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*Erasmus*

**Critical Discourse Analysis on  
< Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board >  
of Taiwanese Women**

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在 ISS 期間除了打開我對於新自由主義、後殖民主義的認識以外，我學習到最多的應該是慢下來生活，不再只把自己視為一個人力資本在這個世界上汲汲營營地活著，追求成就與名望。在專心當學生的日子裡，我是真實地快樂著，尤其是跟大家一起煮飯、打羽球、散步、經營 gender committee 等等。謝謝這些在讀書期間與我相遇的朋友們，有你們在我身邊真好，這些回憶一直以來都被我好好珍藏著，我相信這些回憶也會變成我繼續往前的動力。(A translation of this paragraph is attached below)

During the days when I was in the Netherlands, concentrating on being a student, I experienced true happiness, especially cooking, playing badminton, taking a walk in the park, running the gender committee, etc. Most importantly, these activities were with you! Thank you to those friends who create memories with me. It's grateful to have you by my side. These memories have always been cherished by me until today, and I believe they will also become my motivation to move forward.

這些養分也在我回到台灣後，仍然不斷提醒著自己去實踐這些自己認同的價值，並去看關係連結的重要性。因此，我想特別感謝我的家人以及伴侶。因為我任性地堅持不再繼續從你們身上獲得經濟上的支持，在我讀碩班跟寫論文期間，真的面臨許多的經濟壓力，而這些經濟壓力也導致莫大的心理壓力。然而，你們卻以理解來實質地支持我。在我焦頭爛額於趕論文跟工作時，能幫我分攤大部分的家事，並告訴我你願意多做點，因為這是你支持我的方式。在我累到心理匱乏時，你們煮了很多我愛吃的食物，用食物來療癒我的身心。這些都被我緊緊放在心中。

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this Research Paper is to explore the impacts, potentials, and limitations of alternative feminist discourses developed by < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > of Taiwanese Womany while resisting sexual violence, which attempts to contribute to the study of power dynamics on the field of alternative feminist discourses production/reproduction in gender justice movement. To understand the relations of power dynamics, discourse production and reproduction, and gender issues, Post-structural Feminism and Foucauldian theory are the theoretical frameworks. In methodology, simultaneously, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is chosen to be the main analysis approach. In addition, to understand how Womany uses stories to generate alternative feminist discourses, Narrative analysis will be another approach to complementary CDA.

The findings reveal that there are four main alternative feminist discourses on this page, namely, (1) Victims and perpetrators are socially constructed; (2) Our right to speak shouldn't be limited by our image. Let us rename ourselves; (3) Speak out to heal, build solidarity, gain recognition, and reconnect with the World; (4) The importance of sex education: build trust in sexuality. Based on the above, the potential of these alternative discourses is providing different narration in contesting dominant discourses, for instance, Chinese collectivism and paternalism, rape myth, victim-blaming, protection policy, etc. Then they allow marginalized voices to be spoken up and make people experiencing sexual violence reinterpret and redefine their experiences and identities. In addition, they make the public view sexual violence from the perspective of social construction and reflect on the way we practice gender justice. Yet, this research argues that Womany 's alternative feminist discourses have some limitations. While fighting against hegemony, it still reproduces specific hegemony, namely liberal and individual discourse, and reinforces certain oppression, including creating another hegemony in sexual knowledge and being unable to reach Taiwan's more marginalized groups, such as indigenous people and immigrants. These limitations should be reflected carefully in terms of practicing the 'Diversity and Inclusion' in the setting of Neoliberalism.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

This Research Paper aims to contribute to the field of critical gender social movement from a social justice perspective. Based on the understanding that human activities are embedded in society, and our perception and behavior of gender and sexuality are constructed by social norms, we cannot explore gender issues independently outside the development study. In other words, to analyze gender issues, we must be aware of the power intersectionality in Politics, Sociology, and Economics. Therefore, this study provides an intersectional view to understand how power, discourse, and social media interweave together in the practice of gender social movement form the context of Taiwan.

### **Keywords**

Sexual violence, gender justice, story-sharing, feminist discourse analysis, #METOO, Womany, Taiwan

# Chapter One / Introduction

## 1.1 Research Problem

The main concern of this research is analyzing and reflecting on the alternative discourses developed on < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > of Taiwanese Womany to resist sexual violence. Fairclough (1992) indicated that discourse as a social practice has a dialectic relationship with social structure; it not only reproduces the meaning of the world but also reconstructs and changes the meaning of the world. Therefore, social structure and discourse restrict and construct with each other. Additionally, from Foucault's view, "subjects are discursively constituted through power; their actions may contribute to the operation of power" (Gaventa, 2003, p.3) Drawing on the above understanding, this research attempts to explore how power operates through discourses to shape peoples' understanding on (anti)sexual violence issue and influence people's subjectivity while experiencing sexual violence.

Womany is the main gender equality-oriented online platform in Taiwan. It created the page < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > after the #METOO movement in 2017, trying to build an anonymous space for people to share their victimized stories. The page also constructs alternative discourses to resist hegemonic sexual violence discourse and sexual violence prevention and treatment discourses. Womany is a dominant online gender platform in Taiwan, although I recognize its efforts to use the power of narration to resist the sexual violence field, I think its feminist discourse also should be estimated carefully to understand the power dynamics in discourse production and reproduction. This research argues that alternative discourses might provide a different perspective to understanding sexual violence issues but still might be problematic in certain settings. More specifically, this study aims to understand what kind of alternative discourse developed on < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > of Womany, and what the potentials and limitations of these alternative discourses while opening anonymous space for various stories of sexual violence can be revealed.

## 1.2 Research Motivations

*"There are already too many success stories or positive stories in society, but fewer negative stories... When we tell the experiences that are not accepted in society or are viewed in a negative way by the public, it will help many people who are afraid to tell these experiences or who are afraid of being labeled, so that they can be empathized and feel: I am not alone, there are people like me! This can bring strength to some people." (Lee, 2020, p.115) -From one of the participants' interviews.*

This research paper is inspired by my previous master's thesis Exploring the Process of Women Deciding to Speak Out Against Gender-based Violence from Experiencing Sexual Assault to Self-Disclosure on Social Networking Sites. I explored why people wanted to bring personal sexual traumatic stories to the public sphere and advocate for gender equality. The results of the previous study revealed that sharing stories in public plays a vital role in either participants' mental healing process or advocating action. Mainly because via speaking up the participants transformed their identity and experience, created solidarity among victims on social media, and elevated public awareness of sexual violence issues (Lee, 2020).

In my last study, I learned how story-sharing works on a personal level of healing and advocating. Participants showed how they gained agency by meaning transformation and social mobilization. Simultaneously, they linked individuals' traumas to structural trauma by telling the stories of collective sexual oppression. Now, I want to take a closer look at how these

revealing stories are used on social media to create anti-sexual violence discourses and, in turn, promote gender justice.

Another research motivation relates to my professional identity. As a sex educator and counseling psychologist in Taiwan and a person living in a digital generation, I care about modern gender discourses on social media. Many studies have pointed out that social media has a dramatic impact on people's gender ideology and mental health by conveying stereotypical depictions (Vinney, 2022). One research indicated that increased social media use led to online harassment, low self-esteem, and negative body image, with these effects being particularly pronounced among girls (Kelly et.al., 2019). Knowing the influence of social media, I argue that the use of gendered language on social media should be estimated consciously.

Since this research aims to analyze the feminist discourses of anti-sexual violence on social media in Taiwan, Womany, as the biggest gender-centered online platform in Taiwan, becomes the one choice for analysis material. Then I noticed that after the #METOO movement, this online platform built an online narrating space <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board> to echo the movement. This page shares five cover stories and invites people to post their sexual violence-related stories anonymously. Its emphasis on the power of narration coincides with my research focus. Additionally, I am aware of Womany's influence on the young generation (Wu, 2016). Therefore, I developed the desire to research what kinds of alternative discourses they are producing to compete with dominant sexual violence discourses.

### **1.3 Overview of Sexual Violence Discourses in Taiwan**

The discourses related to sexual violence are numerous. To meet the primary concern in this research, this section will mainly focus on the relevant mainstream discourses and social events in Taiwan. Then I will focus on the discourses related to sexual violence on social media after the #METOO movement. Finally, I will discuss the sexual violence-related discourse on Womany.

#### **1.3.1 Sexual Violence-related Discourse in Taiwanese Society**

##### **The Discourses that Reinforce Women's Vulnerability: rape myth and perfect victim**

In Taiwan's society, people believe in '家醜不外揚'(jiā chǒu bù kě wài yáng), meaning 'keeping the shameful thing within the family.' This notion comes from the History of Zen Buddhism Five Lanterns (Zdic. net., 2023). Sexually traumatic stories are viewed as scandals; hence it is assumed to be silenced instead of shared and discussed in public. Ironically, these stories that society cannot discuss are reported sensationally by the media. Many media are used to describe the process of sexual assault from a sensational and pornographic angle to attract readers. Studies pointed out the ways that media reports influence public perceptions of sexual violence to a certain degree (Benedict, 1993; Kettrey, 2013; O'Hara, 2012). They reinforce the narrative of the rape myth and make it one of the dominant sexual violence discourses in society. According to Lonsway & Fitzgerald (1994), rape myths are "attitudes and generally false beliefs about rape that are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women." (p. 134). Rape myths have a significant role in causing sexual assault to continue to occur (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). As Foucault (1988) mentioned, dominant discourse constricts our understanding of the world. Consequently, when rape myths become the main discourse in society, the public tends to hold stereotypes about people having sexual trauma and rationalize sexual violence. Lin's (2010) study is an example; she researched the attitude of netizens on the famous Taiwanese internet forum (PTT) and showed that if someone shares a story online, that does not meet the public's moral expectations of a 'good girl' or 'strong resistance,' for instance, her private life is complicated, or she didn't act reluctantly during the sexual intercourse. Then their stories will

hardly gain sympathy from netizens. In other words, influenced by the rape myth, the public believes that the ‘perfect victim’ should not have moral flaws, and they are expected to defend their chastity to the death.

In addition to the rape myth, the philosophy ‘理之用，和為貴’ (lǐ zhī yòng , hé wéi guì) also influences the framework of the perfect victim. This quote is from Confucius and means ‘In practicing the rules of propriety, it is the harmony that is prized.’ (Zhu, 2019) Since harmony is a prioritized value in the relationship, people in Taiwanese society are encouraged to ‘self-sacrifice,’ ‘self-review,’ and even ‘self-silence’ to achieve the ‘greater good.’ However, under the patriarchal structure, men are the dominant players who define what is ‘greater good’ in Taiwanese society. Therefore, girls are expected mostly to be gentle, soft, passive, patient, and thoughtful in relationships. The girl who doesn't follow the gender norm will be defined as a scold who will be the target to be humiliated by mainstream patriarchal discourses. Under this context, Voicer (2023) pointed out that Taiwanese women are ‘raised to be victims’ since they are taught to be passive and vulnerable in the relationship and, simultaneously, are asked to forgive and understand when others violate their boundaries and to reflect on what they may have done wrong. Wang (2023) further argued that a socially expected perfect victim should ‘trivialize tragedy and take the big picture as a priority’ in Taiwanese society (Wang, 2023). A harmony-encouraged society encourages women to give up and let go of many things including their autonomy of mind and body. Hence, it's not a surprise that women have a high vulnerability to sexual violence since their harm and fury are silenced and erased.

### **The Discourses that Respond to Women's Vulnerability: a victim or an agent**

Faced with women's vulnerability to sexual violence, some feminisms define women and gender minorities as victims under patriarchal societies, and sexual violence is defined in a framework of gender subordination (Martinez, 2011). Yet, some scholars are not convinced by the term ‘victim’ and argue that victimhood and protection policies foster a dependency mentality and increase vulnerability, inhibiting the development of agency (Cole, 1999).

Take Taiwan's academics as an example. Xia Linqing, a Taiwanese feminist, encourages women to ‘strongly’ resist the position of victimization, assuming the victim narrative is a product of sexual repression and opposing the ideology of protection policy (Ntu.edu.tw., 2019). Yang (2014), a famous Taiwanese gender expert, analyzed discourse on gender and emotional education knowledge-producing in Taiwan and revealed most of the dominant gender frameworks convey the meaning of protection and warning; for instance, girls should protect themselves and stay away from boys because the world is dangerous. However, according to Yang's research, these discourses never function as prevention (2014).

In terms of the current literature, it follows that protection discourse is no longer a persuasive strategy for reducing women's vulnerability in a patriarchal system. Some studies have begun to discuss how to increase women's agency instead of emphasizing vulnerability. For example, Leech (2022) suggests people use the term survivor instead of victim to highlight their resilience and assume that sexual violence is a survivable tragedy. Wang (2019), however, tries to break the antagonistic relationship between agency and vulnerability, believing that agency comes from an individual's subjectivity not from masculine traits encouraged by Taiwanese society, for instance, brave, strong and activity, etc., and argues that to cultivate agency from victims, the society must recognize the value of sentimentality and vulnerability. However, no matter which approaches to understanding people who have encountered sexual violence in Taiwanese scholarship, the arguments and debates still revolve around the topic of victimhood and agency.



## **Sexual-violence-related Legislation and Law Amendments: the sexual autonomy discourse and protection policy discourse**

When discussing gender discourse in Taiwan, the revision of Taiwan's gender laws should not be ignored. Over the past 20 years, the legal positioning of sexual violence has been changing in Taiwan. In 1999, Taiwan revised the 'Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Act' and set up the 'Crime of Violating Sexual Autonomy,' illustrating that sexual assault is not an immoral social issue but a crime against sexual autonomy; men are also included as protected subjects in this law and remove the crime from 'no trial without complaint' (Gu, 2019). It was a historical moment. The framework of sexual violence was shifted in the legal system. The nation recognizes men's and women's right to sexual autonomy and admits sexual violence is a crime. Then in 2001, the Gender Equality Work Act was passed. Regulations mainly protect women's rights to work, including parental leave protection, promotion protection, and prevention of sexual harassment in the workplace (Shang Qing, 2015). In 2005, the Sexual Harassment Prevention Act was passed; the law stipulates which behaviors are jokes and which involve sexual harassment and indecency and additionally provides complaints and mediation mechanisms for people in schools, companies, institutions, the army, etc (ibid, 2015).

Wang, Hsiao Tan is a famous law professor and feminist in Taiwan. Wang reviewed the history of Taiwan's legislation and law amendments and indicated that even though Taiwanese law tends to promote the value of an individual's sexual autonomy, law enforcement officers still put women in a 'passive' and 'no sexual desire' position and practice protection policy in them (2014). In addition, because of lacking awareness of the complexity of sexual violence experience, law enforcement officers tend to regard explicit resistance as a main indicator of expressive autonomy, which might silence women who have atypical experiences (Wang, 2014). In short, the mainstream discourse of the rape myth and protection policy in Taiwanese society conflicts with the discourse of trying to safeguard sexual autonomy in the law, leading to obstacles in the implementation of the law.

### **Important Social Events that Bring Different Discourses to Sexual Assault Victims**

From 2015 to 2017, some victims also used their way to challenge dominant sexual assault discourses. Take two famous sexual assault cases in the past decade as examples--- the Fu Jen Catholic University case and, the Lin, Yihan's case. In 2015, Wo participated in a party after a graduation ceremony and her male friend Wang took advantage of her drunkenness to accompany her home and sexually assaulted her (Wang, 2019). During the investigation of the gender equity education committee, the investigation leader--- Xia, Linqing asked Wo not to tell a 'victim version' story and should take responsibility for her behavior. Then, student Wo and her boyfriend used Facebook as a platform to show their different positions and their fury. Xia, Linqing's approach is seen as ignoring power relations and causing secondary trauma. In Lin, Yihan's case, Lin Yihan wrote the book *Fang Siqu's First Love Paradise*, and the book was published in 2017. The book is about a student who fell in love with her teacher after being sexually assaulted by him. The character is then suffering from cognitive dissonance and eventually going crazy. The author Lin suicide after publishing the book. Her sexual violence experience was revealed, and her book is seen as a metaphor for her story; after her death, cases of sexual assault through power in the educational system have begun to be heavily discussed (Wu, 2019). The above two social incidents are very famous cases of sexual violence in Taiwan. They have led to public discussion on 'sexual assault by powerful people' and 'victim blaming.' It is worth mentioning that the images of 'victim-survivor' above are distinct from the traditional ones in Taiwanese society. They told their own stories in their own ways, showing their struggles and oppressions to the public which was not allowed before. They are challenging the principle of 'keeping the shameful thing within the family' and the image of the 'perfect victim' in our society by self-disclosure in public.

### 1.3.2 Sexual Violence-related Discourse on Taiwanese Social Media

The impact of ‘share personal experiences with sexual violence in public’ is seen along with the emergence of the #METOO movement (Mendes, Ringrose & Keller, 2018; Rodino-Colocino, 2018). Therefore, in this section, I will briefly introduce the #METOO movement and then explain its impact on the discourses of sexual violence in Taiwan.

#### The Influence of the #METOO Movement and Related Discussion on Taiwanese Social Media in 2018

In 2017, being led by celebrities, the #METOO movement aroused widespread repercussions and encouraged many who experienced sexual violence to speak out. Suddenly, ‘keeping silence’ is no longer normalized. Instead, self-disclosure is recognized by #METOO. It becomes a way to reveal sexual violence issues to the public. TIME identifies the women who initiated and responded to the #METOO hashtag ‘the silence breakers’ to praise their actions since they challenge the notion that ‘sexual violence stories are untold stories,’ and reckon the perpetrators (Felsenthal, 2017). The images of women in #METOO have dramatic differences from victims of stereotypes. They challenged the idea of the ‘perfect victim-survivor.’ Diversified sexual assault stories are revealed to the world.

The concept of #METOO is a grassroots social movement initiated by Tarana Burke, who called for political concern toward sexual violence for marginalized women and tried to empower women through empathy in 2006 (Murray, 2017). Yet, the call for ‘me too’ wasn’t put in the central position in politics until Alyssa Milano used #METOO as a hashtag and called on the masses to respond on Twitter. Hence, some scholars criticize the #METOO movement as a political reckoning movement for Western privileged women, which silences the voice of non-western, colored, and low-class women (Onwuachi-Willig, 2018; Zarkov & Davis, 2018). Mack and Naputi (2019) also revealed the role of coloniality in the #METOO movement, arguing that Western feminism excludes and erases voices from different women communities while highlighting the importance of reckoning the harassers.

Back to Taiwan, Chen (2018) also reminded Taiwanese professional counselors should be aware of the cultural context behind #METOO; she mentioned that ignoring the cultural differences and blindly emphasizing ‘being strong’ and ‘speaking up for yourselves’ might be another kind of oppression. Take the investigation from DailyView (2018) as an example, the statistical results showed that the hashtag #METOO didn’t get anticipatory support in Taiwan in 2018. It analyzed the Internet volume on Taiwan's Internet forum and indicated that the enthusiasm for #METOO from netizens is gradually ebbing (showed in the green line, figure 1), and replaced by ‘the more you think about it, the more wrong it is’<sup>1</sup> (shown in the blue line, figure 1) (DailyView, 2018). The phrase is used as sarcasm for inconsistency in girls' behavior and is used chiefly when sexual assault experiences are not typical. Netizens, mainly male, link #METOO to this phrase and assume #METOO is an action to retaliate or blackmail men by public trial (ibid, 2018), thus, they try to attack girls who posted their stories online with malicious comments. Learning from the results, it’s not hard to imagine why many girls were reluctant to use the hashtag #METOO. Therefore, it's problematic if we ignore the cultural differences and assume easily that the #METOO movement will bring about liberation from gender oppression.

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<sup>1</sup>Netizens think that some women might act welcoming or not resist at the beginning but then claim they are forced to have sex in the end. Therefore, they use the phrase ‘the more you think about it, the more wrong it is’ to sarcasm women’s behaviour and assume their behaviours are unpredictable and emotional.

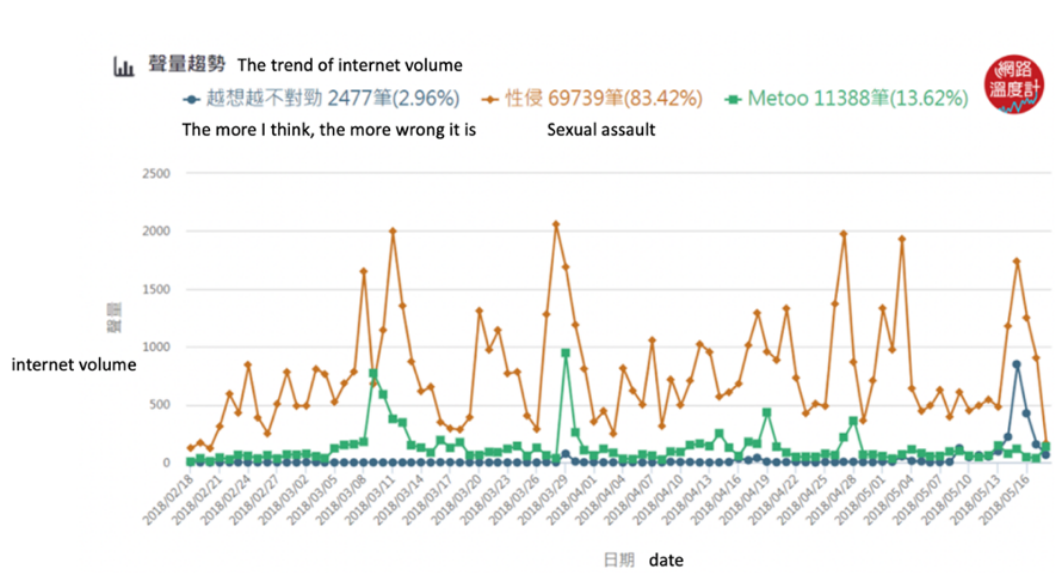


Figure 1: The analysis from DailyView.

### The Discourse Raised by the Taiwanese #METOO Movement in 2023

However, it is undeniable that the #METOO movement brought a different discourse in the sexual violence field. Thanks to the influence of the Taiwanese series ‘Wave Makers’, the spirit of ‘using common traumatic stories to mobilize people’ is valued in 2023. Set in the political environment of Taiwan, this film tells the story of a group of political staffers who assist a presidential candidate in her election. Through different storylines, it presents the issues of same-sex marriage, double-income families, sexual harassment in the workplace, and power-abused sexual assault in Taiwan. The classical phrase of ‘let’s not just let this go, OK? We can’t let things go this easily. Otherwise, we’ll slowly wither away and die.’ has become the core reference of the Taiwanese #METOO movement. This series on Netflix caused a big storm in Taiwan. In June, more than 90 victim-survivors complained of sexual violence incidents on social media and tagged #METOO (Lai, 2023). This grand reckoning is still in progress, and it has now spread to politics, education, sports, performing arts, media, YouTubers, and other various groups throughout Taiwan. CNN calls it the Taiwanese #METOO movement (Chang & Gan, 2023). ‘Let’s not just let this go, OK? We can’t let things go this easily.’ became a power phrase in the series. It facilitated people to question mainstream attitudes toward sexual violence. Because of this chain reaction, many sexual violence discourses, for instance, rape myth, perfect victim image, and the culture of ‘keeping the shameful thing within the family’ and ‘the harmony that is prized’ are highly discussed and criticized on social media (Mo, 2023). The political analyst Wen-Ti Sung mentioned the vital role ‘Wave Makers’ plays in sexual violence issues, “It also gave victims who came forward a common reference point around which they could rally support and strengthen solidarity” (Chang & Gan, 2023, no pagination). In short, it became a significant moment for Taiwanese women to break the silence and show their oppressed voices. According to Vocier (2023), this is also a vital moment for Taiwanese society to reflect ‘Does protection discourse work to prevent women from sexual violence?’; she emphasizes that the only way for women to protect themselves is that everyone stands up to challenge injustice gender structure.

#### 1.3.3 The Main Discourse on Womany

Since this research will analyze the page on Womany, I will introduce the positionality and dominant discourse of this online gender community. Additionally, I will illustrate the patriarchal discourse Womany targets to fight against.

Womany was founded in 2012 and is Taiwan's first gender-focused online media community. Realizing Taiwan lacks a women-oriented website, the principal founder, Wei-Xuan Zhang, and her friends (Yi-Zhen Chen and Chun-Ru Cai) decided to build a gender online media community. This media community aims to center the topics of gender justice issues and make the voices of women and gender minorities heard (Global View, 2016). According to the investigation, the primary readers are women aged 19 to 39 years old, and 70% of them have access to articles by smartphones (Wu, 2016). Considering Woamny's broad reading coverage among young and middle-aged women in Taiwan, its influence can't be underestimated. As Taiwanese famous gender education scholar Yang (2011) emphasized, the sex ideology in popular culture should be heeded since it influences sexual knowledge construction and individuals' identities profoundly. To look closer at the feminist discourse on Womany, the founder's background information matters. Wei-Xuan Zhang graduated from the London School of Economics and Political Science, majoring in Gender, Media, and Culture.

*“Everyone has different backgrounds, races, genders, and experiences, and should have different potentials, preferences, expectations, and career development. However, our society is very interesting. Under a certain controlled or uncontrollable ‘power structure’, society has gradually formed a fixed discourse of a ‘successful model’. The ‘power structure’ discussed here includes but is not limited to the masculinity, paternalism, nationalism capitalism, etc. Only by taking the initiative to establish your interpretation of life and the world can you have the opportunity to break away from the set structure and liberate yourselves.” (Zhang, 2020, p.46)*

The above is a quote from Zhang's autobiography. After training from graduate school, Zhang was inspired by postfeminism and Foucault's theory. She started to understand society from the angle of 'power structure.' She believed that people need to retrieve their subjectivity by understanding how power works on them and take corresponding actions consciously (Zhang, 2020). Therefore, Zhang initiated Womany to raise public awareness of gender power structures. As the autobiography mentions, she attempts to deconstruct 'Masculine,' 'Paternalism,' 'Nationalism and Capitalism,' the hegemonic structures existing in Taiwan's society. The following are the definitions of these notions.

- **Masculinity:** According to Connell (2005), hegemonic masculinity is a gender norm set up to ensure the male's dominant position in society. It's practiced by shaping man's behavior and cognition with gender expectations. Taking Taiwan as an example, the patriarchal structure is deeply influenced by Confucianism (PanSci, 2022). In the process of constructing masculinity, an authoritative voice is emphasized, and emotional expression is suppressed. Therefore, men with socioeconomic status, a certain age, and rationality are considered male role models.
- **Paternalism:** Paternalism refers to the restriction of individual freedom and autonomy through public power or parental authority to maintain the interests of the organization or the country (Huang, 2009). Taiwan adopts Paternalism in terms of legislation, family, and school education. (David, 2014) Since the practice of Paternalism institutionalizes male dominance, women's autonomy and agency is limited.
- **Nationalism:** Nationalism advocates that nations and countries should be integrated into a community to form the ideology and creed of the nation-state, which aims to pursue the survival, development, and prosperity of the nation (Kohn, 2019).
- **Capitalism:** Capitalism is an economic system centered on the consolidation of private property (Harris & Delanty, 2023). It emphasizes that it does not want any other force to intervene and allows market forces to control the circulation, valuation, and possession of property. The thinking of market competition and property privatization not only affects the way contemporary markets operate but also affects the way humans

view their self-worth. Feminism criticizes that capital society forces women to pursue a single beauty standard through advertisements for medical beauty, makeup, clothing, etc., and reduces women's bodies and sex into products that please men (International Socialist Forwardnon, 2017).

*“Diversity and Inclusion are the directions in which different societies need to learn and create new experiences. Next, we need to encourage more women to speak out about their experiences and share and pass on stories through ‘storytelling’ “. (Zhang, 2020, p.48)*

To deconstruct hegemonic structures, ‘Diversity and Inclusion’ are the aims that Womany achieves. Zheng believes that to practice gender justice; we must ‘include’ ‘diverse’ perspectives, which need to understand, tolerate, and listen to the voices of ‘the other,’ facilitate dialogue across the different groups, and resist dominant and universal ideology. To approach this goal, Zheng advocates the power of ‘storytelling,’ believing that the voices of various Taiwanese women and gender minorities can be heard by sharing and passing on their stories. Zheng regards storytelling to ‘speak up for yourselves’ and ‘take responsibility for your own lives.’ In other words, she links the notion of ‘storytelling’ to the idea of ‘subjectivity presenting.’ At the level of social relations, Zheng sees storytelling as connecting women to build solidarity and encouraging men to be enlightened and transformed.

As the site grew in influence, the discourse it created began to be scrutinized. Some research started to analyze what kinds of feminist values Womany is practicing and whether the original intention has been fulfilled in this online gender community. Yang (2020) studied the feminist discourse on Womany and questioned the discourse of 'love yourself' and 'be yourself' on the website. She indicated that the female model created by this website is: smart, ambitious, and beautiful, which hasn't escaped from the patriarchal framework; additionally, for stabilizing the website, Womany tends to ally with patriarchal capitalism (2020). This phenomenon has been further studied by Hu (2021), who researched the phenomenon of many embedded advertisements on Womany and analyzed the gender ideology advertisements try to convey. Hu pointed out that the major ‘modern women images’ Womany promotes are positive, independent, and consumerism, and the advertisements on Womany also encourage the idea of women demonstrating their freedom of choice and confidence through shopping, which fits the neoliberalism discourse (2021). The practice of feminism through participation in capitalism and neoliberalism has many contradictions with Zheng's original intention. The image of modern women has once again been unified, making the promise of diversity and inclusion become out of reach.

#### **1.4 Research Justification**

In the process of sorting out the social, academic, and legal discourses on sexual violence in Taiwan, it's clear that most of the dominant discourses are limited to the debate between two opposing discourses. As Wang (2019) argued, the narrative of ‘protecting vulnerable victims’ / ‘resisting victimization’ and ‘victimhood’ / ‘agency’ both dualize and simplify the subjectivity of persons who encountered sexual violence. Most people’s experiences are beyond these two categories. The binary narration not only constrains the individual's subjectivity but also ignores the ambiguity of sexuality. The highlighted point above is that the complexity of victim-survivor voices needs to be seen. As Schneider (1995) reminded us “feminist work has too often been shaped by an incomplete and static view of women as either victims or agents” (p.387). Following the above discussion, this research believes that story-sharing is a way to make people’s various atypical stories become visible. Additionally, the public’s perceptions of sexual violence can be challenged slowly when more and more people talk about their unique stories. However, there are few relevant studies in Taiwan (Luo, 1999;

Wang, 2019). None of them study the power of narration while discussing sexual violence issues.

After witnessing the #METOO movement and the debates on protection policy and sexual liberation discourse, I recognize the power of narration and agree with building an anonymous online space to invite people to share their various stories of sexual violence. Although Womany claims to be practicing this on the page of < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board >, I am still aware of Womany's dominant position in creating modern feminist discourses. Therefore, I still wonder: What kinds of 'realities' do Womany try to shape through developing alternative discourses? Do these alternative discourses have the potential to oppress and marginalize other voices? Do these alternative discourses break through dichotomous discourse and provide a narration space for the complexity and ambiguity of sexual violence? How can Womany achieve 'Diversity and Inclusion' in alliance with capitalism and neoliberalism? Therefore, this research puts the main focus on sexual violence issues and analyzes what kinds of feminist discourse have been produced/reproduced through the story-sharing page on Womany, aiming to reflect on the online feminist discourse that is being developed by the new generation of women. Additionally, this research attempts to create a dialogue within gender-oriented groups (such as online social communities, gender activists, and educators) to reflect on the work of resistance to sexual violence from an East Asian setting.

### **1.5 Define Research Questions**

This study puts alternative feminist discourses in the stage center, discussing the power dynamics within alternative feminist discourses' production/reproduction in resisting sexual violence. Therefore, this research objective is to explore how different power operates in resisting sexual violence by analyzing alternative feminist discourses on < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > of Taiwanese Womany. To understand the power dynamics, this research aims to explore how alternative feminist discourses deconstruct the 'realities' set by hegemonic sexual violence discourses. And the possibilities and potential limitations the alternative feminist discourses have while creating competing power relations with hegemonic sexual violence discourses will be analyzed as well.

The main research questions are below:

- What are the impacts, potentials, and limitations of alternative feminist discourses developed by < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > of Taiwanese Womany in resisting sexual violence?

To tackle the main question within the social context in Taiwan, the sub-questions are:

1. What kinds of alternative feminist discourse are highlighted on < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page?
2. In the context of Taiwan, what kinds of 'realities' from sexual violence do these alternative feminist discourses attempt to strengthen and eliminate?
3. In the context of Taiwan, what are the potentials and limitations of these alternative feminist discourses?

## Chapter Two / Theoretical Framework

To have a deeper understanding of this topic, I will illustrate the relationship between sexual violence and discourse production/reproduction from post-structural feminism and Foucauldian theory as the main theoretical framework in this research. Then, I will explain the notion of discourse resistance to the issue of sexual violence. Thirdly, I will elaborate on the perspective of this study on online gender movements. Finally, I will summarize the definition of story-sharing in this study.

### 2.1 Discourse Production / Reproduction and Sexual Violence Issue

According to Foucault (1984), discourse is a form of power operation to maintain a hegemonic system, and elaborated on how discourse governs people's perception and behavior by constructing systems of truth and realities. Discourse production is one of the indispensable tools for exercising power and it is ubiquitous in our lives. Then, in the part of discourse reproduction, people reinforce the power by practicing social norms and forming knowledge in the setting of family, school, workplace, social media, etc. Individuals are influenced by these discourses as a basis for understanding the world and shaping our identities. Post-Structural Feminism continues the concept, arguing that gender is socially constructed, namely, the notion that gender and sexuality are shaped by social discourses, and sexual violence is not a personal crime, but a way of power operation controlled by the patriarchal system (Butler, 2006). In other words, sexual violence is viewed as a systematic gender and sexuality oppression. and the system of oppression is intersectional, including race, class, ethnic group, etc. By setting gender norms, people's view of gender and sexuality is influenced by dominant discourses, in which sexual violence from men is normalized to keep women's and gender minority's subordinate positions.

Inspired by Post-Structural Feminism and Foucauldian theory, this study believes the frameworks of 'victim-blaming' and 'perfect victim' are the practice of discourse production /reproduction to silence victims and normalize sexual violence. And one of the dominant discourses behind these frameworks is the rape myth. The concept of rape myth was proposed by sociologists and feminists such as Schwendinger & Schwendinger (1974) and Brownmiller (1975). They believe that the rape myth is a cultural prejudice used by the public to understand why women are the major victims of sexual violence. They assumed that mainstream culture resolves the binary opposition between sexual violence and social justice by shifting the responsibility for rape to female victims, rationalizing male dominance, and thereby consolidating the patriarchal system. The leading Taiwanese feminist scholar Luo (2011) indicated the common rape myth in Taiwan's society include 'good girls won't be assaulted', 'most of the perpetrators are psychopaths or have mental abnormalities', 'Rape mostly occurs between strangers', etc. These narratives share characteristics, namely rationalizing and sexualizing the motivations for rape and blaming the victim. Gradually, victims tend to assume sexual violence to be personal misfortunes or problems, and their subjectivity is suppressed or denied.

### 2.2 Discourse Resistance and Sexual Violence Issue

However, these dominant discourses are not completely immune to challenge and combat. As Foucault proposed, "Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile, and makes it possible to thwart it"(1984, p.100). To resist the dominant discourse, the construction of alternative discourses takes a crucial role. "Resistance takes the form of counter-discourses and reverse discourses, which produce new knowledge and new truths and thereby constitute new powers. Resistance comes from

challenging how an individual is defined, labeled, and classified.” (Merilainen et.al., 2004, p.545) When a discourse different from the dominant discourse emerges, the alternative discourse will create confrontational tension with the dominant discourse. Individuals can be allowed to relocate themselves in this tension.

The same goes for the discourse surrounding sexual violence. Since the dominant discourse seizes the power to construct truth and reality, people who have experienced sexual violence must create alternative discourses that differ from the mainstream to build new meanings for existing labels and identities. As Xue(2008) argued, “Transforming the gender identity is a matter of challenging discourse.” (p.57) Alternative discourses not only need to maintain a tense and confrontational relationship with the original discourse but also actively challenge the existing power structure to avoid being silenced again. Therefore, Foucault used the term-'subjectivation' to describe the process of the competition between different discourses and believed that there are no independent, autonomous, and fixed subjects in society (1997).

Seeing the importance of 'subjectivation' and the influence of social construction, Post-Structural Feminism argues that in discussions around sexual violence, we must value and acknowledge the complex social and cultural background behind people experiencing sexual violence as these contexts shape their subjectivities (Davies, 1991). It is therefore important to make the victims' diverse voices and experiences be heard in terms of creating alternative feminist discourses.

### **2.3 Gender Movement and Social Media**

Since the Internet has become an extension of contemporary people's real lives, we can see how social structure is displayed on the Internet. The Internet has become a vital platform to demonstrate/challenge the power through discourse production/reproduction. Social media allows personal experiences to be revealed, connects with like-minded individuals, makes resources can be shared, and facilitates mobilization (Kamei, 2022; Kim, 2023). All these characteristics have made contemporary feminism aware of the power of social media, so it has become an indispensable platform for gender movements. The gender movement needs social media to make gender issue become visible, and thereby, to elevate people's awareness of gender issues. Isa and Himelboim (2018) also mentioned that gender movements on social media can overcome many of the difficulties in physical social movements, such as evading government censorship to connect with potential activists and making gender movements easier to reach out to other movements. However, social media does not only play a positive role in the gender movement. Social media also allows sexually violent language to spread more quickly, affecting people's perceptions online and offline (Kamei, 2022). Some feminist scholars remind us that technology is not neutral and that gender power relations are rooted in technoscience (Wajcman, 2010). Therefore, social media is a gendered platform that makes it easier to produce/reproduce existing power structures in the physical world.

Given the positive and negative influence of social media on the gender movement, I believe that we need to pay more attention to the competitive relationship between different online discourses to understand how to practice gender justice by creating alternative discourses on social media. Hence, this research chose Womany in an attempt to explore this issue. Although Womany is composed of a group of editors, this research defines Womany as a social actor in the reason of regards it as a community that can take action on the Internet. Like individuals, the discourses Womany produces/reproduces are embedded in the social power structure.

### **2.4 Story-sharing**

In recent years, storytelling has become an epistemology, pedagogy, and research approach to recognize the experiences and knowledge of indigenous people (Iseke, 2013; Motta, 2016). The stories of indigenous people were once marginalized in this world. However, thanks to the



power of storytelling, these stories are exposed to be heard. Gradually, storytelling is not only adopted in indigenous-related research but also chosen as an approach in researching groups and communities oppressed by mainstream society. The value of storytelling is increasingly demonstrated in the transitional justice promotion field. In Bamidele's (2016) study, she researched the potential role of storytelling projects in the healing process of sexual violence in Uganda and pointed out that storytelling projects could facilitate survivors' healing by making new meaning from traumatic experiences.

Learning from the spirit of storytelling, this research believes sexually violence-related stories can also play a significant role in the gender justice field. Although this study does not adopt storytelling as a research method, I still focus on the power of stories in combating sexual violence and see < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > as a storytelling project that encourages people to tell their shared oppression and make connections with each other on this platform. As Shenhav(2015) assumed that stories are a crucial medium for people to construct/reconstruct discourse. To distinguish from the storytelling research approach, this study chooses the term 'story-sharing' in an attempt to understand how these sexual violence-related stories are used to produce/reproduce alternative feminist discourses in challenging hegemonic structures.

## Chapter Three / Methodology and Data Collection

### 3.1 Methodology

#### 3.1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough (1992) emphasized that there is a dialectic relationship between discourse and social structure, and they restrict and construct with each other. As a methodology, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides the critical perspective to analyze the relationship between linguistics and social practice that we are embedded in (van Leeuwen, 2006). Meaning, this methodology not just focuses on the text itself but also the social and historical context behind it. Additionally, Van Dijk (2009) characterized CDA researchers as committed to social equality and justice. Since CDA is very consistent with the perspective of Post-Structural Feminism and Foucauldian theory in both its method philosophy and practical spirit, CDA is chosen to be the main methodology to analyze and critique the alternative feminist discourses from Womany in this research.

To approach the above goals, several elements of CDA will be focused on. The first focus is on how language is used to deconstruct hegemonic power and imbalance existing power relations. This involves paying attention to the organization of text and analyzing how certain linguistic features, for instance, vocabulary choice, tone, and description, are employed to discuss sexual violence issues. The second focus is on the role of alternative feminist discourse in reshaping social reality to avoid being marginalized. This involves being aware of the statements behind the text and exploring how these statements are used to resist existing knowledge systems and redefine the 'truth' in terms of ideologies related to gender, sexuality, and violence.

To conclude, this study believes that hegemonic social power relations are reinforced and weakened by alternative feminist discourses of production/reproduction. Hence, CDA is applied in this study to analyze power dynamics within the context of discourse by focusing on how gender and sexuality power operates via text on Womany platforms in the context of Taiwanese society.

#### 3.1.2 Narrative Analysis

As I mentioned above, I agree with the value of story-sharing in terms of showing subjectivity. This research, however, focuses more on how Womany presents stories and how those stories are used on the < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page. More precisely, this research believes that the way stories are presented is inextricably linked to alternative feminist discourses on Womany. To analyze how elements in the story are presented to generate alternative narratives, in addition to CDA, this research adopts Narrative Analysis as a complementary approach to analyze the text of stories on Womany.

A typical story contains some elements: characters, plots, themes, etc., and often conveys some values and meanings through the occurrence of a series of events and the arrangement of the plot (Polletta et al., 2011). The core theme is organized by the setting of characters and plots, conveying the main idea that the author attempts to express. The scholars doing Narrative Analysis believe that narration in stories is powerful since it is socially organized and distributed by uneven power (Polletta et al., 2011). This study aims to understand how these real-life stories are mobilized by Womany to create a countervailing power relationship with hegemony. Real-life stories are different from made-up stories. They may not have all complete narrative elements, but they still contribute to constructing social meaning and creating a sense of identity and belonging (Shenhav, 2015). The real-life stories on Womany for example, not only present personal experience but also show the identity of common oppression and the structural realities in specific cultural contexts.

To understand the interweave between real-life story sharing and alternative feminist discourses, this study will use Narrative Analysis to find the core theme in the arrangement of the characters and plots. Next, distinguish the social meaning and identity that authors try to convey from the core themes. Then pay attention to how the social meaning and identity are highlighted to generate alternative feminist discourses on the < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page. Lastly, combined with the CDA approach, analyze the impacts, potentials, and limitations of alternative feminist discourses while resisting dominant sexual violence discourses. The detailed analysis process will be presented in paragraphs 3-3 data analysis.

### 3.2 Data Collection

Womany is a women and gender-oriented online community. It promotes gender equality by collecting numerous articles and holding YouTube channels, podcasts, and workshops. Different issues are classified into eight major columns: *Diversity and Inclusion*, *Empower*, *Gender Power*, *I'm home*, and *Flashing*<sup>2</sup>. Because of the high interest in the topic of ‘story-sharing’ and ‘self-disclosure’, I have been following the #METOO movement for a long time. I noticed that after the #METOO movement, Womany created a sub-column #METOO which is under the *Gender Power* to bring the influence of #METOO to Taiwan. When readers click the #METOO link, they will be directed to a specific page (seen in figure 2).

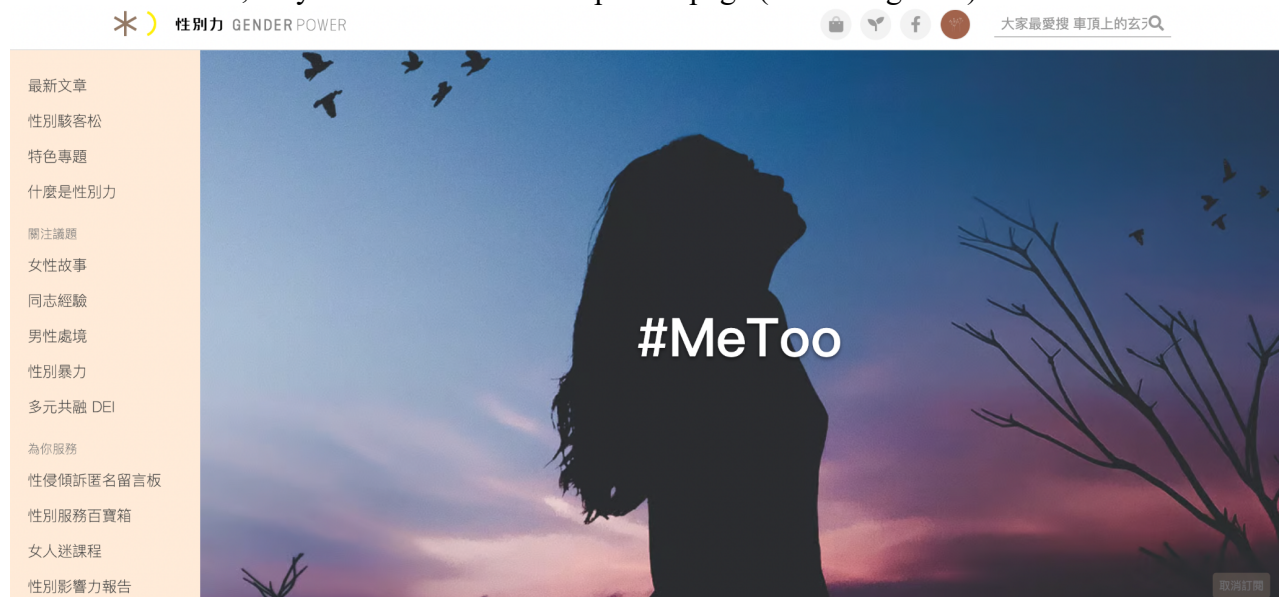


Figure 2: #MeToo main page.

Readers can click the left column to enter specific pages based on the topics they are interested in, for instance, women’s stories, gay experiences, men’s situations, etc. The common feature of the main page #MeToo is that no matter which column collects stories related to sexual violence, they are only classified into different columns based on gender.

<sup>2</sup>In the column- *Diversity and Inclusion*, Womany shows how the team is committed to promoting a diverse and co-prosperous society through the sharing of activities and articles. In the column- *Empower*, Womany explores the dilemmas that most women encounter, such as the balance between work and family, the pressure of motherhood, obstacles to career advancement, etc., and discusses the underlying gender inequality issues. In the column- *Gender Power*, Womany focuses on the discussion of various gender political issues, such as same-sex marriage and sexual violence. In the column- *I'm home*, Womany collects articles related to parenting, marriage, or the relationship with the primary family. In the column- *Flashing*, Womany discusses the issue of sexuality, including women's body image, women's sexual pleasure, women's body care, etc.

In addition to these pages, Womany also provides some specific services for the readers: <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board >for posting anonymous gender violence stories, and there are 681 posts so far (statistics until December 2023); <Gender Analysis> for publishing sexual violence relative articles and gender critique which contains 88 articles(statistics until December 2023), for instance, the topic of sexual harassment in workplaces, physical boundaries, the image of victim-survivor and victim blaming phenomenon, etc.; <Sex Services Treasure Box> for sharing grievance hotline and professional counseling resources etc.

Based on the recognition of the power of story-sharing and the interest in the gender justice movement, I am attracted to the <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page. I noticed that Womany specially selected five stories from other columns as the cover stories of the <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page to invite people to tell their stories on this page. With the awareness of the relationship between discourse and power, I believe there are certain meanings for Womany to collect these five stories in the social movement of fighting against sexual violence. To have a deeper view of the power of narration and alternative feminist discourses, I choose this page to respond to my research questions. Among these, the arrangement of headlines on the page and the five cover stories will be the main material for analysis.

There are five sections on the <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page, in the following paragraph, I will introduce the brief information of this page with titles and screenshots.

A. **Opening (seen in figure 3) :** The title at the top of the page is

*A gender education road to provide companionship, narrative, and recovery. #METOO, #ItMatters.*

Then, the subtitle is

*Womany wants to provide companionship, invite you to talk, and walk with you on this long road to recovery. We know that it is a long road and that moving forward in life is difficult and takes time. If you are willing to write, we can invite more people to face the issue of gender violence.*



Figure 3: Opening of the <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page.

B. **Five stories (seen in figure 4):** In the second section, Womany puts five cover stories. The title is

*I am a victim of sexual assault, and I am willing to speak out.*

Then, the sub-title is

*Rape is not a joke, there is more than one Fang, Siqi, there is more than one type of sexual assault victim, we have something to say, are you willing to listen?*



Figure 4: Five stories on the <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page.

Since the five stories are the main materials Womany uses on this page and become an invitation for readers to share their stories, this research will put them in the core position and analyze the text. Table 1 shows the main information of the five stories.

Title	Author (year)	Synopsis of stories	Supplementary information
I am not a “perfect” victim of sexual assault. The man who raped me was my boyfriend then...--- a single mother with her child.	Chou, Ya Chun (2017)	When Chou was in high school, she was invited to watch a movie at her boyfriend’s home, and then went through a series of ‘persuasion’ before the sexual assault succeeded by her boyfriend at the time. Chou used her story to explain why she felt sexual assault was related to ‘heterosexual script’ and ‘lack of sex education,’ and advocated that the concept of active consent rather than passive protection should be integrated into sex education to increase people’s understanding and acceptance of sexuality.	This article links to Chou’s public speech on TED talk. Title ‘What sex education should look like?’. Also links to Fang Si Qi’s story.
"It wasn't alcohol that raped me, it was you." A letter to society from the victim of the Stanford sexual assault case.	Abby (2016)	In this article, editor Abby criticizes the culture of victim-blaming through Miller's open letter. In college, Miller was sexually assaulted by a classmate after getting drunk after a party. At that time, the male college student's parents convinced the judge that the male college student was a first-time offender and that this was just ‘college students having sex after drinking’. The judge therefore gave a lenient sentence. A few years later, Miller decided to share her narration on the matter and the unrecorded mental harm	This article links to the Fuda case.

		of being ignored/silenced by society in an open letter.	
No longer silent after the Fuda sexual assault case: Everyone has a lonely and injured child in his/her heart.	Chen, Jie Hao (2016)	Chen shares his experience with sexual violence to express his views on the The Fuda case. Chen was sexually abused as a child by his nanny's family. When he tried to seek help from his family, his family responded with ignore. Chen used this experience to illustrate how, as a survivor of sexual violence, he coexists with these traumatic experiences, and used this to call on the public to be aware of the harm caused by 'victim blame'.	This article links to the Fuda case.
Sexual Assault that Nobody Knows: You Are Angry Because You Are Scared.	Wang, Qi (2016)	Wang shared the process of accompanying her close friends. Wang's close friend was sexually assaulted by a friend at another party. When her friend revealed the experience to the people around her, no one could handle her hurt emotions, and even responded with denial, suspicion and blame. Wang uses this article to illustrate how these responses can lead to self-destruction and self-isolation, with the victim gradually being marginalized by society.	This article links to the Fuda case.
An open letter from a transgender against rape: I was raped, I didn't deserve it.	Wo, Xinn (2016)	Because Wo's gender identity was not accepted by her family, she chose to run away from home after encountering repeated verbal and physical violence from her family members when she was high school age. While running away from home, she was helped by strangers. Unfortunately, the stranger had ulterior motives and sexually assaulted her. However, Wo used this open letter to show that sexual violence does not only come from the sexual assault itself, but also includes the oppression she suffered from the 'cisgender society' and the 'slut-shaming' she experienced in the process of calling the police and seeking help.	This article links to the gay movement.

Table 1: Main information of the five stories.

- C. **The links for more articles (seen in figure 5):** The third section is related articles. The title is

*Seeing the truth and offering companionship.*

And subtitle is

*Whether you have experienced gender-based violence, or you are willing to understand more to change a stubborn world, we want to invite you to embark on a journey and make it more open. Let's start with seeing real stories, we can accompany ourselves and others.*

Readers can access the articles they are interested in through four links, namely, tell stories, understand the current situation, take care of yourself, and accompany others.

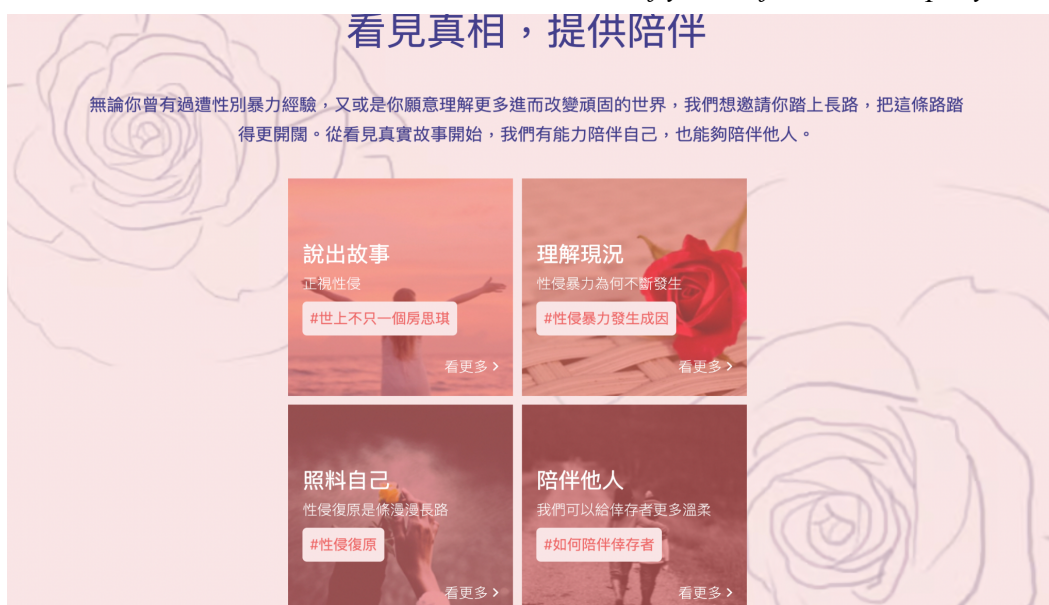


Figure 5: Related links on the <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page.

- D. **Mental health resources (seen in figure 6):** In the fourth section, the title is

*You are not alone on this road to recovery.*

The subtitle is

*In the book Trauma and Recovery, Herman, J. L. mentions five steps to recovery from trauma. Together we can slowly let go of the knife in our memories.*

Here Womany introduces Herman's theory of trauma and recovery and illustrates five recovery stages: *settlement- searching/establishing a safe space; narration-telling your traumatic stories; transformation- transforming your traumatic memories; establishment-re-establishing trust in people; reconciliation-reconciling yourself with the trauma of the past.*



Figure 6: Mental health resources on the <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page.

E. **Anonymous message board (Seen in figure 7):** The last section is an anonymous board on which people can post their stories. The title is

*Write down the pain and find a rose partner.*

The subtitle is

*Pain feels like a rose in the palm of your hand. If you are willing, write the story and find a rose partner so that the wound can be seen and the wound can be healed. Honey, it's not your fault.*

Before posting stories, there are some reminders on this board, including: *Don't blame yourself at any time; Please pay attention to the risks and prevention after saying #METOO; We will provide legal advice and assistance by your side; If there is vicarious traumatization, please take care of your body and mind. Currently, 711 people have contributed their own stories to this message board (statistics until December 2023).*

給想要使用「寫下你的痛」留言板的你：

1. 任何時候都不要自責：許多受害者面臨說不出口的罪惡感，但每個人都有自己的選擇，以及適合的時間。#metoo 是長期的運動，受害者自我身心的安頓是最重要的，而受害者信任的親友們，若受害者願跟你分享經歷，也請陪伴受害者，一起走過最難熬的時期。
2. 說出 #metoo 的風險和預防：如果你考慮為自己挺身而出，提醒具名但缺乏證據的指認，可能會面臨無良加害者控告的風險，如果能有任何人證、物證能更好地保護自己，包括經歷當時寫下的日記、或曾跟支持網絡訴說過，也有機會能是人證與物證，增加自己的勝訴機率。
3. 我們會在你身邊，提供法律諮詢和協助：如果你需要，可聯繫現代婦女基金會的性侵害防治服務專線 02-7728-5098 分機 7、婦女救援基金會被害人諮詢電話02-25558595
4. 如果你經驗到替代性創傷，請先好好安頓身心沒關係：善用自己的支持網絡，當情緒有所激動時，為自己建立支持網絡，彼此溝通支援，給自己資訊斷捨離的時間，定期斷網，隔離讓人憤怒的新聞與消息。

寫下疼痛，尋找玫瑰夥伴

疼痛的感覺，像玫瑰握在手心，如果你願意，寫下故事，尋找玫瑰夥伴，讓傷口被看見，也讓傷口有癒合的可能。親愛的，這不是你的錯。

711人  
寫下疼痛

Figure 7: Anonymous message board on the <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page.



In addition to the page <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board >, another major material for analysis in this study is the founder’s autobiography. Since the founder’s positionality interweaves with the discourse they are delivering, Zhang’s autobiography can provide a background for setting up the online space for story-sharing and enriching the analysis. Zhang’s autobiography <dare to be different> was published in 2020. In this book, Zhang explains why she founded Womany and the goals that Womany aims to approach. The related information is elaborated in Chapter One.

### 3.3 Data Analysis

The following shows the process of analysis.

- A. Translate and code: translate the text on the page <*Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board* >. And Code each sentence. The coding number of this study is based on which sentence of which section on the main page. For example, the first sentence in the first section is coded into M1-1; the second sentence in the first section is coded into M1-2, and so on.

*A gender education road to provide companionship, narrative, and recovery. #METOO, #ItMatters. (M1-1) Womany wants to provide companionship, invite you to talk, and walk with you on this long road to recovery. (M1-2) ...*

The sentences in the five stories are coded based on which sentence of which story. For instance, the first sentence in the first story is coded into S1-1; the second sentence in the first story is coded into S1-2, and so on.

*Written in the aftermath of Lin Yihan's death, 'The Single Mother and Her Child' (the name of the writer) wrote about her own experience, how she was not a 'perfect' victim, and how there was a lot of ambiguity in between. (S1-1) Giving children sex education is not just about protection, but also about feelings and desires so that they know what they are dealing with and then, empowered by knowledge, can decide for themselves, whether they consent or refuse. (S1-2)*

- B. The highlighted text: focus on the context of describing characters, the arrangement of plots, or repeated themes. Next, mark the highlighted/repeated text.

*Giving children sex education is not just about protection, but also about feelings and desires so that they know what they are dealing with and then, empowered by knowledge, can decide for themselves, whether they consent or refuse. (S1-2)*

- C. The alternative discourses: distinguish the core meanings or identities behind the sentence.

*Giving children sex education is not just about protection, but also about feelings and desires so that they know what they are dealing with and then, empowered by knowledge, can decide for themselves, whether they consent or refuse. (S1-2)*

Regarding that protection policy is not enough for sex education.

Promoting the importance of body autonomy, sex knowledge, and

-----► informed consent in sex education.

- D. The target mainstream discourse: through literature review, look for the mainstream discourses of sexual violence that alternative discourses attempt to combat. Then, pay attention to how alternative discourses attempt to create new identities and social meanings to deconstruct target discourses. Sample can be seen in table 2.

The alternative discourse	The target mainstream discourse
Regarding that protection policy is not enough for sex education. Promoting the importance of body autonomy, sex knowledge, and informed consent in sex education.	<p><u>Related to dominant sexual violence discourses:</u> Rape myth: You'll be raped if you don't protect yourself properly (Brownmiller, 1975).</p> <p><u>Related to sexual violence prevention and treatment discourses:</u> The mainstream discourse on sexual violence prevention in Taiwan focuses on anti-violence strategies that encourage women to reduce risk factors and increase their self-defense knowledge (Luo, 1999).</p>

Table 2: The procedure of finding the target mainstream discourse.

In stages A to C, this research will use Narrative Analysis to capture core themes from the context of describing characters and plots. From stage C to D, the CDA will be used to distinguish the alternative discourses developed by stories and the targeted discourses. The use of two analytical methods allows this study to not only focus on the structure of the stories but also analyze how the discourse behind the story interacts with existing social power structures to generate confrontation, resistance, and other relations.

### 3.4 Positionality and Challenges

#### 3.4.1 Research Positionality and Self-reflexivity

Soedirgo & Glasthe (2020) mentioned the essential role of positionality in the research process, indicating that researchers should keep reflexive to their social location and be aware of how their social location interacts with their research. To locate my position, it is crucial to reflect on my relationship with this topic and Womany.

Because of my professional identity, I have spent plenty of time in the gender equality field and have my standpoints in the practice site. My political stance leans to the left and prefers sexual liberation to protection discourse. Moreover, I have a similar background as the editor-in-chief, we are Han Chinese<sup>3</sup>, middle-class women, and specialized in gender studies during the master's degree. The above also means most of Womany's discourses and narrations match my political standpoint. My strength is that I can understand the context of Womany easily. However, the weakness is that I might restrict myself to the echo chambers, ignoring voices from other angles. To avoid reproducing universal and dominant comments in this research, I must cultivate intersectional lenses and reflect on myself continuously. The intersectional lens on sexual violence issues can help me to include diverse voices, especially the voices from marginalized groups. To practice this, I will be aware of what kinds of voices are included/excluded and what kinds of voices are amplified/silenced in the text. And I will use reflective notes to help myself record this process.

#### 3.4.2 Risks and Ethical Challenges

Qualitative studies rely on text generation and meaning generation rather than presenting digital statistics. The researchers are assumed as one of the essential research instruments

<sup>3</sup> In today's Taiwanese society, Han Chinese are the majority of the population and are the dominant ethnic group. However, the Han people are not native 'Taiwanese'. There were two main waves of immigration of Han Chinese in Taiwan: one from the 17th to 19th centuries due to geographical and trade-related factors, and the other from 1945 to 1949 due to political factors when they evacuated to Taiwan to fight against the Communist Party (Xu, 2019).

during problem awareness generation, data collection, the interpretation and analysis of the script, etc. The risks and ethical challenges that researchers might encounter should be brought to the consciousness level and unfolded in the discussion carefully. Sanjari et. al (2014) reviewed international electronic databases and showed the ethical challenges in qualitative studies mainly include three dimensions: the researcher-participant relationship, research design, and data gathering and data analysis.

In this research, there are several ethical challenges I might face. Firstly, data analysis: the language translation. The selected original texts are in Mandarin, so language translation is needed before analysis. To hand off the translation process cautiously, software selection is important (Schneider, 2013). This research will choose DeepL translator as the translation tool. The translator uses “unique neural network architecture, which is trained through billions of translated texts, so that the algorithm can recognize words in the context, thereby producing more natural and smooth translations” (Pseric, 2020, no pagination). Moreover, as a Mandarin native speaker, I will recheck every translated script to make sure the colloquialisms, idioms, or metaphors are translated properly. Then, I will confirm the scripts with the supervisor to limit the language barrier. Simultaneously, to keep the richness of the original language. I will keep some parts of the original words when the translation fails to convey the original meaning precisely. Secondly, data gathering: the use of sexual violence stories. To understand how Womany positions victim-survivor, I need to analyze the stories it represents on the page. Their stories will be interpreted and presented again in this paper. Even though the authors permitted Womany to publish their stories, their stories should be used carefully to avoid obvious secondary trauma, such as revictimizing /retraumatizing. Hence, I will recheck my analysis with the supervisor and the second reader by triangulation.

## Chapter Four / Analysis and Findings

To respond to research questions, this chapter is divided into two main sections. In the first section, I will summarize the alternative feminist discourses developed by the five cover stories on the <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page. It's crucial to retain the authors' original voices in this study. Thus, the paragraph will begin with a related excerpt from the stories, followed by highlighted core themes and identities. Then, this study will analyze the 'realities' these alternative feminist discourses attempt to strengthen and eliminate under the Taiwanese social setting. It is worth noting that each alternative discourse is not an independent concept. They have different emphases but are complementary to each other. The second section will discuss the potential of these alternative feminist discourses. In the last section, reflect on their limitations in terms of reproducing another hegemonic discourse in the anti-sexual violence field.

### 4.1 The Alternative Reality: The Highlighted Alternative Feminist Discourses

#### 4.1.1 Victims and Perpetrators are Socially Constructed

*"In my case today, the perpetrator is just a boy two years older than me, with little social status, and he succeeded because I am a good girl and willing to obey, because I hold all heterosexual myths to be true, not in terms of self-blame, but in terms of women being taught to be victims, and that alone is enough to give him power." - (Chou, 2017)*

The first Womanly alternative argument is 'sexual violence isn't a personal issue', which attempts to provide a socially constructed discourse for sexual violence. It can be seen in Chou's story, in which she emphasizes repeatedly that 'boys are taught to be perpetrators and girls are taught to be victims.' Her story showed that boys and girls tend to follow society's heterosexual script as they grow up. Men are expected to be proactive and aggressive in sexual relationships, while women are expected to be passive and reserved, waiting for men's 'hunting' or 'protection'. However, when the tragedy happens, women are blamed and asked to take major responsibility. Chou pointed out the contradiction in this script in her story, believing that the heterosexual script is the main perpetrator and women become the victims and scapegoats under this structure.

*In general, sexual assault cases, the victim often suffers such violence: the judge's questioning, the society's questioning, is it a woman wearing what clothes, is it normal to drink alcohol and have a chaotic sex life, which will change the fact of the crime of rape?... The problem is always the victim. So, the court used "private life" as a clue to be aggressive, as if to prove that she was a woman with "improper private life" and deserved to be raped. What we need to see is the hands that create the victim position, not the overturning of the wounded experience...It is not just some news about a boy raping a girl, but also the current situation in the world of systematic rape of gender. -(Abby, 2016)*

*On the way to pick me up, my mother cried and scolded me: "You are sexually assaulted because you are not a normal boy!", and even asked me not to tell my grandparents and uncle about these things...I wanted to talk to my classmates, but I was subjected to 'victim-blaming' and 'slut-shaming'. Because I didn't resist and followed him to the hotel stupidly, my trusted friends (mostly women) pointed out that "Actually, you want it too!", "This is your problem, and you didn't protect yourself well!", which made me quite sad. - (Wo, 2016)*

In addition to making structures of violence visible, these stories also highlight how these structures of violence are collectively maintained by society. In Miller's, and Wang's stories,

they showed how victims' psychological pain is caused by victim blaming and silence culture. The court, police, and whole society become complicit in structures of sexual violence. In Wo's stories, she illustrates how cissexism and sexual assault cases interweave together and create structural violence to oppress a transgender teenager, leaving her no place to live in this cisgender-dominant society. The violence comes from everywhere in her daily life, even from family, school, police agency, social welfare agency, etc. In addition, the structure keeps victims constantly examining themselves and fear sharing their pain with others. The trauma can only be regurgitated in isolation. The sexual violence they encounter is not only from the sexual assault itself but also from structural oppression.

*I was raped, I didn't deserve it. - (Wo, 2016)*

*The whole world, everyone—maybe including me—is treating you wrong. You once tried your best to make this injury a secret that can deceive you, but now you don't want to, and the world forces you to keep it a secret. -(Wang, 2016)*

The repeated alternative narration crossing different stories is: 'I don't deserve,' 'Society treats you wrongly,' and 'It is not your fault,' etc. What Womany tries to emphasize here is using stories to justify victimization experience and highlight society's responsibilities: It's the culture that teaches girls to obey not to resist, and it's the society that forces a transgender girl to face the dilemma of seeking help from strangers.

It is worth noting that the articles collected on this page shared some commonalities. One of them is that most authors connected their stories with social cases from 2015 to 2017 in Taiwan to demonstrate their demands on the issue of sexual violence. For example, Chou connected Lin, Yihan's case and her story, trying to call for the public's awareness of power-abused sexual assault, elevating people's understanding of the power gap between different genders. On the other hand, Abby and Chen mentioned the Fuda case in their articles, discussing the issue of victim blaming, pointing out that Xia, Linqing's speech reinforced a culture of victim-blaming rather than empowering victims. Abby mentions that we are used to looking for reasons in victims for why they were sexually assaulted since it's easier to blame them than the system. This study argues that Womany strengthens its political views on these social events by selecting these stories, including believing that Xia's speech is a denunciation of the victim and that Lin's experience is sexual dominance caused by power disparity. Most importantly, Womany tries to convey the message: that sexual violence shouldn't be defined as personal responsibility and that society silences and isolates victims to keep the patriarchal system afloat.

#### **4.1.2 Our Right to Speak Shouldn't be Limited by Our Image. Let Us Rename Ourselves**

*I am not a perfect victim of sexual assault. What this means is that the person who raped me was my boyfriend; that I did not resist violently during the relationship and even cooperated with his demands...Not all sexual assaults are zero pleasure, but this is often the hardest part for victims to talk about: once revealed, the absolute victim position is easily challenged, and not only is the "perfect victim" lost, but the right to interpret what happened may also be lost. - (Chou, 2017)*

Next, the 'perfect victim' frame is challenged, and diverse victim images are offered in five stories. For example, having sex pleasure, being drunk, and having a 'chaotic sexual life,' etc. Additionally, Chou's and Wo's stories spent a lot of paragraphs talking about why they did not resist actively when they were sexually assaulted. They aim to dispel the myth that 'active resistance is the only evidence of violating sexual autonomy', showing even though they didn't resist obviously at that time, their sexual autonomies were violated.

Wang (2019) points out that the discourse of the perfect victim will frame victims in social morality and marginalize their atypical experiences of violence. Womany uses these five stories to offer a different narrative than the perfect victim and show the complexity of sexual violence experience. At the same time, their identities challenge the traditional victim framework, showing that their image should not constitute a reason to deprive them of their right to speak. These alternative images try to break through the 'victim-blaming' framework and decouple the image of the victim from personal responsibility.

*"In the newspapers, my pronoun was 'unconscious intoxicated woman'. For a while, I even thought that was me. I spent a lot of time getting to know my name and confirming my victimization position. I had to figure out that I was still a worthy person." -Miller (Abby, 2016)*

Womany also takes these five stories to serve as models to demonstrate that the image of victimhood does not define who you are, it is you who determines your own identity. Simultaneously, the identities are fluid and transformed by time and other external events. For instance, from ignorant girl to sex educator (Chou); from silenced female college student to advocator (Miller); from helpless child to Fuda case facilitator (Chen); from denied transgender girl to gender activist (Wo). The process of changing identities for protagonists illustrates that the victim's identity and mentality aren't fixed and unchallengeable.

The aim of these discussions lies in transforming the negative self-identification and interpretation of victims/survivors, and be allowed to escape from the scapegoat positions, retrieving power to decide how to rewrite their experience. The alternative discourse Womany set here is similar to Luo (1999), while discussing the image of people encountering sexual violence, we must go beyond the binary discourse of victim and survivor. Luo argued that to get closer to the experience of those who have encountered sexual violence, we should focus on the process of 'the search of meaning' and 'renaming'. The process allows them to reverse the situation of being deprived of their autonomy, return to the position of subject, and reframe their own experience.

#### **4.1.3 Speak Out to Heal, Build Solidarity, Gain Recognition and Reconnect with the World**

*Because of the experience of abuse, society has wronged them, the destruction is slow, and their anger is because they are genuinely afraid... I hope to help women and men who have experienced these things to speak out bravely and let the wounds heal as soon as possible. - (Wang, 2016)*

Whether it is the title on the page or the five stories, Womany constantly emphasizes the relationship between story-sharing and recovery. For instance, in the text, 'story-sharing' is linked with the concepts 'heal the wound', 'transform self-identity', 'face the damage', and 'change traumatic memories', etc. After reading the text repeatedly, this study found that Womany weighted 'internalized dominant sexual violence discourse' as one of the major traumas that victims/survivors face and views story-sharing as a force to heal the trauma. As mentioned above, the Patriarchy distributes power by consolidating the discourse of victim-blaming and slut-shaming. When victims/survivors internalize this discourse, they create a negative self-identity and interpretation of their experience. As Wang said, the negative narration will lead to self-destruction. Therefore, to resist these violent voices coming from the system, Womany highlights that story-sharing can be used to create a discourse that is different from the mainstream and recognize marginalized/hidden experiences.

*Dear girl, I know you are everywhere, and I want to say, I'm with you. I'm here when you're lonely, I'm here when people doubt you. Never stop fighting...Above all, know that you are*

*important and unquestionable, you are beautiful, and you have value, you deserve to be respected. Every day, every second, no one can take your power from your body. -Miller (Abby, 2016)*

*I felt a deep calling from that lonely, hurt child inside of me, telling me to do something to break the silence and connect. - (Chen, 2016)*

The highlighted core themes in Miller's, Chen's, and Wo's stories are similar, they tried to break through silence culture and build solidarity with isolated victims. At the same time, they also called on victims/survivors to unite to fight against structures of sexual violence. The same attempt can be seen on the main page, Womany borrowed the hashtags #METOO and #ItMatters from the Western #METOO movement, trying to connect victims/survivors of sexual violence to recognize their experience. It links the notion of 'healing', 'bring solidarity', and 'story-sharing'. Hence, the main goal of this page is to invite people with similar experiences to anonymously share their stories on this page, thereby achieving mutual connection and healing.

The trauma and recovery theory Womany introduces on the page also delivers a similar message. In Herman's theory, she highlights the connection between narration, and meaning transformation of traumatic experience and trust establishment with the world. The main point in Herman's theory is that the deprivation of sexual autonomy is often accompanied by the deprivation of trust and security. Additionally, the isolation created by silence culture forces victims/survivors to keep their stories secret and ruminate their pain alone. She believes that by telling the experience, victims/survivors get the chance to reconnect with others and society, allowing new perception and experience to enter their bodies. Through the process, they can reconstruct their relations with the outside world and gain agency. The process echoes the #METOO spirit initiated by Burke-empowerment through empathy (Murray, 2017). This discourse is different from the traditional approach in Taiwan, in which personal trauma therapy is emphasized.

*The communication between people is so magical. When you express the heaviest burden in your heart, concern and empathy from outside make you feel relieved; indifference and denial make people feel isolated and vulnerable. -(Chen, 2016)*

Yet Womany also uses the five stories to illustrate that recovery is not the responsibility of the individual, and society also plays an important role in the process of healing. Therefore, stories show personal healing is related to getting collective support from the public. The main message here is to call for society to take responsibility for sexual violence and give understanding instead of blaming them. As Chou and Chen highlighted, the healing of trauma must be comprehensive, not only on the individual level but also on the social level. Their stories aim to break myths and expose these hidden harms, seeking understanding and support from outside. Through collective acceptance, they can make their experiences and identities recognized.

#### **4.1.4 The Importance of Sex Education: Build Trust in Sexuality**

Womany used term- *A gender education road to provide companionship, narrative, and recovery* when setting the tone for this page. Learned from above, the remedy <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > set to combat sexual violence is through gender and sex education. Therefore, Womany presents information about power-abused sexual assault and information on the prevalence of sexual violence on the page, aiming to educate the public with sexual violence-related statistics numbers and knowledge.

*Giving children sex education is not just about protection, but also about feelings and desires so that they know what they are dealing with and then, empowered by knowledge, can decide for themselves, whether they consent or refuse. - (Chou, 2017)*

*No matter how much we try to protect our children, they will not remain unharmed for the rest of their lives. Trust, letting go, helping our children to enrich their knowledge of life, and doing our best to take care of our children when they are hurting are the only ways they can grow in strength. This kind of acceptance must be comprehensive, not only at the individual level, but also in terms of social, cultural, and institutional changes as a whole. - (Chou, 2017)*

This narration also can be seen in Chou's argument, she believes that the prevention of sexual violence should focus on sex education. To communicate with the public as parents and explain the relationship between the lack of sex education and sexual violence, she brought out her identity as a mother and sex educator, highlighting "what happened to me is what I advocate." (2017, no pagination). She used her experience to critique that protection policy is not enough for modern society because we cannot guarantee our children are never harmed. Instead of living in fear, she suggested parents use 'trust' instead of 'protection' while accompanying children to learn sexual knowledge. Then going further, she believes that society should extend sexual acceptance and understanding to a structural level. Therefore, she highlights the essential of comprehensive sex education and pays attention to the role of sexuality in human development. To achieve the goal, she proposed incorporating positive body image, and informed consent into sex education.

Overall, Womany here shows its standpoint on sexual violence prevention. It critiques protection policy will lead to agency constrain and promotes the importance of sex education. The sex education it advocated is practiced in parallel with the liberal discourses since it holds an assumption that through sex education, individuals can get more knowledge about sex, and then gain agency to exercise their autonomy, whether to defend their body boundaries or explore sexuality. The initiative echoes the views of Taiwanese scholars—Luo (1999), Wang (2019), and Yang & Yu (2014): They all emphasized that the discourse on sexual violence prevention in Taiwan often focuses on protection policy and makes sexuality violent and dangerous, which in turn isolates people who have encountered sexual violence, enhances their passive position, weakens their agency and makes it difficult for them to rebuild trust in their relationship with sexuality and society. Therefore, they argued that society should pay more attention to positive and liberal sexual concepts when conducting sex education or preventing sexual violence (Luo,1999; Yang & Yu,2014).

## **4.2 Potentials**

### **4.2.1 To Demonstrate the Possibility of Speaking out for Myself Instead of 順 ('shùn')**

Womany uses this page to invite people with similar experiences to come to this space and share their stories anonymously. This action itself challenges the silence culture created by the Chinese collectivism and paternalism. Although with the impact of economic globalization, foreign culture is also affecting the construction of Taiwanese society, Chinese collectivism and paternalism still affect Taiwanese people's relationships with themselves and society through family, school, and workplace significantly. The power of collectivism can be seen in Wo's story, where her family threatened her not to disclose her gender identity and experience of sexual assault because these 'scandals' would affect the family's reputation. The similar process of silencing can be seen in Chen's and Wang's story. Since the collective value is seen as more important than individual needs, they are asked to hide their 'secret' to keep their home running smoothly. Then, Chou used her story and Lin, Yihan 's case to critique the power gap in different gender and age hierarchies and question the protection idea under Chinese paternalism.



Wu (2018) pointed out that Chinese collectivism and paternalism have a common trait, that is, people in the community are symbiotic. To maintain the operation of the system, individual autonomy needs to be eliminated. For instance, ‘孝順’(xiào shùn) is a value that is highly emphasized in Chinese society. The word ‘shùn’ means obedience, which asks that individuals must submit to the requirements of their elders and family. Under this social practice, dealing with psychological injuries becomes a personal responsibility, and people need to make sure they don't cause trouble for others. Therefore, Taiwanese society has formed a contradictory phenomenon: on the surface, people seem to have a united and peaceful relationship, but in fact, they are far apart psychologically.

The alternative feminist discourse developed by Womany is resistance to Chinese collectivism and paternalism. This confrontation might serve several potentials. Firstly, to denormalize collective interests and hierarchy power. Secondly, to illustrate the importance of autonomy and the power of renaming. Thirdly, to break the illusion of collective peace, connect each other with real stories of injury, and force people to see personal harm caused by society.

#### **4.2.2 To Reverse the Position of ‘Losing Voice’ and ‘Being Suppressed’**

Ardener believes that in the patriarchal society, men establish a superior position by dominating another group; Therefore, women are defined as a ‘silenced group’, and learn to express themselves according to the ideas set by the dominant group and see themselves according to the mainstream discourse (Omvedt, 1987). Merilainen et.al. (2004) also mentioned how these discourses influence the formation of self-identity, “The construction of self-identity can be seen as a constant struggle against the experience of tension, fragmentation, and discord arising from different subject positions offered within discourses.” (p.544). Different discourses compete with each other to seize the mainstream position. When a discourse gains dominance, it gains the power to create knowledge. Dominant discourse becomes natural and is internalized into our cognition and behavior through daily practice. Therefore, the social frameworks mentioned in the five stories (rape myth, victim-blaming, slut-shaming, heterosexual script, and cissexism) are the mainstream discourses that affect victim’s/survivor’s perceptions and influence the way they define themselves. Luo (1999) points out that through internalization, these statements can lead victims/survivors to isolate themselves through self-doubt and self-blaming. Wang (2019) further argued that this process leads to a phenomenon of ‘collective loss of agency’ of the victims/survivors, thereby consolidating the patriarchal system.

To combat the situation of 'losing voice', this research argues that the alternative feminist discourses on Womany attempt to achieve several social functions. Firstly, to justify the victimized stories and position. Secondly, to show their right to reinterpret and redefine their experiences and identities. Thirdly, to break isolation and build solidarity within people experiencing sexual violence. Fourthly, to encourage them to rebuild their sense of belonging and trust in society. Last but not least, to empower and mobilize them to fight against sexual violence together.

#### **4.2.3 To Contend with Mainstream Discourses on Conservation Policy**

There is a phenomenon in the prevention and treatment of sexual violence in Taiwan, which is to separate the two notions of ‘sex’ and ‘violence’ and prevent and treat them individually. According to Luo’s (1999) study, Taiwan’s mainstream sexual violence prevention discourse defines sexual violence as a preventable act of violence, emphasizing personal responsibility and violence-defense perspectives. Key discussions include: (1) Women are vulnerable subjects, and they should be protected; (2) it’s women’s responsibility to protect themselves from sexual violence; (3) sexual violence is a personal trauma that needs therapy. Yang & Yu (2014) also pointed out, mainstream Taiwanese sex education still holds the believe that (1)

sex is full of violence and danger (2) women are a vulnerable group in the sexual structure so they need to protect themselves (3) this danger can be prevented through protective strategies. Under this ideology, society expects women to remain ignorant about sex-related knowledge. Paradoxically, society also asks women not only to strengthen the concept of self-defense but also to avoid being exposed to high-risk situations, such as avoiding wearing revealing clothes and walking alone at night. Luo (1999) specifically mentioned that the emphasis on 'self-defense' has strengthened the phenomenon of victim blaming. When the victims show no obvious resistance or expose themselves to risks, the public believes that the victims need to take responsibility for the sexual abuse because they failed in their duty to 'protect themselves'. As a result, women live in an environment that requires constant vigilance. They have to guard against not only violence but also sex. Some Taiwanese feminist scholars question the validity of the discourses above, worrying that these 'anti-violence discourses' and 'anti-sex discourses' force women to take the strategy of self-adjustment at a personal level (Luo, 1999), and limit the autonomy and agency of oppressed groups, making it difficult for their suppressed status to be reversed. (Yang, 2014; Xia, 2019).

Different from protection policy, personal violence prevention, and individual trauma and recovery therapy, the alternative feminist discourses on the <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page highlight sexual violence as a gender and sexuality oppression issue from the perspective of social construction. This research therefore argues that these alternative discourses provide different demonstrations in responding to sexual violence issues, which has the following potential:

- **Increase understanding and acceptance of sexuality at a social level:** In the prevention of sexual violence, unlike focusing on avoiding men's violence, both Womany and Chou point out the importance of deepening sex education. In addition to telling the dangers of sex, the positive meaning of sex should also be introduced. The intention is to raise the public's understanding and acceptance of sexuality to a social level.
- **The diversity, complexity, and dynamics of victim images:** The personal images presented in the five stories cannot be defined simply as 'victim,' 'survivor,' or 'agent,' etc. Their stories of violence are diverse, and their definitions of self-image and experience are also changing. The purpose of these stories is to invite more "atypical" stories to be told, to help the public no longer understand the experience of sexual violence through a fixed framework. Most importantly, makes the public aware that sexual violence is a structural issue.
- **Social Responsibility in Sexual Violence Treatment:** Continuing from the above, because sexual violence is caused by the system, the prevention and treatment of sexual violence is not the responsibility of individuals but the whole society. The public needs to understand that people who experience sexual violence need support and companionship, not condemnation.
- **Emphasis on 'narration', 'experience transforming', and 'social connections' rather than personal protection:** Overemphasis on personal protection can easily lead to isolation, making those who experience sexual violence disconnect from society. So, these stories demonstrate the importance of connecting through trauma stories by 'speaking to them out'. In addition, by speaking out, these stories can interact with the outside world and gain the possibility of being reinterpreted.

### 4.3 Limitations

When carefully examining Womany's alternative feminist discourse on the <Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page, there are several concepts are constantly emphasized, including the individual rights to refuse, the individual rights to choose, and the individual rights and obligations to informed consent. Under the context of Taiwan, which practices Chinese collectives, Chinese paternalism, and Patriarchy as its dominant ideology, it's not hard to imagine why Womany advocates body autonomy, choice, will, and agency as opposite discourses in an attempt to create confrontational power. Yet we must realize that the hegemonic systems that dominate Taiwanese society are not just the above. Many systems cause intersectional oppression, one of which is Neoliberalism. According to Cahill (2014), Neoliberalism is a political and economic ideology that impacts modern society profoundly, it promotes self-interested and utility-maximizing, encouraging individuals to compete in the setting of free-market and limited government. Under the influence of Neoliberalism, the discourse of liberalism and individualism has also become another hegemonic discourse, which emphasizes individual will, interest, choice, and responsibility.

Learned from above, Womany produces alternative feminist discourse to resist dominant sexual violence on the one hand, it reproduces another hegemonic discourse on the other hand, which might be problematic. From the perspective of Post-Structural Feminism (Butler, 2006), people are deeply embedded in social structures and then are divided into different classes and statuses. So, the so-called 'free will' and 'fair competition' do not really exist. In other words, overemphasis on the exercise of Neoliberalism will easily allow resources to be concentrated among privileged groups continuously. In addition, Neoliberalism can also easily intersect with other hegemonies, silencing marginalized groups. Back to the case of the Womany, this research argues that the alternative feminist discourse it develops may include the following limitations.

- **The hegemony of sexual knowledge:** Although Womany advocates promoting sexual knowledge as a remedy for sexual violence, the sexual knowledge it defines still has liberal discourse as the core. When an underage claims that he/she has exercised his/her bodily autonomy of his/her own free will to engage in sex trafficking. Can we celebrate that he/she owns an agency and is sexually liberated? I believe that the complexity of sexual violence issues makes it difficult for liberal discourse to be the only solution. In addition, Womany has not reflected on the hegemony it may have as a well-known gender equality group. Its power in the gender movement also affects knowledge generation, resources, and speaking power. More specifically, how Womany itself hold the resources of Taiwan's gender and sexuality knowledge system to define what knowledge is disseminated? This gender politics issue is hidden on this page and remains unreflected.
- **Limitation of the diversity and complexity of sexual violence stories:** As a page promoting the power of story-sharing, even though Womany commits to expanding the diversity and complexity of sexual violence-related stories, the cover stories it chooses are still mainly Taiwanese celebrities and Han Chinese, and even external links are mainly using Western social events as examples. Taiwan is actually rich in many different ethnic groups, including not only 16 indigenous groups but also a large number of immigrants from Southeast Asia. They have encountered various sexual violence. Due to different cultural and historical backgrounds, the types of sexual oppression they have suffered are particular. However, their stories 'disappear' on this page. Although Womany is aware of gender oppression, it reproduces national oppression in this situation. This kind of practice deviates from the 'Diversity and Inclusion' mentioned by Zhang herself. If Womany is not aware of this problem, the advocacy of 'using narration to build companionship' on

this page will easily be limited to establishing sisterhood among privileged women or specific groups, leaving other suppressed groups still marginalized from this movement, as some scholars critique the #METOO movement raised from Hollywood (Mack and Naputi, 2019; Onwuachi-Willig, 2018; Zarkov & Davis, 2018).

Because of the characteristics of online message propagation, it is easy to produce the phenomenon of the Echo Chamber Effect, which means social media uses big data to filter information to retain content that matches our preferences and remove arguments that oppose our ideas (Wu, 2019). Under this effect, people online are more likely to reach people with similar ideas and similar backgrounds. This study believes that with the effect of the Echo Chamber Effect, the above limitations may be intensified since this is the obstacle the online gender movement will face easily.

## Chapter Five / Conclusion

This study aims to explore the power production/reproduction in generating alternative discourse to resist sexual violence. The < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page of Taiwanese Womany is chosen to be the main material to analyze the impacts, potentials, and limitations of alternative feminist discourses. In the results section, this study summarizes four main alternative feminist discourses, namely, (1) Victims and perpetrators are socially constructed; (2) Our right to speak shouldn't be limited by our image. Let us rename ourselves; (3) Speak out to heal, build solidarity, gain recognition, and reconnect with the World; (4) The importance of sex education: build trust in sexuality.

According to Merilainen et.al. (2004), tensions arising from competing discourses create positions that are different from the mainstream. The alternative positions allow the subjects the opportunity to re-select. Then, new identities and interpretations can be created. This study argues that on the < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page, Womany creates alternative feminist discourses by sharing real-life stories of sexual violence. These alternative discourses commit to contesting dominant discourses, for instance, Chinese collectivism and paternalism, rape myth, victim-blaming, etc., and avoid being marginalized. Then, they create multiple 'positions' in which people who have experienced sexual violence are allowed to reposition themselves through reading diverse stories or sharing their voices on this page. In addition, this page also proposes a different approach to sexual assault prevention and treatment through story-sharing, allowing people to reflect on the limitations of the current dominant approach and the way we practice gender justice.

However, this study believes that even though it is important to create different discourses in terms of combating dominant power and creating diversity, they may reproduce specific hegemony or reinforce certain oppression. The main reproduced discourses are liberal and individual discourse. Therefore, the limitations that Womany may face on this page include creating another hegemony in sexual knowledge and being unable to reach Taiwan's more marginalized groups, such as indigenous people and immigrants.

Overall, this study takes the < Sexual Assault Anonymous Message Board > page of Womany from East Asia culture and Taiwan context as an example. By criticizing and reflecting on this page, this study contributes to related research on the power of narrative as a practice of gender justice movements and the production/reproduction of alternative feminist discourses.

## Chapter Six / References

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## Appendix

### A. The full article of Chou, Ya Chun (in the translation of English)-

**I am not a “perfect” victim of sexual assault. The man who raped me was my boyfriend then...-**

**-- single mother with her child.**

I must first say that I did not read the story of Siqi Fang. In fact, almost all of my friends who read it stopped me: "Ya-chun, don't read it, you can't handle it.

Yes, including both depression and sexual assault.

So, I'm not going to start with the sad news story, I'm going to talk about myself. In the past few days, because of this news, my previous argument of "replacing the obligation to resist passively with the right to actively consent" has been brought back up for discussion, but for preschoolers, in a version published on the Parenting website. This has led to a lot of "what if the child does consent? The question of what happens if the child really agrees?

If you are interested, please refer to "What Sex Education Should Look Like" in my TED talk, which starts at around 11:00 on "What if the Child Consents? (For those who are uncomfortable listening, my good friend Yuru made a verbatim transcript of the talk)

But I'd like to go further and say what consent means to the person involved. Yesterday I messily wrote down these points:

1. it's okay to give active consent, but do we really teach children what to consent to in sex education? Do children know what they are consenting to and what the content is? In other words, we have never taught our children what "sex" is.

Especially the so-called private or intimate parts. How does it feel to be touched? What does it feel like to like someone? What does it feel like to blush? How do you deal with the physical and mental shock of feeling sexual pleasure for the first time? Is it possible to acknowledge the body's desires positively? How can consent without physical sensation be true consent (then I become an advocate of teenage sexual relationships.)

2. Not all sexual assaults are zero pleasure, but this is often the hardest part for victims to talk about: once revealed, the absolute victim position is easily challenged, and not only is the "perfect victim" lost, but the right to interpret what happened may also be lost.

*I am not talking about accusations, but about trauma recovery: what must be covered up is what one cannot even face.*

3. Power inequality is not only caused by status differences, but also by society's demands for pure girls (so girls feel inferior after a sexual relationship), the availability of sexual knowledge, and even the presence or absence of both parties in a relationship who have talked about love more than once, who loves whom more, and how love should be expressed. And these are not just personal factors.

I am not a perfect victim of sexual assault. What this means is that the person who raped me was my boyfriend; that I did not resist violently during the relationship and even cooperated with his demands; that it was not the only time we had sex; and that I was terrified because it was the first time, I understood what it felt like to be when “my body was touched by someone else”.

Especially the last point: I'm so nervous because it's the first time I understand how it feels to be touched.

The following is really hard to say. Even though I have been so open about my experience with sexual assault and my experience with depression, this is the first time I have spoken about this part of my life, whether publicly or privately.

Am I responsible for my ignorance about my first "loss"?

I always said my first time was a scam because he took advantage of his mother's absence to push me into a cab to his house and then "took" my first time according to some kind of heterosexual sex script.

It's true, but a girl who has no sexual experience, no knowledge of sex, and whose imagination of sex comes from textbook protection, has no idea what a so-called sex script is. In the end, when something happens, she will be blamed for "why are you so stupid", "why didn't you resist", "why did you put yourself in this situation".

Why? Because she doesn't know anything about the actual process that leads to the end of "rape".

Okay, I'm going to bite the bullet and write about it.

When it happened, I was about to turn 18. I was pushed into a cab that day, thinking, "It's okay, I'm going to say no anyway, just say no. When I arrived at his house, he didn't push me down right away, he said "let's watch a movie".

It was a low-budget Taiwanese film about a young girl who leaves her hometown to work in Taipei and is tricked by her boss into sleeping with her. It looked like a drama, and it took a lot of time to lay out the plot. I watched it unsuspectingly until she was tricked into bed by her boss, and my whole body froze.

It was an adult movie. The first adult movie of my life. Before that, my understanding of sex was the hero and heroine kissing, and then a pile of messy clothes on the floor. The process from kissing to the messy clothes? No imagination at all. But I didn't say I wouldn't watch it, I was too shocked, and I was curious, and in retrospect, I didn't even know there was such a thing as porn in the world at that time. Just when I didn't seem to have any reaction, a pair of hands reached out and hugged me, I pushed him away with my arms, and he hugged me even more forcefully, saying, "I just want to hug you."

Okay. I stopped resisting and he stopped moving, but not for long. He started stroking my hair and burying his face in my shoulder and neck while kissing. I squirmed, and he tried to reach into my pants with one hand and the other, but I blocked his hand and said, "No." He said, "Okay, not here."

Yes, "not here," which I didn't really understand at the time. So, he moved his hand up to my breast, and I still tried to block it. "I will never touch you down there."

If I believed it, would I be called stupid? Anyway, I believed it, and you can say I was stupid, but do you think it was stupid because I didn't know there was something other than kissing? And I was about to turn 18 at the time.

Should I take full responsibility for my ignorance?

I couldn't breathe, my back stiffened, I didn't know what to call that new feeling, I was ashamed, I felt nervous, I felt scared. I knew that I should stop, that "girls should be reserved," and even if I didn't know anything, I knew vaguely that this had reached the point where "girls should be reserved."

But here's the hardest part, which I've never been willing to face or able to say to anyone: at this stage, I wasn't really "that" reluctant to be touched. I did feel nervous, resistant, ashamed,

and even a little dirty, but I wasn't sure if it was because all my childhood chastity education was coming up to stop me at this point, or if I was nervous about the physical distance I hadn't had before, or if my body was reacting in a way that I didn't know how to react.

*The little electric currents that came up from my body made me scared, frightened, nervous, afraid, and disgusted. But there was a tiny, "not so annoying" moment. It was that not-so-hate that made me even more ashamed: I was sure I didn't want to, but "not-so-hate"? Am I so shamelessly casual?*

That kind of self-doubt made me retreat in the later stage of resistance. The perfect rape case often has scenes of frantic resistance, and I did not. When he tried to spread my legs, I clenched as hard as I could, and after a few times he said, "Don't move." And I stopped moving. When he tried to take off my top and I dodged, he snorted "pfff" and I didn't dare to move. When he tried to take off my pants, I finally resisted with all my might. He held me tightly and said, "I promise I will never take off your underwear," and I stopped resisting. When he entered me and I was screaming and crying from the pain, he left. He said, "Maybe I should stop. My heart aches for you. Then the second time, the third time, the fourth time, I don't know how many times, he finally never withdrew from my body, and then, amidst my cries and screams, he ended my virginity.

Why would I use such politically incorrect words as "ended my virginity"? When it was over, he lifted the sheet, took a look, touched it, and said, "No blood, are you really a virgin?"

*How do you think a girl under the age of 18 would feel? The 18-year-old me felt cheap and dirty, and thought that it didn't matter how many times I did it after the first time.*

When boys are taught to be perpetrators and girls are taught to be victims

I'm not trying to take the boy out and whip him. On the contrary, I'm saying that he did me a great disservice, but he must not have known it because he was just following the heterosexual script: "In the process of love, it is the male who takes the initiative", "Sex is taught to the girl by the boy", and he had the power to dominate because the social culture and gender script gave him this power.

In my case today, the perpetrator is just a boy two years older than me, with little social status, and he succeeds because I am a good girl and willing to obey, because I hold all heterosexual myths to be true, not in terms of self-blame, but in terms of women being taught to be victims, and that alone is enough to give him power.

But if the position of the two sides is more unequal, especially the intellectual advantage, has more social and cultural capital, then not only the victim, including the whole society's respect and admiration for him, will become the capital he used to attack the victim.

As for me, am I still angry? I am not angry at the boy, but I am angry at the whole rape myth, and I am angry that after 20 years there is still so much ignorance in society about sexual violence.

And we keep saying "we need to protect our girls, we need to protect our children," but for one thing, we can never protect anyone but the person themselves (I resist even using the word "protect"); and do our girls and children really know what they need to be protected from? When we say, "We need to teach our children to protect themselves and respect others," what exactly are we protecting and respecting? What is the contents?

*We teach Mandarin, Math, and English so clearly, but why does sex education always leave out the details and the part about desires?*

Adults are so afraid to give their children consent. We are afraid of what they might do if they do. We don't ask under what circumstances he/she consents, who he/she consents to, what he/she consents to, and whether there are different contexts of consent that we have to look at and deal with differently.

*We worry that "the child must never consent" and in the process of forbidding it, we lose the opportunity to understand the child and to allow the child to understand himself herself.*

Even if a child gives stupid, unbelievable consent that even he/she regrets and is hurt by it, I want to ask radically: Why are we so afraid of children being hurt? Adults, please look back at yourselves. Is our life full of all kinds of harm? Wouldn't he/she be less hurt if we accepted his/her consent and regretted it afterwards?

Yes, that's what I'm saying, life is full of hurt, and there's nothing pessimistic about that. No matter how much we try to protect our children, they will not remain unharmed for the rest of their lives. Trust, letting go, helping our children to enrich their knowledge of life, and doing our best to take care of our children when they are hurting are the only ways they can grow in strength. This kind of acceptance must be comprehensive, not only at the individual level, but also in terms of social, cultural, and institutional changes as a whole.

What was the first acceptance I received that really made a difference? Actually, that my college boyfriend knew all of this but couldn't deal with it because we both lacked the knowledge to do so, and it was the cause of our breakup. And because of a certain feminist mission, I chose sexual violence as the topic for the entrance exam for my master's class.

I hugged him and cried and was relieved: I felt that I was not judged and that I was supported on a gender political and personal level. But even so, I had a difficult decade. (This section should be read in conjunction with the previous section, "Letting Victims Determine Their Own Pace of Time.")

I've always said before that I'm glad it happened when I was eighteen and that I had enough time to reconnect with what trauma means to me. The older you get, the harder it is to get back up.

But it wasn't time, it was feminism. Feminism gave me all the weapons I needed to fight all the myths and self-blame. And then, what happened to me is what I advocate.

## **B. The full article of Abby (in the translation of English)**

### **"It wasn't alcohol that raped me, it was you" A letter to society from the victim of the Stanford sexual assault case.**

The sexual assault case of a Stanford male college student in the United States was sentenced to a light sentence of six months, causing social uproar. The victimized female college student sent a long letter to the society, the system, the perpetrators, and survivors. We can no longer hide our pain and ignore it. The victim uses her own body as a pathway, inviting all to see the pain.

When she woke up, the world was shaking, her head was covered with coniferous, and her head still hurt a little. Many people looked at her in surprise and horror. Her family told her that she had just experienced a sexual assault. The man took off her clothes, pulled her hair to hit the leaves on the ground, and then began to penetrate her with his fingers. Then the man said, this is not a sexual assault. It's the girl's body movements calling, it's the drunken ignorance of each other. Suddenly, the world's eyes full of pity did not feel distressed, but more like ready to abandon her.

This is the sexual assault case of a Stanford male college student that has attracted national attention. The defendant, Brock Allen Turner, stated in court that he was "too drunk" to do stupid things, and only engaged in "finger rape" to overturn the crime. The defendant's father wrote to the judge before the trial, explaining that his son had suffered severe mental anxiety due to the incident, and was even suspended forever (the defendant is a Stanford University swimmer). He lived for twenty years, only to ruin his career by going to jail for 20 minutes of drunken sex.

On June 2, the sexual assault case was pronounced, and Brock was sentenced to 6 months in prison. If he behaves well, he can be released in 3 months, but he must serve a 3-year probation. Such criminal responsibility aroused outrage. Some people took to the streets to protest. Some people said why a man's bright future is more important than a girl's body. The basis for the judge's sentencing is that, except for the crime caused by being drunk, the defendant is young and has no criminal record.

On June 3, the victim submitted a 7,000-word article to the Buzz Feed website, a self-disclosure letter to the male college student who condoned rape culture, the male college student's family, the US courts, and the entire society.

Below, we look at this rape case based on a few excerpts from the victim. It is not just some news about a boy raping a girl, but also the current situation in the world of systematic rape of gender.

#### Victim's First Scene: Unrecorded Mental Harm

*"I sat in a room and was asked to sign a document where I had to sign in the 'Rape Victim' field, my clothes were confiscated, nurses measured and photographed my naked body Wound."*

*"The water kept coming down and I stood and looked at my body and decided I didn't want my body anymore. I was terrified, I didn't know what was in there, if it was defiled, who touched it."*

*"The harm to you is tangible: qualifications, degrees, admissions are revoked; the harm to me is invisible and follows me like a shadow. You have deprived me of my worth, my privacy, my*

*vitality, my time, my safety, my intimacy, my confidence and my own voice, continue to this day."*

The defendant's father wanted to reverse the ending by saying that "the son's 20 years of life were just 20 minutes of wrong behavior." At the same time, the victim's painful experience is not easy to be revealed. In court, we pay attention to the facts of the crime, but ignore the victim's psychological pain.

The recovery process of victims of sexual assault trauma is very complicated, and the "experience of sexual assault" may produce the following two situations. First, the experience of being violated may cause the victim survivors physical pain, and second, the victim recalls that there is an element of "pleasure" in the experience. If it is the first feeling, the victim will feel fear and terror; in the second, the victim will fall into self-blame and guilt. Many experiences of sexual assault have both, so the victim feels "abnormal." If the society casts "blame" on the victims with external force, it will make their recovery more difficult.

*"In court, I answered these questions: How old were you? How much did you weigh? What did you eat that day? Who cooked dinner? What did you drink for dinner? What were you wearing? Why were you at this party? What led you to there? Are you sure what you do? When did you pee? Where did you pee? Did you drink all the time in college? You say you're a party animal? Are you serious with your boyfriend? Are you having sex with him? When did you start dating? Do you ever cheat on your boyfriend? Do you have a history of cheating? Do you remember when you woke up? What color cardigan were you wearing? Do you remember what happened that night? No? Well, we'll let Brock in."*

Such "questions" hurt a raped woman for the second time. In general, sexual assault cases, the victim often suffers such violence: the judge's questioning, the society's questioning, is it a woman wearing what clothes, is it normal to drink alcohol and have a chaotic sex life, which will change the fact of the crime of rape?

It's not alcohol that undresses me, it's your hands

*"Alcohol is not an excuse. Does it count as an inducement? Yes. But alcohol didn't take my clothes off, meddle in me, drag my head against the floor while I was nearly naked. I admit that drinking too much was a mistake I shouldn't have made, but it's not a crime."*

*"According to him, the only reason we're on the ground is because I fell. Remember: If a girl falls, pick her up. If she's too drunk and can't keep her feet and falls, don't ride on her, have sex with her, take off her underwear, put your hands in her vagina. If a girl falls, help her up. If she wears a cardigan in addition to her dress, don't take her clothes off or touch her breasts. Maybe she's cold, maybe that's why she's wearing a cardigan."*

She's a party animal, she's an alcoholic, she loves sex... There are always traces of life, once imposed on the victim, it becomes a crime. The defendant blamed the victim in the old-fashioned way: she seduced me and made me think she wanted it.

At this time, the public will ask: "Why didn't you refuse?" The victim explained that as a drunk person, she was completely unconscious: "How can I prove that I didn't mean that?" Afterwards, people doubted again: "Then why are you drunk?"

The problem is always the victim. So, the court used "private life" as a clue to be aggressive, as if to prove that she was a woman with "improper private life" and deserved to be raped. What we need to see is the hands that create the victim position, not the overturning of the wounded experience.



### Seeing a society that does not dare to admit pain from light punishment

*"In the newspapers, my pronoun was 'unconscious intoxicated woman'. For a while, I even thought that was me. I spent a lot of time getting to know my name and confirming my victimization position. I had to figure out that I was still a worthy person."*

*"Yes, I was drunk, but the people around you didn't rape me, you raped me, so I'm sure, this is all your problem, why should I explain this?"*

Just like the sexual assault case of Fuda University a while back questioned the student's discussion "Don't step on the position of the victim, I want to know the experience you have learned as a woman in this incident", we are used to discussing whether the victim is worthy of being a victim. Similarly, the judge treats the victim strictly and treats the defendant leniently, using the excuse of "the male college student is still young" as an excuse to give a light sentence, which undoubtedly underestimates the experience of the victim.

The criminal responsibility can be quantified, and the pain is incomparable. Chen Jiehao responded to the recent sexual assault incident in "Pain is a Lifetime Nightmare": "As a survivor of sexual assault, I want to say that healing is a difficult thing. In many cases, you are struggling in clarify your own injury, still, you are forced to face the overwhelming suspicion and distrust. Pain is a nightmare of a lifetime, and this kind of forced memory is difficult for ordinary people to understand. However, the last straw usually comes from the betrayal of those whom the heart most expects and trusts. In this structure of silence, many victims have no choice but to end their lives."

Whether it is the questioning in the court or the sentencing results, it seems to have dealt a cold blow to the survivors. Society oppresses not only groups that are vulnerable to physical harassment and sexual assault, but also oppresses pain and does not recognize pain.

In addition to sentencing, we also look forward to seeing more complete psychological support measures for victims or perpetrators in cases. After the judgment is over, the parties involved still have a longer way to go: facing the shortcomings of their hearts, facing the strange treatment of their peers, and facing the ignorance of society... . We need a world where we can see pain, deal with it, be with the hurting people, like you and me, and understand ourselves.

### Write to criminals and survivors: Our lives must move forward

*"Here we are. The damage has been done and no one can undo it. Now we have two choices: We can let this thing destroy lives, we can keep the anger and hurt, you can deny it. Or we can face it, I accept the pain, you accept your punishment, and we move on with our own lives. Your life is not over, and you have decades in the future to rewrite your story."*

*"Dear girl, I know you are everywhere, and I want to say, I'm with you. I'm here when you're lonely, I'm here when people doubt you. Never stop fighting, I want to quote one of my favorite authors: " Even if there are no lost ships at sea, the lighthouse will always shine there. "While I can't save every ship, I hope that by publishing this now, you feel a little light that guides you no longer to be silent, we deserve our little victories, justice is what we deserve. Above all, know that you are important and unquestionable, you are beautiful, and you have value, you deserve to be respected. Every day, every second, no one can take your power from your body. To all the girls, I am here, always."*

Finally, she has something to say to all the survivors, and she also has something to say to the perpetrators.

What has happened will not disappear because of indifference, it is always there, just like hope. As long as you look back, you can always see it. Therefore, those dark things have a reason to exist because of the accompanying dawn. What we must do is not to kill mistakes, but to face them squarely, and try to find a better motivation for people to live from the pain.

No one knows how long it will take before we can stay away from the "father who is righteous for his criminal son" and "male college students who try to legalize sexual assault" and stay away from courts that put men's future and women's body rights on the same scale. After the hustle and bustle of these worlds, we turn around and still must be an upright person and believe that dismantling the pain will bring us freedom and loosen the bodies that are imprisoned day and night by patriarchal values.

### C. The full article of Chen, Jie Hao (in the translation of English)

**[Chen Jiehao's special article] No longer silent after Fuda sexual assault case: Everyone has a lonely and injured child in his/her heart**

The author Chen Jiehao recorded the beginning and end of the media/self-media attention incident with "Records and Comments on the Sexual Assault Incident of Fuda University". When everyone is concerned about whether to apologize, Chen Jiehao wants to say that as a survivor, what she needs more is understanding and support.

Witnessing the pain of victims of sexual assault in Fuzhou University - Rebuilding connections from the inner feeling of responding.

I have received a lot of letters recently, and they all mentioned that the sexual assault case of Fuda University has affected their personal emotions. I think of my physical and mental state since I started to care about this incident at the end of May this year. At first, with a little resistance, I skimmed through the public document written by the victim's boyfriend, and then began to think, what can I do? This is just a sexual violence incident in society, and I am just a bystander. Can I trust the allegations made by the victim and her boyfriend? If there is an iota of exaggeration in it, will I become an accomplice in framing innocent people? If the girl who was raped today didn't get help, would she be in trouble?

Suddenly, I fell into a long memory, thinking about the age I couldn't express clearly, in the nanny's house where I was raped by four adults, watching my mother anxiously, waiting for her to take me away from this horrible place.

And she didn't respond to my fears and demands.

I just stayed there for three years.

I think of my fear of threatening to kill me by the nanny and daddy when I told them I want to expose the story. I think of every adult I met, and I tried to say every word for help, my throat got stuck, tears it couldn't stop flowing. No one understands what I was crying about. I think of every lonely night, my fear of sleeping next to the nanny and daddy. I think of the days when I looked at the calendar every day and waited for my parents to visit for 20 minutes on the green holiday. It was so long. When I close my eyes today, the color of the calendar number still appears in front of my eyes. Time, as if it has never moved forward, traps me, the future, and everything.

This, I later learned, is called flashback of a traumatic situation and is a lifelong nightmare for trauma survivors. This is a mandatory response. All that is needed to recall the traumatic situation is a symbol associated with the traumatic memory. Sometimes it's just a simple feeling: cold, reminding me of the loneliness I was waiting for my mother in winter. Sometimes it's a simple object: the paintbrush reminds me that during those three years, I didn't have a piece of paper or a pen to draw on. Sometimes it's news: sexual assaults on the Internet. Sometimes it's a person: that grim face reminds me of my mother who turned her face away, unresponsive to my cries.

*I was in a serious panic: If I didn't help the girl who got raped today, would I be as desperate as I was back then? At that time, I had an impulse: If I could help this girl, it would be worth it to sacrifice all my life. I could turn around, be a bystander, and watch another traumatic event be treated coldly and rudely, but I couldn't. At least not today.*

So, I started to collect all relevant information I could see on the Internet, positive and negative comments and reports, speeches and relationships of relevant people. In doing this, I didn't know what I was going to get. the truth? Standpoint? Gossip? In fact, what I am most urgent is to save the lonely child in my heart and stop feeling hopeless. I, the adult me, am trying to do something to save another person in trouble from despair. It would be fine if it was all just a misunderstanding.

But when the incident got bigger and bigger, the more I felt broken, because the news came from all directions, and the more I fell into the situation of childhood trauma and couldn't extricate myself. At that time, many readers also wrote to me, saying that they saw the development of this incident and felt unstoppable sadness and anger. These letters gave me a new revelation. My wife and I began to re-examine the emotions between me and other survivors, and we tried to redirect and comfort these similar pains. We changed to private correspondence and meetings, trying to give each other care and warmth in personal communication. I found that this method is different from the public anger and criticism on the Internet, but it is effective in appeasing the anxiety and pain of different people.

At the beginning of July, when I felt relatively stable emotionally, I started my long-planned trip to Japan with my wife, her sister and sister's family. Shrines, temples, ancient cities, everything is like a dream. I never thought that I could feel so free and happy in this world. I thought my recovery process was so broad and exciting.

At night in Osaka, I received an invitation from the 'Collective of Sex Workers and Supporters'. They invited me to be a panelist to talk about sexual assault and recovery. At that time, I directly thought of the relationship between the sexual assault case of Fuda University, the Democratic Front and COSWAS. I don't think I'm the person who can deeply analyze the controversy of the incident when it comes to the sexual assault case of Fuda University. In addition, although I have just published a book about my past as a victim of childhood sexual assault, my fear of strangers left by the trauma has not disappeared, and I am not ready to face unpredictable live interactions, and I am not in Taiwan at the time of the talk.

After a brief discussion with my wife on several factors, I quickly decided to politely decline their invitation, hoping that they would not be delayed by my reply. Then we continue our happy journey.

The next day, COSWAS wrote my name on their fan page, saying that I could not participate, and named several other people who could not participate. I was in an inexplicable panic. Is it because I don't understand human interaction? Or did I offend them? Are they against me?

In an instant, I fell into the feeling of being alone and helpless for a long time at the age of three. I felt that I must have done everything wrong, so that the whole world would abandon me and let me face the horrible malice alone. My wife comforted me for a while. She said a lot, but I couldn't hear or remember at all.

The close interpersonal relationship during the trip made my wife's sister and brother-in-law immediately aware of my state. During the meal, I shared my worries. At first, everyone was enveloped by my worries, and there were a few seconds of silence that seemed to be centuries long. Then my brother-in-law began to scold these inexplicable Taiwanese, saying that they don't have the common sense of normal interaction and invitation. At the moment when I felt my brother-in-law's anger, I suddenly felt inexplicable comfort. Intellectually I always knew it wasn't my fault, but emotionally I felt so alone, the world always kept silent about my pain.

The anger of my brother-in-law broke the silence at that moment, and I told everyone at the dinner table with tears in my eyes, "I really feel much better when you say that." Everyone laughed. After the meal, my nephew (4th grade) patted me on the shoulder and said, "Hey, ignore them (those baffling Taiwanese)." I laughed. We had fun at Universal Studios Osaka that day and didn't think about anything about Taiwan.

*The communication between people is so magical. When you express the heaviest burden in your heart, concern and empathy from outside make you feel relieved; indifference and denial make people feel isolated and vulnerable.*

I believe that if I hear the response of "don't stand in a victim's position" when I am vulnerable, even if I know it is right intellectually, I will not be able to escape the loneliness and helplessness in the traumatic situation emotionally. Is this the loneliness that the girl felt when she faced the department, the working group, and the overwhelming administrative procedures and controversy after the injury? I have no idea. This is just my projection and imagination.

( Excerpted a letter of apology from a female student involved in a sexual assault case at a Fuda university )

This is no longer just a case of sexual assault; the storm has swept a lot of people.

Regardless of whether my original intentions were malicious or cruel; no matter how I explain myself, I cannot avoid the consequences of malice and cruelty to others during this journey.

Teacher Xia Linqing: I want to say sorry to Teacher Xia. I was really hurt during the conversation with the teacher, but Teacher Xia did not cover up the case. The cover-up theory formed by public opinion in the process caused Teacher Xia to suffer many accusations. This was not my intention, but it still hurt Teacher Xia. So, I want to say sorry to Teacher Xia, I have clarified in the investigation of the Ministry of Education. I hope the society can stop unfair evaluation and attack on Mr. Xia, all the mistakes are caused by me.

The Department of Psychology of Fudao University, for this wetland-like soil with strong vitality, because of my incident, the Department of Psychology of Fudao University has been ashamed. treated with contempt. I would like to apologize to the alumni and students of the Department of Psychology of Fudao for the trouble caused.

Members of the working group: The consequences of success or failure are not your responsibility. These difficulties must be shared by you and me. For this reason, I want to say sorry to you for the accusations, injuries, and educators' ideas.

On September 21, the victim girl sent an apology letter in the afternoon. Looking at her apology letter on the bus, I kept thinking about her. Is she alone Does she need help? What is the point of this letter? But not getting caught up in my traumatic recall situation this time is a small step forward on the road to recovery.

When I got home late at night, everyone on Facebook exploded with emotion. Perhaps, that apology letter implied a deeper meaning. On a personal level, I fully support and agree with what victims of sexual assault want to do, and the path to take. Although I am not in that important position of trust with her through her pain, I am a distance away, but I still care about her pain and recovery. On a group level, I have seen this unfold and rekindle the pain of many. I got five or six letters late that night, each of my wounded friends recounting how the incident had echoed their hurt feelings. The records of sexual assault incidents in Fuda University were sorted out on the blog, and the hit rate soared to nearly 250,000 in one night.

*I felt a deep calling from that lonely, hurt child inside of me, telling me to do something to break the silence and connect.*

I opened my blog and looked at the "Records and Comments on the Sexual Assault Incident at Fuda University" that my wife and I compiled together. The records in it stopped at the beginning of July, before going to Japan. But the dense links in the notes seem to tell me that no one can stay out of the way of witnessing the pain. I began to continue to organize the notes of this event. My inner child is telling me that no matter what the outcome, I will see to the end. As a witness, it is also a reminder that when trauma occurs or a traumatic situation reappears, with proper support and empathy, the energy of the trauma can be released and flowed.

*Although uncomfortable, the pain and sorrow will not be blocked in the body, mind, and relationship for a long time. Maybe we can't support everyone, but when we see our relatives and friends around us are full of emotions because of certain events, we can listen to the unwitnessed stories around us and comfort those feelings that have never been understood.*

#### D. The full article of Wang, Qi (in the translation of English)

##### **Sexual Assault that Nobody Knows: You Are Angry Because You Are Scared**

It is very difficult for the author Wang Qi to write down this incident. This is a sexual assault case that actually happened around her. After the sexual assault incident at Fuda University, she discovered that many people around her had been sexually harassed or sexually assaulted. Because of the experience of abuse, society has wronged them, the destruction is slow, and their anger is because they are genuinely afraid.

(This series of articles has been published with the consent of the victim, and I hope to help women and men who have experienced these things to speak out bravely and let the wounds heal as soon as possible.

The victim and the place where it happened are not in Taiwan, but that doesn't mean it won't happen in Taiwan. The following events are all facts, and any similarities are by no means a coincidence.)

You, my most precious unicorn.

Once we defeated the huge windmill together, but I forgot to tell you that in the future we will also encounter colorful but poisonous clouds, killers with smiley masks, and cliffs with only a dangerous bridge, and even more terrible more common and more ferocious monsters - human. I once blessed your future, with one wing, there are countless colorful feathers for you to paint. When we were still close, I still missed a few times before I could hold you or harden my heart to push you out.

Among them, how regretful I am, about your being raped.

You were tired from playing with a group of friends at your friend's house, so you went upstairs to sleep, that person violated you so despicably, I can imagine your severe pain and frustration at that time, you kicked him, then warn him not to appear in front of you again and walk away with your head held high.

How did you type with trembling hands to tell me that you were raped? I urge you to go to the hospital immediately for the test results, but you refused. I know you were not in a good condition at that time. You told me you didn't want to get caught up in this kind of thing, you didn't want those bastards to really get their way.

*You look angry but actually you're scared.*

*Anger is nothing more than an outward expression of hurt, fear and frustration.*

After three days, your anger disappears, leaving only helplessness. You followed my advice and went to the obstetrics and gynecology department of a large hospital. You told the female doctor that you were raped. I knew it was too late, but I didn't expect to hear the following, she said: "It's normal to have uncomfortable sex for the first time, if you are raped go to the police directly, if you come for this don't ask me for help and go to another hospital."

I was stunned at the moment; I don't know how to help you when you call me "mama" and "best friend". I'm terrified, with all the malice that the world treats you and treats people that you. These brutal and shameless threats and intimidation, after the tragedy happened, they were indifferent like a fortified wall, extremely perverted! As if all of this is your own fault, making your destruction slow is none of their business, it is your responsibility.

Were you not supposed to sleep there? No! In the end the scumbag denied raping you to his ex-girlfriend. And she chose to believe him. Then, you, your senior in high school, your high school have been cast in a shadow ever since. You haven't finished reading it, you don't want

to see that person at all, you start to feel that your classmates and teachers are looking at you strangely, and you feel isolated.

*At that time, because you lived in your father's house, you were numb, you didn't wash your hair or take a shower, the room was in a mess, and your father couldn't do anything. Later, your mother took you to a nearby small restaurant for a meal, and you went home with her.*

The poison in the past was so terrible when it attacked, and your destruction was slow. In the past two years, during the time I couldn't see, you wanted to die, felt sleepy, felt afraid of the crowd in the school, and suffered from severe depression. Attended college for less than a semester, then ditched it.

You, who used to be light yellow, soft, and full of magic.

The whole world, everyone—maybe including me—is treating you wrong. You once tried your best to make this injury a secret that can deceive yourself, but now you don't want to, and the world forces you to keep it a secret.

Parents are your more central issue. I have dealt with many of your problems with your parents before this happened to you.

Let's just say that no one is born knowing how to be a parent, but maybe yours are especially so. At the moment when this happened, you didn't dare to tell them, you were afraid that they would ignore it, until it was me who persuaded you to open your mouth to your parents.

Your father promised to have someone beat him and asked your mother to stay out of this situation, but only do it after you left the city. However, two years have passed, you have left that city for a long time, his promise was never fulfilled. Two years later, your mother asked you sarcastically, why didn't you call the police in the first place? And when your father received your questioning call, he just wanted you to study hard.

Dear ones, can you perceive the helplessness beneath this viciousness and willful neglect? —They don't know how to deal with it. As I told you that night, how a person copes and responds depends entirely on what he has learned in his past life. If a person is treated roughly and never comforted well, he will not know what comfort is when he grows up.

*A father who is afraid to tell his daughter where he lives, and a mother who wearily thinks depression is a disease of the rich. They didn't deliberately force you to die, but they were exhausted with life, and they didn't know how to deal with the pain of being raped, let alone how to deal with your illness. But is it your fault? no. But the consequences are yours to bear.*

To be honest, I am even a little scared to face you now, you have lost motivation, like a bird can't remember why it wants to fly. In the past, you just waved your hand, and people who have lost their five senses can feel that your overflowing talent will actively push the lid of the pot, and the aroma almost overflows the pot and flows all over the floor. I love you like that. In the hot and bright seaside city, even though the smell of sea tide and rotting food is terrible, even after bumping our buttocks for seven hours on the train to meet each other, a pair of big eyes and big mouth laugh happily. Even if you are standing in front of the sea that does not meet our expectations, you are still smiling and taking selfies in a swimsuit.

When I was broken in love, there were sutures of appendicitis on my stomach, you still rushed up to my ex's rented house to accompany me, dragged me to the gay bar to kill tequila, and danced with me as if I wanted to forget tomorrow, patience answering the in an infinite loop question of why we broke up every thirty minutes.



*I feel you being swallowed up. In such a huge city, no one loves you unconditionally. You are a pool of "fluid," ungrounded and isolated.*

It has been two years.

You told me that the person who raped you contacted you again and asked if you could be his girlfriend.

Looking at the photo of that rotten person and the text message as evidence, I was so angry that I was shaking and crying at the airport. At that moment, I could really empathize with those victims who were sexually assaulted and harassed. They must want to strangle their nightmare-perpetrator to death with their own hands How dare he? —How dare you "try it! Be my girlfriend", I couldn't think of a better way other than looking for someone to beat him until he lost his limbs and dared not come to the door again.

Then two years passed. I went to look for you again, I looked at you, I almost didn't recognize you. You cut your hair short, you wear shorts and a shirt, you look boyish, you gained weight, and you got two tattoos. In those few days, I hardly had to go anywhere because of my foot injury, but I still accompany you to cut your hair and buy a skirt.

In the end, when I met you, you were still as lively as before. It almost made me feel like I was back in the past. You told me that it was very relaxing to be with me. On the penultimate night of the trip, you went to have dinner with your relatives. You came back and told me that I was not there, and it was difficult just to keep the chopsticks from shaking.

So, we drank, we mixed vodka with orange juice, you drank fast and too much, you were very drunk, it was so comfortable to be drunk with me giggling in the bathtub, and then the lit cigarette was wet with water twice. You told me to remember the night, to write down what stupid things you did, you were so happy, you sang, you sang anything, and if it stopped, I'd have to go to the bathroom. You reported safety to your lover, the bathroom is so wet I'm really afraid you'll fall. It took a while just to get you out of the bathroom.

Hey, I keep forgetting to tell you, and I'm happy when I'm with you.

## E. The full article of Wo, Xinn (in the translation of English)

### **An open letter from a transgender to against rape: I was raped, I didn't deserve it.**

(Wu Xinen wrote about her experience of being abused in those years. She said: "I hope that one day, the people I love, and I will not have to worry about the life I take for granted and bear the pressure of the big environment.")

As an anti-violence activist and a survivor of sexual violence/domestic violence with transgender women, I have been criticized many times by supporters of the Faith and Hope League and Facebook anti-gay and anti-trans fan page: "The truth that the gay movement dare not face", the administrator's ridicule and belittling, once attacked me with "being sexually assaulted is not the same as being persecuted". Recently, they even maliciously downplayed my experience of "being sexually assaulted" as "being sexually harassed". Then, accusing me: " There was no resistance at all", "you don't hate/condemn/want to sue the rapist", "you regard your family as the perpetrator". For this reason, I mustered up the courage to write this open letter to publicly respond to your accusations. I hope that through communication you and the general public who read this article can try to understand the pain and dilemma from transgender victims of violence.

#### After being raped, why didn't I say no and resist?

When I was in middle school, my brother was the first to stand up for my gender identity and even asked his girlfriend at the time to take me shopping for girls' clothes. My grandpa was dismissive of my feminine demeanor and gender identity, so I often avoided my grandpa. However, once, my grandfather was very angry when he found out that I would wear girls' clothes. During the meal, he scolded me for hurting the family, and threatened: "There is no one like you in our family", "If you continue to do this, I will kick out you and your mother." , your elder brother, and your younger brother together" (my family is a single-parent family, and my mother took my three children back to her mother's house), and my grandmother also denounced me as a psychopath and a monster. Even my mother, who originally supported me, couldn't bear it this kind of pressure, and started to have mental and physical violence on me. Therefore, I felt that I could no longer bear it. For the sake of my mother, brothers, and family harmony, I chose to run away from home. But I didn't have any money on me, and I had nowhere to go when I was 14 years old. I could only wander aimlessly on the street until it was dark. My frail body was already exhausted, hungry and thirsty. Just sat on the bank of the river and cried loudly, thinking about jumping into the river and ending my denied life.

At that time, my life seemed to have a turning point. A strange uncle cared about me. For some reason, I had forgotten his appearance, and only vaguely remembered that he was really tall, over 180. When he heard about my situation, he gave me food, apples and papayas, and stayed with me until late at night, and I was very grateful to him. Then, he said he wanted to take me to a hotel so I could have a proper rest. But we got to a place where no one was around, and finally, he started hugging me, kissing me, even touching my body, and sexually assaulting me (including forced handjob, etc., but I don't want to describe it clearly).

*The reason why I "didn't resist" was because my mind was blank at the time, only thinking that I was "taken away", but what else could I do? I can't go back. I don't know the way, and I can't ask for help if there is no one around. Would it be better to ask for help? Or would it be worse without his help? Even if I want to resist, I can't resist him. We are very different in age and*

*body size, and I needed his help then. Anyway, I want to die already, and I can't get any salvation, so I don't "say no" or "resist."*

Many people seem to think that sex with penis must be "earned"; handjob is "nothing", so it is impossible to "be raped", and most people think that only "inserted (vaginal, oral, anal)" can be called "violence". Even the social welfare and gender fields often have this kind of "rape myth". But we should not use this definition to deny the harm suffered by the victims.

#### The process of asking for help

Then the next day, I walked aimlessly exhausted, hungry and thirsty, and straddled two townships before I chose to walk into the police station and decided to report the crime to see if I could get help from the social bureau or the government. It's just that even the police are sexually harassing me, asking me "is that guy handsome?", and a lot of hostility towards my gender, which makes me very uncomfortable.

In the end, my case was rejected because I was not in the jurisdiction, and I was still sent back to my home, the environment I was eager to escape from. On the way to pick me up, my mother cried and scolded me: "You are sexually assaulted because you are not a normal boy!", and even asked me not to tell my grandparents and uncle about these things. At that time, I did so obediently. Enduring this pain alone, I only vigorously scrub my "unclean" body in the bathroom.

A few days later, I arrived at the school. I wanted to talk to my classmates, but I was subjected to "victim blaming" and "slut shaming". Because I didn't resist and followed him to the hotel stupidly, my trusted friends (mostly women) pointed out that "Actually, you want it too!", "This is your problem, and you didn't protect yourself well! ", which made me quite sad.

So, I finally went to the counselor to complain, and the counselor reported it according to the law, even though I didn't really want to sue that person, because I didn't want to punish the perpetrator. Moreover, in some respects, I even think that he is one of the few people in society who treat me better. What this shows is not my ignorance, but the long-term "domestic violence" and "social disability", which made me physically and mentally traumatized, what shows is how bad this society treats transgender children!

But because I was eager to ask for help at the time, I thought I would get some help by doing so, but the actual situation was quite disappointing to me. There was nothing except for asking me to identify the culprit. Even the police, judiciary, medical care and social welfare were not friendly to me, causing me several degrees of harm. For example, when reporting a crime, I was rudely judged as "consent" because I did not refuse immediately, but because I happened to be under 16 years old, I was able to report the crime under "Criminal Law 227"; "What is your sexual orientation?", this has nothing to do with my "being sexually assaulted", can I be sexually assaulted by men just because I like men?

However, in the process, I kept hoping that by reporting the crime, I could get some resources and assistance, such as shelter and resettlement, etc., so that I could temporarily leave my violent family. I know that I have little hope of getting the resources I want, but I still try to do it, and the ending is as expected, which makes me desperate and regretful.

#### Why do I not blame, but resent my family?

I still love my family, and I know that they are the same victims of social discrimination pressure as me. Compared with my siblings, I have been very serious about studying and

obedient, and avoid unnecessary quarrels as much as possible (for example, my brother once fought for late return with mobile phone, loud noise at home). I would especially act like a baby to please my grandpa, hoping that one day they would accept the "real me", but until I left home as an adult, it never came true.

I don't regard my family members as perpetrators as you said, I'm just quite disappointed! Because I had such expectations for my family to be accepted and cared for, but because of the "cissexism" (cissexism) of society, I was given an identity I didn't want from birth. When I want to live with the identity I identify with, I have to summon up considerable courage and pay a considerable price, such as being subjected to strange eyes and denial from the outside world, and friction and conflict with the one I love. So I can't live a good life with the people I love like ordinary people. It is also because of this cruel reality that in the process of pursuing survival, I have to hurt each other with the people around me.

Now, in order to get away from the huge pressure of reality and give space to my family and myself, I live independently away from home. I can't live a self-destructive life in order to meet the expectations of the surrounding eyes, but I can try to be a girl who doesn't drag down my family, a strong woman who is responsible for myself, or like now, advocate for related issues, hoping that one day will come and have a stable life , I and my loved ones don't have to worry about my natural life and bear the pressure of the big environment.