

LIFE IN ORGANIZATIONS: THE CASE OF WOMEN IN TAIWAN

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ABSTRACT

Little is known to the Asian and Western readers about Taiwanese women life in organizations. This paper is an attempt to narrow the gap by sketching women work life in Taiwan. Traditionally, women are a secondary gender in Chinese society. However, gender differences may be narrowing because Taiwan has operated a capitalistic system in the past decades. In this paper, we summarized results from a few domestic studies with an emphasis on women in organizations, and present the findings of two surveys we conducted. Our analysis indicates that (1) gender idiosyncrasy is becoming less pronounced, particularly for those men and women who experience similar organization socialization; (2) gender stereotypes may be a barrier or a facilitator for women career development; and (3) while performing organizational citizenship behaviors, women appear more as good colleagues, but less as good soldiers. We hope this study will further our understanding of Taiwanese women life in organizations and eventually help democratize the work culture in Taiwan in a new era.

Keywords: gender issues, work life, Taiwan

* Mr. J.C. Tou passed away in August 2005. It is to him, this paper is dedicated.



LIFE IN ORGANIZATIONS: THE CASE OF WOMEN IN TAIWAN

Numerous studies in Western literature have examined women roles, identities, work values, as well as perceptions about them from their male counterparts (e.g., Powell, 1993). However, little is known to the Asian and Western readers about the life, experience, challenges and opportunities of Taiwanese women in modern organizations. This paper explores women lives in organizations within Taiwan.

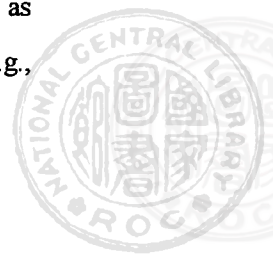
Taiwan is a society bearing the Confucian culture that encourages individuals to behave according to their relative positions within the (often hierarchical) social system. Traditionally, women are thought to be of secondary importance. Thus, many women are socially disadvantaged in everyday work life and long-term career planning. However, over the past four decades or so, Taiwan has evolved as a newly industrialized society resembling a U.S.-like capitalistic economy (Myers, 1996). Women education and vocational preparation are getting much better than before. For example, the proportion of female in higher education has soared from 10.9% in 1950 to 50.1% in 2001 (computed from the website of the Ministry of Education, Republic of China). Work life differences between female and male may be narrowing with the economic development (Peng & Wang, 2005).

As women and men interact more intensively in modern organizations, gender study has gained much attention among management scholars in the West (e.g., Kossek and Ozeki, 1998; Powell, 1993). Meanwhile, the business world is apparently on its way advancing into globalization and Taiwan continues to be a link in world business activities (e.g., Myers, 1996). Research into women work life in Taiwan will have both theoretical and practical values. It will not only enrich the body of literature in gender study as a whole but also further our understanding of this part of the workforce that remains to be explored.

GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES

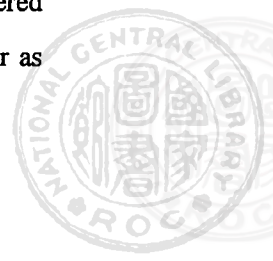
Gender Roles

When women and men work together in a group, gender attitudes such as stereotyping, gender roles and identity are likely to create discriminating effects (e.g.,



Tsui, et al., 1992). As in any other society, gender role stereotyping does exist in Taiwan. Lee book (1993) and Lee and Chung (1996) documented a series of studies in gender attitudes she and others have conducted in Taiwan. As early as 1978, she started translate the well-known Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI, Bem, 1974) into Chinese and used it to test whether the instrument yielded similar results with the sample in Taiwan. Identical statistical procedure designed to differentiate research subjects (i.e., college students) into masculine, feminine, androgynous, and undifferentiated gender roles was adopted. Her results did not match precisely what had been found in the United States. That is, some items supposedly measuring a particular gender role did not act as expected. However, specifically what items did not work in her research was not reported. Later she tried to develop an instrument that she hoped to be suitable for measuring gender roles for subjects in Taiwan. She started with 126 personality-related adjectives, plus another 60 of the original BSRI. These 186 adjectives were randomly listed to administer to 853 college students (female = 467, male = 386) for a number of tests and retests. This procedure resulted in a final version of 60 items, 20 each to measure femininity, masculinity, and neutrality.

Naturally, Lee then used this inventory to examine several gender attitudes and behaviors of college students. The findings, those associated with female respondents in particular, are briefly highlighted here. There was no significant difference between genders in work orientation. On aggressiveness, the androgynous females appeared as aggressive as their male counterparts that were masculine, feminine, and androgynous. The undifferentiated males scored low on this dimension, but the rest of the females were even lower. In terms of the need for achievement, the pattern was similar. The androgynous females were at the same level as the male except for those undifferentiated men, whose achievement need was at a significantly lower level with the rest of the women. In response to the question: between work and marriage, which is more important to you?? on a 1 to 5 scale (with 1 denoting marriage as more important, 3 as equally important, and 5 as work more important), women and men were significantly different. Across gender roles, a majority of women considered marriage to be more important (percentages ranging from 37.08 % to 49.46 %) or as



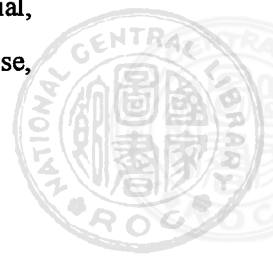
important (27.96 % - 42.50 %) as work. In contrast, a lot of men, regardless of the gender roles, perceived the two as equally important (56.76% - 69.57%).

Therefore, based on Lee's works, we may conclude that Taiwanese women who are androgynous are very aggressive, striving for achievement in both work and family, but value family so highly that they are not very likely to sacrifice family for work. Those who are non-androgynous (i.e., they are feminine, masculine, and undifferentiated), in contrast, are relatively not aggressive and low in work achievement; some of them (about 13% in the survey) consider family so important that they work solely because of economic consideration.

Stereotypes

Wang (1998) qualitative study of interactions between male and female participants in collegiate extra-curricula activities revealed clear stereotypes. He identified several significant gender distinctions. First, participation patterns were gender specific. That is, the clubs that were social or leisure in nature (e.g., folk dancing, hiking, bowling, driving, bridge) attracted more female than male members. Those that were service oriented (e.g., counseling and guidance, legal assistance, caring for the elderly) had approximately even gender participation rates. However, the "movement" groups stressing justice and social reform (e.g., aboriginal culture protection, environmentalism, rights for homosexuals) attracted far more males than females. Second, the traits of the male members in the movement groups reflected most strongly the characteristics of a paternalistic culture. Based on Wang's observations, the men in these male-dominated clubs were typically grass-root, outspoken, masculine, some of them were even foul-mouthed, with drinking and smoking habits. In addition, they believed that politics was exclusively men's realm. All this implicitly and explicitly created a context that was not favorable to female participation. In turn, women's low participation in the movement groups strengthened the stereotyping that females are apolitical.

Third, regardless of gender percentage, there was obvious gender discrimination in the clubs' work sharing. For activities that were considered important and influential, it was more likely than not that the male members would take a leading role, otherwise,

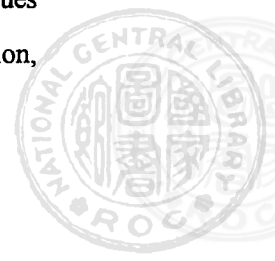


the females would do the job. For instance, when club membership dropped and survival was at stake, recruiting became a critical activity. The club would arrange a member or members perceived to be strong in verbal and organizing ability to lead the membership drive and they were usually men. The leading roles might be taken by females if the recruiting was considered merely routine. Wang (1998) stated that the male members found it difficult to locate capable female members qualified to lead an important activity---except for the females that look pretty.? According to Wang, this reveals a different kind of discrimination in that on top of the male judgment of the female qualifications was the latter appearance rather than other relatively more objective criteria such as performance records. Finally, the emerging of female-only clubs on campus started around 1990. Partly due to responses to the above-mentioned phenomena, female students began to initiate their own groups and defined agenda of their concerns. On different campuses, these groups took different names, but they shared a common interest: feminism. The major reasons the members joined the groups included having been (1) inspired by teachers that supported feminism; (2) sexual harassed or raped; and (3) experiencing unpleasant encounter(s) in male-dominated clubs. Not surprisingly, members of these groups would always like to challenge the status quo (what they termed the paternalistic society? and strive for their autonomy, both spiritually and physically. Like other movement? groups, they were quite cohesive and sometimes appeared radical.

WORK VALUES AND PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

A Cohort Study of Work Values

In an attempt to explore how college student work values change overtime, Wang (1993) designed a cohort study to compare the terminal and instrumental values of three groups of respondents who had earned a bachelor degree in 1967, 1977, and 1987, respectively. Adopted from Rokeach original conceptualization (1973), 567 women and men were asked to rate the importance of values now and before (i.e., the year when they just graduated). Factor analysis yielded five instrumental values (perseverance and ability, politeness and open-mindedness, respecting tradition,



self-discipline and justice, and practicality) and four terminal values (intrinsic rewards, extrinsic rewards, collective interest, and safety and harmony).

For the youngest generation (i.e., Class 1987), perseverance and ability had been most valued when they got out of the school but politeness and open-mindedness became the number one instrumental values later in life. Furthermore, self-discipline and justice had been placed on top by Class 1967 but was viewed as the last by Class 1987. In spite of these generation discrepancies, there is a pattern about their instrumental values. Perseverance and ability were never ignored whereas politeness and open-mindedness was valued even more highly now than before. In contrast, self-discipline and justice became less important overtime, while practicality and respecting tradition were not perceived as extremely helpful in reaching their ultimate career goals.

All four terminal values were thought to be significantly more important now than before. The overall pattern seemed to be quite clear: safety and harmony became the number one terminal value overtime, followed by intrinsic rewards. In contrast, extrinsic rewards and collective interest were never on top. However, it is noteworthy that the youngest generation, unlike their senior sisters, altered their priority to place extrinsic reward before collective interest for "now." It is interesting to note that collective interest was only put on a third or fourth place (out of four) in a supposedly collectivistic society (Hofstede, 1980). Its implication remains to be explored.

Comparative Studies of Work Values between China, Hong Kong, Taiwan

From a study designed to examine the work values of employees in Taiwan and Mainland China (Hwang and Chi, 1998), Taiwanese women's standings on various dimensions can be compared and contrasted to not only those of Taiwanese men, but also the standings of both genders from PRC. The study included 1203 (female = 629, male = 574) and 3030 (female = 1417 and male = 1613) subjects from Taiwan and China, respectively. Approximately one third of the respondents in each group were managers or supervisors. They were asked to rank the importance of 16 items measuring terminal values and 22 others representing instrumental values.

On the terminal dimensions, the women in Taiwan ranked safety and harmony the

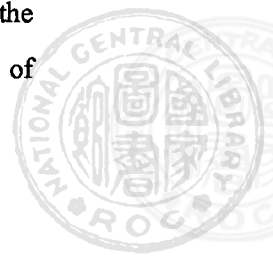


most important, followed by (in sequence) intrinsic rewards, collective interests, and extrinsic rewards. Their male counterparts in Taiwan shared the perception, but expressed relatively more emphasis on extrinsic rewards ($p < 0.01$). The males and females from the Mainland also ranked these values in the same order, with significant within-group differences between genders on all four dimensions. With regard to instrumental values, the sequence of importance as perceived by the female respondents in Taiwan was capability, modesty and broad-mindedness, and respecting tradition. The males ranked them in a similar fashion with no significant gender differences. The respondents from China also echoed the perception, with no gender discrepancy reported, either. From this research, it appeared that women and men in Taiwan are quite homogeneous in work values as compared to the Mainland respondents.

Comparative Study of Work Ethics

Farh (1998) comparative study of business ethics among subjects from Mainland China ($f = 79$, $m = 115$), Hong Kong ($f = 158$, $m = 91$) and Taiwan ($f = 140$, $m = 110$) also provides a unique profile of women in Taiwan. He first reviewed the measures in empirical studies published in western literature examining unethical business behaviors, selected those reported reliable and valid, then compiled an instrument of 27 items that he considered reflective of a certain work culture in the Chinese societies. The respondents were asked to rate the acceptability of individual items on a 1-5 scale (1 as totally unacceptable, 3 unsure and 5 totally acceptable). Factor analysis resulted in six broad behaviors: lack of conscientiousness (e.g., social loafing), political fraud (e.g., taking credit from others), embezzlement (e.g., taking corporate resources for personal use), fraud tolerating (e.g., keeping quiet about a colleague fraud), cheating customers (e.g., misleading advertisement) and bribery (e.g., illegally buying rival business information).

The mean scores indicate that women in Taiwan were more intolerant of five out of six unethical behaviors (means ranging 1.82 to 3.23) than men (1.92 to 3.59). They perceived political fraud (1.82) and cheating customers (2.23) as the most unacceptable, while relatively unsure what to do about bribery (3.23) and fraud committed in the company (3.07). The behavior they appeared more tolerant of than men was lack of



conscientiousness (2.61 vs. 2.56). However, there is no way to determine whether the gender differences were significant because no t-test was reported. Cross-culturally, it is observed that, while female in China scored higher than male on lack of conscientiousness (2.37 vs. 2.27) and embezzlement (2.72 vs. 2.68), and equally on fraud tolerating (2.96 vs. 2.96), Hong Kong women viewed only lack of conscientiousness as relatively more acceptable than men (2.84 vs. 2.72). It is difficult to judge which group of women were more ethical, but it may be reasonable to say that men appeared to be less ethical than women in the Chinese societies. An interesting point here is that, Chinese women, regardless of where they are from, seemed consistently to care less than did Chinese men in seeing social loafing and inattentiveness in the workplace. This is certainly an issue worth exploring in the future.

QUALITY OF WORK LIFE

Quality of Work Life is the general well-being related to work (Fields and Thacker, 1992). Academic research focusing on Taiwanese women QWL is relatively rare. This section reviews one in depth qualitative study and two new surveys that explore female academic employees QWL in Taiwanese colleges.

The reasons for choosing these highly educated subjects are twofold. First, male and female workers who have completed higher education are the major force pushing Taiwan to become an industrialized society. Second, unlike police, nursing and some other occupations that are conventionally single-gender dominated, college teaching is a profession that is less gender-intensive and allows relatively fair career development for both sexes. The sex composition of college faculty is roughly equivalent to what Kanter (1977) termed a *tilted* group where the ratio of one sex to the other is not even but far from overwhelmingly unbalanced. Under the assumption that professors are knowledge workers and they have much in common (Drucker, 2000, Chinese edition), the similarities and, particularly, differences between male and female professors should reveal work experiences important to working women in Taiwan.



A Qualitative Study

Taking a symbolic interactionist approach, Hsu (1990) used unstructured interviews with 90 women and 10 men, on average 2-3 hours per individual, to determine relationships between job characteristics and QWL. Three dimensions of job characteristics were utilized: uncertainty, time span, and sex-labeling. A highly uncertain field is one that lacks paradigm consensus among its members. Time span refers to a subject's time needed to spend daily in completing her job, while she has a family role expected of her. Sex-labeling was the gender participation rate of a particular job (i.e., gender ratio). In the academic community, this could mean sex separation between fields, positions, and ranks.

The findings from the field study shed some light on these highly educated women's work life. Uncertainty in a field did have a stronger impact on their research activity than on their teaching. Doing research required interpersonal skills to interact with colleagues and a good social network to get access to the real world. As a minority, the female faculty perceived that they faced more apparent obstacles than the males in gaining external resources and support. Since research performance is the key consideration for promotion, the women felt disadvantaged. It was particularly so for such highly uncertain fields such as fine arts, philosophy, and Chinese literature (rather than mathematics and chemistry, for example), where the paradigm was less agreed upon by the members.

Time span, the second dimension of job characteristics, also exerted influences on their QWL. In a society where the wife takes a bigger share of home responsibility even if she is holding a professional job, the majority of the interviewees agreed that family responsibility was so natural and legitimate that they had to allocate their time between family and job and the former was always a more important factor than the latter. For the time allocated for the job, teaching was usually prioritized over research, since the time and schedule for teaching were a lot more specific, possibly leading to slower promotion rates. Meanwhile, they believed that their husbands had to place their jobs first. As a female professor put it, "What is a man without a career?" Contrary to the potential benefits to psychological well-being and managerial skills reported from



inhabiting multiple life roles (Ruderman et al., 2002), these women felt torn between home and family. This tug-of-war between role expectations is the reality faced by many of Taiwan female professionals.

Gender-labeling is the third issue that Hsu (1991) explored. Female employees dominated only the home economics and nursing departments. The gender participation ratio decreased substantially in the areas of business, science, and agriculture, and women became true minorities in engineering departments. Also, there were a lot fewer women than men in administrative positions, except in women schools and the departments where women are the majority. The overall structure led to a situation in which more women than men were in lower positions (i.e., teaching assistant, instructor, and assistant professor) and more men were in the higher echelon (i.e., associate professor and professor). In the eyes of some of the female academics, the glass-ceiling phenomenon was so tangible that they felt socially isolated. As they put it, gaining status requires 70% professionalism and 30% social connections, and there is no way we can be in with their [males' buddy-buddy network]. To explore further the career beliefs and work life of the women (and men) in colleges, we took Hsu (1991) work as a starting place to see if these findings could be supported in a larger sample.

Survey 1

Questionnaires were distributed to the faculty members of all 21 departments at a private university in southern Taiwan. While not all of the some 300 members at that time were accessible, most of those contacted by the students completed and returned the questionnaires. This process resulted in a total of 194 valid forms, yielding a satisfactory response rate of 82%.

A general profile of the 194 respondents indicates that the majority were male (82.5%), married (75.3%) and had earned a doctoral degree (90.7%) from abroad (66%). Most of them were younger than 30 (31%) or 30-40 (55.4%) and were either assistant professors (35.6%) or associate professors (50.5%). In terms of specialty, the largest proportion of them was in Business and Management (41.3%) while the rest were in the areas of Science and Engineering (24.2%), Electronics and Information Technology (18%), and Humanities (6.7%).



The subjects were asked to rate the importance of 10 career goals, which were adapted from a scale edited by Granrose (1997). These career goals include income and monetary rewards, social image (status), self-actualization, making contribution to society, social network, accumulating experiences, recognition from peers, meaningful/interesting work, balance of work and family, and recognition from superiors. The questions are on a 1-5 point Likert scale, with 1 denoting 'a little importance' and 5 as 'a extreme importance'. In addition, the questionnaire contains eight other items pertaining to job satisfaction, mostly edited from Job Descriptive Index (Smith, Kendall, & Hulin, 1969). Similarly, these questions are also on a 1-5 scale, where 1 represents 'extremely dissatisfied' and 5 denotes 'extremely satisfied'.

Table 1 displays the means and standard deviations of each goal as rated by the respondents. The statistics on the left-hand side of the Table are from the pooled sample regardless of their gender whereas those on the right side are mean values listed by gender. The most important career goals of the female professionals were meaningful and interesting work and self-actualization, and social status, followed by social status, contribution to society, balance of work and family, social status, and income. In contrast, recognition from superior was considered the least important, followed by experiences and peer recognition. Their male colleagues shared with them the perception of the most and least important ones, but considered those in between somewhat differently. With t-test, there is no case where the means and standard deviations for the 10 goals were found to be significantly different between genders.



TABLE 1 The Importance of Career Goals (Survey 1)

	Total (N=194)	Female (N=34)	Male (N=160)
1. Income	3.94 (0.69)	3.85 (0.66)	3.96 (0.70)
2. Social Image	4.03 (0.63)	4.03 (0.52)	4.03 (0.66)
3. Self-Actualization	4.34 (0.67)	4.45 (0.67)	4.31 (0.67)
4. Contribution to Society	4.09 (0.66)	3.97 (0.58)	4.12 (0.68)
5. Social Network	3.83 (0.69)	3.88 (0.54)	3.82 (0.72)
6. Experiences	3.64 (0.73)	3.68 (0.68)	3.63 (0.74)
7. Recognition from Peer/Cohort	3.73 (0.71)	3.74 (0.67)	3.74 (0.72)
8. Meaningful and Interesting Work	4.38 (0.64)	4.44 (0.56)	4.37 (0.66)
9. Balance of Work and Family	4.05 (0.78)	3.97 (0.67)	4.08 (0.80)
10. Recognition from superior	3.40 (0.81)	3.59 (0.74)	3.37 (0.81)

Note: Results of t-test mean comparison indicate none of the work goal differences is statistically significant.

TABLE 2 Job Satisfaction (Survey 1)

	Total (N=194)	Female (N=34)	Male (N=160)
1. Need for Achievement	3.80 (0.76)	3.71 (0.68)	3.83 (0.78)
2. Pay and Benefits	3.47 (0.81)	3.65 (0.65)	3.43 (0.84)
3. Amount of Work	3.48 (0.80)	3.62 (0.65)	3.46 (0.83)
4. Task Variety	3.87 (0.69)	4.03 (0.46)	3.84 (0.73)
5. Job Security	3.51 (0.76)	3.35 (0.73)	3.54 (0.77)
6. Need for Autonomy	4.05 (0.66)	4.09 (0.38)	4.04 (0.71)
7. Self-Recognition	3.89 (0.72)	3.88 (0.54)	3.89 (0.75)
8. Need for Growth	3.91 (0.73)	4.03 (0.46)	3.89 (0.77)

Note: Results of t-test mean comparison indicate none of the Job Satisfaction differences is statistically significant.

Statistics for job satisfaction are laid out in Table 2. The female faculty members were most satisfied with job autonomy, need for growth, and task variety, but were least satisfied with job security, workload, and salary and benefits. The male faculty responded slightly differently. For example, they listed pay and benefits as the least satisfactory. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the mean values of the 10 items for both male and female range from 3.35 to 4.09, suggesting they were generally satisfied with



their lives as academicians. Once again, results from t-test indicated the women and men enjoy similar level of job satisfaction.

Survey 2

In the second broader study, questionnaires were distributed to the faculties of 14 universities in central and southern Taiwan. This effort yielded 707 usable responses from 209 women and 498 men. The respondents' demographics per se reveal rich and interesting information (see Table 3). First, 56% of the females were younger than 35, whereas among the males, 21.5% were less than 35 and 20.5% reached 45 or beyond. On marital status, 56.5% of the female respondents were married while 83% of their male counterparts were married and 2.4% of the married female husbands were unemployed whereas 25.7% of the married male wives were unemployed. Among the female respondents, 29.2% had earned a PhD while among the males, 60% had this degree. On seniority (regardless of shifts between schools), 59.3% of the female had taught less than five years while the number for men was 46.4%. The percentages of professors, associate professors, assistant professors, and instructors among the females were 1.9%, 11%, 20.1%, and 66%, respectively and the corresponding statistics for the male were 4.6%, 32.7%, 27.3%, and 34.8%. About two thirds (65%) of the females were in business school while more than half of the men worked in science, engineering, and technology.



TABLE 3 Demographic Profiles (Survey 2)

	Male n=498		Female n=209	
Age				
Below 35	117	(21.53%)	116	(56.04%)
36~45	278	(55.94%)	70	(33.82%)
46~55	83	(16.70%)	16	(7.73%)
Over 55	19	(3.82%)	5	(2.42%)
Total	497		207	
Marital Status				
Single	82	(16.47%)	86	(41.15%)
Married	413	(82.93%)	118	(56.16%)
Others	3	(0.60%)	5	(2.39%)
Total	498		209	
Spouse? Employment Status				
Household	128	(25.70%)	5	(2.39%)
Employed	272	(54.62%)	109	(52.15%)
Others	98	(19.68%)	95	(45.45%)
Total	498		209	
Education				
Bachelor	13	(2.61%)	7	(3.35%)
Master	186	(37.35%)	141	(67.46%)
Ph.D.	299	(60.04%)	61	(29.19%)
Total	498		209	
Seniority				
Less than 1 year	51	(10.28%)	20	(9.57%)
1-5 years	179	(36.09%)	104	(49.76%)
6-10 years	155	(31.25%)	57	(27.27%)
11-16 years	56	(11.29%)	12	(5.74%)
Over 16 years	55	(11.09%)	16	(7.66%)
Total	496		209	
Position				
Professor	23	(4.62%)	4	(1.91%)
Associate Professor	163	(32.73%)	23	(11.00%)
Assistant Professor	136	(27.31%)	42	(20.10%)
Instructor	173	(34.74%)	138	(66.03%)
Others	3	(0.60%)	2	(0.96%)
Total	498		209	
Administrative Role				
Dean	2	(0.41%)	1	(0.49%)
Dept. Chair	37	(7.51%)	8	(3.90%)
Top-Level Administrator	23	(4.67%)	1	(0.49%)
Second-Level Administrator	26	(5.27%)	8	(3.90%)
Administrative Instructor	30	(6.09%)	24	(11.71%)
None	375	(76.06%)	163	(79.51%)
Total	493		205	
On Faculty of				
Business	128	(26.12%)	65	(32.02%)
Science/Technology	117	(23.88%)	11	(5.42%)
Design	29	(5.92%)	8	(3.94%)
Social Science	3	(0.61%)	19	(9.36%)
Literature	15	(3.06%)	31	(15.27%)
Humanities	45	(9.18%)	35	(17.24%)
Medicine	15	(3.06%)	21	(10.34%)
Electrical Eng./IT	138	(28.16%)	13	(6.40%)
Total	490		203	



Compared with the males, the females in this survey are younger, many more of them are single, many fewer have a doctoral degree and thus fewer holding positions as assistant professors or higher, they have about the same seniority in college, slightly less chance of being an administrator, and did not feel comfortable with science and technology. Moreover, for those who were married, chances were their husbands also had a full-time job. In contrast, only about two thirds of the married males had a dual career family.

An earlier study indicated that highly educated women in Taiwan tend to become professionals but not managers even if they are as qualified as their male colleagues (Cheng & Lo, 1993). This seems to be the case in the academic sector, as well.

To measure the faculty QWL, opinions from several colleagues were solicited to construct the initial measure, followed by a series of revisions based on small-scale pretests and further opinions of the colleagues. This effort yielded a total of 37 items covering both explicit and implicit aspects of a typical academic environment in Taiwan that are thought to be reflective of faculty concerns. For example, one question reads, it is important to have a mechanism for the top management and the faculty to discuss the school vision and development.? Another reads, the faculty job security is at stake after our country joins WTO [World Trade Organization].? All questions are on a 5-point Likert scale, 1 representing strongly disagree? while 5 representing strongly agree.? Similar procedure was used to develop a 22-item scale to measure faculty job satisfaction on and off campus. The respondents were asked to indicate on the blank of each item their level of satisfaction by assigning 1 through 5, representing very unsatisfied to very satisfied. For instance, the questions include am _____ with my colleagues?academic ethics? and am _____ with the reputation of our school.?

Principle axis factoring with commonalities on the diagonal and oblique rotation was used to determine the factor structures of the two scales. The individual questions and the results from factor analyses are not presented here, but are available from the authors upon request. Table 4 reports the means and standard deviations of the respondents?QWL.



Table 4 Quality of Work Life Concept (Survey 2)

	Total (N=707)	Female (N=209)	Male (N=498)
1. Leadership/ School Reputation	4.10 (0.49)	4.12 (0.70)	4.09 (0.49)
2. Pay and Benefits	4.17 (0.53)	4.15 (0.51)	4.18 (0.54)
3. Job Characteristics	4.04 (0.56)	3.99 (0.58)	4.06 (0.55)
4. Participation/Career Development	4.17 (0.46)	4.13 (0.48)	4.19 (0.45)
5. Job Security/ Union	3.25 (0.54)	3.21 (0.54)	3.27 (0.54)
6. Fairness and Justice	4.33 (0.52)	4.39 (0.52)	4.30 (0.52)
7. Ethics/Interpersonal Relationship/Social Status	3.60 (0.57)	3.60 (0.54)	3.60 (0.58)

Note: Results of t-test mean comparison indicate none of the QWL concept differences is statistically significant.

Female faculty considered fairness and justice (mean = 4.39) to be the most important factor influencing their QWL while union and job security (mean = 3.21) was the least important. The former refers to opportunistic and procedural justice for career advancement. It is interesting to find that t-test analysis did not identify gender differences because the importance level of the seven factors as seen by the female and male faculty members appeared quite similar. That is, they shared common concerns about their life quality in the academic environment.

The means and standard deviations for job satisfaction and results of gender comparisons were shown in Table 5. Again, the females felt as satisfied (and unsatisfied) as did their male counterparts with regard to leadership and organizational policy, interpersonal relationships, ethics and work environment, and sense of achievement.

Table 5 Job Satisfaction (Survey 2)

	Total (N=707)	Female (N=209)	Male (N=498)
1. Leadership/ School Policy	3.29 (0.66)	3.25 (0.65)	3.31 (0.66)
2. Interpersonal Relationship	3.77 (0.60)	3.70 (0.58)	3.80 (0.61)
1. Ethics/ Work Environment	2.99 (0.72)	2.98 (0.71)	2.99 (0.72)
2. Achievement	3.94 (0.54)	3.89 (0.55)	3.97 (0.54)

Note: Results of t-test mean comparison indicate none of the Job Satisfaction differences is statistically significant.

The results of the two surveys indicate some interesting points about female



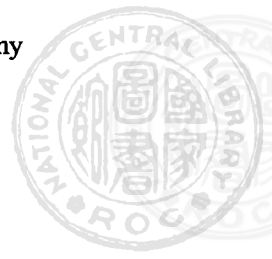
workers in these samples. First, their choice of career goals and their QWL concepts were not much different from those of their male colleagues. Second, in study one there were gender differences when respondents were asked the extent to which their organization provided them with long term career satisfaction in various dimensions, however they were not statistically significant in study two when asked for specific measures of their present job satisfaction, no gender differences were found- the females appeared to have similar levels of satisfaction with the workplace, in both general and academic-specific terms, to their male counterparts. Third, these female faculty women were quite homogeneous with the males when they were asked to identify the major thrusts that motivate them in career as well as their major concerns in the work environment. Last but not least, there are obvious demographic differences between women and men. Specifically, a lot more faculty women were single, attained less education, held lower positions and non-administrative jobs than their male colleagues. This last point suggests some sort of glass ceiling phenomenon and supports the findings of the Hsu (1990) study we summarized earlier.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study highlights the findings from selected empirical studies with a focus on the organizational life of women in Taiwan. Results of our two surveys with regard to the female subjects are also reported. These findings are presented to sketch the gender roles, stereotypes, work values, professional ethics, and quality of work life that the females experienced in the workplace. While the presentation is far from complete, several meaningful issues are identified and worth further examination.

Female vs. Male: Convergence or Divergence?

To describe the similarities and differences between genders is not as straightforward as one would intuitively believe. The material in the previous sections offers evidence of gender comparisons in gender stereotypes, participation patterns in group activities, work values, and career behaviors. However, most of these dimensions are relatively intangible, abstract, and even tacit, such as values, traits, and attitudes. This latter category contains both areas of similarity and areas of dissimilarity in many

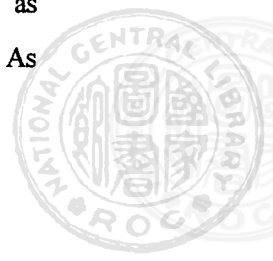


nations (Heilman et al., 1989; Powell, 1990). The values study by K.C. Wang (1993), for instance, indicates great divergence between male and females. On the other hand, the results from the two QWL surveys suggest just the opposite. There is no difference between women and men in the academic community on these dimensions: career goals, job satisfaction, and QWL concepts. The findings echo the gender role convergence hypothesis proposed by Peng (forthcoming). This controversy invites an empirical question: Under what conditions do women and men in Taiwan become more similar?

It is postulated here that individuals with similar background, receiving similar socialization process in the work setting, tend to have similar values and attitudes, regardless of whether they are male or female. That is, there is a generally positive relationship between people background and socialization experience on the one hand, and their values and attitudes on the other. In addition, characteristics of the workplace (i.e., the organization) are likely to have a moderating effect on that relationship. More specifically, the simpler the organization mission is and the more consistent between its socialization process and culture (in terms of values, norms, division of labor, and performance appraisal system, etc.), the more its employees' values converge.

The female and male faculty members in the surveys might not have a common family background, but their completion of at least master level of education and being college teachers readily made them a somewhat prestigious minority in the society. Although there are inevitably politics in colleges (Pfeffer & Davis-Blake, 1987), higher education is an enterprise with fairly low uncertainty and risk. That is to say, these subjects worked in organizations where, relatively speaking, the mission was straightforward, the work environment was stable, and tasks were repetitive. Regardless of demographic differences, they were socialized to advance their career by performing well in teaching, research, and service. All of these factors may have contributed to the homogeneity of beliefs and attitudes among these women and men.

The survey results support the theory that organizational socialization nurtures group norms and shared values among members (e.g., Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Nonetheless, we should be very conservative about its generalizability because, as mentioned earlier, there are still vivid differences in, for instance, gender attitudes. As



Taiwan transits to a more open society, there is reason to believe that the sex gap in both experience and beliefs is narrowing. But the female and male convergence reported from the surveys is the result of certain conditions combined (i.e., cohort effect, organization type, and socialization). Therefore, it should not be interpreted as a common case.

Gender Stereotypes: Career Barrier or Facilitator?

Most of the gender studies suggest stereotypes hinder women career development. For example, Cheng and Lo (1993) revealed barriers women managers in Taiwan experienced in developing in-group relationships with their male colleagues and superiors. While male managers spent their leisure time together drinking and playing to improve personal ties and form alliances, women managers mostly spent their leisure time fulfilling family responsibility. It appears that, regardless of cultural boundaries, many minorities experience sentiments and social life in mixed-gender work settings similar to those identified by Western scholars (e.g., Pfeffer, 1983; Tsui, et al., 1992).

While much stereotypical thinking works against women advantage, some may not. Tang (1988) study reveals a few positive effects. For example, woman feminine style is sometimes perceived to be effective in coordination and communication. Women executives once in a high-ranking position no longer feel pressure to prove they are more competent than men. Moreover, younger male subordinates may relate to the women managers as big sisters and thus willingly accept authority from the latter.

Yu in-depth case study (2000) of four successful Taiwanese female managers reveals rich information. It appeared that gender-equality attitudes facilitate career choices that were not bounded by traditional norms. These four executives reported that their gender and work attitudes were mostly socialized at home. Three of them expressed that, in spite of the fact that they were girls, their father work ethics and high expectation of them had set an exemplary and long lasting impact on them. These fathers were devoting workers, set high standard for themselves, and valued children education. Their mothers' influences were mainly on the shaping the non-work aspects (i.e., family) of their gender attitudes. These female managers' own open attitudes toward gender and positive work behavior then paved way for a broader career choice



and longer career development. That is, their gender-role attitudes impacted on their career attitudes, which in turn influenced their career development.

From these studies, it may be reasonable to postulate that women experiencing open and encouraging atmosphere at home (i.e., perceived family support) are likely to nurture positive attitudes toward gender roles, these attitudes facilitate proactive work behaviors in the workplace, and invite recognition and respect from colleagues in the workplace, and eventually opens opportunities for career advancement later in life.

Woman: Good Soldier in the Organization?

Farh (1998) study reveals that women in all three Chinese societies appeared more ethical than men, but also that they seemed to be more tolerant than men of lack of conscientiousness. In other words, Chinese women, regardless of where they are, seemed consistently to care less than did Chinese men about social loafing and inattentiveness in the workplace. It is noted that these behaviors are just the opposite of another type of behavior termed organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs). OCBs are employee behaviors that go beyond formal obligations and are thought to have positive influence on effective organizational functioning. Organ (1988) called such phenomenon the Good Soldier Syndrome? because employees who perform OCBs effectively reduce interpersonal conflicts in the workplace, enhance positive climate among colleagues, and increase overall efficiency. The question is, if women are more ethical than men, but more tolerant of certain not so ethical behavior, do they tend to be good soldiers in the organization?

While there are limited studies explicitly examining the relationship between gender and OCBs, it is generally believed in the Western literature that females are more likely than male to perform OCBs (Kidder & McLean Parks, 2001). The reasons behind this are that women tend to be more expressive and emphasize relational identity than men, and that they prefer social interaction and may perform greater amount of helping behavior in their office than men. Assuming that this rationale applies to the women in the Chinese societies, it may be proposed that Chinese women tend to show more behaviors toward others, but less toward the organization. To state it differently, from the organization point of view, Chinese women may appear more



as good colleagues, but less as good soldiers.

This paper reports the profile of women work life in Taiwan. While it reveals certain aspects of their experience, sentiments, and challenges and opportunities, it also raises some questions to be answered. This section addresses three such issues.

Examining these and other related issues in future research will further our understanding of the women in organization. Hopefully, the understanding will facilitate more non-traditional thinking and transform the work culture in Taiwan into a kinder and gentler one in the future.



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Biographical Sketch

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在組織中的工作和生活：以台灣婦女為調查對象

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中文摘要

亞洲和西方讀者對台灣婦女上班族在組織中的工作和生活所知不多，本調查研究旨在縮短讀者對此一族群理解的差距。傳統上，婦女在中國社會是一次等性別，然而過去數十年，台灣經歷了現代化，性別地位差異已經減少。本文首先整理，分析在台灣所發表的相關研究，重點在於婦女在組織內的工作和生活，並提出我們的二次實徵調查。分析結果顯示，在台灣：(1)性別的異質性已明顯縮小，經歷相似組織社會化的男女尤然，(2)性別刻板印象對上班族的婦女而言，可能是生涯發展的利器，也可能是障礙，(3)展現組織公民行為的時候，婦女比較像好同事，比較不像戰士。本文希望可增進讀者對台灣婦女上班族現況的瞭解，並間接促進台灣職場文化朝向平等。

關鍵字：性別議題，工作生活，台灣

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