a woman. Needless to say, President Tsai encountered social expectations of a female leader who gets chosen because the male candidates are somehow unavailable or incapable. A female leader is chosen as a last resort and in carrying the difficult task is expected to behave like men but better in performance (Sun, 2004).

On a more personal level, her status as an aging unmarried woman is the easiest to attack in her capacity as a leader. In a patriarchal society like Taiwan, single women are still stigmatized for not being able to get a husband, and this often drags down the question of her competence in "achieving" greater goals. Remarks from male politicians describe Tsai as "an inadequate leader because she's unmarried and childless" (Brown, 2016). And unlike male politicians, female leaders are prone to physical criticism. Likened to a fictional Star Wars' Yoda, her picture grazing the TIME's Magazine's cover received poor comments for looking old and wrinkly ("Tsai 'Time' Cover", 2015). Tsai also received negative judgment for dressing up very formally like a man, mostly in power suit. All this negativity only adds up to her already tough duties. Tsai was however quick at addressing this criticism by stating that her intent "was to be a strong character-driven portrait that speaks about aspiration more than beauty" ("Tsai 'Time' Cover", 2015). By stating this, Tsai understood that women are considered visual pleasure, and by maintaining her looks and relationship status she was doing gender differently and indirectly taught her nation women emancipation.

Meanwhile, Tsai still does gender well according to social expectations. According to Eagly and Carli (2008), feminine leader behaviors include recognizing and rewarding, communicating, informing, and supporting (as middle management) as opposed to male leaders who delegate, discipline, make strategic decision, and solve problem. Tsai vehemently said that she was not an "autocratic political strongman", as quoted by Focus Taiwan ("Tsai sees herself",

2017). Instead, still in the same article, she claimed to be “a leader under democracy who has a strong will to carry out reforms.” By stating that she is still under democracy, she positioned herself as the person carrying out laws as dictated by the people. What Tsai did was according to the new paradigm of leaders, who are distinctive from “their abilities to blend feminine qualities of leadership with classic male traits...” (Book, 2001:2) Consequently, failure in doing this new paradigm leadership is oftentimes rewarded negative perception by people. Bligh and Kohles (2008:384) reported that “the devaluation of women leaders was greater when leaders occupied man-dominated roles..., claiming that there could be serious negative consequences for how women senators' leadership skills are evaluated.”

The discourses that are built by Tsai, the reaction by the media, and the reception on the people of Taiwan give a glimpse into modern-day Taiwan's sociocultural dynamics. To date, Taiwan has consistently preserved its traditional values amid the globalization waves. However, unlike the Mainland China which had undergone a cultural revolution under Mao Ze-dong, Taiwan is also open to modernity, resulting in its good political relationship with western countries like America, technological advancement, rapid flow of information, and freedom of speech. Inside the patriarchal society, a more modern Taiwan is thriving. With the rise of Tsai in the political map, the people of Taiwan are put to a test: whether they can fully accept a female leader without the interference of ideas about the traditional division of gender, or whether they still need to learn to be headed by a female leader.

CONCLUSION

Taiwan's sociopolitical circumstances may have put Tsai to power. However, Taiwan's patriarchal values also what restrict her from achieving and performing more. There is misalignment in the expectations for female leaders, and this might be the common explanation for female underrepresentation in many sectors, including in politics. Taiwan, having been undergoing sociopolitical changes for the past 20 years, is still reshaping all life sectors, and it affects the people in doing and looking at things. Tsai, as the first female president to pave way for women emancipation, is still looking for the right way of performing, gender-wise. Likewise, the media is also trying to keep up with these changes. It is then divided in making representations for and against Tsai. Some media, as discussed before, are somewhere in the middle of this spectrum.

In the middle of these changes, the burden given to Tsai is greater because she is female. There are social constraints that restrict her from exercising her power as a leader of a country. And even when she can't and shouldn't be a people pleaser, she is expected to win many favors and gain as many allies possible. Her rise to power in times of social changes, political instability, and economical challenges puts her on a very thin line to thread. Tsai is in the middle of young people and the older generations, each with their own needs and expectations that sometimes collide with one another. She is also in the middle of keeping territorial stability and achieving sovereignty. She is also a woman in the middle of male-oriented society. On one hand, she is expected to improve women's well-being. On the other hand, she needs to do so without crossing the gender restrictions. It is indeed a delicate balancing of act that Tsai needs to perform, and it transpires linguistically in her speeches and remarks.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This article is an output of the internal grant project HIBAH RISET AWAL FIB UI 2018 at Universitas Indonesia.

REFERENCES

- Bligh, M.C. & Kohles, J.C. (2008). "Negotiating gender role expectations: rhetorical leadership and women in the US senate". *Leadership*. Vol. 4 No. 4, pp. 381-402.
- Book, E. W. (2000). *Why the Best Man for the Job Is A Woman: The Unique Female Qualities of Leadership*. Harper Business.
- Brown, C. (2016, Jun 15). No, We're Not Quite There Yet: Taiwan's Road to Gender Equality. *Ketagalan Media*. Retrieved from <http://www.ketagalanmedia.com/2016/06/15/5639/>
- Campbell, C. (2016, May 20). Tsai Ing-wen Becomes Taiwan's First Female President. *TIME*. Retrieved from <http://time.com/4341429/tsai-ing-wen-taiwan-first-female-president/>
- Chen, W. (2018, Jan 29). Tsai's Approval Rating Falls. *Taipei Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2018/01/29/2003686619>
- Chang, E. (2016, May 29). Taipei Watcher: Don't expect gender revolution under Tsai admin. *TAIPEI TIMES*. Retrieved from <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/feat/archives/2016/05/29/2003647365#>
- Eagly, A.H. & Carli, L.L. (2008). *Through the Labyrinth*. Boston: Harvard Business School.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: Arnold.
- Full text of President Tsai Ing-wen's apology to indigenous people. (2016, Aug 1). *Focus Taiwan*. Retrieved from <http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aip/201608010026.aspx>
- Goudreau, J. (2011, Oct 24). The 10 Worst Stereotypes About Powerful Women. *Forbes*. Retrieved from <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jennagoudreau/2011/10/24/worst-stereotypes-powerful-women-christine-lagarde-hillary-clinton/2/#75a1901f504a>
- Hsu, S. (2017, Oct 27). China's new era opens up a chance for change: Tsai. *Taipei Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2017/10/27/2003681124/2>
- Jennings, R. (2017, Jul 08). Taiwan's president is now less popular than Trump. Here's why. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-taiwan-tsai-approval-2017-story.html>
- KMT Polls / 国民党民调: 蔡执政对强化女性权益无甚帮助. 2017, Nov 21. *CRNTT*. Retrieved from http://bj.crntt.com/doc/1048/8/5/9/104885991_4.html?coluid=93&kindid=15870&docid=104885991&mdate=1121120539
- Ku, Y. 1998. Selling a Feminist Agenda on a Conservative Market: The Awakening Experience in Taiwan. *Yam Women Web*. Retrieved from <http://taiwan.yam.org.tw/womenweb/sell.htm>
- Lakoff, R. 2003. Language, Gender, and Politics: Putting "Women" and "Power" in the Same Sentence. In J. Holmes and M. Meyerhoff (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language and Gender* (pp.161-178). UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Not trying to cause a big sensation. 2016, Jan 23. *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21688916-much-anything-victory-tsai-ing-wen-and-her-party-represents-generational-change-not>
- Rich, T.S. 2017, Jan 31. Does President Tsai Ing Wen Deserve Declining Approval Ratings?

- The News Lens*. Retrieved from <https://international.thenewslens.com/article/60427>
- Ryan, M.K. & Haslam, S.A. 2004, May 28. Introducing... the glass cliff. *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/3755031.stm>
- Sui, C. 2016, May 20. Taiwan, the place to be a woman in politics. *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-36309137>
- Sun, T. 2016.07.12. "Gender Representation in Politics and Public Administration: Taiwan and Asian Countries". A revised version of the paper presented at the 18th Conference of International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA), December 6-10, 2004, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan. From http://www.rchss.sinica.edu.tw/capas/publication/newsletter/N28/28_02_02.pdf
- Tsai Inauguration Speech / 台湾新任女总统蔡英文就职演说全文. 2016, May 20. *CN NY Times*. Retrieved from <https://cn.nytimes.com/china/20160520/cc20tsaispeech/>
- Tsai's mid-term blues. 2017, Oct 26. *East Asia Forum*. Retrieved from <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2017/10/26/tsais-mid-term-blues/>
- Tsai: Promoting Female / 蔡英文：透过政策引导提升女性劳参率. 2016, Nov 14. *Epoch Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/16/11/14/n8491335.htm>
- Tsai sees herself as a leader with the will to carry out reforms. 2017, May 19. *Focus Taiwan*. Retrieved from <http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aip/201705190016.aspx>
- Tsai 'Time' cover photo met with mixed reaction. 2015, Jun 22. *Taipei Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2015/06/22/2003621298>
- Wang, G. 2017, May 20. A Delicate Balancing Act: President Tsai's First Year. *Ketagalan Media*. Retrieved from <http://www.ketagalanmedia.com/2017/05/20/a-delicate-balance-act-president-tsais-first-year/>
- Yang, W. 2017, Nov 16. When Will Tsai Stop Being a People Pleaser and Legalize Marriage Equality? *Ketagalan Media*. Retrieved from <http://www.ketagalanmedia.com/2017/11/16/will-tsai-stop-people-pleaser-legalize-marriage-equality/>
- Yiwen, C. 2018, Mar 16. After 2 Years in Office/執政快2年 蔡英文的發言讓網友評「這特點」真的很強. *China Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.chinatimes.com/realtimenews/20180316001742-260407>