Relationships Between Gender-Roles and Political Participation of Political Elite

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Abstract

The researches about women's political participation in Taiwan focus on the effects of change on gender out of consideration of political factions, and the impact of role perception on women's political attitudes and political behaviors. The question is "Do male and female representatives speak for different issues because of their gender stereotypes in the debate process?" In order to answer this question, this research, based on gender stereotypes theory, explores the effects of personal traits and beliefs on men and women's political participation, including policy issues and policy preferences. Based on gender stereotypes, female lawmakers are stereotypes as being gentle, compassionate, and people-oriented; conversely, male lawmakers are perceived as being strong, brave and determined. The hypothesis is "female lawmakers are more likely to support women's issues than male lawmakers because of the influence of gender." The study area is focused on the floor speeches spoken by male representatives (43) and female representatives (43) on the fourth session of the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan. This research is divided into two parts: firstly, it examines the gender relationships between gender role and political attitudes. The purpose is to explore the differences of political attitudes between congressmen and congresswomen on political issues influenced by gender in Congress. Secondly, it studies correlations between gender stereotypes (including personal traits and beliefs) and political preferences in order to understand the impact of gender on public policies between congressmen and congresswomen. In order to understand the relationship between gender and lawmakers' policies preferences, the research method is applied quantitative and qualitative approaches to calculate lawmakers' speaking frequencies and analyze the content of speeches on the debate floor. The main notion is to realize the influence of gender on the patterns of legislators' policy making in legislation. The goal of this research is to emphasize the effect of gender on political participation in legislation, and the importance of gender in the field of political science.

Keywords: Policy Preferences, Gender Roles, Political Socialization, Legislators.

1. Introduction

For decades, the numbers of female lawmakers in Taiwan have gradually increased in local and national elections. For instance, the number of female lawmakers in the third session of the Legislative Yuan is twenty-two; that in the fourth session increased twenty-one, the total number is forty-three lawmakers. The entrance of female lawmakers in Congress means that women challenge male supremacy in the male-dominated world in order to pursue the same opportunities as men and reach their work goals as political leaders at the top levels of political institutions.

As increasing numbers of congresswomen have been elected to the congress, there is a growing research interest in the political behavior, attitudes, and abilities of female candidates. I am interested in researching gender influences in the legislation. My question is "Do male and female representatives speak for different issues because of their gender stereotypes in the debate process in Taiwan?" My argument is that gender-trait stereotypes and gender-belief stereotypes influence male and female candidates' decision-making of main issues. The latter places greater importance on the differing political outlooks of male and female candidates.¹ I will use these two alternatives to examine the political preferences of the representatives of the fourth Legislative Yuan in Taiwan.

The main purposes of this paper are essentially twofold: (1) to apply "gender stereotypes theory" as a concept central to the analysis of legislation. (2) To show how male and female lawmakers in Taiwan are responsive to their gender role in the legislative process. In this paper, firstly I focus on literature review of gender stereotypes including "the theoretical review" and "case study review." The former examines gender stereotypes theory which the authors applied to test floor speech of lawmaker in the Legislative Yuan. The latter focuses on the case study of female and male candidates in Congress. Secondly, I explore my research approach, hypotheses and theory. Thirdly, I test my hypotheses and explain my research results. This section is followed by an analysis of floor speeches on health/welfare policy, education policy and crime protection policy in the 4th session of the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan. The results are expected to demonstrate that floor speeches of congressmen and congresswomen in Taiwan Legislative Yuan are influenced by their gender in legislation.

2. Literature Review

The literature is rich with discussions of female lawmakers in congressional legislation. This part is to show numbers of research related to the perception of gender stereotypes and congressmen's voting behaviors from the experimental studies in order to improve the study.

What is the meaning of stereotypes? Susan A. Basow (1992) in *Gender: Stereotypes and Roles* explained that stereotypes meant "a relatively rigid and oversimplified conception of a group of people in which all individuals in the group are labeled with the so-called group characteristics. Such beliefs tend to be universally shared with in a given society and are learned as part of the process of growing up in that society." People are categorized as men and women by nature. By sex, men are perceived as active, levelheaded, dominant, and achievement oriented; conversely, women are seen as warm, expressive, and people oriented. So, gender stereotype is people's perceptions to view others according to individual sex.

Leoinie Huddy and Nayda Terkildsen (1992) in "The Consequences of Gender Stereotypes for Women Candidates at Different Levels and Types of Office" selected 297 undergraduates in the State University of New York at

¹ Leonie Huddy and Nayda Terkildsen, "Gender Stereotypes and The Perception of Male and Female Candidates," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 37, No.1, February 1993, p.119.

² Susan A. Basow (1992), Gender: Stereotypes and Roles (California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company), p.12.

³ Ibid, p.p.8-9.

Stony Brook to participate in the study during the fall of 1990. Their hypothesis was that "masculine traits and competence in areas of 'male' policy expertise are considered more suitable for higher national and executive office." As a result, they found that "voters' gender stereotypes have potentially negative implications for women candidates, especially when running for national office...a preference for 'male' characteristics at higher levels of office...to reconcile the existence of gender stereotypes, which portray women candidates as insufficiently aggressive or less competent in their dealings with the military with the recent electoral success for women in national and statewide elections." They proved that gender stereotypes are an important theory in the study of candidates' or voters' political behaviors.

In 1993 Leoinie Huddy and Nayda Terkildsen did a similar research again. The topic was "Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates" which explained how gender stereotypes influenced the perception of candidates. They investigated the origins of voters' expectations of greater female competency on 'compassion' issues, such as dealing with poverty or the aged, and greater male competency on military and defense issues. They applied two alternatives: gender-trait stereotypes, emphasizing a candidate's gender-linked personality traits; and gender-belief stereotypes, placing greatest importance on the differing political outlooks of male and female candidates. Their findings indicated that "there was stronger support for the trait approach. Warm and expressive candidates were seen as better at compassion issues; instrumental candidates were rated as more competent to handle the military and economic issues. Moreover, masculine instrumental traits increased the candidate's perceived competence on a broader range of issues than the feminine traits of warmth and expressiveness. Finally, there was some limited support for the belief approach with gender-based expectations about the candidates' political views affecting their rated competency on compassion but not other types of political issues."

The above researches proved that men and women are perceived to have different characteristics. Gender stereotypes are gender perceptions of people. Men are assertive, strong, and dominant; women are passive, weak, and tender. Men and women prefer to support their own gender. It means that men support males; women support females. According to these research results, gender stereotypes really influence the candidates' political choices and voters' perception.

Susan J. Carrol in *Women as Candidates in American Politics* examined questions related to the representation of women. She attempted to explain "the under-representation of women at the present time and to assess the likelihood of increased numerical representation of women in the future. The emphasis is on demonstrating the importance of aspects of the political opportunity structure in impeding increases in the number of women among elective officeholders." Her finding indicated that "the lack of open seats, the advantages of incumbency, the accelerating costs of campaigning, and the reluctance of party leaders to recruit women for winnable seats pose formidable obstacles to increasing the numerical representation of women. By impeding the entry of women into elective office, they also have helped to impede representation of women's interests." Therefore, she predicted that in the future, if more women are to be elected, partly, the reason is that more women and women's organizations supported women's candidates.

⁴ Huddy, Leoinie, & Nayda Terkildsen, "Gender Stereotypes and The Perception of Male and Female Candidates," American Journal of Political Science, Vol.37 No.1, February 1993, P.119.

⁶ Huddy, Leoinie, & Nayda Terkildsen, "Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol.37, No.1, February 1993, p.119.

³ Ibid, p.503.

⁷ Carroll, Susan (1985), Women as Candidates in American Politics (Indiana: Indiana University Press), p.4.

⁸ Carroll, Susan J. pp.169-170.

In 1992 Susan J. Carroll did a similar study of female state legislators. Her topic was "Women's Culture in the U.S." She investigated major gender differences in three top-priority issues for state legislators by a telephone interview: Women's issues, Health Care issues, Children's Welfare issues. Her findings were that the percentage of female legislators is higher than that of males in favor of these three issues. She reported that "most women state legislators do work on legislation aimed at helping women, and proportionately more women than legislators place top priority on legislation dealing with women's is sues, health care issues, and children's welfare issues."

As the results of the above researches showed, only fewer researchers, such as Huddy and Terkildsen, studied Congress from the viewpoint of gender stereotypes. Meanwhile, most researches are related to American Congress, but not to Congress in Taiwan. But, these researchers indicated that gender stereotypes really influence the candidates' political preferences and voters' perception. These experimental studies can be my examples and help me accomplish this case study related to the Taiwanese Legislative Yuan.

3. Gender Theory

Human beings are categorized as men and women in birth. Generally, men and women are perceived to have different characteristics. Therefore, men and women are educated and socialized in different ways on the basis of their sexes. Men and women in the group are labeled with their group characteristics within a society. Principally, women are characterized as being warm, expressive, and people oriented; men are seen as active, levelheaded, dominant, and achievement oriented. These characteristics are called "gender stereotypes."

If men and women have their own gender stereotypes, then, do they make different decisions in the political perspective as a result of gender stereotypes? The answer is 'Yes.' Melanie McCoy explained that "women's socialization, roles and life experiences are different from those of men; therefore, it is likely that there are significant differences in policy interests, political goals and perceptions as a result of gender." Female leaders are interested in women's issues more than male leaders because of their gender. Huddy and Terkildsen mentioned the differences of gender stereotypes between men and women that "portray female politicians as better able to handle what Robert Y. Shapiro and Harpreet Mahajan (1986) have labeled "compassion' issues—poverty, education, child-related, and health-policy issues—but worse at dealing with big business, handling the military, or defense issues." No matter what terms social scientists have used, the impressions of female candidates can be generalized as warm, kind, friendly, and gentle. Their portrait is reflected in 'social issues' such as 'traditional women's issues,' 'compassion issues' or 'family issues.' Female candidates are perceived as warm, gentle and people-oriented, and thus more likely than men to focus on social issues such as education and health care.

If gender-based expectations or perceptions are pertinent and specific political issues, then gender stereotypes may have two different explanations: 1.) the trait approach; and 2.) the belief approach. According to the 'trait' approach, the assumption is that "a candidate's gender-linked personality traits drive expectations that women and men have different areas of issue expertise." Thus, female candidates may deal with education and family issues better than do men. Women are stereotyped as more compassionate and kinder than men; male candidates are expected to

¹² Ibid., p.121.

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⁹ Carroll, Susan, "Women's Culture in the U.S.", p.28. From Jill M. Bystydzienski (1992), Women Transforming Politics: Worldwide Strategies for Empowerment (Indiana: Indiana University Press).

McCoy, Melanie, "Gender or Ethnicity: What Makes a Difference? A Study of Women Tribal Leaders," *Women and Political*, Vol.12 (3), 1992, p.58.

Huddy and 'terkildsen, P.120. From Rober Shapiro & Harpreet Mahajan, Gender Difference in Policy Preferences: A Summary of Trends from the 1960s to the 1980s," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 50:42-61, 1986.

cope with the issues of national defense or international politics better than do women. They are typically tougher and more aggressive than women.¹³

With regard to the importance of personality traits, Richard L. Fox (1993) indicated that "first, it has been well established that personality characteristics are very important in the voting decision. Second, there are many sociologically ingrained stereotypes about male and female sex roles that the candidates have to take into consideration when presenting themselves to the voters." When candidates make political decisions, they are influenced by their sex roles. They not only represent their electorates, but also their own gender roles. Therefore, female candidates prefer to support or speak for the issues related to women; male candidates like to focus on the male issues, such as military/national defense policy.

So far, what kinds of different gender stereotypes are ascribed to men and women? A typical man is seen as tough, aggressive, and assertive. A typical woman is perceived as warm, gentle, kind, and passive. The characteristics of men and women are ascribed to this "Profile." "The female dimension has been variously referred to as warmth and expressiveness, communion, or simply expressiveness. The male dimension has been labeled competence and rationality, agency or instrumentality." ¹⁵ According to the gender labels, the stereotypes of female candidates are warm, passive, and compassionate; that of male candidates is aggressive, assertive, and calm.

According to this approach, my first goal is to examine the trait stereotypes of female and male candidates which are compatible with their respective areas of issues. My question is "are male or female candidates subject to the same sex stereotypes as men or women in general?" If the answer is 'Yes,' then, women are seen as more competent in handling social issues concerning poverty, education, or abortion, which are based on perceptions that they are more compassionate and nurturing than men. Men are perceived to have more competence in resolving international politics and military issues because they are more aggressive and assertive than women.¹⁶

Philip E. Converse in "*The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics*" defined belief as "a figuration of ideas and attitudes in which the elements are bound together by some form of constraint--or functional interdependence. 'Constraint' may be given initial knowledge that an individual holds a specified attitude, that he holds certain further ideas and attitudes." For example, if a person is a conservative, he/she may reject to support the expansion of social security, federal aid to education, and progressive income taxation.¹⁸

According to the definition of belief, female and male candidates are perceived to have certain ideas and attitudes about certain issues. Women are expected to be omnipotent in dealing with female-oriented issues. For men, the area of concern pertains to male competence in military questions. Therefore, female candidates have to exhibit a balance of masculine and feminine traits in order to convey an acceptable image. Conversely, male candidates have to adopt feminine traits and emphasize their competency on typically female issues.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Fox, Richard L., "The Impact of Female Candidates on Election," a paper presented to the Western Political Science "Association Meeting 5, California, March 19, 1993, p.9.

¹⁵ Huddy and Terkildsen, pp.121-122.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.126.

Converse, Philip E., "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." From David E. Apter (1986), *Ideology and Discontents* (London: The Free Press of Glencoe), p. 207.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.207.

4. Research Design

4.1 Hypotheses

Based on the trait stereotype approach, candidates who possess typically masculine traits are assumed to have greater competency in traditionally male-oriented areas. Similarly, candidates possessing feminine traits are rated as having more competency in handling compassion or social issues. Regardless of their different partisan backgrounds, women legislators will speak similarly on women's issues; conversely, male legislators will do on male-oriented issues.

Ho: Male candidates and female candidates speak the same in favor of women's issues regardless of trait stereotypes.

H1: Female candidates speak in favor of women's issues higher than males regarding of trait stereotypes.

Congresswomen will speak about women's interests more frequently than other issues in their speechmaking on the floor. Women's presence in Congress impacts the legislative agenda and culture. Therefore, policy preferences held by congresswomen may be personal and are induced by their gender. In this research, according hypotheses, the dependent variable is "speeches on the floor" divided as health/child issues, crime issues, education issues, and national defense issues. The main independent variables are "gender."

To test the hypotheses, I consider all floor speeches spoken by lawmakers in the 4th Legislative Yuan in Taiwan (between 1998 and 2000). This issue related to gender and lawmakers' policy preferences is politically important, when the number of congresswomen is increased in the beginning of the twenty-first century.

4.2 Area of Research

The legislature is an important institution for women to join in order to improve their social, economic and political positions. The legislative process includes the introduction of bills, their assignment to committees, committee hearings, debates on the floor, votes, and passage of laws. The legislature not only makes laws, but also negotiates and compromises political, economic, and social advantages.¹⁹ In the legislative process, floor speeches allow representatives to show not only their expert knowledge and experiences, but also to voice women lawmakers' political commitments, concerns, and beliefs on public issues, such as healthcare/welfare and economic issues.

By speeches on the floor, representatives present their political attitudes and positions on certain issues. These speeches serve as indicators of the communication and cohesiveness of legislative activities for congresswomen. The floor speeches given by women members of the Taiwanese Legislative Yuan are analyzed for their policy content related to their socialization, maternal thinking and life experiences. If female lawmakers willingly speak for similar women's issues, and demonstrate female demands and interests in the debate process, then, women can unite as agents of change to promote their social, economic and political status in the world.

4.3 The Sampling Selection

The fourth session of the Taiwanese Legislative Yuan is selected as a sample session. It is the first time in Taiwan that the percentage of congresswomen is over twelve percent. There are forty-three Taiwanese congresswomen elected into the legislatures. Female lawmakers are selected in 1998 from Local Indigenous District, At Large, Overseas and 20 cities and counties (Taipei City, Taipei County, Taichung City, Taichung County, Tainan City, Tainan County, Pintang County, Taoyuan County, Kaoshiung City, Kaoshiung County, Keelung City, Yunlee County, Xinzhu City, Jiayin City,

William Keefe and Morris Ogul (1997), *The American Legislative Process: Congress and the States* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall), 9th, p.3.

Jiayin County, Zhanghua). On the other hand, in order to compare congressmen with congresswomen, the number of congressmen (forty-three) is randomly selected as many as that of congresswomen from the same electoral districts regardless of age, party and education.

4. 4 Case Selection

The substantive focus is debates on the floor from 1998 to 2000 in Taiwan Legislature. During this period, congresswomen spoke many important issues, such as healthcare and violence prevention. The speeches used to defend bills sponsored by congresswomen are analyzed to explore the effect of gender in the use of language. Women's language in speeches reflects sympathy, compassion, caution, gentleness, family-orientation, support for more education and welfare spending. According to gender stereotypes theory, these samples are categorized as healthcare, family/children, education, and crime prevention in order to explore policy preferences of congresswomen by frequency analysis. On the other hand, men's languages in speeches show rationality and determination. Congressmen are likely to speak for national defense policy.

In Taiwan, legislators' speeches are recorded in the Congressional Bulletin which includes speakers' names, contents, and the dates and times of speeches. These speeches titles are divided into groups as healthcare/welfare, education and crime prevention. Healthcare and welfare policies have been combined with family and child policies in order to have enough sample speeches related to women's benefits. Lawmakers' speeches frequencies in these four categories were calculated based on speech titles in the 4th Taiwan Legislative Yuan. For example, if a lawmaker spoke for a policy related to healthcare five times, then the frequency of healthcare policy speeches on health policy was recorded as five.

Further, the language or words used in the speeches were categorized into different reasons for the same issue, such as speaking for women, children or against seniors with regard to healthcare/welfare policies. The data from Congressional Bulletin in Taiwan is taken from the paper records. The total frequencies of speeches include 171 times spoken by female lawmakers and 130 times done by male lawmakers in the 4th Taiwan Legislative Yuan.

5. Research Results

According to gender stereotypes theory, I test my hypothesis that female candidates were more competent on compassion issues, such as health and children issues, more than male candidates. Through floor speeches, female lawmakers show their stronger concerns for women and children than for other reasons. Conversely, male lawmakers are likely to speak for military policies more than other policies.

1. Healthcare/Welfare policies

The language used in speeches related to healthcare, welfare, children, social security, seniors, and families were grouped together under the heading of healthcare/welfare policies.

According to gender stereotypes, women are stereotyped to be warm-heart, compassionate and people-oriented. In Taiwan, forty-three female lawmakers spoke 80 times for healthcare and welfare policies. "921Earthquare (19), Medicare (13), Social Welfare (12), and Children (11)" are the four most important reasons which female lawmakers paid much concerns in debates on the floor. (See Table 1) On the other hand, men are stereotyped to be determined, brave and sturdy. Male lawmakers are not likely to speak for health/welfare issues more frequently than female lawmakers do. "921 Earthquake (10), Farmer's Welfare (9), Children (8), Medicare on far islands (6)" are the four key subjects in debates on the floor regarding health/welfare policies. According to the results, male lawmakers (45) spoke

for health/welfare policies less frequently than female lawmakers (80) did.

Table 1 Reasons of Speaking Healthcare/Welfare Policy in the 4th Legislative Yuan

Items	Women	Items	Men
921 Earthquake	19	921 Earthquake	10
Medicare	13	Children	9
Social Welfare	12	Farmer's Welfare	8
Children	11	Medicare on Islands	6
Gender Equality	6	Therapy for Sex Offenders	5
Doctor Law	5	Cancer 3	
Community	2	Administrators' Health	1
Senior People	2	Benefits of Assistants in Legislature 1	
Assistance for Women's Families	2	National Annuity 1	
National Healthcare	2	Medical Evaluation 1	
Psychoanalysts	2	Employer's Benefits	1
		Canceling number constraint of patients	
Women's Heath	2	for doctors	1
Reform of Hospital	1	Social Welfare	1
Couple from the Mainland to Stay Taiwan	1		
Total	80	Total	45

The research results show that in health/welfare policies congresswomen in Taiwan are concerned about women, family and children more than other subjects. (See Table 1) As I-Zhan Chiang (F-KMT) said, the government should pay more attention on women who faced unexpected situation of families happened in their living life.

When women confront unexpected happenings in their workplace or families, they are in a weaken situation without the helps. In order to assist these women to stand up for themselves as soon as possible, the government ought to pass law to help and protect them.

(I-Zhan Chiang (KMT), Congressional Bulletin, vol.89 no.25, May 17, 2000, p.40)

Male Lawmakers and female lawmakers are both concerned about children, especially orphans who lost their parents because of 921 Earthquake.

In addition to protect 921 Earthquake orphans' rights and interests, other kinds of orphans' rights should be also considered and safeguarded when facing similar disasters.

(Nong-Shui Zhen (NP), Congressional Bulletin, vol.89 no.2, January 2000, p.295)

From the above analysis, the hypothesis can be accepted and explained by gender stereotypes. Congresswomen demonstrate their attention in women's interest stronger than congressmen do because of gender.

2. Education Policies

Policies related to education, such as school lunch, educational fee, and school dormitory, are grouped together under the heading of education polices.

Table 2 Reasons of Speaking Education Policies in the 4th Taiwan Legislative Yuan

Items	Women	Items	Men
National Education Policy	16	Education Development	10
Educational Fee	11	Indigenous Education	5
School Lunch	3	English Teaching in the Primary school	4
School Dormitory	2	Build Rescue Schools	3
Shortage of Teachers in the Suburban Areas	2	Teacher's Benefits in the Primary School	2
Culture	2	Rights of Substitute Teachers	2
Teaching Foreign Language	2	Education Loan	1
Rebuild Schools Damaged by Earthquake	1	Prevent Computer Virus	1
School Textbooks Problem	1	School Safety	1
Teaching Local Language	1	Training Nursing Teachers	1
Treatment of Teachers	1	Restrain the Mainland Scholars To Taiwan	1
		Academic Exchange with the Mainland	1
Total	42	Total	32

In Taiwan, female legislators spoke 42 times for education policies in the 4th Legislative Yuan. They focused on the three important reasons: National Education Policy (16), Educational Fee (11) and School Lunch (3). (See Table 2) In education policies, congresswomen demonstrated their compassion for women and children. Xin-yan Lu said that the government should support preschool education for young couples.

Young couples are in the unstable financial situation and have to take care of children and seniors in families, thus, most of them have seriously financial burdens. Under this situation, the government should provide financial subsidy to help young parents, who can send under six-year-old, but over three-year-old children to have educations in kindergarten. (Xin-yan Lu, KMT, *Congressional Bulletin*, Vol.89 No. 60, November 2000, p.61)

Male lawmakers spoke thirty-two times for education policies less than female lawmakers did. They noticed the three important reasons: Education Development (10), Indigenous Education (5), and English Teaching in the Primary school (4). Male lawmakers focused on educational quality, but not on family or children as female lawmakers did. (See Table 2)

3. Crime Protection Policies

Policies related to juvenile offenders, gun safety, human rights and public security are classified as crime prevention policies.

For congresswomen, judicial system and police administration reform are concerned more than other reasons. If both systems cannot be legitimized and rationalized, human rights will be damaged. Therefore, female lawmakers in the 4th Legislature spoke twenty-five times for the reasons of judicial reform, human rights and police administration. In addition, female lawmakers also are concerned about public security, especially about children's safety. Rep. Pi-E Tang (F-DDP) pointed out that the government had responsibility to help trouble children to avoid criminal behaviors.

Because of the change of social structure, the relationship between parents and children in family is varied. The ideals of gender relationship and family relationship have been changed, which has caused the increase of crimes. The government has responsibility to prevent crime and counsel families for trouble children. (Pi-E Tang (DDP), Congressional Bulletin, Vol.89 No.74, December 2000, p.177)

Table 3 Reasons of Speaking Crime Protection Policies in the 4th Taiwan Legislative Yuan

Items	Women	Items	Men
		Compensation for Unfair Custody in	
Judicial Reform	11	Martial Law	10
Human Rights	8	Prevent Car stolen	9
Public Security	7	Construction Abuse	7
Police Administration Problem	7	Lottery Fraud	6
Authority Abuse	2	Amnesty for Religious Criminals	5
Prevention of School Violence	2	E-Commerce Law	5
Patent right	2	Prevention of Costal Smuggling	4
Domestic Violence	2	Social Safety	3
Regulation of Cyber Cafeteria	2	Human Rights	2
Anti-Pornography	1	Regulation of Drug	1
Prevention of Car Stolen	1	Regulation of Gum	1
Regulation of Drug	1		
Regulation of Gum	1		
Woman Safety	1		
Protection of Witness	1		
Total	49	Total	53

For congressmen, compensation for unfair custody in Martial Law, prevent car stolen, and construction abuse are three main reasons spoken on the debate floor. They are concerned about justice and prevention of judicial abuse more strongly than about women and children. Based on gender stereotypes, male lawmakers are perceived as being brave and determined. They will consider safety and justice more strongly than women. Therefore, they show their personal traits in supporting crime prevention policies more strongly than female lawmakers did. (Table 3) They emphasized security and justice in political and social systems. Jin-Fu Yen (M-DPP) said about the security of campus.

In Taiwan, the problem of gang members gets serious in campus day by day. Gangs accept students quilted the school to join them. The situation has become the social problem. Education Bureau should offer a proposal to avoid the problem to get worse. (Congressional Bulletin, Vol.88 No.25, May 1999, p.308)

Obviously, women still show their personal traits, such as compassion, on crime prevention policies. They consider children and anti-violence more frequently than male lawmakers did. Therefore, they were likely to protect their children to avoid troubles or crimes.

In sum, the content of lawmakers' speeches show their personal traits in different policies. Female lawmakers are likely to support women's issues, such as health/welfare policies, more than male lawmakers, as hypothesis predicts.

6. Conclusion

Gender stereotypes theory emphasizes the importance of personal traits and beliefs. Basically, women are stereotypes to be compassionate and people-oriented which affect women's beliefs, attitudes and later political identification. Because of gender stereotypes, women are perceived as being warm, compassionate. Their political commitments will focus on families as caregivers for family members, especially seniors and children. Conversely, men are viewed as being strong and brave. Their commitments will notice security and justice as the protectors to support and protect the families.

As Table 4 demonstrates, congresswomen were concerned about Medicare and social welfare in healthcare/welfare policies. According to education policies, they spoke for national education policies. Policies related

to crime prevention, female lawmaker emphasized public safety and juvenile people. Conversely, congressmen spoke for minority and children in health/welfare policies. Policies related to education, congressmen stood for education development, but not for women or children. About crime prevention policies, they consider social order and citizen rights more than other issues. Therefore, the results show that hypothesis can be accepted. That is, lawmakers' genders influence the kind of legislation they support or speak. Congresswomen, but not congressmen, speak about women's interests more frequently than other issues in their speechmaking on the floor. According to statistic results, congresswomen spoke for healthcare/welfare policies more frequently than education and crime prevention policies. They were strongly concerned about women's health, seniors' caring, medical system and social welfare.

Table 6 Main Reasons for Speaking Policies in the 4th Taiwan Legislative Yuan.

	Gender		
Policies	Men	Women	
	921 Earthquake	921 Earthquake	
	Children	Medicare	
Healthcare/Welfare	Farmer's Welfare	Social Welfare	
	Medicare on Islands	Children	
	Therapy for Sex Offenders	Gender Equality	
	Education Development	National Education Policy	
Education	Indigenous Education	Educational Fee	
	English Teaching in the Primary school	School Lunch	
	Compensation for Unfair Custody in		
Crime Prevention	Martial Law	Judicial Reform	
	Prevent Car stolen	Human Rights	
	Construction Abuse	Public Security	

The analyses presented in this research are most useful to explain the effect of gender and policy agendas. But, in addition to gender, there also might be other factors that influence lawmakers' decision making in legislation, such as district benefits, constituency preferences and campaign funds, although they are not included in this research to consider lawmakers' policy preferences.

Male and female lawmakers have their own policy priorities, such as healthcare/welfare issues or crime prevention policies. Congresswomen speak for their own preferred policies on the floor speeches that benefit women and children. Therefore, if we expect to have more policies to benefit women, then we have to elect more female lawmakers who are likely to support women's demands in Congress. Based on similar commitments and beliefs, female lawmakers can unite together to support women's interests and demands. Even though the number of female lawmakers has increased, female candidates in the political campaign still have a long road to go to challenge their existing gender stereotypes. Female candidates in the Legislative Yuan are still expected to enhance women's political influence and status in the political field.

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