THE EVOLVING FASHION OF TAIWAN FROM 1949-1987: EXPRESSION, CONSUMPTION, AND FUTURITY

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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The martial law era was an important period for the development of the fashion market in Taiwan. Due to economic and/or cultural influence from China, Japan, Western Europe, and, importantly, the United States, Taiwan was transformed into a consumer-capitalist society where the GMD increasingly predicated its legitimacy as a governing body on its ability to provide an economically comfortable, and consumer-oriented lifestyle for its citizens. In turn, the Taiwanese population, whose standard of living and disposable income increased over the course of the martial law period, had a progressively greater capacity to don a variety of new fashions. The beneficiaries of the fashion market also increasingly exposed Taiwanese to more fashion advertisements and articles in order to entice them into purchasing certain fashion products.

This thesis draws on fashion advertisements and fashion articles from newspapers, literary sources from acclaimed writers such as Zhu Tianwen, and interviews from anonymous participants who share stories about the factors that informed the fashion that they donned.

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I: INTRODUCTION[1]

The potent influence of American political, economic, and cultural institutions in Taiwan shortly after the conclusion of the Chinese civil war, and the subsequent establishment of American, European, and Japanese fashion companies in Taiwan resulted in a commercialized fashion market which continuously invented and marketed new fashions to sell. As a result, many Taiwanese people, a large number of whom had greater access to jobs with livable wages as Taiwan's economy steadily improved during the martial law period (1949-1987), were frequently exposed to new and wider (often Western) varieties of fashion products with which to express their identities. Many of these individuals became active participants in an increasingly consumer-capitalist fashion market.

As an effect of new styles of fashion, produced by a number of fashion companies which were in competition with one another, perennially being advertised, in part on the basis of their contrast with "outdated" styles, there was a diversification of narratives on what should be considered fashionable. In addition to advertising a variety of cosmetic brands, many fashion companies promulgated new styles of fashion such as jeans, miniskirts, and casual-wear, while others inventively recreated traditional Chinese styles of clothing such as the *qipao*. Taiwanese people were not complacent consumers of fashion companies' advertised products, however. While some simply could not afford to partake in mainstream fashion trends, others actively resisted the considerable

[1] In this thesis, I use pinyin for any transliteration of Chinese words and names. I have made exceptions only for names which are still frequently rendered in the Wade-Giles style, such as Chiang Kai-shek, or the conventional style, such as Taipei or Keelung. Furthermore, I use the term "Chinese-Taiwanese," to refer specifically to the members of Taiwanese society who are of mainland Chinese descent, and I employ the term "native Taiwanese" specifically for the populations of indigenous Taiwanese peoples. The term "Taiwanese" is a general label that I use to refer to both Chinese-Taiwanese and native Taiwanese alike.

Westernization of Taiwan's clothing culture, and those who did partake in the latest trends played a role in determining what was fashionable through their decision to purchase certain products over others. Therefore, there was not *one* fashion that characterized fashion in Taiwan in the martial law era.

In this thesis I will make two main arguments, each designated to their own separate chapter. In Chapter 1, I detail the effect of the United States' tremendous economic influence on liberalizing the Taiwanese economy. I then show that as Taiwan's economy improved and the average household income rose, Taiwanese men and women consequently had a greater ability to experiment with new styles of fashion, many of which were Western-influenced. I also discuss the concern that Taiwanese people like the critically-acclaimed author, Zhu Tian-wen, expressed over the erosion of what she understood as traditional Taiwanese culture and fashion as a result of Taiwan's dramatic Westernization. Finally, I conclude with excerpts from my interviews with Taiwanese participants who recount some of the styles of fashion that they donned during martial law (much of which, in fact, were not influenced by mainstream fashion trends), as well as the influences that shaped their fashion decisions, such as financial constraints.

In Chapter 2, I take inspiration from Tani Barlow's article "Event, Abyss, Excess: The Event of Women in Chinese Commercial Advertisement, 1910s-1930s". I use selected fashion articles and advertisements from newspapers to demonstrate how they not only manipulated images of women in order to sell women's fashion products, but also how they enticed readers into partaking in the fashion product being featured by presenting it as a *futurity*, a term which I elaborate on in detail in Chapter 2. Just as with the first chapter, I incorporate interviews that I conducted with Taiwanese participants

who discuss the reasons why they chose, or chose not to subscribe to styles of fashion which were presented in these newspaper articles and advertisements.

Defining Fashion: A Literature Review

Joanne Entwistle, in her book, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Social Theory,* notes several theorists and historians of fashion (she specifically lists Veblen 1899; Flügel 1930; Laver 1969; Bell 1976; Polhemus and Proctor 1978; Rouse 1989; Finkelstein 1991; McDowell 1992; and Wilson 2007),[2] who argue that fashion is a historically and geographically specific system, marked importantly by its inherent nature to change over time, that emerged out of Europe in the fourteenth century.[3] Bell and Braudel (1981), in particular, comment that fashion does not exist in places where social mobility is difficult.[4] Furthermore, Veblen (1899), Bell (1976), Simmel (1971), McDowell (1992), and Tseëlon (1992) argue that it was not until Europe adopted a capitalist economic framework that fashion emerged.[5]

In response to the claims put forward by these scholars, Finnane (2007) notes that while China was not a capitalist society in the premodern era, it still witnessed the growth of trade networks and the emergence of urban elites.[6] Finnane references studies on clothing in China from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries that not only demonstrate

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[2] Veblen 1899; Flügel 1930; Laver 1969; Bell 1976; Polhemus and Proctor 1978; Rouse 1989; Finkelstein 1991; McDowell 1992 are cited from Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion Dress, and Social Theory*. See pages 59-85 (ProQuest).
[3] Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Social Theory*, (Polity Press, 2015), 59 (ProQuest).
[4] Bell (1976) and Braudel (1981) are cited from Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion Dress, and Social Theory*. See page 59 (ProQuest).
[5] Veblen (1953), Bell (1976), Simmel (1971), McDowell (1992), and Tseëlon (1992) are cited from Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion Dress, and Social Theory*. See page 59 (ProQuest).
[6] Antonia Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, Modernity, Nation*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), Chapter 1 (ebook).

that Chinese clothing evolved during this time, but also that Chinese people took note of these changes and their significances.[7] Also, the author pointedly observes that the idea that fashion is a uniquely Western invention is a modern phenomenon that resulted from nineteenth and twentieth century European imperialism. She notes that early writings by missionaries in China, "did not treat clothing culture as a mark of differentiation between East and West."[8]

Even though Taiwanese society (including its fashion) was increasingly Westernized and driven by consumer capitalism beginning in the martial law period, Finnane's argument is still significant in this discussion because it highlights the importance of using the term "fashion" in an inclusive, non-Eurocentric manner. Despite a wide range of technical disagreements, most theorists and historians of fashion identify *change* as being a fundamental quality that defines fashion. However, using change as the sole basis for defining fashion is problematic. Davis (1992) notes that this basis for understanding fashion, "skirts the issue of exactly how extensive such changes must be for us to speak of fashion rather than, for example, a modal style or accepted dress code."[9] He questions whether or not seasonal variations of clothing, for example, should be considered a new fashion. The same question can be asked about small modifications to existing clothing, hair, and ways of applying cosmetics.[10]

I am defining "fashion" differently as a way to circumvent the problem of determining what constitutes fashion and what does not. "Fashion", in my usage of the

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[7] Antonia Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, Modernity, Nation*, Chapter 1 (ebook).
[8] Ibid.
[9] Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 15.
[10] As a technical matter, I agree with Davis' point on page 25 that, "the term 'clothing' might reasonably be restricted to garments themselves, whereas dress could better be made to refer to the distinctive properties of particular assemblages of garments, i.e., the practices and expectations regarding their combinations and wearing venues."

word, is an umbrella term that encompasses six categories: clothing, shoes, hair, cosmetics (makeup, perfume, facial cream, etc.), accessories (purses, hats, watches, etc.), and tattooing.[11] I am not arguing that fashion is not in a continuous state of flux; it certainly is. However, what I am arguing is that this flux is a result of changes in clothing styles, shoe styles, hairstyles, makeup styles, accessory styles, and tattooing styles. Essentially, I am defining "style" as a subset of each of the six categories of fashion that I have listed. In my definition, every change that takes place in any of these six categories constitutes a new style. I employ this framework because it localizes change to specific categories while still allowing all changes in clothing, shoes, hair, cosmetics, accessories, and tattooing to still be considered a fashion.

In my conceptualization of "fashion", clothing, shoes, hair, cosmetics, accessories, tattooing and their various styles are all necessarily fashion, but "fashion" does not necessarily refer specifically to any one of these categories. Thus, when I use "fashion" in this thesis, I am referring to one or a combination of these categories depending on the context. Also, the term "fashion trend" is used in this thesis as a general phrase to refer to the popularization of a style of one of the six categories of fashion that took place over a period of time.

One final point I would like to make has to do with my decision to distinguish "fashion" as a singular, and not "fashions" as a plural. I do not mean to imply that fashion is a monolith. Certainly, it is possible us to talk about "fashions" in the plural sense. For example, men's fashion and women's fashion constitute two distinct fashions, just at

[11] Because of its especially small role in shaping modern Taiwanese fashion for non-indigenous Taiwanese people and Taiwanese people who lived in urban and metropolitan areas during the martial law period, tattoos will not be discussed in this thesis. I hope to expand on this aspect of fashion in Taiwan more in future research.

American fashion, European, and Japanese fashion are distinct fashions.[12] Because both men's and women's fashion, as well as a diversity foreign culture's fashions obviously exist together in modern Taiwan, and in many ways define mainstream Taiwanese fashion, I use the umbrella term "fashion" as a shorthand to comment on these collective fashions in general terms.

Various theoretical approaches have been suggested by theorists of fashion for explaining the forces that put fashion in motion. A number of theories, namely the Theory of the Shifting Erogenous Zone," the *Zeitgeist* theory of fashion, the "trickle-down" theory of fashion, collective selection theory, and the semiotic theory of fashion are particularly prominent in the discourse.

The Theory of the Shifting Erogenous Zone postulates that the primary factor that energizes the movement of women's fashion is men's desire for clothing to emphasize certain parts of the female body. Women's clothing is constantly changing, drawing attention to different parts of the body in order to keep men's interest. Laver (1969) [13] is the most notable proponent of this theory (Flügel 1930 also places an emphasis on sex appeal as being a substantial factor in metamorphosing women's clothing).[14] Other authors (Bell 1976; Polhemus & Proctor 1978; Steele 1985; Rouse 1989; Davis 1992;

[12] Different fashions are not necessarily mutually exclusive from one another. For instance, we can refer to men's fashion and American fashion at the same time.
[13] Laver (1969) is cited from Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion Dress, and Social Theory*. See page 75 (ProQuest).
[14] Flügel (1930) is cited from Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*. See pages 81-86.

Hollander 1994; Wilson 2007)[15] agree that this is one element that drives the changing styles of women's clothing, but are cautious to identify it as the primary cause.

Other than the fact that Laver and Flügel only focus on women's clothing, and leave the causes of men's changing clothing in question, the most notable issue with the Theory of the Shifting Erogenous Zone is that it reduces new designs for women's clothing as being primarily determined by what men find arousing, and focuses less attention on the economic, cultural, and social issues that generate change in women's fashion. This theory also reduces women's agency, assuming that, to at least some extent, they acquiescently subscribe to new fashions which are designed to appeal to men. Laver and Flügel also have difficulty explaining why any one area of a woman's body should be considered arousing enough to emphasize with clothing (a question which is culturally variable), and by extension struggle to address who determines where and when the erogenous zone will move. The presence of fashion companies owned by women, who employ women designers that make clothing for women, further complicate the reliability of this theory.[16]

These counterpoints to the Theory of the Erogenous Zone by no means make up an exhaustive list of the criticisms directed toward it by a theorists and historians of fashion. Nevertheless, Laver and Flügel's ideas are helpful for thinking about how the fashion system creates standards of beauty in order to sell a product; an idea which I will explore in more detail in Chapter 2.

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[15] Bell (1976); Polhemus & Proctor (1978); Steele (1985); Rouse (1989); and Hollander (1994); are cited from Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion Dress, and Social Theory*. See page 75 (ProQuest).

[16] For further analysis of the Theory of the Erogenous Zone, see Davis, *Fashion Culture, and Identity*, pages 81-86; and Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Social Theory*, pages 171, 172 (ProQuest).

Advocates of the *Zeitgeist* theory of fashion such as Richardson and Koreber (1973) and Ditcher (1985) propose that social and political changes are the primary factor in instigating changes in a society's popular fashion.[17] This theory has also received substantial criticism from scholars such as Bell, who argue that this theoretical approach overestimates the effects of shifts in social and political paradigms. He further argues that this theoretical framework has too many exceptions to be a reliable framework of analysis.[18] However, despite legitimate critiques of the *Zeitgeist* theory of fashion, it is still useful for understanding how important political and economic events in the history of martial law Taiwan influenced Taiwanese fashion (as I will demonstrate below), not as the primary factor, but as a significant component.

A number theorists and historians of fashion have promulgated the notion of a "trickle-down" system in which the fashion that the upper-classes in a society don, or the fashion that the dominant figures in haute couture create, are gradually emulated by lower classes over time. Once a fashion becomes commonplace, it is considered unfashionable (*see* Smith 1759 [1982]; Tarde 1890; Spencer 1897;[19] Veblen 1899; Barber 1957;[20] Bourdieu 1979; Bourdieu 1984; McCracken 1985[21]).

The most prominent proponents of "trickle-down" theory in fashion is Georg Simmel (1904 [1957]). In his article, "Fashion", Georg Simmel contends that fashion is the product of a tension between imitation and distinction which all humans share. In

[17] Richardson and Koreber (1973) and Ditcher (1985) are cited from Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion Dress, and Social Theory*. See page 74 (ProQuest).
[18] Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Social Theory*, 74 (ProQuest).
[19] Smith (1759) [1982]; Tarde (1890); and Spencer (1897) are cited from Aspers and Godart, "Sociology of Fashion: Order and Change" in *Annual Review of Sociology.* See pages 176, 179.
[20] Barber (1957) is cited from Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*. See pages 110-115.
[21] Veblen (1899); McCracken (1985) is cited from Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion Dress, and Social Theory*. See page 73 (ProQuest)

other words, individuals are driven by a motivation to imitate others, while at the same time desiring to distinguish themselves.[22] Simmel argues that fashion, like society, is stratified; different classes don separate fashions. When individuals desire to change their fashion, it is not simply to "stand out from the crowd." Rather, individuals in all but the most elite strata of society alter their fashion in order to distinguish themselves from the class that they belong to, and imitate the class or classes above them (even though changing one's fashion does not *actually* change one's position in the class structure). As a result, Simmel views the entire system of fashion as a matter of imitation.[23] Simmel asserts that due to this desire for people to imitate the classes above theirs, fashion is one of the social platforms on which, "we seek to combine in uniform spheres of activity the tendency towards social equalization."[24] In other words, imitation is an equalizer that gradually erodes the barriers of exclusivity. However, according to Simmel the fashion of the highest echelons of society can never be identical to those of lower classes. He argues that as the fashions of the highest strata of society start to become commonplace, the members of the upper class abandon those fashions in favor of new ones.[25]

The "trickle-down" theory of fashion has faced criticism by several scholars of fashion (*see* Marshall 1923; Campbell 1989; Partington 1992; Polhemus 1994; Slater 1997; Crane 1999; Wilson 2007).[26] In particular, Rouse (1989) [27] argues that a time delay is needed for styles that are worn by the upper-class to "trickle down" to lower classes.

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[22] Georg Simmel, "Fashion," *The American Journal of Sociology* 52, no.6 (1957 [originally published in 1904]), 542, 543.
[23] Simmel, "Fashion," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 543.
[24] Ibid, 543.
[25] Ibid, 543.
[26] Slater (1997) and Crane (1999) are cited from Aspers and Godart, "Sociology of Fashion: Order and Change" in *Annual Review of Sociology*. See pages 174, 184.
[27] Campbell (1989); Rouse (1989); Partington (1992); and Polhemus (1994) are cited from Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion Dress, and Social Theory*. See page 73 (ProQuest).

However, in a fast-paced, consumer-capitalist society, new fashion is produced too rapidly for a "trickle-down" of fashion to happen (*see* Brennickmeyer 1963; Anspach 1967; König 1973; Fraser 1981).

Blummer (1968),[28] also questions the "trickle-down" theory of fashion, and notes that he does not attribute any causality to the changes in fashion the way that the other theories presented above do. In fact, he does not see fashion as having any substantive functionality. While he acknowledges that the upper class may use fashion to distinguish themselves, he does not consider this to be the primary driving force behind fashion's changes. Rather, he puts forward the theory of "collective selection," in which new tastes are a product of society and individual groups of people in a society collectively affirming, eschewing, transforming, and setting limits to new tastes through social interactions. These tastes begin as, "a loose fusion of vague inclinations and dissatisfactions," and gains definition as it is accepted by greater society and fashion innovators.[29]

Davis criticizes the vagueness of certain areas of the "collective selection" theory. For example, he notes that Blummer does not clarify *who* determines what is considered good taste, and what is not. Additionally, Blummer lacks any historical examples to qualify his claims. Finally, Davis critiques him for shelving other theoretical approaches that might help identify and explain the forces that drive fashion's changes, such as gender theory and Marxist theory.[30] However, acknowledging these shortcomings, the "collective selection" theory is still a useful sociological framework for analyzing

[28] Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, 105
[29] Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, 116.
[30] See Davis *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, pages 119, 120 for a complete list of Davis' critiques.

fashion, especially because it assigns more agency to groups of people and individuals for making decisions about what is considered "good" taste than the previous discussed theories. Also, this theory is more flexible than the previous ones, which argue for a monocausal explanation of what causes fashion to evolve.

More recently, scholars of fashion have analyzed fashion in terms of its ability to communicate something about the identity of the wearer (*see* Polhemus & Proctor 1978; Hebdige 1979; Lurie 1981; Rouse 1989; Wright 1992; Barnard 1996; Bohn 2000; van Leeuwen & Jewitt 2001;[31] Calefato 2004; Barthes 2006; Wilson 2007; Calefato 2010).[32] In particular, Fred Davis, in, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity,* argues that fashion is communicative of a person's identity, though not as precise language. Because of clothing's low semanticity in addition to its lack of language rules to govern fashion's "speech," Davis contends that fashion is best understood as a code which draws on conventional cultural symbols, but, "does so allusively, ambiguously, and inchoately, so that the meanings evoked by the combinations and permutation of the code's key terms (fabric, texture, color, pattern, volume, silhouette, occasion) are forever shifting or 'in progress'."[33]

Davis argues that it is impossible for fashion to be a precise language because its iterations and meanings in social contexts are in a continual state of flux. He rejects the reductionist positions of those who argue that the only impetus for change is a self-serving desire to amass profits by a network of capitalist corporations. Neither does he

[31] Bohn (2000) and van Leeuwen and Jewitt (2001) are cited from Aspers and Godart, "Sociology of Fashion: Order and Change" in *Annual Review of Sociology*. See page 183.
[32] Polhemus & Proctor (1978); Hebdige (1979); Lurie (1981); Rouse (1989); Wright (1992); Barnard (1996); Calefato (2004); Barthes (2006); and Calefato (2010) are cited from Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion Dress, and Social Theory*. See pages 69, 76 (ProQuest).
[33] Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 5.

accept the theory of the shifting "erogenous zone", the Zeitgeist theory of fashion, nor the "trickle-down" theory of fashion as the primary or sole explanation for fashions malleability. Davis also disagrees with the view that fashion's flux is merely the result of boredom[34] (an argument that has been made by theorists such as Bell (1976), who reasoned that the logic for the evolution of European fashion is a result of change simply for the thrill of change).[35] Rather, the author identifies people's continuously changing social identities as the primary impulse for the evolution of fashion.[36]

Davis challenges the notion that social identity simply refers to status or the symbols of social class. His definition of social identity also includes, "the configuration of attributes and attitudes persons seek to and actually do communicate about themselves (obviously, the two are not always the same)."[37] As people and societies change throughout time, the attitudes and attributes that they want to convey about themselves will consequently change as well. People and society alter their fashions as one way to convey new meanings about themselves.[38]

Davis asserts that a considerable part of our understanding of who we are is a result of how we negotiate our identity's ambivalences, that is, our subjective tensions of expression, which is a product of our nature, culture, and society.[39] He argues that identity ambivalences such as, "youth versus age, masculinity versus femininity, androgyny versus singularity, inclusiveness versus exclusiveness, work versus play, domesticity versus worldliness, revelation versus concealment, license versus restraint,

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[34] Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, 12.
[35] Bell (1976) is cited from Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion Dress, and Social Theory*. See pages 62 (ProQuest).
[36] Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, 16.
[37] Ibid, 16.
[38] Ibid, 17.
[39] Ibid, 24.

and conformity versus rebellion," underlie people and society's constantly shifting fashions.[40]

My view aligns closely with Davis' in that I argue in a modern consumer-capitalist society, fashion communicates much more about a person than their social status. While certain fashions may still represent exclusivity, like an expensive bottle of Chanel perfume, a number of fashion companies, such as Christian Dior, Giorgio Armani, and Calvin Klein, for example, have broken down barriers of exclusivity as a means to increase their profits.[41] In fact, some companies specifically tailor their inventions to niche markets not associated with the upper class (*see* Crane 2000),[42] or try to introduce popular fashion to the public which transcends socio-economic and cultural boundaries like gender, race, ethnicity, class, and nationality, among other demarcations, such as blue jeans.[43] In an increasingly consumer-capitalist society like Taiwan in the martial law period, there was not simply a single prevalent fashion trend which began as a marker of the upper class, but rather there were a number of fashion producers who competed with one another, and were thus incentivized to continuously produce new fashion products in order to maintain a customer base (*see* Huang, Hu, Wang, Chen & Lo 2016). These fashion trends were in traffic with one another, and were marketed to different kinds of people.

Certainly the arguments made by Bourdieu (1979) that in a consumer-capitalist society, fashion companies are constantly marketing new products in order to incur profit

[40] Ibid, 18.
[41] Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Social Theory*, 130 (ProQuest).
[42] Crane (2000) is cited from Aspers and Godart, "Sociology of Fashion: Order and Change" in *Annual Review of Sociology*. See page 184.
[43] Davis, *Fashion, Culture, Identity*, 70.

should be taken into consideration. However, this explanation does not account for all the motivations that fashion companies have for expanding fashion options. Davis argues that in addition to the businessmen, designers and creatives are an equally important part of the success of any fashion company[44] (*also see* Aspers 2001; Kawamura 2004; Giusti 2009; Godart & Mears 2010; and Mears 2011).[45] Entwistle adds to this observation by noting that for fashion as a system to function, it, "requires fashion colleges to train students, designers and design houses, tailors and seamstresses, models and photographers as well as fashion editors, distributors, retailers, fashion buyers, [and] shops."[46] All components of the fashion system work with one another to, "launch, inhibit, or otherwise regulate the transmission of code modifications from creators to consumers."[47] As the social identities of people and society evolve, the companies and creative minds of fashion alike craft new fashions to reflect these identity changes.

Not all styles of fashion presented by fashion companies are successful, though. It is important to keep in mind that the relationship between the fashion producer and fashion consumer is one in which the producer *proposes* a new style and the consumer chooses to accept or decline the proposal. For example, while I demonstrate in this thesis that beneficiaries of the fashion market (a name I assign to fashion companies, designers, and authors who wrote about fashion in this thesis) often utilized calculated marketing strategies in order to entice consumers to buy certain fashion products, I also present excerpts from interviews that I conducted with Taiwanese individuals who were alive

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[44] Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, 12.
[45] Aspers (2001); Kawamura (2004); Giusti (2009); Godart & Mears (2010); and Mears (2011) Crane (2000) are cited from Aspers and Godart, "Sociology of Fashion: Order and Change" in *Annual Review of Sociology*. See page 181, 182.
[46] Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Social Theory*, 27 (ProQuest).
[47] Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, 12.

during the martial law era in order to highlight the fact that Taiwanese people had the agency to choose whether or not they would subscribe to the styles of fashion introduced to the market.

In this thesis, I am not prepared to make a sociological statement about how certain fashions in Taiwan were reflective of Taiwanese society's shifting social identity, or how certain fashions are indicative of a niche community's identities. However, I will argue that as Taiwan was transformed into a consumer-capitalist society, the fashion market subsequently expanded, and beneficiaries of the fashion market invented and advertised new fashions, people with increasing disposable income had the ability to experiment with a growing range and variety of fashion options through which they could articulate their identity ambivalences, status, or sexual appeal.

Another argument that I will elaborate on in his thesis is that, even as more fashion products became increasingly accessible in Taiwan, there was still a population of people that could not afford them. These financial constraints, in effect, encumbered those people's ability to use fashion to express their identity ambivalences. My interviews with Taiwanese respondents in the succeeding chapters will further explore this point.

Contributions to the Study of Fashion in East Asia: A Literature Review

Especially in the past two decades, a substantial body of literature on fashion in East Asia has been developed by scholars of China, Japan, and Korea.[48] Japanologists such as Robinson (1968); Nordquist (1978); Rendell (1993); Slade (2009); Osakabe

[48] *Also see* Sandra Neissen, Ann Leshkowich, and Carla Jones*, Re-Orienting Fashion: The Globalization of Asian Dress*, (Oxford: Berg, 2003).

(2010); Naba (2012); Kurokawa (2013); Monden (2015); Naba (2018); Nomura (2018); Osakabe (2018); and Sugimoto (2018) have contributed valuable research regarding the historical and contemporary fashions in Japan. Additionally, scholars of Korea, including Geum & DeLong (1992); K. Lee (2012); Kwon & Lee (2015); Cho (2017); K. Lee (2018); and Joo (2018) have furthered our understanding of the influences that shaped past and present Korean fashions.

A notable amount of scholarly progress has also been made on the history of fashion in China. Matheson (2011); Rado (2015); F. Chen (2016); B. Chen (2016); Silberstein (2016); Silberstein (2017); Silberstein (2018); and Wang (2018) have furthered our understanding of the vestments which influenced fashion in Imperial China. In addition, Wang (2011), who examines the changing ways in which the Hui headscarf has been worn by women since the 1990s, and Bassini (2012), who discusses the political pressures that Tibetans have faced by the Chinese Communist Party in the late twentieth and twenty-first century to discard their traditional attire, have added to the discourse on the fashions of minority groups in China. Ng (2015) and Ng (2018) has written in detail about the history of the *qipao* in the Republican period in mainland China (2015), and in Hong Kong (2018). Furthermore, Chen (2001); Finnane (2005); Wu (2009); Tsui (2013); Zhao (2013); Rado (2018); and Tsui (2019) have contributed informative research on the influences that affected the development of various styles of fashion in the People's Republic of China.[49] Finally, in her formative book, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, Nation,* Antonia Finnane challenges the notion that fashion is a uniquely European phenomenon that was simply imported to China from the West, and

[49] *Also see* Valerie Steele and John Major*, China Chic: East Meets West*, (Singapore: Yale University Press, 1999).

explores the prevalent fashions in China from the late Ming Dynasty through the 2000s. Finnane makes a few brief comments about fashion in Taiwan in this book, but she and the other historians of fashion in China offer little toward understanding the evolving fashion of Taiwan during the martial law period.

While there are a small number of scholars of Asia who have produced research on fashion in Taiwan, none of the literature I could find discussed either the time period or themes which I address in this thesis. Some studies have been written on Taiwan's textile and garment manufacturing industries during the martial law period (*see* Huang, Hu, Wang, Chen & Lo 2016; Chiu 2009; and Olds 2011). While these authors offer important information on the how textiles and clothing were produced in Taiwan during the martial law era, the development of textile and clothing production technology, the processes of distributing textiles and clothing products, and the management of textile and clothing factory labor in the Taiwanese fashion industry, among other topics, these articles make no detailed references to the styles of clothing that were produced in Taiwanese clothing factories, and who wore them.

Only a small body of research focuses on specific styles of clothing that people in Taiwan wore in the twentieth century. For example, Chun-mei Sun, in her article, *Style as Identity: Fashion in Taiwan in the Early Twentieth Century*, uses photographs and illustrations to examine the amalgamation of fashion influences from China and Japan, as well as Western Europe and the U.S., which largely defined Taiwanese fashion during the Japanese occupation period. Also, Chui Chu Yang in her Ph.D. dissertation from Iowa State University, titled: *The Meanings of Qipao as Traditional Dress*, interviews 7 foreign exchange students to the U.S. from mainland China, and 7 foreign exchange

students to the U.S. from Taiwan who comment on how they perceive the *qipao* as a stylish vestment. Yang underlines how Chinese identity is expressed through the *qipao* differently between both groups of interview respondents. While the dissertation addresses the stylistic changes of the *qipao* between the 1950s and the 1980s, Yang's topic excludes any discussion of other prevalent fashions in Taiwan since 1949.

The only literature that systemically examines the clothing that people wore in Taiwan during the martial law period is Licheng Ye's book, *The History of Taiwanese Clothing* (*台灣服裝史*). Though this book surveys clothing from the Neolithic period to the 2000s, one chapter covers the clothing worn from 1945-1959, and the three succeeding chapters are dedicated to the clothing worn in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s respectively. Ye places the political events that were occurring in Taiwan during each decade side-by-side with the prevalent fashions of that time period, and includes several photographs which accompany her commentary. In each chapter, the author describes a wide variety of clothing, and aptly articulates both nuanced and sudden changes in Taiwanese people's tastes during the martial law period. Ye also discusses how the textile facilities affected the output of fashion, the effect that the emergence of fashion shows and malls in Taiwan beginning in the 1960s had on consumption, and the influence of American media on Taiwanese people's fashion tastes. However, Ye does little to demonstrate the effects that the political, economic, and cultural transformations which Taiwan experienced during the martial law period had on fashion in Taiwan as a *system* between beneficiaries of the fashion market and the fashion consumer.

Among other shortcomings of these chapters from *The History of Taiwanese Clothing*, Ye does not formulate a clear definition of "fashion" anywhere in the book, nor

does Ye employ any theory to analyze Taiwan's fashion culture, which tends to obfuscate the points the author wants to make. Furthermore, the author does not cite any data that shows how consumer culture in martial-law-era-Taiwan had impacted the amount of fashion products that people have consumed. Ye also does not consider how advertising played a role in shaping notions of fashionableness, and the means by which fashion companies promoted their products. *The History of Taiwanese Clothing* describes the popular clothing that people wore and the mainstream fashion trends that many individuals participated in, but is not clear about how fashion varied among different social classes. In addition, these chapters on the martial law period make no mention of people who resisted the Westernization and commercialization of fashion in Taiwan. These issues will be important points of discussion in this thesis.

The Influence of Capitalism on Post-War Taiwan's Fashion Market

The martial law period marks an important shift in the way that the fashion market operated in Taiwan because it was at this time when fashion became commercialized. Economic aid from the United States was important for Taiwan's industrial development, and it was also a notable factor in promoting the growth of businesses in Taiwan. A number of domestic and foreign businesses (including fashion businesses) were established in Taiwan during the martial law era. Along with economic influence, a pervasive American presence in Taiwan during the martial law period promulgated values of consumerism (which I will discuss in further detail in Chapter 1). In this section, I will demonstrate that as a result of the United States' impact on the development of a consumer culture in Taiwan during the martial law era, the GMD based

its authenticity (a term I will elaborate on below) increasingly on its ability to create a comfortable economic and consumerist lifestyle for their citizens.

Prasenjit Duara, in his book *The Crisis of Global Modernity: Asian Traditions and a Sustainable Future*, offers some perspective on how the West has transformed the political, economic, and cultural forces that govern non-Western societies. Duara's book is primarily focused on the challenges of climate change as a result of global capitalism. However, his argument that Mao Zedong's revolutionary transcendence in China was ultimately exchanged with consumer capitalism in the Deng Xiaoping era as a result of Deng gradually integrating China into the world economy is useful for understanding how Taiwan's fashion market grew as a result of Taiwan's own integration into the global capitalist economy.

Duara argues that human activity can be organized into three "logics"[50]: "economics (exchange and control of resources), politics (management of violence and rule), and culture (ordering of symbolization and meaning)."[51] According to Duara, "all institutions and practices contain some combination of the three."[52] He asserts that modernity can be analyzed as an arrangement of these three logics, "in which innovation and resource expansion are accelerated particularly by changes in the relationship of economics with culture and politics."[53]

He also contends that since the nineteenth century, much of the non-Western world has been gradually woven deeper into global "capitalist processes," that is, the

[50] Duara comments on page 95 that he prefers the term "logic" to the term "structure" because, "while logic carries a certain sense of endurance and deductivity, it is non-unitary and more open-ended than 'structure'."
[51] Prasenjit Duara, *The Crisis of Global Modernity: Asian Traditions and a Sustainable Future*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 93.
[52] Duara, *The Crisis of Global Modernity: Asian Traditions and a Sustainable Future*, 93.
[53] Ibid, 93.

innovations, organizational patterns, institutions (such as banks) and infrastructure (such as factories, and railroads), flows of capital, and distributions of wealth, among other factors, which, having integrated these parts of the world it into a larger capitalist global network, has also had the effect of deterritorializing their economic, political, and cultural logics. Duara notes that the deterritorialization of a territory's logics are especially prevalent in nations with "susceptible political institutions" because they foster a more hospitable environment for "capitalist processes" to deterritorialize and subsequently re-territorialize the geographic space that the susceptible political institution manages.[54]

In an article written by Duara: "The Regime of Authenticity: Timelessness, Gender, and National History in Modern China," he contends that prior to the advent of linear history, history was typically conceptualized as having a cyclical structure, "whereby time will reproduce, return to, or approximate a 'known certainty'."[55] Duara posits that this type of history usually looks back to the past, a time when a presumed ideal was upheld, or to a transcendent time of a god or gods. Linear history, which is predominant in the modern, globalized world, conceives time and space as a series of events which are placed in the category of past, present, or future. Duara argues that linear history requires an artifice around which historians construct a history. The artifice for historians, Duara notes, is a subject of history, which can be the nation, a race, or a class.[56] Linear history often substitutes the transcendent god or gods with one of these three subjects (normally the nation), which presents itself as unchanging throughout history. Therefore, the nation becomes the eternal entity of history that exists in the past,

[54] Ibid, 98.
[55] Prasenjit Duara, "The Regime of Authenticity: Timelessness, Gender, and National History in Modern China," in *History and Theory* 37, no. 3 (1998): 291.
[56] Ibid, 293.

present, and future. In other words, the nation has assumed the sacral role of a transcendent god.[57]

Linear history enables the nation to project itself backward in time so as to make territorial claims. According to Duara, the reason that the nation illustrates its existence in the past as well as the present and future is because it not only stakes its authenticity on its constancy and "purity" that it subsumed from the transcendent god or gods from the previously dominant cyclical history, but also because it bases its sovereignty on the unity of the territory and peoples that it claims to historically belong to the nation. Modern nations often use this notion of sovereignty to justify the assertion of control over a number of peoples and their lands.[58]

Duara identifies an aporia in linear history, though; that is, the divide between progressivity and timelessness. In other words, linear history implies changes between the past, present, and future. However, the regime of authenticity implies a constancy between the past, present, and future. This aporia is most evident between capitalism and a nation's claim to authenticity.

To be clear, Duara sees capitalism and the nation's authenticity as being two separate regimes. He posits that capitalism, a system which requires linear time in order to structure its systems of profits and exchanges, is a motor that pushes time forward and transforms the environment around it.[59] In reaction to the metamorphosing force of capitalism, the nation fortifies its authenticity by reinforcing its image as a timeless entity that exists outside the bounds of capitalism's erosiveness. However, the nation is,

[57] Ibid, 291.
[58] Ibid, 289.
[59] Ibid, 293.

nevertheless, still integrated with linear history, and therefore it is locked in a constant struggle to control the capitalist regime.[60]

Referring back to *The Crisis of Global Modernity,* Duara argues that the logic of culture consists of *culture* and *Culture*. The lowercase *culture*, "refers to the meanings and significances which people give to events, practices, customs, and institutions that enable everyday activity, interpersonal relationships, career and life courses, [etcetera]."[61] The uppercase *Culture* refers to, "authenticity and transcendence authorized by classical traditions, religions, and foundational revolutions and events," which often informs *culture*.[62] The uppercase *Culture,* which I will primarily focus on for framing my argument, is important to the nation because it is used to craft a nation's distinctiveness and authenticity which, as I explained earlier, gives the nation its sense of timelessness.

Duara differentiates authenticity from transcendence by noting that, while transcendence maintains a distinction between political power and sacrality, authenticity obfuscates the division between the two.[63] The regime of authenticity can still produce its own transcendence, however. According to Duara, this creation of transcendence is evident in the presentation of a nation's authenticity as sacred and pure, though this transcendence is limited because it does not, "resemble the universal ethics of earlier or religious transcendent thought."[64]

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[60] Ibid, 294.
[61] Duara, *The Crisis of Global Modernity: Asian Traditions and a Sustainable Future*, 104.
[62] Ibid, 104.
[63] Duara further explains that transcendence is a sense of "going beyond" that is presented by economic logic, political logic, cultural logic, or a combination of the three, which "typically embeds a critique of existing conditions and posits a non-worldly power and vision to morally authorize an alternative to the existing arrangements and structure of power." Nations and institutions can construct a transcendence to promote their vision.
[64] Duara, *The Crisis of Global Modernity: Asian Traditions and a Sustainable Future*, 109.

Notions of revolution that were articulated by figures like Mao Zedong expressed a form of transcendence.[65] However, Duara notes that Deng Xiaoping, despite only seeing it as a strategic policy, not an ideological one, liberalized China's economy and opened it up to capitalist channels. As a result, Mao's revolutionary transcendence, like the transcendences of many other nations, was eventually substituted with consumer capitalism.[66]

Similarly, the Republic of China's authenticity was exchanged with consumer-capitalism when the Nationalists relocated its capital from Beijing to Taipei. To be clear, Taiwan has been a nexus point that has connected various parts of East Asia and Southeast Asia with one another for centuries, and in the seventeenth century was used as a staging point for trade with East Asia by the Dutch and Spanish. To a noteworthy extent, Taiwan's political, economic, and cultural logics have been influenced by its interactions with these trade organizations and polities from around the world well before the GMD retreated to Taiwan. However, as I will explain below, in prior periods in Taiwan's history, such as the Japanese occupation period, foreign influence on Taiwan did not have any significant effect on the logics or authenticity of the China's central governing body, which was located in the mainland. When the GMD relocated its capital to Taipei, though, foreign influence on Taiwan (particularly American influence) significantly affected the GMD's logics and subverted its authenticity, causing it to be replaced by consumer-capitalism.

During the era of Japan's colonization of Taiwan (1895-1945), Taiwan underwent industrial development as a part of Japan's project of modernizing Taiwan. These notions

[65] Ibid, 113.
[66] Ibid, 114.

of modernity, largely a product of the West, are the first traces of a large-scale Westernization of Taiwan. During the tenure of General Kodama Gentarō (1898-1906), accounting and banking systems were established in Taiwan, with, most notably, the Bank of Taiwan being founded in 1899. While Western corporations were blocked out of the majority of overseas trade, Japanese corporations proliferated in growing cities. Other institutions and infrastructure were erected which contributed to Taiwan's economic development and modernization. For example, the government built a railway line that extended from the north port near Taipei to the southern seaport in Gaoxiong, networks of roads were expanded, more postal and telegraph facilities were established, the first modern newspapers were printed and distributed, telephones gradually became more widespread, and a hydroelectric plant was constructed in Keelung.[67] Beginning in the early twentieth century, Japan developed a light industry network in Taiwan; and in 1937, in order to increase production during wartime, Japan developed heavy industry and mining on the island.

Japan's economic modernization projects were fundamentally transformative to Taiwan's economic system. Along with the policy of *dōka*, and subsequently, in 1937, *kōminka*, Japan's economic activities influenced the clothing that some Taiwanese people wore.[68] Chun-mei Sun underlines that in the early twentieth century, the kimono and

[67] Harry J. Lamley, "Taiwan Under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes of Colonialism," in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray Rubinstein (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 209.
[68] Japan's goal in colonizing Taiwan was marked by two distinct phases: ***dōka*** and ***kōminka***. While ***dōka***, the first phase, was an ambiguous colonization strategy which tolerated, among other aspects of Taiwanese society, customs, culture, and religious centers, ***kōminka*** was an aggressive political and cultural policy which pressed Taiwanese people to conform to certain Japanese ideals, such as only speaking Japanese, adopting Japanese surnames, and wearing Japanese clothing such as the kimono (though this was achieved with mixed results). Ultimately, ***kōminka*** was a policy that aimed to transform Taiwanese into loyal subjects of the Japanese emperor. *See* Leo T.S. Ching, *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, pages 91-97 for further information.

Western clothing, which came to Taiwan through Japan, intermingled with Chinese styles of dress such as the *qipao*.[69]

The factors and circumstances that shaped fashion in the martial law era distinguish it sharply from the Japanese occupation period, however. First, Taiwan was thought of as a peripheral territory in the Qing empire when it was conceded to Japan after the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Paul Barclay pointedly demonstrates in his book, *Outcasts of Empire: Japan's Rule on Taiwan's "Savage Border," 1874-1945*, that after 54 Ryūkyūan sailors were killed by Paiwanese near Bayao bay in December 1871 and the Japanese requested compensation, the Qing court argued that they were not responsible for compensating the Japanese because they had limited jurisdiction over the indigenous populations of Taiwan, and therefore the killing of the Ryūkyūan sailors was outside Qing affairs.[70] Japan took China's language on the matter to mean that they had legal authority to invade Taiwan, which they did in 1874.

This point is important to note because it shows that Taiwan was not managed by any strong central presence prior to its acquisition by Japan in 1895. Furthermore, Japan's alteration of Taiwan's political, economic, and cultural logics, observable in the introduction of modern institutions and infrastructure, did not transform the logics of China's central authority, which was located in Beijing. However, as a result of a number of critical defeats in the Chinese civil war, the GMD established its "temporary" capital in Taipei, and therefore the central authority of the Republic of China shifted from

[69] Chun-mei Sun, "Style as Identity: Fashion in Taiwan in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Fashion, Identity, and Power in Modern Asia*, eds. Kyunghee Pyun, Aida Yuen Wong (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)
[70] Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire: Japan's Rule on Taiwan's "Savage Border," 1874-1945*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 48-56.

Beijing to Taipei. Thus, when the United States began reforming Taiwan's economic, political, and cultural institutions, it had a direct impact on the central authority of the Republic of China.

Studying the fashion of Taiwan beginning in the martial law era is important because this period marks a shift in the Republic of China's claim to authenticity. Initially based in part on the Sun Yat-sen doctrine's vision of unifying all of China and ensuring harmony, which included the promise of quelling the onslaught of communism and the Chinese Communist Party, when the GMD relocated to Taipei in 1949 and the United States intervened in Taiwan's economic and political institutions, its claim to authenticity was gradually replaced with consumer capitalism; the promise of creating a better life for its citizens through an increase in availability of consumer goods. By extension, the martial law era marks the start of the commercialization of fashion, in which the fashion market in Taiwan grew significantly in response to the increase of Taiwanese people's disposable income. While fashion in Taiwan has been influenced by outside forces in the past, the Taiwanese population, beginning in the martial law period, not only had progressively greater access to cheaper and more various styles fashion, but their expression through fashion, one of humanity's most personal forms of non-verbal communication, was increasingly shaped and broadened by consumerism, mass marketing, the proliferation of fashion corporations, and unprecedented Western influence on fashion trends.

Fashion and Expression in Taiwan's Martial Law Era

The martial law era is often understood as a period in Taiwan's history when ordinary Taiwanese people's voices were repressed. However, people living in martial law not only had room to express their political ideas (especially as time went on), but fashion was one area where expression was flexible because, while there were certainly societal restrictions on what was acceptable for one to wear, the GMD made no attempt to control the daily clothing that people wore. During the martial law era, new newspapers could not be published. Newspapers which were permitted to be printed had page limits, and the articles were censored by government officials to ensure that nothing was issued which was critical of the Guomindang (GMD).[71] Furthermore, during this thirty-eight year period, the formation of new political parties was outlawed. The National Security Bureau, established under the National Defense Council in 1955 and overseen by Jiang Jingguo, was not only used as a tool to quell alleged communist conspiracies against the state, but was also employed as a means to suppress expressions of dissent against the GMD. The unchecked power of the National Security Bureau marked the 1950s as a period known as the "White Terror," in which the government detained, arrested, and executed thousands of people based on insufficient evidence.[72] Notably, after Lei Chen, founder of the *Free China Fortnightly* magazine, was arrested for forming the China Democratic Party in 1960, no notable opposition groups were formed again until the 1970s.[73]

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[71] Peter Chen-main Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, and Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 323.
[72] Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, and Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 330.
[73] Ramon H. Myers, "A New Chinese Civilization: The Revolution of the Republic of China on Taiwan," in *Contemporary Taiwan*, ed. David Shambaugh (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 33.

However, despite its oversight, the Nationalist government did not completely restrict Taiwanese people's ability to participate in government and express themselves. In fact, the *Free China Fortnightly* had printed articles that made critiques of the Nationalist government. As time passed, restrictions were gradually relaxed. For example, in 1979 the *Dangwai* (Outside the Party [referring to the Nationalist party]) Movement published magazines that condemned GMD policies and actions; and they even mobilized protests with *Dangwai* supporters.[74] Furthermore, common people were initially only able to vote for, and become members of county, municipal, and provincial governments, with only select, high-ranking members of the GMD having the privilege of holding positions at the national level of government (which they could hold indefinitely). However, as a result of death, illness, and resignations, in 1969 the GMD permitted popular elections in order to fill the growing vacuum in the National Assembly, Legislative Yuan, and Control Yuan, under the condition that those who wish to occupy vacant seats in the National assembly be from Taiwan.

Another important stipulation for candidates who sought government positions at the national level was that they could only run as independent candidates if they chose not to run as members of the GMD.[75] However, the regulations against the formation of political parties were eventually neglected during the martial law period. On September 28, 1986, when members of the *Dangwai* Movement convened in the Grand Taipei Hotel to officially declare the establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party, Jiang Jingguo

[74] Myers, "A New Chinese Civilization: The Revolution of the Republic of China on Taiwan," 35.
[75] Ibid, 34.

did not arrest these party members because by the 1980s he had felt that the era of martial law should come to a close.[76]

Also, beginning in the 1950s, a number of prominent ideologies occupied Taiwan's political and intellectual discourse, such as Western liberalism and Confucian humanism. In addition, the Sun Yat-sen doctrine, another prevalent ideology, defined society's goal as maintaining high moral and ethical standards and working toward the unification of China. By contrast, the ideology of the Taiwanese Independence Movement, which had its roots in Western liberalism, Marxism, and socialism, saw China's traditional political and social customs as "backward," and advocated for a transformation of Taiwan into a democratic republic.[77] While the ideas of the Taiwan Independence Movement were suppressed by the GMD during the martial law period, many of its tenets still circulated throughout Taiwan, especially in the *Dangwai* Movement and subsequently in the Democratic Progressive Party.[78]

As shown above, despite restrictions which were intended to limit political expression, in a number of cases Taiwanese people were still able to make their voices heard. In fact, the GMD paid little mind to forms of expression that were not inherently political or undermining of the authority of the Nationalist government. Fashion was one such area of expression that was largely inconsequential to the GMD. It's negligibility in the eyes of the Nationalist government is precisely what makes the study of how people dressed themselves important, because it was a form of expression that was not mitigated by the politics of the marital law era.

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[76] Ibid, 35.
[77] Ibid, 42.
[78] Shelly Rigger, *Opposition to Power: Taiwan's Democratic Progressive Party*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), 29.

Eileen Chang highlights in her article, "Chinese Life and Fashions," that fashion is one of the most personal forms of expression.[79] As I will discuss in further detail in the following chapters, rather than Taiwanese people's expression of their identities through clothing being influenced by government censorship from the GMD, it was considerably affected by the Westernization and commercialization of fashion, Western business which continuously perpetuated evolving beauty standards, institutions (such as fashion show organizations), media, and facilities (such as shopping malls) which promoted consumerist values.

I am not contending that Taiwanese individuals passively accepted this shift in the way fashion was understood and worn. As I will demonstrate later in this thesis, for example, not only did some fashion companies in Taiwan promote revitalized styles of the *qipao* in the 1980s, in order to reinvigorate culturally Chinese vestments in Taiwan, but there were Taiwanese such as Zhu Tianwen who voiced her concern over the effects of consumer-capitalism in eroding culturally Taiwanese identity. These examples demonstrate that the commercialization and Westernization of the fashion market in Taiwan required the acceptance of a considerable number of the Taiwanese population in order to succeed.

Interview Methodology and Problems

I conducted interviews with Taiwanese people who were alive during at least some part of the martial law period (the year that the participants were born range from 1939-1975). These interviews were conducted in compliance with the University of

[79] Eileen Chang, "Chinese Life and Fashion," 1943

Oregon's Research Compliance Center (RCS) and the Institutional Review Board (IRB). After my interview questions were reviewed, the RCS granted me approval to conduct interviews until July 8, 2020. I formally submitted a study closure form to the RCS on May 24, 2020.

In accordance with RCS and IRB guidelines, interview questions were made available to participants in both English and Chinese. Also, participants were given the option to sign a release form in either English or Chinese. They were informed before the interview that it did not matter which document they chose to sign. The interviews were conducted in Chinese unless the participant explicitly stated their preference to speak in English. Whenever the participant struggled to articulate themselves in English, I politely encouraged them to describe what they were saying in Chinese.

Interviewees were given the option to partake in an interview through three possible mediums: in person, through an online communications platform such as Skype or Line, or by email. Some of the interviews were conducted when I was in Taiwan, which were all in person. When I returned to the United States, I conducted some in-person interviews with Taiwanese-Americans and Taiwanese who were temporarily in the U.S.A. Some interviews were conducted through Skype of Line due to distance.

In order to help the participants recollect their past as well as what clothing they wore, I asked participants to bring pictures with them to the interview. If we were conversing over Skype or Line, I asked them to look at some of their old photographs prior to our interview.

One shortcoming of the section of this project which incorporates these interviews is that I was only able to interview six participants. Also, with the exception of two

interview participants who lived in Hualien during most of the martial law period, the people who participated in my research were either born and raised in Taipei, or were born outside Taipei but spent the all or the majority of the martial law era living in Taipei. Also, all of the participants were Chinese-Taiwanese. I am all too conscious that these shortcomings narrow the perspective through which we can examine Taiwanese people's fashion during the martial law period. When I continue my research for this project in my Ph.D. program, I intend to interview more volunteers, especially native-Taiwanese and people who lived outside Taipei during martial law.

My intention with these interviews is not to claim that the perspectives and experiences of these individuals are representative of all Taiwanese people during the martial law era. However, the fact my research has a limited number of interviews does not invalidate the uniqueness and importance of what these people have to say about the fashion that they donned. The personal perspectives and experiences of the participants are important in highlighting the agency in Taiwanese people's fashion purchasing decisions by demonstrating that some Taiwanese people participated in prevalent fashion trends which were promoted by fashion companies or cultural forces while others chose to subscribe to different sources of fashion.

Summative Remarks

Beginning in the martial law era, Taiwan was ushered into a capitalist global network. As a result, the martial law period marks a significant shift from the Japanese occupation period in the way that Taiwanese people selected fashion. The rise of consumer-capitalism in Taiwan gave Taiwanese people a greater capacity to express their

identity through fashion. Also, beneficiaries of the fashion market, such as fashion companies, sought to allure consumers into buying their product through tactical advertising strategies.

II: CONSUMPTION AND FASHION

Taiwan's economy dramatically improved during the martial law era, and the financial status of the average Taiwanese household consequently experienced substantial development. Between 1952 and 1987, the average Taiwanese household spent about 6% of their annual disposable income on clothing and other forms of fashion.[1] While this percentage did not fluctuate significantly, the amount of money that the average household earned every year steadily increased. Therefore, as time went on, the average Taiwanese household spent more disposable income on fashion. With the exception of Taiwan experiencing two notable spikes in the inflation rate between the mid-1970s and early 1980s, the inflation rate remained relatively low during the since the 1960s, even as wages increased (as I will discuss more below).[2] This fact suggests that an increase in the average Taiwanese person's wage did, in fact, translate into a gradually enlarged capacity to consume fashion products.

The first section of this chapter will examine how the increase in the average Taiwanese household's disposable income from the 1950s to the 1980s affected Taiwanese men's and women's ability to try out a variety of new styles of fashion. The second section will analyze specific examples of the influence of American fashion (and Western fashion in general) on the clothing that Taiwanese people wore during this time as a result of American culture's considerable integration into Taiwanese society during the martial law period. This discussion will be paired with interviews from respondents who explain how their social and

[1] "Taiwan Statistical Databook," (Taipei: Council for Economic Planning and Development, 1988), 61,62.
[2] "Taiwan Inflation Rate," Trading Economics, accessed on July 23, 2020, https://tradingeconomics.com/taiwan/inflation-cpi.

economic circumstances afforded or could not afford them the kinds of fashion that I will present in this chapter.

The Developing Social and Economic Status of the Average Taiwanese Household

While the GMD benefitted from not having to face resistance from warlords, nor any substantially organized political force that could encumber the GMD's reign in Taiwan when it initially relocated its capital from Beijing to Taipei in 1949, this also presented problems. Partly due to the absence of an adequately managed economic organization between 1945 and 1948, the overwhelming majority of Taiwanese were peasants.[3] Furthermore, few capitalists chose to follow the Nationalists to Taiwan, and those who did provided only sparse capital to aid in Taiwan's economic development because they believed that they would be returning to the mainland soon.[4] As a result, the GMD and the United States quickly found a new symbiotic usefulness in one another. The Nationalists received crucial aid from the U.S. government, and the United States utilized Taiwan as another base from which they could "contain" China and the spread of communism.

The aid that the United States provided to the GMD included funding, as well as advisers and logistics experts who advised the GMD on implementing stimulating economic policies. Land reform was one of several measures employed to revived Taiwan's stagnant economy.[5] These land reforms entailed three main stages. First, in April of 1949, farm rents were capped at 37.5% of the total annual main-crop yield. Second, from 1948 to 1951 the GMD requisitioned public farmland and leased or sold it to tenant farmers. The third and

[3] Thomas B. Gold, *State and Society in The Taiwan Miracle*, (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1986), 65.
[4] Gold, *State and Society in The Taiwan Miracle*, 70.
[5] Ibid, 65.

most noteworthy reform was the Land-to-Tiller Act of 1953 which, "set an upper limit of three *chia* of seventh-to twelfth-grade paddy fields for landlords to retain."[6] Consequently, all land over three *jia* was subject to a mandatory purchase and resale. Landlords were compensated 70% in land bonds (rice for rice paddy land, and sweet potatoes for dry land), and 30% in shares of stocks for government enterprises.[7] As an effect, from 1950 to 1953, land cultivated by owner-cultivators increased by about 25% (from 50.5% in 1949 to 75.4% in 1953).[8] This reform had the dual effect of promoting small land-owning families and subsequently reducing unemployment by expanding opportunities to work in the agricultural sector.

However, despite these agricultural reforms, industrialization and the expansion of private businesses was the primary goal of both the GMD and the U.S. government, with the promotion of the agricultural sector as a means to that end. The United States government provided the Nationalists with money to grant loans for small businesses in order to cultivate the expansion of the private sector.[9] The agricultural land reforms also enabled more people to look for industrial jobs in the city.[10] Relative to other sectors, Taiwan saw the agricultural sector's contribution to the net domestic product decline since the 1950s.[11] In the 1960s and 1970s, the disparity between farmer's average income and non-farmer's average income continued to deepen.[12]

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[6] Ibid, 65.
[7] These enterprises, which were designated to be transferred to private ownership, were Taiwan Cement, Taiwan Paper and Pulp, Taiwan Agriculture and Forestry, and Taiwan Industry and Mining.
[8] Gold, *State and Society in The Taiwan Miracle*, 65.
[9] Ibid, 72.
[10] Christian Aspalter, "The Taiwanese Economic Miracle: From Sugarcane to High Technology," in *Understanding Modern Taiwan: Essays in Economics, Politics, and Social Policy*, ed. Christian Aspalter (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2001), 8.
[11] Gold, *State and Society in The Taiwan Miracle*, 85.
[12] Ibid, 89.

Figure 1.1, showing employment by field, indicates that employment in agriculture reached its peak in 1964 with about 1.8 million people in Taiwan being recorded as working in agriculture. By contrast, by 1987 the number of people who were recorded as farmers dropped to about 1.2 million. In comparison, the GMD and U.S. government's efforts to promote industrialization were realized in 1977 when manufacturing became the largest field of employment, employing approximately 1.7 million people. By 1987, nearly 3 million people in Taiwan worked in manufacturing. Evidently, by the end of the martial law period agriculture was still an important component in Taiwan's economy, but was no longer the primary source of employment.

As Taiwan's economy developed, individuals perceived their own status as improving as well. Robert Marsh analyzes subjective class position in his book *The Great Transformation: Social Change in Taipei, Taiwan Since the 1960s*. Marsh avoids imposing a Western model of stratification on a non-Western population because it can result in a false congruence between the way that the people who the sociologist is studying understands class difference and the way that the sociologist understands class difference.[13] Therefore, he distinguishes "objective" observations of stratification from "subjective" observations of stratification. Succinctly put, an "objective" observation is the, "structuring of the situation by the sociological observer"; in contrast, a "subjective" observation is, "stratification and class as seen from the point of view of the actors."[14] These are not necessarily oppositional categories, as the objective and subjective observation can overlap.

[13] Robert M. Marsh, *The Great Transformation: Social Change in Taipei, Taiwan Since the 1960s*, (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), 181.
[14] Marsh, *The Great Transformation: Social Change in Taipei, Taiwan Since the 1960s*, 181.

After interviewing over 500 working-age native Taiwanese men in 1963 and over 500 working-age native Taiwanese men in 1991, Marsh shows that the number of people who did not perceive any class difference in Taiwan declined from 25.8% in 1963 to 19.3% in 1991; and the percentage who said they did not know if there was class difference in Taiwan also declined from 12.6% to 5.5%. In contrast, 61.5% of respondents felt that there were class differences in Taipei in 1963, which increased to 75.2% in 1991.[15] However, Marsh demonstrates that in 1963, 61.8% of respondents identified as belonging to a class on the social hierarchy, while in 1991 that number had dropped to 37.6%.[16] Marsh aligns this decrease in native Taiwanese in Taipei identifying with a social class with the rapidly burgeoning capitalist economy and growing social mobility in Taipei, and Taiwan in general. He additionally makes the claim that for native Taiwanese, "the idea of belonging to a social class may be relatively new in Taiwan"[17]

To demonstrate the increased ease with which native Taiwanese people can move up and down the class hierarchy, Marsh compares the longest-held occupation of the respondents' father with the occupation that the respondent held at the time of the interview in both 1963 and 1991 in order to underline the level of intergenerational social mobility in Taipei. He defined "nonmobile," "upward-mobile," "downward-mobile" in the following way: "When the respondent is in the same occupational category as his father, he is *nonmobile* in integrational occupational terms; when he is in a higher category than his father, he is considered *upward-mobile*; and when he is in a lower category than his father, he is defined as *downward-mobile*."[18]

[15] Ibid, 182.
[16] Ibid, 190.
[17] Ibid, 192.
[18] Ibid, 159.

Marsh found that his 1991 respondents experienced a greater ease in moving up in the class hierarchy than the 1963 respondents. In one example, he shows that in 1963, the percentage of respondents' fathers who were farmers was 23.5%, while the number of respondents who were farmers was only 2.1%.[19] In 1991, 31.2% of the respondents' fathers were farmers, while 0% of the respondents themselves were farmers. In other occupational fields, 18.3% of respondents held professional, technical, and administrative positions, with only 10.7% of respondents' fathers holding such positions in 1963. Conversely, in 1991 32.1% of respondents occupied professional, technical, and administrative careers, with only 13.3% of respondents' fathers in this field. Marsh also demonstrates that more native Taiwanese in Taipei were large business owners over time (14.5% in 1963 and 19.9% in 1991, compared to respondents' fathers, of whom only 18.8% in 1963 and 13.9% in 1991 were large business owners).[20] Of the people who did identify with a social class, in 1962, 27.2% of respondents viewed themselves as being middle class, while in 1991, that percentage rose to 47.9%.[21]

Admittedly, a limiting aspect of this book is that it only focuses on Taipei (where the greatest number of economic and educational opportunities were available), and women and Chinese-Taiwanese are absent from the study. However, other evidence shows that the financial situation of all Taiwanese individuals in general, in fact, was improving. Figure 1.2 demonstrates that average earnings in all 7 fields listed on the graph had inclined from 1974 to 1987. Additionally, Figure 1.3 shows that employment rose every year, outpacing the unemployed population and those not registered in the labor force. Furthermore, Taiwan's

[19] Ibid, 164.
[20] Ibid, 165.
[21] Ibid, 206.

GNP growth rate was an average of 8.7% from 1953 to 1982, with a peak average of 10.8% from 1963-1972. By 1982, Taiwan's GNP was 12 times what it was in 1952. Also, the GMD managed to bring the inflation rate down from 3000% in 1949 to 1.9% in the 1960s.[22]

Secondary and higher education became increasingly accessible from 1952 to 1987 as well. Figure 1.4 demonstrates that in 1952, 1.4% of the population in Taiwan had completed college education as their highest form of education, 8.8% completed secondary education, 43.5% completed primary education, and a staggering 42.1% of people in Taiwan had no formal education. In contrast, by 1987 almost 10% of the population had completed college education as their highest form of education, 43.3% had completed secondary education, 37.5% had completed primary education, and only 7.8% of the population had no formal education. The importance of these statistics is that, with a higher average level of education, more people were qualified to work in specialized and technical fields; jobs which typically paid much higher than work which required little to no education. Even Marsh notes that in Taiwan, education and ambition were the two most important factors in an individual attaining a high-paying career.

More occupational and educational opportunities were increasingly available to women as well. As more women left the confines of the home during the martial law period, they became active agents in improving the financial situation of their household. In the 1960s, roughly one-third of the labor force consisted of young, lower-class women from rural areas who moved to the city to work, sending money back home to their family (some of which was for their dowry). When it was time for them to get married, they would leave the labor force and return to their hometown.[23] By 1978, 38% of women over the age of 15 were

[22] Gold, *State and Society in The Taiwan Miracle*, 4.
[23] Ibid, 89.

in the labor force. In comparison, 51% of women over the age of 15 were in the labor force in 2015 according to a Brookings Institute study.[24]

Upper-middle class and upper class households had disproportionately higher numbers of dual earners between 1978 and 2015 compared to lower class and lower-middle class households, according to the Brookings Institute study. This disparity may have been a result of the fact that businesses preferred long-term employees as opposed to the young, lower-class women who only worked for a few years before returning home to get married. Also, some lower-class women may have had no other option than to stay home and raise their children. Upper class and upper-middle class women usually continued to work even after giving birth because they had access to a caretaker for their children.[25]

Also, as a result of being integrated into the world economy, Taiwan was affected by economic downturns caused by global recessions and spikes in oil prices. In addition, the GMD's anxiety over big businesses accruing too much influence informed their economic policies which often stifled small businesses' capacity to grow. For example, cautious bank-lending policies meant that new and/or small, family-owned businesses seldom had their loan application approved.[26] This disadvantage, paired with the high labor costs, resulted in many small, family-owned businesses resorting to unpaid family employment.[27] While men were often afforded high-responsibility, reasonable-paying jobs, women's occupations in these family-owned businesses were often non-managerial, and they received little or no payment

[24] Wei-hsin Yu, "Taiwanese Women's Employment from a Comparative Perspective," Brookings, September 15, 2015, https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/women-and-employment-in-taiwan/.
[25] Wei-hsin Yu, "Taiwanese Women's Employment from a Comparative Perspective," Brookings, September 15, 2015, https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/women-and-employment-in-taiwan/.
[26] Susan Greenhalgh, "De-Orientalizing the Chinese Family Firm" in *American Anthropological Association*, 21, no.4 (1994): 751.
[27] Susan Greenhalgh, "De-Orientalizing the Chinese Family Firm" in *American Anthropological Association*, 765.

for their services.[28] These businesses usually justified their decision to pay women little or no salary by arguing that it was simply part of their "family duty" to support the business.[29]

Nevertheless, as Taiwan's economy became more industrialized and urbanized and the cost of living increased, lower class and lower-middle class women sought ways to provide a consistent second source of income for their families. Women of all working ages, including mothers and wives, were gradually seen by companies as a necessity as business grew and consequently needed to hire more workers. By the mid-1990s, "most people were no longer concerned about the potential harm mothers' employment may have on children."[30] While a 21% increase in women's' participation in the labor force over roughly from the 1960s to 2015 may seem small, the rise in dual-earner households meant that many families had more disposable income, which consequently impacted their spending and consumption habits.

In sum, the information that I have presented above underlines the fact that a considerable number both native Taiwanese and Chinese-Taiwanese men and women, not only in Taipei, but in other urbanized areas of Taiwan experienced an increasingly higher standard of living as the years progressed. Men and women in Taiwan had access to more educational and professional opportunities, and therefore there was a greater ease with they could move up the class hierarchy. Marsh highlights that in both 1963 and 1991 all populations of people across Taiwan, not just native Taiwanese in Taipei, generally experienced upward social mobility relative to their fathers as a result of a significant increase in high-status jobs between 1960 and 1990. He shows that as Taiwan's economy

[28] Ibid., 754, 761.
[29] Ibid., 759, 761.
[30] Wei-hsin Yu, "Taiwanese Women's Employment from a Comparative Perspective," Brookings, September 15, 2015, https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/women-and-employment-in-taiwan/.

developed, more opportunities to secure a professional, technical, and administrative occupation were available to people in Taiwan.[31]

The United States' economic support made Taiwan heavily dependent on the U.S. for economic stability. Taiwanese businesses received copious investments from American transnational corporations while the American Aid Program funneled $1.5 billion in nonmilitary aid to Taiwan from 1951-1965.[32] Also, as an export-oriented economy that notably exported light industry products such as textiles, as well as "finished goods"[33] and electronic parts, 48.4% of Taiwan's exports went to the United States in 1984, the peak of Taiwan's economic dependency on the United States.[34]

As an effect of this dependency, the GMD became inextricably tied to a consumer-capitalist economic system whether or not they wanted it. Originally basing the regime's authenticity on its resolve to unify China as the unchallenged ruling regime, the GMD increasingly grounded its validity as the authoritative government in Taiwan through its ability to foster economic development and work with the new generation of wealthy capitalists toward a common set of goals[35], so long as they promised, "not to translate economic muscle into political activity."[36] As a result, the GMD saw the gradual commercialization of the economy as necessary for the continued prosperity of Taiwan.[37]

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[31] Marsh, *The Great Transformation: Social Change in Taipei, Taiwan Since the 1960s*, 166.
[32] Gold, *State and Society in The Taiwan Miracle*, 69, 80.
[33] Ibid, 86.
[34] Christian Aspalter, "The Taiwanese Economic Miracle: From Sugarcane to High Technology," 11.
[35] Steve Chan "Economic Performance and Democratic Transition: Stylized Paradoxes and the Taiwan Experience," in *Taiwan's Modernization in Global Perspective*, ed. Peter C.Y. Chow, (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 173.
[36] Gold, *State and Society in The Taiwan Miracle*, 90.
[37] Aspalter, "The Taiwanese Economic Miracle: From Sugarcane to High Technology," 18.

Taiwan's near-complete economic reliance on the United States, in many ways, also insulated it from many of the effects of the global economy. In Thomas Gold's words, the GMD had been, "cocooned within a wide range of U.S.-supplied material, financial, and military import restrictions, in addition to a state-promulgated, multifaceted package of import restrictions, multiple exchange rates, price controls, duties, and export disincentives."[38] In the late seventies, the GMD made efforts to reduce its dependence on the United States by diversifying its trade partners. Taiwan opened new markets in Western Europe, and subsequently opened trade with Eastern Europe (with the exception of the Soviet Union) in 1979. In addition, the GMD pushed its domestic companies to invest abroad as a way to tap into new markets.[39]

These decisions naturally benefitted Taiwan's economic development. However, one aspect of a strong U.S. presence in Taiwan that was inescapable was its deep cultural impact on Taiwan. In tandem with the expansion of published Western literature and the advancement of communications systems, American culture quickly and easily proliferated in Taiwanese society. In addition, many university students used English textbooks from the U.S., were taught by American instructors, and interacted with Christian missionaries and Western tourists. Furthermore, by the late seventies and early eighties, a significant number of the population in Taiwan owned at least one television set, with a portion of the programming being occupied by American shows. Consequently, the Taiwanese were, "exposed frequently to American values of consumerism, individuality, human rights, electoral politics, and democracy."[40]

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[38] Gold, *State and Society in The Taiwan Miracle*, 75.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Gold, *State and Society in The Taiwan Miracle*, 113.

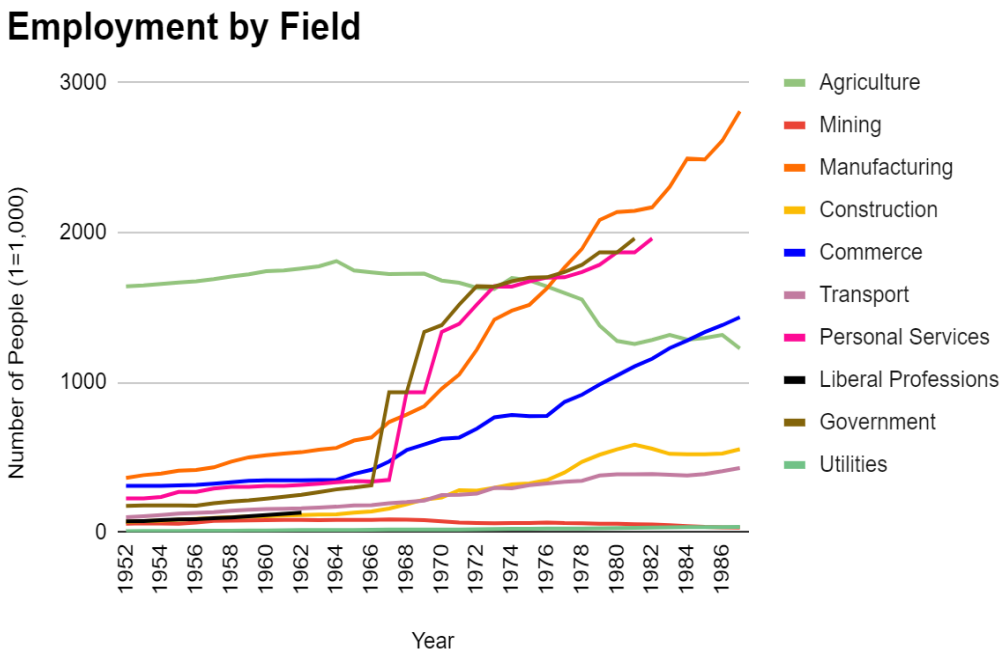

Figure 1.1. Employment by Field [41],[42]

[41] "Taiwan Statistical Databook," (Taipei: Council for Economic Planning and Development, 1988), 15, 66.

[42] It is important to consider the problems with this graph's data. First, there is a discrepancy in the number of people in each field between the Taiwan statistical data books published from 1963 to 1982, and the Taiwan statistical data books published from 1983 to 1990 (the most recent year that I checked out from the library). For example, the 1988 statistical data book records the number of people who were employed in the agricultural field from 1952 through 1987 as being much lower than in the 1982 statistical data book. This discrepancy raises the question of how these numbers were recorded. Were part-time farmers (Gold, 89), for instance, considered a part of the agricultural field, or were they placed into one of the other categories? Figure 1.1 and table 1.1 use the information from the 1988 Taiwan statistical data book whenever there is a discrepancy between the numbers recorded in the data books published from 1963 to 1982 and the data books published after 1983 in any of the charts.

In addition, other questions about the Taiwan Statistical data book remain unclear. For example, how was this data retrieved? Were these numbers obtained through a national census, or by teams of people from the Council of Economic Development and Planning who personally surveyed everyone in Taiwan? If it is the former, this data excludes people who did not fill out the government census. If it is the latter, questions arise regarding whether or not this data is actually the result of a comprehensive survey of all of the employed people in Taiwan, or if there were limitations that prevented these surveyors from recording everyone.

Furthermore, important occupational fields such as medicine and teaching are absent from the data books. There is no explanation given to why certain fields are included and others are not. One might assume that teaching is included in "liberal professions," but this is unclear because there is no definition listed in any of the data books from 1963 to 1990 that define what exactly "liberal professions" means. Also, though it would be vague and bring its own complications, the 1988 Taiwan Statistical Data Book does not provide an "other" category that includes occupations not explicitly listed on the "Population by Employment" chart. As a consequence, we are unable to get a comprehensive understanding of every important field that the people in the Taiwanese labor force participated in.

Table 1.1. Employment by Field (1=1,000)

Year	Agriculture	Mining	Mfg.	Const.	Comm.	Transport	Personal Services[43]	Liberal Prof.	Gov.	Utilities
1952	1642	56	362	70	310	100	226	73	175	7
1953	1647	59	381	74	309	107	226	74	179	8
1954	1657	58	392	78	309	115	235	81	179	8
1955	1667	57	411	84	313	124	269	86	179	8
1956	1675	64	415	89	315	129	269	87	177	9
1957	1689	75	433	95	324	134	292	94	194	9
1958	1707	78	471	100	334	143	303	99	204	10
1959	1722	79	500	105	343	150	303	107	212	11
1960	1742	80	514	107	346	154	309	115	224	12
1961	1747	83	525	111	347	156	309	122	237	13
1962	1760	83	534	114	347	159	316	130	250	14
1963	1775	81	551	117	348	165	324		268	15
1964	1810	82	563	119	350	170	334		286	15
1965	1748	83	612	130	389	179	341		298	15
1966	1735	83	633	139	417	180	339		313	16
1967	1723	85	736	158	472	194	349		934	17
1968	1725	84	785	186	548	201	934		934	17
1969	1726	80	841	218	585	211	934		1337	17
1970	1680	72	958	231	623	248	1337		1382	17
1971	1665	65	1053	281	632	250	1391		1520	18
1972	1632	61	1218	277	691	257	1520		1643	20
1973	1624	59	1419	296	767	296	1643		1640	21
1974	1697	62	1479	319	782	293	1640		1675	22
1975	1681	62	1518	325	775	314	1675		1700	23
1976	1641	65	1628	348	777	326	1700		1702	24
1977	1597	61	1767	398	869	337	1702		1737	25
1978	1553	60	1892	470	918	343	1737		1785	25
1979	1380	57	2084	517	986	378	1785		1869	26
1980	1277	56	2138	553	1046	387	1869		1868	27
1981	1257	54	2146	585	1107	387	1868		1961	29
1982	1284	51	2169	557	1158	389	1961			31
1983	1317	46	2305	523	1229	384				33
1984	1286	41	2494	521	1280	378				34
1985	1297	35	2488	521	1336	388				34
1986	1317	33	2614	525	1382	407				34
1987	1226	31	2810	554	1435	429				35

[43] “Personal services” refers to restaurants, hotels, repair shops of vehicles and motorcycles, laundry mats, cleaning and dyeing services, barber shops and beauty salons, and tailor shops.

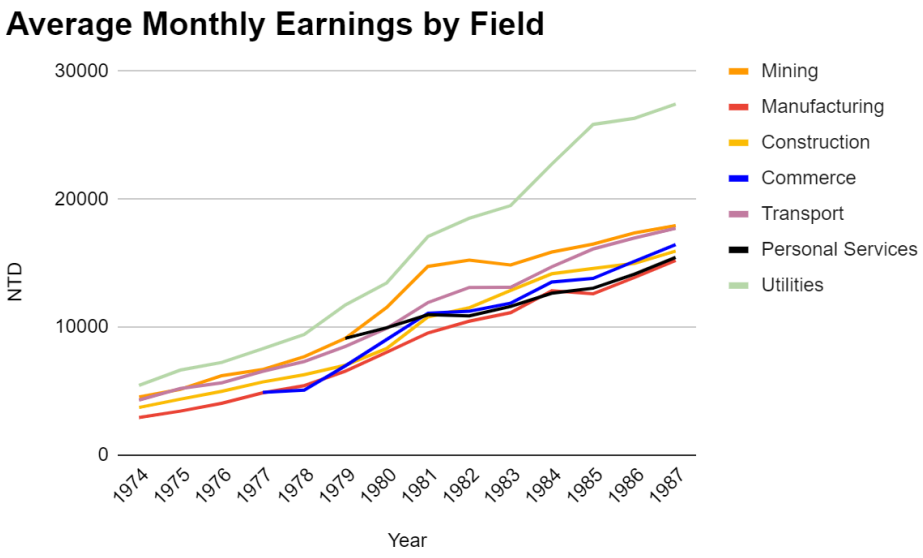

Figure 1.2. Average Monthly Earnings by Field [44]

Table 1.2. Average Monthly Earnings by Field (Unit: NTD)

Year	Mining	Mfg.	Construction	Commerce	Transport	Personal Services	Utilities
1974	4528	2929	3716		4292		5443
1975	5132	3430	4363		5199		6640
1976	6200	4044	4974		5638		7237
1977	6684	4862	5711	4895	6543		8317
1978	7684	5416	6280	5069	7303		9427
1979	9127	6558	7020	6978	8491	9125	11741
1980	11549	8040	8325	9033	9905	9951	13451
1981	14751	9541	10801	11087	11923	10963	17083
1982	15230	10463	11509	11234	13099	10877	18518
1983	14862	11125	12861	11869	13113	11609	19501
1984	15874	12844	14173	13523	14717	12654	22744
1985	16491	12608	14582	13804	16109	13041	25850
1986	17361	13874	14977	15141	16968	14135	26329
1987	17940	15220	15942	16451	17729	15452	27437

[44] “Taiwan Statistical Databook,” (Taipei: Council for Economic Planning and Development, 1988), 19.

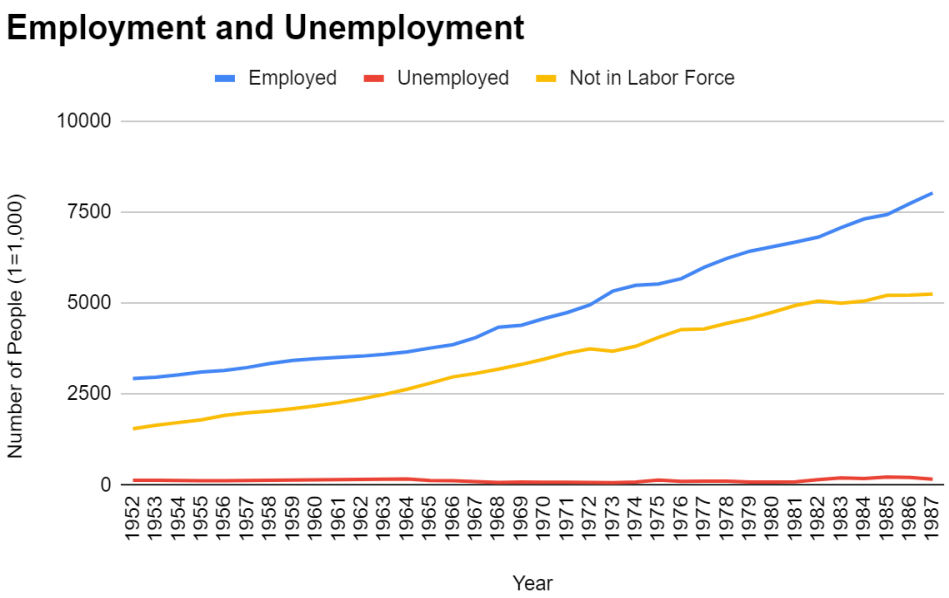

Figure 1.3. Employment and Unemployment [45]

Table 1.3. Employment and Unemployment (1=1,000)

Year	Employed	Unemployed	Not in Labor Force
1952	2929	134	1546
1953	2964	130	1642
1954	3026	126	1718
1955	3108	123	1791
1956	3149	119	1911
1957	3229	125	1984
1958	3340	132	2031
1959	3422	138	2099
1960	3473	144	2178
1961	3505	150	2264
1962	3541	154	2370
1963	3592	160	2492
1964	3658	166	2632

[45] "Taiwan Statistical Databook," (Taipei: Council for Economic Planning and Development, 1988), 13.

Table 1.3. Employment and Unemployment (1=1000) [Continued]

Year	Employed	Unemployed	Not in Labor Force
1965	3763	128	2798
1966	3856	120	2972
1967	4050	95	3067
1968	4335	74	3185
1969	4390	84	3314
1970	4576	79	3461
1971	4738	80	3625
1972	4948	75	3742
1973	5327	68	3675
1974	5486	85	3812
1975	5521	136	4056
1976	5669	103	4271
1977	5980	107	4288
1978	6228	106	4444
1979	6424	83	4577
1980	6547	82	4749
1981	6672	92	4934
1982	6811	149	5053
1983	7070	197	4997
1984	7308	183	5053
1985	7428	222	5210
1986	7733	212	5216
1987	8022	161	5248

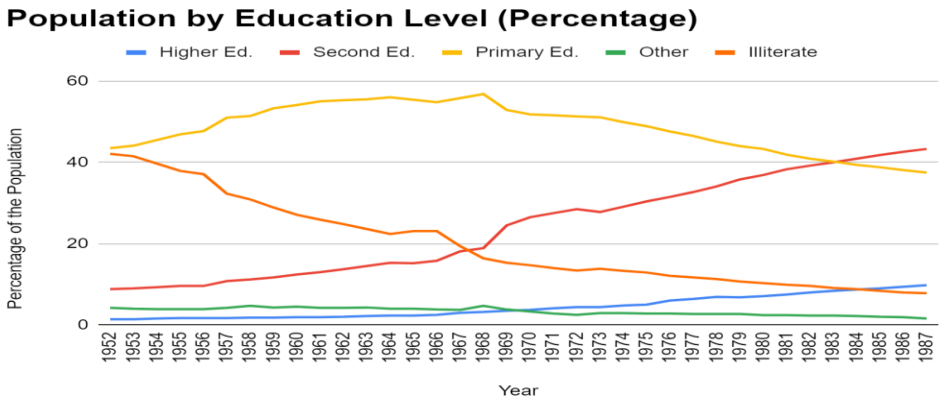

Figure 1.4. Population by Education (Percentage) [46]

Table 1.4. Population by Education (Percentage)

Year	Higher Ed.	Second Ed.	Primary Ed.	Other	Illiterate
1952	1.4	8.8	43.5	4.2	42.1
1953	1.4	9	44.1	4	41.5
1954	1.6	9.3	45.5	3.9	39.7
1955	1.7	9.6	46.9	3.9	37.9
1956	1.7	9.6	47.7	3.9	37.1
1957	1.7	10.8	51	4.2	32.3
1958	1.8	11.2	51.4	4.7	30.9
1959	1.8	11.7	53.3	4.3	28.9
1960	1.9	12.4	54.1	4.5	27.1
1961	1.9	13	55	4.2	25.9
1962	2	13.7	55.3	4.2	24.8
1963	2.2	14.5	55.5	4.3	23.6
1964	2.3	15.3	56	4	22.4
1965	2.3	15.2	55.4	4	23.1
1966	2.5	15.8	54.8	3.8	23.1
1967	3	18.1	55.8	3.7	19.4
1968	3.2	18.9	56.8	4.7	16.4

[46] "Taiwan Statistical Databook," (Taipei: Council for Economic Planning and Development, 1988), 7.

Table 1.4. Population by Education (Percentage) [Continued]

Year	Higher Ed.	Second Ed.	Primary Ed.	Other	Illiterate
1969	3.5	24.5	52.9	3.8	15.3
1970	3.7	26.5	51.8	3.3	14.7
1971	4.1	27.5	51.6	2.8	14
1972	4.4	28.5	51.3	2.5	13.4
1973	4.4	27.8	51.1	2.9	13.8
1974	4.8	29.1	49.9	2.9	13.3
1975	5	30.4	48.9	2.8	12.9
1976	6	31.5	47.6	2.8	12.1
1977	6.4	32.7	46.5	2.7	11.7
1978	6.9	34.1	45.1	2.7	11.3
1979	6.8	35.8	44	2.7	10.7
1980	7.1	36.9	43.3	2.4	10.3
1981	7.5	38.3	41.9	2.4	9.9
1982	8	39.2	40.9	2.3	9.6
1983	8.4	40	40.2	2.3	9.1
1984	8.7	40.9	39.4	2.2	8.8
1985	9	41.8	38.8	2	8.4
1986	9.4	42.6	38.1	1.9	8
1987	9.8	43.3	37.5	1.6	7.8

Table 1.5. Population by Education, Number of People (1=1,000)

Year	Higher Ed.	Second Ed.	Primary Ed.	Other	Illiterate
1952	86	564	2774	270	2690
1953	90	590	2896	265	2726
1954	109	629	3079	263	2686
1955	116	672	3285	275	2655
1956	120	691	3447	286	2683
1957	133	810	3830	314	2424
1958	139	878	4021	366	2417

Table 1.5. Population by Education, Number of People (1=1,000) [Continued]

Year	Higher Ed.	Second Ed.	Primary Ed.	Other	Illiterate
1959	148	956	4349	351	2361
1960	160	1047	4594	385	2301
1961	172	1147	4852	373	2284
1962	186	1254	5073	386	2276
1963	207	1383	5286	397	2242
1964	225	1511	5525	392	2218
1965	238	1550	5679	410	2369
1966	263	1676	5815	402	2458
1967	325	1979	6108	406	2128
1968	367	2135	6438	527	1858
1969	417	2947	6354	462	1842
1970	463	3277	6418	413	1822
1971	523	3500	6575	361	1784
1972	579	3721	6706	331	1741
1973	589	3712	6821	391	1845
1974	657	3974	6830	393	1821
1975	699	4257	6841	387	1800
1976	861	4509	6812	397	1735
1977	938	4772	6787	398	1704
1978	1025	5067	6717	397	1667
1979	1033	5422	6671	412	1624
1980	1098	5695	6685	380	1592
1981	1186	6024	6586	384	1549
1982	1280	6302	6571	378	1539
1983	1362	6543	6573	376	1491
1984	1453	6815	6579	359	1468
1985	1529	7107	6588	334	1433
1986	1616	7351	6590	325	1391
1987	1717	7619	6607	288	1366

Changing Fashion during the Martial Law Period

Dividing Taiwan's fashion strictly by decades risks giving the impression that fashion trends which began in a certain decade only existed within that ten-year period when, in fact, some trends were popular between decades, or spanned over a number of them. Therefore, in this section I will examine fashion trends in Taiwan each decade from the 1950s to the 1980s, while simultaneously clarifying when a trend persisted from one decade to another. This section will specifically examine the clothing styles and hairstyles that were prominent during this period.

Women's Clothing and Hairstyles

In the 1950s, Western clothing was already widely worn in Taiwan.[47] In fact, many Taiwanese people started regularly donning Western clothing styles which came via Tokyo since the 1920s.[48] However, this is not to say that the clothing culture of mainland China was absent in Taiwan. When getting married, it was common to see a woman wear either a Western-style wedding dress, or a *qipao*.[49] Even as a form of daily-wear, it was not uncommon to see a woman wearing a *qipao* in the 1950s. However, after the 1950s, the *qipao* gradually became dated clothing, though it never became a completely extinct outfit. One important change that occurred in the stylization of the *qipao* is that in the 1960s, form-fitting *qipaos* became a more common style (which seems to have come from Hong Kong),

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[47] 葉立诚. *台灣服裝史: 典藏二版*, (台北: 上鼎數位出版公司, 2014),124.

[48] Chun-mei Sun, "Style as Identity: Fashion in Taiwan in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Fashion, Identity, and Power in Modern Asia*, eds. Kyunghee Pyun, Aida Yuen Wong (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 340, 343.

[49] 葉立诚. *台灣服裝史: 典藏二版*, 122.

as opposed to the wider, looser style of the 1940s and 1950s.[50] Figure 1.5 depicts a photograph taken in 1945 of a woman in a baggy Taiwan-style *qipao* on the left, which covers just below the knees. On the right is a photograph from 1961 of a woman wearing a sleek, form-fitting *qipao* with a hemline above the knees. Also, the *qipao* on the right is sleeveless. The *qipao* is one example of a style of clothing that is regularly reinvented by the fashion industry as a way to persuade new generations of women to invest in a *qipao*.

Figure 1.5. Two photographs, taken in (Left) 1945 and (Right) 1961 [51]

A number of hairstyles were prevalent during the 1950s. Two hairdos from this decade that I frequently came across while doing research for this chapter was the bob-cut, which I will discuss in further detail below, and the pixie cut. The left-side photograph of Figure 1.6 shows a woman with a man holding a baby. The woman is wearing sunglasses and a light, short-sleeved dress. Notably, she is sporting a pixie cut. Not every woman wore their hair short, however. In contrast to the left-side photograph, the right-side photograph of

[50] Chui Chu Yang, "The Meanings of Qipao as Traditional Dress: Chinese and Taiwanese Perspectives" (2007). Retrospective Theses and Dissertations. 15604.

[51] 葉立诚. *台灣服裝史: 典藏二版*,115, 150.

Figure 1.6 shows a woman holding the baby on the right of the photograph who, markedly, has hair that runs down to her shoulders.

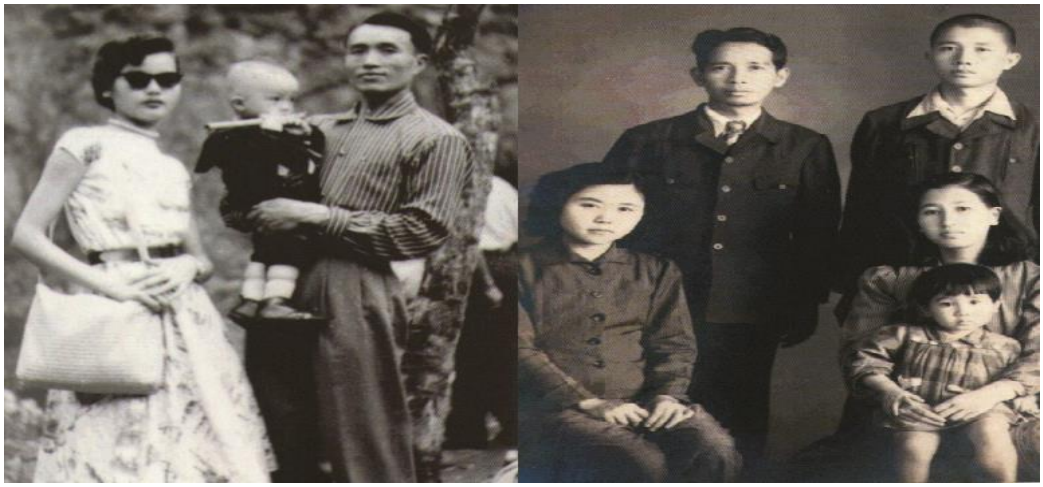

Figure 1.6. Two photographs taken in 1955 [52]

As Taiwan's economy became more stable and the standard of living for the average citizen improved, more people had the time and resources to concern themselves with their outward appearance. During the 1960s, two important developments in the fashion industry impacted its relationship with consumers. First, beauty pageants became a regular event in fashion circles. In these shows, women would wear *qipaos* as well as formal Western-style clothing. Fashion companies also made use of the publicity that the event provided by advertising their own products during the show.[53] Additionally, in this decade, the first department stores and shopping malls were established in Taiwan.[54] These shopping centers were important outlets for fashion industries to advertise and test the popularity of new clothing styles.

[52] Ibid, 132, 137.
[53] 葉立诚. *台灣服裝史: 典藏二版*, 146.
[54] Ibid, 154.

One clothing style that became vogueish for many young Taiwanese women starting in the 1960s was the miniskirt.[55] Figure 1.7 shows three different miniskirt styles from the 1960s, 1970s, and 1990s, which all have a hemline that runs multiple centimeters above the knees. Just like the *qipao*, fashion designers found new ways to creatively redesign the miniskirt in order to give it a refreshing look. Despite the fact that the miniskirt faced criticism from conservatives who protested how revealing it was, the style nevertheless persisted. Even at the time that this thesis is being written, the miniskirt is still a popular clothing item, especially during Taiwan's hot and humid summers.[56]

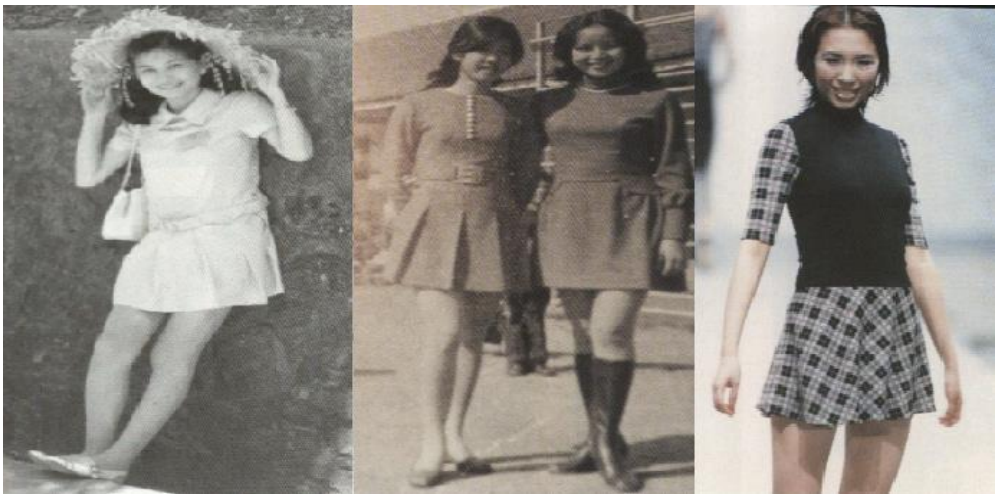

Figure 1.7. Three photographs, taken in (Left) the 1960s, (Middle) the 1970s, and (Right) 1994 [57]

Dresses and miniskirts were not the only prevalent styles during this decade. Fashionable wear such as skin-tight pants, as shown in Figure 1.8, found a place in the fashion market for female consumers. The woman in this photo is also wearing a bob-cut hairstyle. This hairdo was revitalized after a period of dormancy between the 1930s and the

[55] Ibid, 140.
[56] Ibid, 140.
[57] Ibid,141, 176, 221.

1960s when actresses such as Nancy Kwan, Carolyn Jones, and Barbara Feldon reintroduced it.[58]

Figure 1.8. A photograph taken in 1960 [59]

Figure 1.9 provides insight into other popular clothing styles and hairstyles that were prominent in the 1960s. The left-side photograph of Figure 1.9 shows three women wearing Western-style clothing: one who is wearing a patterned dress with a belt wrapped around her waist, another who is holding a white purse and wearing what appears to be a white, dotted dress with no belt, and a third who is wearing what seems to be a white collared shirt and a patterned skirt. Importantly, the woman closest to the man in this photograph is sporting a bouffant hairstyle, which was a prominent style in Taiwan, the United States, and some parts of Europe in the late fifties and early sixties.[60] This hairdo, first popularized by famous

[58] Anthony Carthew, "Shaggy Englishman Story; British Long-Hairs are Proud of Setting a New Tonsorial Style – but the Barbers are Crying," *The New York Times Magazine*, (New York, NY), September 6, 1964.

[59] 葉立诚. *台灣服裝史: 典藏二版*, 140.

[60] "1950s Hairstyles – 50s Hairstyles from Short to Long," Vintage Dancer, June 5, 2018, https://vintagedancer.com/1950s/1950s-hairstyles/

figures such as Jackie Kennedy,[61] American singer Connie Francis, and Italian actress Sophia Loren,[62] can be created with shorter hair or longer hair. In the left-side photograph, the woman with the bouffant hairdo has a shaggier look because her hair is shorter. The woman's hair on the right-side photo has a more exaggerated look because her hair is longer. This style is achieved by setting one's hair in mesh rollers, then having the hair air-dried and back-combed. Hairspray is often used to keep the hair in place.

Figure 1.9. Two photographs taken in 1960 [63]

The 1970s was marked by significant alterations in Taiwan's political status. First, on October 26, 1971, Taiwan officially withdrew from the United Nations. In the seventies, Japan and the U.S. severed its diplomatic ties with Taiwan, and as a reaction many people in Taiwan boycotted Japanese and American imports, including clothing and makeup products.[64] These protests, however, was short-lived.

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[61] Brandon Marie Miller, *Dressed for the Occasion: What Americans Wore 1620-1970*, (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company), 84.
[62] "1950s Hairstyles – 50s Hairstyles from Short to Long," Vintage Dancer, June 5, 2018, https://vintagedancer.com/1950s/1950s-hairstyles/
[63] 葉立诚. *台灣服裝史: 典藏二版*, 142, 153.
[64] Huang, Hu, Wang, Chen & Lo. "From fashion product industries to fashion: upgrading trends in traditional industry in Taiwan," European Planning Studies, 24, no.4, 762-787, 2016.

Companies from countries that had previously ended official ties with the Republic of China, such as the Swiss government, who recognized the PRC as the legitimate government of China in 1950,[65] and the French government, who ended its formal relationship with the Republic of China in 1964,[66] made successful entries into Taiwan's fashion market in the 1970s. The Swiss company Audemars Piguet established stores for selling watches in Taiwan in 1975, and Christian Dior opened for business in Taiwan selling cosmetics 1976, as well as men's and women's clothing in 1977.[67] However, not all fashion in the 1970s was being produced and sold by foreign enterprises. Boycotts against companies whose countries had ended diplomatic relations with Taiwan created opportunities for Taiwanese designers to showcase their own fashion, especially in Taipei, where many Taiwanese clothing and apparel manufacturers had congregated.[68]

While dresses and skirts remained a common outfit for women during and after the martial law period, women's outfits such as pants and shorts also started to attract female consumers' attention in the sixties and seventies. For example, I came across photographs of women wearing blue jeans from the 1970s. Though jeans were considered by some people in Taiwan a symbol of class difference because of the high price of jeans in the 1950s and early 1960s, as I will explain in the section below where I present the findings from my interviews with Taiwanese individuals, the materials I have gathered suggest that at least by the 1970s, jeans were an ordinary part of Taiwanese women's wardrobe. However, more research is

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[65] "Bilateral Relations Switzerland-China," Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, revised September 213, 2019, https://www.eda.admin.ch/eda/en/fdfa/representations-and-travel-advice/china/switzerland-china.html

[66] "France Forces Taiwan to Break Diplomatic Ties," *The New York Times*, (New York, NY), February 11, 1964, https://www.nytimes.com/1964/02/11/archives/france-forces-taiwan-to-break-diplomatic-ties-taipei-acts-after.html

[67] 葉立诚. *台灣服裝史: 典藏二版*, 189.

[68] Huang, Hu, Wang, Chen & Lo. "From fashion product industries to fashion: upgrading trends in traditional industry in Taiwan," European Planning Studies, 24, no.4, 762-787, 2016.

needed before I can conclusively state exactly when jeans became a common part of women's fashion.

Fred Davis notes that one of the factors that led to jeans' widespread popularity was the fact that in the 1960s it was aggressively marketed as a garment that anyone can wear. Originally worn by artists in the United States in the 1930s and 1940s, then by motorcyclists in the 1950s, followed by hippies and liberal activists in the 1960s, jeans represented opposition to conservative societal norms and capitalism. However, Levi Strauss & Co. rebranded blue jeans' image as an article of clothing that transcended national, ideological, occupational, age, racial, gender, and class boundaries, and consequently its popularity around the world rose.[69]

Jeans' transcendence of these boundaries are important for two reasons. First, because jeans were advertised as having no occupational or class connotation, these pants represent, in Davis's words, a "demurral" of one's social status.[70] Second, because jeans are perceived as "neutral", this garment, consequently, is stylistically malleable; it can be altered so as to differentiate the wearer from others who don the same clothing.[71] Essentially, jeans are a blank slate from which one has flexibility to express their individuality, giving identity to an article of clothing that is "identity-less".

Figure 1.10 highlights the creative variability of jeans. In this photograph there are six women, four of whom are wearing blue jeans. The woman furthest to the left is wearing light, bell-bottomed style jeans while the woman in the tan leather jacket who is standing right next to her is wearing a light, regular-fit style of jeans. In the middle, the woman

[69] Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 70.
[70] Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, 57.
[71] Ibid, 71.

wearing the red jacket with a large white collar is sporting cropped jeans while the woman standing to the right of her has a looser, baggier style of dark jeans. This photo aptly illustrates the range of styles of jeans, all of which matched with a variety of jackets and tops.

The creative malleability of jeans were not just limited to its form as pants. Short-shorts, described in Chinese as "hot pants" (熱褲, rè kù) emerged as popular summer-wear in the late sixties. The left-side photograph in Figure 1.11 shows a woman in 1967 wearing white short-shorts. On the right, we see a woman in 1999 wearing a blue jean short-shorts. These two photographs illustrate not only the persistent popularity of short-shorts in Taiwan, but also of the blue jean style of clothing.

Figure 1.12 depicts a woman wearing a brown collared dress shirt and a tan sports coat. Notably, the woman is also wearing parachute pants, another prevalent fad during the 1970s. However, unlike the miniskirt or short-shorts, I was unable to find a photograph of a Taiwanese woman wearing parachute pants in the 1980s or 1990s. The absence of any photograph does not necessarily mean that this style of pants was not being worn, though it may imply that these pants fell out of the mainstream of fashion in Taiwan after the 1970s.

Figure 1.10. A photograph taken in 1979 [72]

[72] 葉立诚. *台灣服裝史: 典藏二版*, 196.

Figure 1.11. Two photographs, taken in (Left) 1967, and (Right) 1999 [73]

Figure 1.12. A photograph taken in the 1970s [74]

[73] Ibid, 165, 241.
[74] Ibid, 175.

A number of basic hairstyles, as well as hairdos that were prevalent since the 1950s such as the pixie cut, the curly bop, and the bob cut can be seen in photographs from the 1970s. Styles that are typically associated with the 1970s such as the "feathered look," (Figure 1.13) popularized by the American actress Farrah Fawcett, famous for playing Jill Munroe in the television series *Charlie's Angels*, influenced some women in Taiwan in the late 1970s and 1980s.[75] Another notable trend in the 1970s is that women's hair tended to be longer, sometimes going below the shoulders. Though I did find photographs from the 1950s and 1960s of women with long hair, these photographs were scant. Conversely, in the 1970s, I discovered photographs of women with long hair far more often.

In the 1980s, Taiwanese fashion designers carved out a greater space for themselves on the fashion market. This achievement was realized through two important means. First, in the eighties, fashion magazines such as *Meirong Fang Magazine*, which promoted trending European, American, and Japanese fashion, also promoted clothing styles by Taiwanese designers.[76] While businesses were promoting clothing by Taiwanese designers before the 1980s, since the 1980s they made more concerted efforts to advertise uniquely Taiwanese products. Garments created by Taiwanese fashion designers like the ones depicted in Figure 1.14, both of which are taken from *Meirong Fang Magazine*, show that some of the prevalent styles of the eighties were marked by loud colors, bold designs, or both.

Another significant trend that swept through fashion circles in Taiwan was what designers referred to as the "Chinese Wind" (中國風, Zhōngguó fēng). This trend produced a wave of outfits that were inspired by the *qipao*. Figure 1.15 illustrates the reinvigorated style

[75] Ellie in conversation with Nakota DiFonzo, February 7, 2020.
[76] 葉立诚. *台灣服裝史: 典藏二版*,, 204.

of this classic Chinese outfit. It is important to note that the women in these photographs are models, not average Taiwanese individuals. More research is needed in order to comment conclusively on exactly how widespread the "Chinese Wind" clothing styles were in Taiwan. However, it can be said that if these styles were being regularly showcased in *Meirong Fang Magazine*, then there must have been a number of people subscribing to this fashion trend.

Figure 1.13. A photograph taken in the 1980s for Meirong Fang Magazine [77]

[77] Ibid, 199.

Figure 1.14. Two photographs, taken in (Left) 1981, and (Right) 1984 for Meirong Fang Magazine[78]

Figure 1.15. Two photographs, taken 1980s for Meirong Fang Magazine[79]

Seeing hair that fell below the shoulders was far more common than it was prior to the 1980s. As a result, certain long-hair hairstyles became more common. For example, the

[78] Ibid, 201, 208.
[79] Ibid, 199.

feathered-hair look (as mentioned earlier) and other experimental hairdos like the "wild hair" hairstyle and the perm were in vogue for many Taiwanese women in the 1980s (Figure 1.16).

Figure 1.16. Two photographs, taken in 1985 for Meirong Fang Magazine [80]

One final trend that is important to mention here is the disco fashion trend of the late 1970s and 1980s. History presents us with a complicated image of disco in Taiwan. In an article published on August 1, 1989 by Taipei Today, the author notes that, officially, Taiwan was a latecomer to the disco scene because it was not until 1986 when restrictions that banned public dancing facilities were lifted. The government's justification for these restrictions was that places such as nightclubs were havens for prostitution, drug trafficking, and other illicit pursuits."[81] However, government officials struggled to enforce these regulations, and some underground nightclubs were able to remain active by avoiding government attention.

[80] Ibid, 212.
[81] "Dancing Heads and Disco Lights" in, *Taiwan Today*, August 1, 1989, Accessed March 11, 2020, https://taiwantoday.tw/news.php?post=22987&unit=12,29,33,45

Conveniently, this article by *Taiwan Today* provides some insight into the clothing styles of the patrons who were visiting these nightclubs in the 1980s. For example, the author describes that, "each night, but especially on weekends, the [nightclub] scene is duplicated throughout the island, as teenagers and college students don the latest Japanese, European, and American fashions, then head for a spot to shake and gyrate to the rhythms of Madonna, Michael Jackson, Talking Heads, and other hot international heart (and ear) throbs."[82]

In addition to the broad description of Taiwanese young adults wearing foreign clothing at nightclubs, the author includes a brief description of the fashion style of a young woman whom the author interviewed. Responding to a question by the author about why she goes to nightclubs, she said: "'The music is good, but I come here for the people,' says a teenager clad in a mini skirt and low-cut blouse, clothes still fairly daring by Taiwan standards. 'We have to spend our time in school uniforms all day, but here we can wear whatever we want. I like to see what people are really like.'"[83] Evidently, for some, the nightclub was not just a place to hang out with friends, meet new people, and dance, but it was also a place where individuals could be more freely expressive with their clothing styles than during the daytime when they are at school.

Men's Clothing and Hairstyles

It is often a challenge for many historians who write about modern fashion to examine the history of men's clothing styles and hairstyles without painting a reductionist image of men's fashion as being stagnant and unchanging. This challenge is amplified when a history of men's fashion from one time period is placed side-by-side with the history of

[82] https://taiwantoday.tw/news.php?post=22987&unit=12,29,33,45
[83] https://taiwantoday.tw/news.php?post=22987&unit=12,29,33,45

women's fashion in the same period. As a consequence of women's fashion being more diverse, and the changes in women's fashion across decades being more pronounced, the term "fashion" unfortunately tends to carry a more feminine connotation. However, men's fashion is fashion, too; and their clothing and hairstyles went through their own changes during the martial law period.

In regards to formal attire in the 1950s, men often wore three-piece suits like in the left-side photograph shown in Figure 1.17. The right-side photograph highlights non-formal attire that men frequently wore; a simple collared shirt and shorts or slacks. Figure 1.18 depicts another important form of clothing in Taiwan: the military uniform. Military service for men, which has been mandatory in Taiwan since 1951, requires men to wear a military cap, a long-sleeved collared shirt with two large breast pockets, and black boots.[84] This photograph also shows a man in the background wearing a plain white shirt, white pants, and a conical farmer's hat. With the exception of the three-piece suit, these photographs show that the clothing that men wore in the 1950s tended to be simple styles.

Figure 1.17. Two photographs, taken in (Left) 1950, (Right) 1955 [85]

[84] National Conscription Agency Ministry of the Interior, visited April 23, 2020, http://www.nca.gov.tw/ENGLISH/english.htm

[85] 葉立诚. *台灣服裝史: 典藏二版*, 121, 131.

Figure 1.18. A photograph taken in 1952 [86]

The two photographs in Figure 1.19 show that between the 1950s and 1960s, men had adopted new clothing styles into their wardrobe. The left-side photograph shows a man dressed in all black, sporting a leather coat and dress shoes. Also, in the right-side photograph, among the men donning a variety of colored t-shirts and collared shirts, two of the six men in the photograph are wearing blue jeans.

Figure 1.19. Two photographs taken in 1960 [87]

[86] Ibid, 156.
[87] Ibid, 140, 169.

Taiwanese men in the late sixties, seventies, and eighties adopted a number of experimental suit styles. The left-side photograph of Figure 1.20 shows a man wearing a long, brown sport coat, a brown shirt, a beige tie with brown stripes, brown bell-bottom pants, and what appears to be white sneakers. The right-side photograph underlines another alteration of the formal suit attire. In this photograph, the men are not wearing ties. Instead, they are wearing turtlenecks and collared shirts, with the man in the front of the photo wearing a collared shirt with an exaggerated red collar.

Figure 1.20. Two photographs, taken in (Left) 1970 and (Right) 1978 [88]

These stylistic reinventions of the traditionally formal suit into semi-formal outfits are fashion statements that Fred Davis identifies as an "anti-conformist conformity," which he defines as a style (or styles) that is specifically designed to subvert another which, "acquire[s] with time the same symbolic value it set out to derogate."[89] In other words, these suit styles, which segued from the standard suit design either as a show of individuality, or to make a statement against mainstream fashion, eventually became mainstream themselves

[88] Ibid, 175, 194.
[89] Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, 65, 67.

once enough people incorporated these clothing styles into their own wardrobe and fashion companies perceived a viable market for producing these designs. “Anti-conformist conformity” styles such as these clearly indicate that men actively sought out new vestimentary ways of expressing themselves and that men’s tastes in clothing during the marital law period, not just women’s, were in a dynamic state of flux.

Despite my efforts to demonstrate the diversity and evolution of men’s fashion during the martial law era, I must concede that it is harder to argue that there were significant changes in men’s hairstyles during this time period. When in the military, men either shaved their heads or wore a crew-cut. Outside of the military, men’s hair typically remained short, either in the form of a crew-cut, or a side part (Figure 1.21).

Figure 1.21. A photograph taken in 1968 [90]

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It is difficult to assert that there was *one* hairstyle, or *one* clothing style that defined any decade that I have discussed; for either men or women. Taiwanese people donned an

[90] 葉立诚. *台灣服裝史: 典藏二版*, 166.

array of outfits, some of which carried over from a previous decade or decades, and some of which were newly invented. As Taiwan industrialized and the average education level simultaneously rose, more of the Taiwanese population were able to assume higher-paying professional, technical, and administrative occupations, and consequently Taiwanese people became more willing to spend some of their disposable income on new outfits and hairstyles. The existence of these clothes and hairstyles implies the existence of clothing outlets and salons that found it financially viable to provide the products and services necessary for consumers acquire these styles.

The dynamism of the fashion market from the 1950s to the 1980s even had an impact on shaping the way that Taiwanese people viewed themselves relative to their mainland Chinese neighbors. As a way to express the difference between Taiwan's globalized, capitalist fashion market with mainland China's state-run economy, satire such as the one depicted in Figure 1.22, published in *Zhongguo Shi Bao* on January 14, 1982, makes a critical, multilayered comment that critiques China's underdeveloped, low quality fashion market where the clothing options are, according to the author, restricted by the state. The author makes the following comment:

> *Stores in Mainland China, no matter what, are state owned or collectively handled. Therefore they have no competitiveness. Generally speaking, the quality of the service is odious. It does not consider the customer's needs at all. This comic is a satire of this kind of "I will do it myself, and you cannot buy clothes at any other store" phenomenon. It can really be said that it [this satire] hits the nail on the head.*

Critiquing what the author perceives as a blandness of Chinese dress, the author's remark echoes retrospective observations about Chinese clothing from the Great Leap Forward to the reform era that there were, "Three sorts of clothing in country and town, four different colors cover the ground."[91] The three outfits being referred to in this comment are the cadre suit, the Sun Yatsen suit, and the Lenin suit, with the four colors being grey, green, blue, and white. In this comic, we see seven individuals leaving a clothing store, with the men wearing Sun Yatsen suits, and the woman wearing what appears to be a Lenin outfit. None of the clothes fit any of the patrons; the outfits are either too small or too large. In the window of the shop, we see the Sun Yatsen suit, the only outfit on display. As the customers leave the shop, they pass through a door that has two banners hanging on either side of the door, reading, "I will do it myself, and you cannot buy clothes at any other store." This message essentially means: "Even if you don't like the quality of our clothes, you can't go anywhere else because we are the only producers."

Figure 1.22. A satirical cartoon in Zhongguo Shi Bao, published in January 14, 1982

[91] Antonia Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, Nation*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), chapter 9.

This comic, making a reductionist argument about the state of the Chinese fashion market, ignores the fact that in Deng Xiaoping era, the cadre suit, Sun Yatsen suit, and Lenin suit had fallen out of fashion and had subsequently been replaced with a wider, more global selection of fashion; with particular influence coming from Japan, the United States, and Western Europe. However, regardless of the inaccuracies of this comic, what is important is that by stereotyping the quality and diversity of mainland Chinese clothing, the author is emphasizing the globality and modernity of not only Taiwanese clothing, but Taiwanese society in general.

Fin de Siècle Splendor

Not everyone in Taiwan was dazzled by the effects of Taiwan's capitalist development since the 1950s. For example, Zhu Tianwen (b. 1956) contends in her short story, *Fin de Siècle Splendor* (*Shìjìmò de huálì* 世紀末的華麗), that Taiwan has been transformed into a materialistic society.[92] In this story, Mia, a fashion model in Taipei, recollects a series of romantic relationships she engaged in with both men and women in the mid and late-1980s and early 1990s that eventually led to her meeting Duan, her much-older male lover. Fashion is represented as an extension of Mia's personality; as Mia's liaisons and personality changes over the course of this narrative, so do the styles of fashion that she dons. While the styles of fashion that Zhu discusses are not necessarily widespread trends that swept Taipei, her point is less to analyze the specific styles of fashion that people in Taiwan wore, and more to use them as a lens through which to critique the superficiality of Taiwanese society, which is a product of consumer capitalism.

[92] Though this short story was written in 1990, this literature is still relevant to my thesis because a substantial part of the story takes place during the martial law period and because the story is largely a critique of Taiwan's capitalist development in the 1980s,

Mia's relationship with Duan revolved around materiality. Though Duan was already married, Mia appreciates that Duan treats her like a wife. However, what Mia means when she says Duan treats her "like a wife," is that he provides her "security," that is, money and material possessions. When the two of them go out into the city, he gives her money to spend on their expenses, and tells her to keep whatever she doesn't spend. Mia's time with Duan makes her feel that, "spending the money of a man [she] love[s] is happiness."[93] Zhu describes the moment that Mia decided to abandon love, and instead only pursue the material objects that make her happy. She writes of Mia that when she and her friends were tanning on a mountain in 1986, when she was 18, Mia decided that, "she'd worship things and she'd worship money. Youth and beauty were on her side; she worshipped her own beautiful body."[94]

According to the interpretation of some literary specialists, Mia is a metaphor for Taiwanese society. In the article, "Writing Taiwan's Fin-de-Siècle Splendor: Zhu Tianwen and Zhu Tianxin," Lingchei Letty Chen notes that since the mid-1980s, Zhu Tianwen's literature became more concerned with how to conceptualize an authentic Taiwanese cultural identity.[95] Consistent with Zhu Tianwen's anxieties about Taiwan's changing identity during the time this story was written, Chen argues that Mia is meant to be understood as a representation of a Taiwanese society that is "saturated with commodities and in which the individual is subsumed in commercialism."[96] Chen interprets Zhu Tianwen as arguing that

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[93] Zhu Tian-Wen, *Fin de Siècle Splendor*, in Columbia Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature, trans. Eva Hung, eds. Joseph S.M. Lau and Howard Goldblatt, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 451.
[94] Zhu Tian-Wen, *Fin de Siècle Splendor*, 451.
[95] Lingchei Letty Chen, "Writing Taiwan's Fin-de- Siècle Splendor: Zhu Tianwen and Zhu Tianxin," in *The Columbia Companion to Modern East Asian Literature*, eds. Joshua S. Mostow, Kirk A. Denton, Bruce Fulton Sharalyn Orbaugh, (New York:: Columbia University Press, 2003), 584.
[96] Lingchei Letty Chen, "Writing Taiwan's Fin-de- Siècle Splendor: Zhu Tianwen and Zhu Tianxin," 586.

Mia's personality being consumed by materials is an allegory for global capitalism's effects on undermining Taiwanese culture and identity. Mia's enthrallment with clothing styles are a moving target throughout the story. From the "Madonna style" she assumed in 1986, to her interest in pho fur coats in 1991, to the spring of 1992 when her gaze shifted to embroidered jackets, pho fur jackets, and Moroccan-style coats, Mia was always in search of the next stimulating design.[97]

An important point to note which goes along with Lingchei Letty Chen's observation that Zhu Tianwen's literature since the mid-1980s placed an emphasis on understanding Taiwan's cultural identity, is that none of the clothing Mia wears, music she listens to, or restaurants she visits in this story are uniquely Taiwanese. For example, when Mia and her friends are relaxing on the mountainside, one of her friends dances to the music of Michael Jackson.[98] Also, before the outbreak of the AIDS epidemic, Mia donned androgynous styles which were popularized by David Bowie, Boy George, and Prince.[99] Furthermore, the author mentions that when she went out with her girl friend (and possibly lover) Baby on Valentine's day, they went to McDonalds and Baskin Robbins.[100]

One noteworthy question that this story gives no obvious answer to is why the author chooses to make fashion the focal lens through which to critique consumer capitalism in Taiwan. David Der-wei Wang postulates that for Zhu Tianwen, clothing is the, "last fortress where people secure their imagination and fantasy from the general inertia and uncertainty of the outside world."[101] If we are to assume what Wang is arguing is true, then Zhu is

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[97] Zhu Tian-Wen, *Fin de Siècle Splendor*, 445, 454.
[98] Zhu Tian-Wen, *Fin de Siècle Splendor*, 449.
[99] Zhu Tian-Wen, *Fin de Siècle Splendor*, 451.
[100] Zhu Tian-Wen, *Fin de Siècle Splendor*, 451.
[101] David Der-wei Wang, "Fin de Siècle Splendor: Contemporary Women Writers' Vision of Taiwan," in *Modern Chinese Literature*, 6, no. 1/ 2 (1992), 46.

contending that capitalist culture has penetrated even the most personal parts of Mia's life, even tying something as intimate as her clothing to the system of consumer capitalism. Essentially, the author is specifically using a story revolving around fashion as the primary platform for her discourse in order to emphasize just how powerfully invasive the capitalist system is in Taiwanese society and culture.

For Mia, the allure of the capitalist-oriented city life was too addicting. In spite of her attempt to leave Taipei, once she left the city, she was quickly drawn back into it. Zhu writes that, "when the train emerged from the railway station, she was shocked by the ugliness of the streets along the railway: she had never seen Taipei from this angle."[102] However, once she was in Taizhong, "she couldn't wait to get back to the city of indulgence and vice- her home… [and] like a fish back in the water, Mia came again."[103] In Zhu's view, Mia, and by extension, Taiwan is inseparably linked to global capitalism and any venture to break away from it is futile.

The argument that Mia is superficial and consumed in materiality is well-noted. To reiterate Lingchei Letty Chen's point: "She and her model friends live only for the present, chasing the glamour and fun of big city life. Narcissism dominates their lives, which is reflected in the story's endless description of clothes and the young models' obsession with self-image."[104] However, while Mia is consumed with a desire to buy whatever clothes she does not already own, she is not one-dimensional.

In the beginning of the story, Zhu comments that Mia is frustrated by the fact that when her mother hung their laundry out to dry, she made sure to put the men's clothing in

[102] Zhu Tian-Wen, *Fin de Siècle Splendor*, 456.
[103] Zhu Tian-Wen, *Fin de Siècle Splendor*, 456.
[104] Lingchei Letty Chen, "Writing Taiwan's Fin-de- Siècle Splendor: Zhu Tianwen and Zhu Tianxin," 586.

front of the women's. Also, when the clothing was folded and put away, the men's clothes would be put on top of the women's.[105] Zhu writes that Mia wanted to overturn the gender binary that placed men in the foreground and women in the background (literally and figuratively). Mia used clothing as a way to unapologetically stand out in the crowd, often in ways that challenged the boundary between men's and women's garments. To cite Fred Davis, we can say that Mia used clothing to express her identity ambivalence between masculinity and femininity. For example, Zhu writes that in high school, when Mia got home from class, she immediately changed out of her school uniform into a khaki army style outfit with badges and, "the girls all swooned over her."[106] Also, when she went out with Baby in 1984, she donned a metal gray riding jacket.[107]

Furthermore, Zhu describes one instance when Mia was in her twenties, when, "for the first time she wore a denim bra instead of a blouse under her jacket and a tight-fitting cotton skirt to show off her figure to her playmates."[108] In another part of the story, Zhu notes that Ge, one of Mia's friends, discarded her three piece suit with shoulder pads because she felt that the outfit had become restraining like a housewife's apron. She then donned a tight-fitting, short-sleeved dress which revealed her feminine physique. While Ge had ulterior motives for dressing this way, noting, "the more feminine a woman is, the more she can get out of men," Mia and Ge still used clothing to express their individuality and undermine gender binaries and standards that would otherwise have repressed their sexualities covered

[105] Zhu Tian-Wen, *Fin de Siècle Splendor*, 446.
[106] Zhu Tian-Wen, *Fin de Siècle Splendor*, 451.
[107] Zhu Tian-Wen, *Fin de Siècle Splendor*, 451.
[108] Zhu Tian-Wen, *Fin de Siècle Splendor*, 451.

their bodies.[109] Perhaps Zhu is highlighting that capitalism was one that allowed Mia and Ge to defy traditional gender norms.

Overall, the gendered discourse within the larger framework of Zhu's critique of the invasiveness of consumer capitalism seems to reveal that Zhu's argument is not to characterize Taiwan's integration into global capitalist processes as solely negative. Perhaps Zhu Tianwen is making a more complex argument about consumerism and capitalism; that it has produced a spectrum of consequences, some which are beneficial to Taiwan, and others which are not.

Responses from Interview Participants[110]

Farrier:

Farrier was born in 1939 in Taizhong. Even prior to the martial law period, Farrier and his family struggled financially. He commented that, "Growing up I did not have a whole lot of money. I would typically just wear the same few clothes in a cycle."[111] He added that, "You have to realize that in the beginning [of the martial law period] we were all poor. Our clothing was no good. We were more concerned about what we were going to eat than what we were going to wear."[112]

When Farrier was older, he moved to Hualien to work for a plastics company. He describes the 1950s, and to a lesser extent the 1960s, as being a difficult time for him to achieve financial stability. "My salary was pretty low. I wore a plain collared shirt and pants

[109] Zhu Tian-Wen, *Fin de Siècle Splendor*, 446, 447.
[110] As an homage to a filmmaker I admire greatly, Christopher Nolan, whose films inspired me write my own screenplays, participants are given pseudonyms after characters from Nolan's films (with the exception of Tenet, which has not been released at the time of writing this thesis).
[111] Farrier in conversation with Nakota DiFonzo, August 2019.
[112] Ibid.

the same way that I do now."[113] When he got married to his wife, who taught piano, in 1959, his financial situation gradually improved because his wife also provided a source of income.

When I asked Farrier if he ever participated in any popular fashion trends, he bluntly stated, "I did not wear any popular clothing." Being pragmatic in nature, Farrier described his style, even at the time of our interview, as being basically the same. He did note, however, that he saw more and more options for men's and women's clothing as the economy improved and department stores and shopping malls became more prolific throughout Taiwan. Farrier recalled that his wife was more interested in clothing in the 1970s and 1980s, when they had a comfortable amount of disposable income. At the end of my interview with Farrier, he commented: "We are very thankful for what the U.S. has done for Taiwan."[114]

Ellie:

Ellie was born in 1939 and raised in Danshui. She was born into a family with very little money. It was not until the 1960s, when she had graduated college and was qualified to work as a teacher, that she felt that the quality of her life improved. As a result of her experience as a lower class member of society in Taiwan, she had an acute awareness of class difference. For a considerable portion of my interview with Ellie, she talked about clothing through a class lens, highlighting the disparity between her financial circumstances, and that of others.

Ellie frequently used the weather to talk about clothing and class disparity. For example, she commented that in the winter, We had to wear several layers of clothes. During the winters when it rained, we were so poor that we could not afford rain boots. A family that

[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.

was wealthier than us would be able to afford it."[115] She even saw some students arrive at school barefoot. In contrast, "When it would rain, rich kids would bring an umbrella and they would have a coat. The kids with little money, on the other hand would just have a bamboo hat."[116]

I asked Ellie if blue jeans were commonly worn in the 1950s. I also asked if jeans were considered male clothing, or if women could wear them, too. She replied that, "During that time women mostly wore dresses and skirts, not jeans."[117] She also stated that, "I went to university from 1962 to 1966; four years. But ordinary people's lives weren't that great at that time. Very few people would wear jeans.' Nowadays we have so many options. The style back then, the style was very basic."[118]

Ellie and her husband's financial situation improved in the 1970s when she got a teaching job. Her husband studied at Columbia University for a period of time, and when he returned they had a child and rented their first home. She felt that, "At that time, our hopes and desires were growing higher."[119] However, Ellie notes that it was not until the 1980s when her appearance became more of a concern for her. With both her and her husband holding well-paying teaching jobs in Taiwan, "we were much more likely to buy clothes that we liked. We would buy more fashionable clothing. The rise of the economy correlated with the pretty clothing [that I wore]."[120] She felt that the population around her in general began to pay more attention to the style and quality of their clothing around this time.

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[115] Ellie in conversation with Nakota DiFonzo, February 7, 2020.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.

Ellie did not give me detailed descriptions of the kinds of clothing that she wore in the 1980s other than to say that she wore pants, skirts, and dresses. The difference she felt between the garments that she donned during this decade and previous decades, though, was that the outfits that she wore during the eighties were more aesthetically pleasing and the quality of the material was better. All of her clothing was Western-style clothing with the exception of three *qipaos* she owned for ceremonial occasions.

Ellie was aware that Taiwan's export sector was a major contributor to their economic growth. When I asked her what she thought of the fact that a substantial amount of the world's light manufacturing products saying "Made in Taiwan" on it, she said, "Oh, I was very proud of it!"[121] She recalled, "We were in the United States in 1982. I was a part of a [training program]. We visited a lot of states during that time. We went to California, Wisconsin, and a bunch of other states. We were visiting a lot of elementary schools, and a lot of elementary school students asked us: 'How is it that you are wearing the same clothes as us? Why are you not wearing Chinese-style clothing? Why aren't you wearing a Chinese *qipao*?' Then I told them: 'Why is our clothing the same? It's because your clothing is 'Made in Taiwan'!'"[122]

Rachel:

Rachel was born in 1975 and spent the majority of her life in Keelung, Taipei. She was adopted when she was a baby, but says that the paperwork was not filed correctly, so she does not know the date that she was adopted. Rachel describes her social class during her childhood as being upper class, noting that she and her family led comfortable lives. Her

[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.

adopted father was the founder of a pharmaceutical company in Taiwan, which is how her family acquired its fortune.

When I asked Rachel questions about what she wore in the 1980s and 1990s, she replied that she was typically apathetic toward the clothes that she wore on a daily basis. She recalled that other than wearing a required uniform while at school, when she was not in class she would usually wear something plain and simple. In her own words, she stated that, "I would wear those sports sweats. Sometimes I would wear different things. I don't know. I [didn't] really care about [what I wore]."[123] In response to this statement, I asked if her friends took part in any prominent or niche fashion trends when she was growing up in the 1980s and 1990s, and if her peers had any influence on her own fashion styles. While she couldn't recall any specific details, she noted that sometimes her peers would ridicule her for wearing only plain clothing, considering her social status. However, regardless of the derision, Rachel did not change her simple styles of fashion. She commented that, "Here [in the United States] you have to put on a certain look. But in Taiwan [I just wore] casual wear, I would say."[124]

Later in our conversation, I asked her what fashion stores were established in Taipei, from her personal observation. She remarked that there were department stores and shopping malls all over Taipei. In these shopping outlets, "We [had] everything that [the United States had], like Lancôme."[125] She noted, however, that the price of the clothing and cosmetic products at fashion stores like Lancôme and Shiseido discouraged Rachel and her family from buying those products often. She notes that even with their level of affluence, she and

[123] Rachel in conversation with Nakota DiFonzo, December 18, 2019.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.

her family were still frugal. She argued: “Why would you want to buy those $1000 clothes when you can go to a thrift store and get it for $100?” Rachel told me that as a mark of status, people in Taiwan often purchased nice vehicles.

Summative Remarks

Taiwan’s economic transformation into a consumer-capitalist economy was transformative for Taiwan’s fashion market. However, not everyone was enthusiastic about these transformations, such as Zhu Tianwen, who feared that consumerism had penetrated even the most personal modes of human expression. Also, not everyone participated in the prominent clothing trends of the martial law period, either because of a lack of interest, or because of a lack of disposable income. Nevertheless, the growing dynamism of the fashion market in Taiwan during the martial law period highlights not only the diversity of the styles of fashion that people in Taiwan had access to during this time, but also the class disparity between the people who could afford certain fashion, and people who could not.

III: FUTURITY AND FASHION

While both men and women alike explored new styles of fashion during the martial law period, women, as I have demonstrated, experimented a much wider range fashion. As a result, women were especially important for the success of the fashion market in Taiwan. Beneficiaries of the fashion market (fashion companies, designers, and authors who wrote about fashion) needed women to consistently purchase fashion products in order to maintain the viability of the fashion market.

Just as the fashion that Taiwanese people donned evolved, so did the way fashion was presented and discussed. In this chapter, I will examine how advertisements I have selected about cosmetics portrayed cosmetics as fashionable. Additionally, I will show that selected fashion articles about cosmetics and women's clothing promoted the consumption of fashion items they were discussing even though these articles did not promote a specific product. These selected fashion articles and advertisements that provided varying suggestions of what it meant to be fashionable at the time they were published implied that in order to keep up to date and not fall to archaism, women should follow the prescribed fashion models being laid out in these articles. I argue that these selected fashion advertisements and articles which show and discuss cosmetics and clothing present a *futurity*.

In her article, "Event, Abyss, Excess: The Event of Women in Chinese Commercial Advertisements, 1910s-1930s," Tani Barlow borrows Alain Badiou's term "eventalization," which is defined as an abrupt shift from one paradigm or dynamic to a new one, to show that the notion of "woman" as a historical category in modern China was an event tied to the use of images of women in advertisements to promote political and economic goals. Thus, the "eventuated woman" is a constructed historical novelty. Barlow concedes that in the

sociological context, women are a biological and social fact, tied to their physical makeup which differentiates them from men.[1] However, under a historical frame, "*woman* does not exist"; it is constructed as a new category for product advertisement.[2]

Barlow argues that the "eventalization of women," the advent of the "eventuated woman" as a category, is manifested in representations of women in early twentieth-century newspaper advertisements, that is, as a representative of whatever product she is depicted as selling. Barlow demonstrates that imagery in newspaper advertisements which depicted the "modern woman" as being outside the home, smoking, "endorsing Japanese nutritional supplements, grape wines, and the sexual performance-enhancing drugs Hemocain, Hormona, and Enormon, as well as U.S. Buicks, Fords, and Goodyear tires,"[3] were meant to evoke a sense of modernity that would entice readers (both men and women) to consume their product.[4] Barlow writes that, "it may be that society and women are not two separable domains no matter where on earth consumer culture presents itself."[5] As a result of this lack of an anchored definition of "woman" in modernity due to the manipulation of women's image by businesses, Barlow refers to the category of "woman" as a historical catachresis. She argues that the "eventalization of women" is a "rupture of the old order" in the way women were imagined.[6]

Barlow shows that women in commercial advertisements participated in modernity when they were using the advertised product only because the advertisement *claims* that

[1] Tani Barlow, "Event, Abyss, Excess: The Event of Women in Chinese Commercial Advertisement, 1910s-1930s," in *Differences* 24, no.2 (2013): 64.
[2] Tani Barlow, "Event, Abyss, Excess: The Event of Women in Chinese Commercial Advertisement, 1910s-1930s," 56.
[3] Ibid, 70.
[4] Ibid, 70.
[5] Ibid, 80.
[6] Ibid, 81.

using that product makes one modern.[7] Barlow invokes Badiou's in arguing that, "art [including commercial art] is itself a producer of truth," and commercial art is "rigorously coextensive with the truths that it generates" She also quotes Badiou's assertion that,"[t]hese truths [in art] are given nowhere else than in [commercial] art."[8] Therefore, in advertising, the "woman" and "modernity" are both fluid concepts that evolve according to the changing ways that business market them. To be "modern," according to commercial advertisements, women should imitate the " eventuated woman" in order to attain that modernity.

Barlow adds that, "Commercial advertising art structures the situation of modernity when it illuminates the futurity that using branded commodities guarantees."[9] Futurity implies a pathway through which one can participate in modernity and/or some benefit for purchasing the advertised product, such as in the case of the *Jintan* facial wash advertisements that she discusses, which promises, a "facsimile of femininity at the same time as its ostensible objective is to get women to wash their skin with soap flakes."[10]

While the notion of "futurity" as presented by Barlow is useful for my own argument, in a system of advertising where the notion of "woman" and "modern" are always changing in order to meet the marketing needs of a business, the way that "futurity" is presented must also be in a state of flux and therefore difficult to attain. Thus, in this chapter, I borrow term "futurity" from Barlow and recharacterize it as follows: When you possess futurity, you become your future self. The future self is one who participates in "modernity". "Modernity" has no anchored definition because it is constantly being redefined by businesses that each have their own unique ideas about what "modernity" means. Businesses' notions of

[7] Ibid, 82.
[8] Ibid, 79.
[9] Ibid, 80.
[10] Ibid, 82.

"modernity" are defined in relation to the product that they wish to sell; when the product they are selling changes, their conceptualization of "modernity" may change to argue that the new product represents "modernity" and the old product represents an archaism. The future self is participating in "modernity" when one consumes whatever "modern" product the business is selling. However, because "modernity" is constantly changing and every business has their own definition of "modernity," it is difficult for one to fully and/or permanently participate in "modernity" and become his or her future self. Therefore, futurity is both abstract and fleeting.

I am not making the claim that women passively subscribed to the styles prescribed to them by fashion advertisements and articles in newspapers. Many women inhabited styles that were suitable to their unique tastes, notions of what is fashionable, and comforts. Equally, women did not acquiescently accept the definition of "woman" and "modernity" in women's fashion advertisements and articles. In fact, women's fashion advertisements and articles in newspapers were not the only voice that tried to delineate the meaning of "woman". This point is illustrated clearly in Bryna Goodman's article, "The Vocational Woman and the Elusiveness of Personhood," in *Gender in Motion: Divisions of Labor and Cultural Change in Late Imperial and Modern China*. In this article, Goodman points out that the notion of "the new woman," in early twentieth-century China had an unclear definition. Prior to the May Fourth Movement, women's duties were understood to occupy only the private sphere. However, late Qing reformers envisioned women's role as being more active; to be mothers raising young boys who would become operative members of a dynamic and modern China.

Goodman distinguishes reformers from revolutionaries, writing that revolutionaries in the late Qing went further than reformers by asserting that women should engage in political action in the public sphere.[11] Finally, an "eventalization" of a new woman (to use Barlow's words) in modern China emerged as a result of the May Fourth Movement in which women's virtue came to be defined by May Fourth feminists by a woman's personhood, *ren'ge*, "which evoked independent thinking, self-reliance, and individual moral integrity," and the capacity to engage with men in the public sphere.[12] However, "the appropriateness of female suffrage was by no means generally accepted."[13]

In addition, in practice, attaining personhood was ambiguous. Goodman writes that, "To be fully modern, women had to be employed. To convey personhood, such employment should reflect a meaningful vocation… [however] work in the public realm smeared women's moral purity with the stains of money and men's sexual desires."[14] What Goodman's description shows is that, in Barlow's terms, the "eventalization of women" was not an immediate phenomenon that transpired in one single stage. Barlow echoes this point by asserting that the "eventalization of women" was two pronged; first with the subjective declaration of "I am a woman," which coincided with the second prong, the commercial advertisements.[15] Evidently from what I have presented so far, the "eventalization of women"

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[11] Bryna Goodman, "The Vocational Woman and the Elusiveness of "Personhood" in Early Republican China", in Goodman and Larson (eds.), *Gender in Motion: Divisions of Labor and Cultural Change in Late Imperial and Modern China*. (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 114.
[12] Bryna Goodman, "The Vocational Woman and the Elusiveness of "Personhood" in Early Republican China" 114.
[13] Ibid, 118.
[14] Ibid, 114.
[15] Tani Barlow, "Event, Abyss, Excess: The Event of Women in Chinese Commercial Advertisement, 1910s-1930s," 53.

was an incremental and messy process; and there were a number of groups that made efforts to shape differing definitions of the "new woman."

While Barlow does not explore women's reactions to their images being manipulated for the sake of advertising ventures, Goodman underlines their protest. She writes that May Fourth feminists criticized newspaper and magazine advertisements that, "glamorized domestic women and their modern clothing, furniture, and up-to-date appliances."[16] Also, though this open opposition to the way women were portrayed in newspaper and magazine advertisements by May Fourth feminists did not have any significant effect on the advertisers who published these advertisements, it showcases that women did not passively subscribe to these images.

Furthermore, as Goodman pointedly demonstrates, women challenged notions of "women" as they were depicted in newspaper advertisements. Similarly, women in Taiwan during the martial law period did not simply make consumption decisions based on images of fashionable women they saw in newspaper advertisements. I will show that the women's fashion advertisements and articles that I have selected which advertised women who obtained futurity are not necessarily indicative of the way women actually dressed. Instead, these advertisements and articles are one of many narratives on how "woman" was characterized. In fact, even among women's fashion advertisements and articles in newspapers, there was not one uniform narrative. Therefore, I will include interviews from ordinary Taiwanese women of varying ages, who lived in Taiwan throughout the martial law period or during a portion of it, to opine on the clothing they wore and the fashion trends they

[16] Bryna Goodman, "The Vocational Woman and the Elusiveness of "Personhood" in Early Republican China", 118.

took part in.[17] By either subscribing to or disregarding the images of futurity propagated by women's fashion advertisements and articles, ordinary women were crafting their own unique expressions through the fashionable items and clothing that they donned.

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As the Guomindang gradually relaxed its control on the number of pages that could be printed in a single newspaper per day, newspapers were able to expand not only how much they wrote, but they also increasingly had room to expand what they wrote about. In their article titled "Front Pages of Taiwan Daily Newspapers," Ven-hwei Lo, Anna Paddon, and Hsiaomei Wu, examine United Daily News, China Times (Taiwan), and the Central Daily News. The authors demonstrate that from 1951 to 1957, a single newspaper was limited to six pages. From 1957 to 1966, the limit was raised to eight pages. From 1966 to 1971, the limit was raised once again to ten pages. Finally, from 1971 to the end of the martial law period, the GMD imposed newspaper page limit was lifted to twelve pages.[18]

As the page limit increased "lifestyle articles" in newspapers, which often included articles about fashion, became a regular part of some newspapers. Also, there was gradually more space for advertisements, including fashion advertisements. The graphs below (Figure 2.1- Figure 2.3) show that article titles containing the keywords 衣服 (Clothing), 服裝

[17] To reiterate what I noted in the introduction chapter, I currently only have 6 interviews with women who were born in varying times during or before the martial law period, from different geographical regions. While I acknowledge that this sample size needs to be enlarged, and while I cannot assert that my limited number of interviews with Taiwanese women are illustrative of all Taiwanese women's experiences during this time the low number of interviews still does not invalidate the uniqueness and importance of what these women have to say about this topic.
[18] Ven-hwei Lo, Anna Paddon, and Hsiaomei Wu, "Front Pages of Taiwan Daily Newspapers," in *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 77, no.4 (2000): 881.

(Garment), and 打扮 (Dressing up) all gradually increased from 1949 to 1987 (the graphs I present actually show these keywords being used in newspaper article titles from 1949-1990 to compare how often titles with these keywords were being used during the martial law period with how often titles with these keywords were being used in the post-martial law period).[19]

There are a few of notable issues with these graphs. First, these graphs do not include all the possible words or phrases that can be used to describe "clothing" in Chinese. Also, some articles about fashion did not include any of the three keywords I am using in the article title, which means that there are certainly articles that are overlooked in this statistic. Furthermore, not all of the clothing articles in this statistic promoted fashion that ordinary Taiwanese women would purchase (for instance, some of the articles I came across discussed fashion shows around the world and beauty pageants). However, these graphs are still useful for understanding the growth of discussions about clothing styles in Taiwanese newspapers because the overall increase in articles that used these keywords certainly includes fashion articles that encouraged ordinary female readers to partake in certain fashion trends.

Barlow notes that in the first third of the twentieth century, newspaper advertisements seldom used photography because it was not able to portray the appeal of the product that the woman in the photo was presenting as well as hand drawings.[20] However, in Taiwanese newspapers from the sixties, I came across some advertisements that used photography; and I also found some fashion articles from the seventies that used black and white photography. However, I need to continue research on this matter before I can conclusively state when

[19] The information for these graphs was sourced from the National Taiwan University online newspaper database.
[20] Tani Barlow, "Event, Abyss, Excess: The Event of Women in Chinese Commercial Advertisement, 1910s-1930s," 80.

photography became regularly used for advertisements and fashion articles in Taiwanese newspapers. Additionally, an important change that happened during the late martial law era, in the early 1980s, was the regular use of color-photography fashion articles and advertisements.

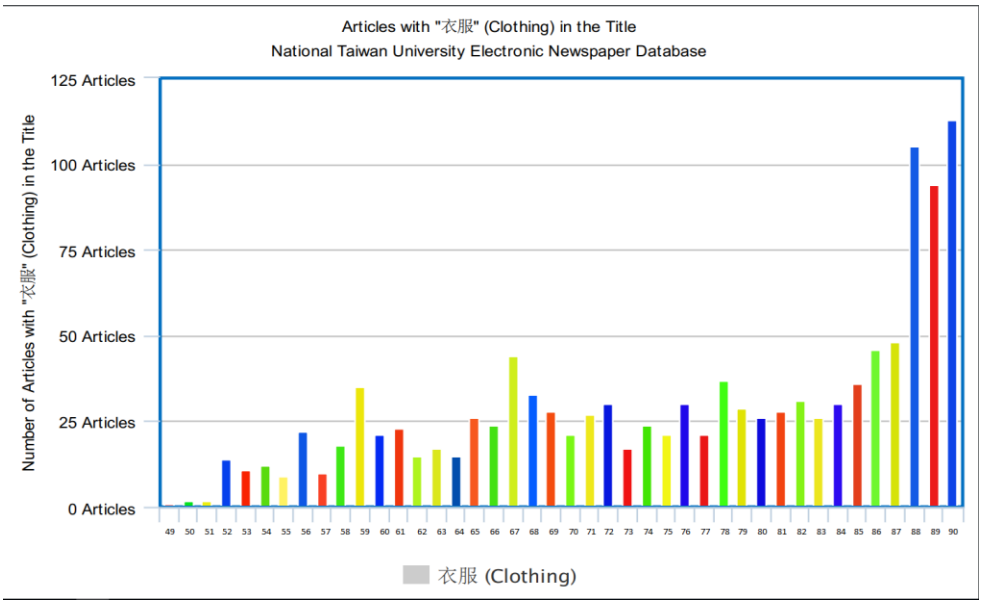

Figure 2.1.Newspaper articles with "衣服" in the title from 1949-1990

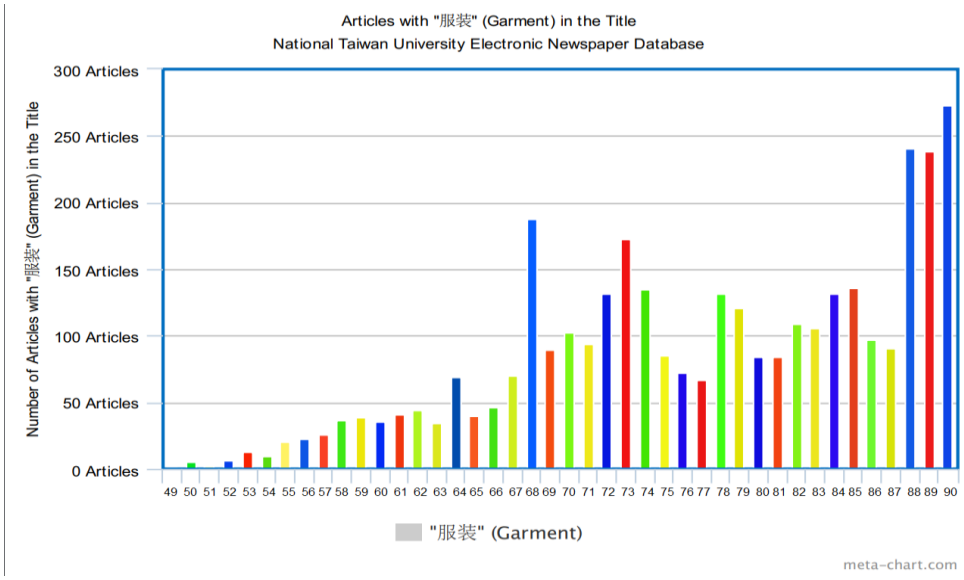

Figure 2.2 Newspaper articles with 服裝 in the title from 1949-1990

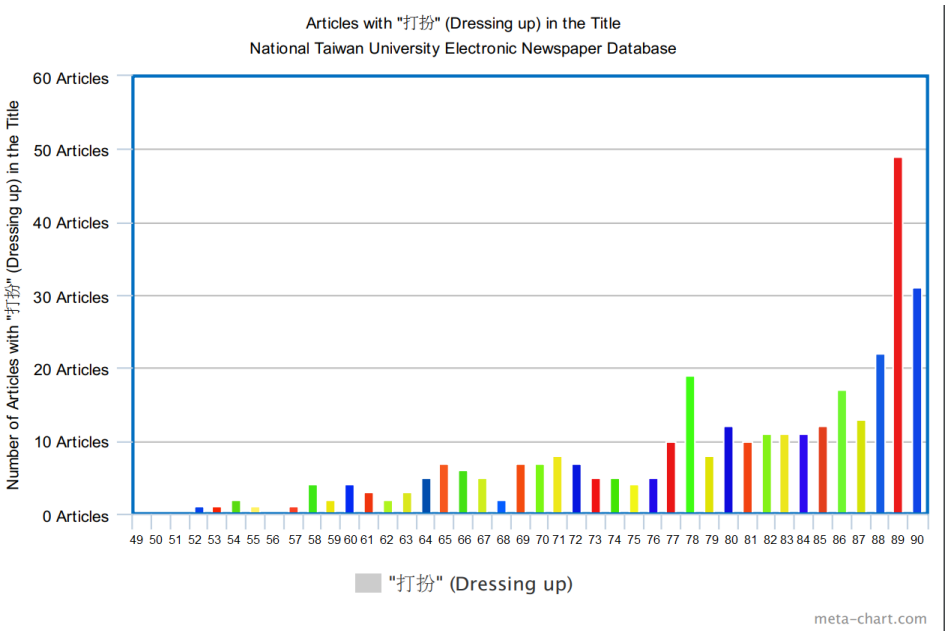

Figure 2.3. Newspaper articles with 打扮 in the title from 1949-1990

Around the time when newspaper companies in the United States were experimenting with adding color to photos for articles and advertisements in the late seventies and early eighties,[21] largely in response to competition from color television,[22] Taiwanese newspapers also adopted color photography.[23] As a result, Taiwanese fashion advertisements and fashion articles in newspapers from the eighties contrast with earlier years in that color-photography utilized its lively and vibrant imagery as a new way to visually depict the "modern woman" or the object that would afford the buyer futurity, which will be elaborated on below.

There are a number of problems with referring to newspapers alone for procuring information about the styles of fashion that Taiwanese people wore and considered fashionable. Taiwanese fashion authors, often writing in a way that promoted fashion

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[21] David Shaw, "The Trend toward Color: Some Newspapers Just Want to Stay Plain Read." *Los Angeles Times*, March 4, 1986. Accessed March 11, 2020. "https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1986-03-14-mn-20536-story.html

[22] John K. Hartman, *The USA Today Way: A Candid Look at the Newspaper's First Decade (1982-1992)*, (Ashland: Bookmasters, Inc. 1992), 76.

[23] Ven-hwei Lo, Anna Paddon, and Hsiaomei Wu, "Front Pages of Taiwan Daily Newspapers," 883.

consumerism, undoubtedly wrote for an audience that had a sufficient income and a lifestyle afforded them the capacity to use and wear the fashion items that were discussed in these articles and shown in advertisements. Also, because Taipei was the fashion center of Taiwan, and the editorial offices of the newspapers that I use in this chapter (mainly *Zhongguo Shi Bao*, *Lianhe Shi Bao*, and *Xin Sheng Shi Bao*) were located in Taipei, the authors writing about the fashion trends may not have included fashion trends that women participated in outside of Taipei. These issues further reinforce my claim that the fashion displayed in newspaper articles and advertisements do not represent a universal consensus on what was considered fashionable; and thus the interviews I incorporate into this chapter are important for complicating the narrative on what clothing and other fashion items were actually prolific in Taiwan during this time.

Cosmetics

A frequent female reader of *Xin Sheng Bao* would certainly have come across Shiseido advertisements such as the one shown in Figure 2.4 from 1959. Color, which was sparsely used during this time, is strategically employed in this advertisement to solidify certain ideas about this brand in the reader's mind. Immediately, the reader's eye is drawn to one of the five red-colored spots on the advertisement, which, translated from right to left and top to bottom are: "A modern woman!" "Shiseido," "cleansing cream," and "Shiseido" two more times in English; once on the box, and once below the watermark on the bottom-left corner.

Shiseido, a Japanese company founded in 1872[24] that established its Taiwan branch in Taipei in 1957,[25] is noteworthy for its explicit use of futurity in its advertisements. The image in Figure 2.4 is a personal one. With a blank background, the advertisement draws the reader's focus toward three distinct items: the red characters (which I previously mentioned) the Shiseido product, and importantly, the "modern woman" on the very left of the advertisement, to whom the phrase "A modern woman!" is referring. We see the woman wearing a sleeveless, form-fitting dress and earrings, admiring her own image as she rubs her face after presumably using the face cleansing product. The implication in this advertisement is that the woman, indulging in her image, is "modern" because she uses this product.

Figure 2.4. A Shiseido advertisement published in Xin Sheng Bao on October 6, 1959

[24] "About the Brand," Shiseido, Accessed March 11, 2020, https://www.shiseido.com/us/en/about-the-shiseido-brand.html
[25] "Shiseido Celebrates 60th Anniversary of Sales Launch in Taiwan," Shiseido, Accessed March 11, 2020, https://corp.shiseido.com/en/news/detail.html?n=00000000002139

Shiseido's suggestion of an ambiguous modernity is a persistent theme even in the following decades. Figure 2.5, an advertisement for another Shiseido cosmetic product, published in 1985, 26 years after the advertisement depicted in Figure 2.4, also explicitly uses the term "modern" to describe it's product. Amidst the Spring Festival, the advertisement reads: "Partake in traditional holidays, provide modern gifts," and, "it is a thoughtful and apt gift for giving someone a deep, good impression."

There are a few notable points about this advertisement. First and most obviously, this advertisement has embraced photography as a regular marketing art form. Though I intend to further investigate the history of Shiseido newspaper advertisements in order to make a firm statement about when exactly their tendency to use photography over illustrations began, I can assert, based on my observations of Shiseido advertisements in Taiwanese newspapers, that by at least 1980 Shiseido and other cosmetic companies such as Revlon and Kaneba had embraced photographic imagery and had subsequently taken advantage of the physical human form, not just an imitation of it, as a means of marketing their product.

Interestingly, the focal point of Figure 2.5 is not the makeup box, which only inhabits a small space at the bottom of the advertisement. Rather, the reader's attention is immediately drawn to a young woman, set against a soft backdrop of dark blue and black, who is gazing back at the reader. She is holding a champagne glass containing a clear liquid, a solid red object, and a bright red cherry on top. More outstanding, though, is that she appears to be wearing either shoulder-free or no clothing, perhaps as a way to emphasize her youthfulness.

While the Shiseido advertisement from 1959 presents us with an ambiguously-aged woman, the color photography of the 1980s advertisement leaves no room for vagueness that futurity in this 1985 advertisement is defined in large part by youthfulness, as well as beauty and luxury; all as a consequence of purchasing the illustrious cosmetic product. This notion of youthfulness seems to be further confirmed by the large 春 (*chūn*, a character for Spring, which also has a connotation for youthfulness), the character for spring, in the upper-left corner above the woman. The character, in this context, embodies a double meaning of referring to the 春節 (Spring Festival), but also to the youthfulness of the woman.

Figure 2.5. A Shiseido advertisement published in Zhongguo Shi Bao on February 2, 1985

Outside of cosmetics advertisements, newspaper authors and cartoonists also commented on women's cosmetics. In a cartoon published in 1958 by *Xin Sheng Bao* (Figure 2.6), we observe an older woman with short hair, wearing a *qipao* shirt and black pants. She

is sitting in front of her mirror applying lipstick along with a jar of some other cosmetic product by her side. The text in the illustration reads: "Qing Mei smiles skipping rope [as a child]. When spring [otherwise translated as 'youth'] fades, she loves sitting in front of the mirror [applying makeup]."[26] This cartoon appears to imply that regardless of a woman's age, she turns to makeup as a way of trying to conserve her youth. Clearly satire, this illustration highlights a stereotypical perception by that modern women and cosmetics to underline their modern appearance.

Figure 2.6 A cartoon published in Xin Sheng Bao on December 12, 1958

Certain articles about women's fashion linked the futurity of consuming cosmetic products with a woman's occupation. As was previously mentioned in my chapter on fashion and economics, women became an increasingly crucial part of the workforce beginning in the 1960s as Taiwan underwent rapid industrial expansion and employers subsequently needed

[26] 新生時報, December 12, 1958.

to look for new sources of labor.[27] Women were not just hired for manual labor. Employers found college-graduate women, married women, and mothers to be appealing sources of skilled labor. As I was combing over newspapers, especially when looking at newspapers from the sixties, seventies, and eighties, I would frequently come across cluttered classified pages that included job postings for female secretaries (sometimes requiring the applicant to be able to speak and/or write in English).

In 1962, *Zheng Xin Xinwen Bao*, as it was known before September 1, 1968 when it changed its name to *Zhongguo Shi Bao*, published a short piece titled "A Working Woman's Way of Dressing Up,"[28] in which the author gave an extensive critique of what a woman should be wearing in the workplace. For example, the author writes that, "In today's society the clothing that women wear is of greatest importance, especially for working women."[29] The author not only makes a number of comments about what colors of clothing are best suitable for a modern office woman, and how she should wear her hair, but even suggests that the modern office woman abandon traditional Chinese clothing in an office space such as the *qipao* in favor of Western-style clothing. In regards to cosmetics, the author recommends that women wear a little bit of makeup before coming into work. This short fashion piece is accompanied by a picture of a slender woman with short, curled hair, wearing lipstick and eyeshadow, a flower-patterned shirt and a long skirt, looking sheepishly away from the reader. This illustration supposedly represents an ideal image of a modern office woman.

[27] Wei-hsin Yu, "Taiwanese Women's Employment from a Comparative Perspective," Brookings Institute, September 14, 2015, https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/women-and-employment-in-taiwan/
[28] 素, "職業婦女的打扮,"徵信新聞報, May 7, 1962.
[29] Ibid.

In similar article also published by *Zhongguo Shi Bao* in 1980, titled, "Important Beautification Points before Seeking Employment,"[30] the author recounts that when she was at a graduation dinner with her university classmates, she noticed that their styles had changed. This observation prompts her to plan out some ways that she could beautify herself before seeking employment, which she shares with the reader in this article. The author emphasizes a "simple but elegant" style and details the kind of foundation one should use. She also suggests that the reader consider applying blush, eyeshadow, and lipstick before applying for a job position. She concludes by writing: "Maybe you're not very used to it [applying makeup], but if you use makeup properly, you will inevitably raise your beauty and give people a good impression of you. It will definitely benefit your job hunt."[31]

In a *Zhong Ying Ribao* article titled, "Apply Cosmetics Suitably According to Your Age," the author, presumably speaking first to an older female reader, writes that, "[time] makes your natural beauty fade," and suggests that the reader apply an abundance of makeup, "so as to bring out the fullest of one's natural beauty."[32] Then the author interestingly directs his message presumably to a younger woman that, "[if] Heaven did not bestow upon you a beautiful face, [and you can naturally] go without prettifying your face… people will sigh with envy."[33] The author recommends, however, that if a young woman does want to apply makeup, she should use a lighter amount than the older woman.

Other articles made more explicit and fantastical claims about the effects of using certain cosmetics. For instance, in a *Zhongguo Shi Bao* article titled, "Bright Red Lips Has Ten-Thousand Kinds of Amorous Feelings" the author makes the case that lipstick is "like a

[30] (ed.) 瓊麗賴, "球之前的美化重點," 中國時報, June 20, 1980.
[31] Ibid.
[32] 蘇儀, "要做適合年齡打扮," 中英日報, February 20, 1966
[33] Ibid.

burning passion" that can seduce any man that a woman desires.[34] The author also asserts that a man can do without a woman wearing fake eyelashes, eyeshadow, or red blush, "but he cannot bear to part with the enchanting red lipstick."[35] Another article titled, "Cinderella Turns into a Goddess," the author makes the exaggeration that quality perfume "can make ordinary women become goddesses."[36] What the author means by this statement is not made totally clear. However, what I can infer from this statement is that the perfume may be able to make a woman more attractive and more noticed in public.

Initially, in these presented articles, futurity may not appear to be fleeting since, after purchasing makeup, a woman will be able attain an occupation, make herself "look presentable" in the office space, or seduce a man of her desire. However, though these articles are not selling a specific cosmetic product, they are inclining women to search for a company that *does* sell such products, such as Shiseido, whose ever-changing images of the "modern woman" would urge women to continuously "upgrade" from their current cosmetics to whatever new product is being sold. Admittedly, to some extent, it can be argued that futurity is more attainable in cosmetics. For example, a woman who regularly purchased Shiseido's cleansing cream (Figure 2.4) during martial law era would have a grasp on "modernity" as long as that product continued to be sold, because Shiseido advertised it as a "modern" product for a "modern woman," and would not stop advertising it in that way because they would want to keep selling the product. However, even if a woman in martial law era Taiwan continuously purchased Shiseido's cleansing cream, as Shiseido produced new products and advertised those products as "modern" products for a "modern woman"

[34] 沉呂百, "朱唇一點風情萬種," 中國時報, January 15, 1980.
[35] Ibid.
[36] 黃欣梅, "灰姑娘變成神,"中國時報, June 18, 1983.

(such as in Figure 2.5), she would still be faced with pressures by new advertisements to embrace a new "modernity" which is manifested in the new cosmetic product being sold. In this way, futurity is still fleeting even for cosmetics.

Clothing

With the exception of some advertisements of shirts and pants, I was unable to find a substantial enough amount of diverse clothing advertisements to warrant its own discussion in the way that I discussed cosmetic advertisements. With future research, I hope to develop a narrative on women's clothing advertisements. However, for now, I will demonstrate how a plethora of seemingly disorderly presentations of futurity were portrayed in fashion articles about clothing.

Just as with certain articles about cosmetics, a number of articles about women's clothing spoke directly to the reader, often stimulating their imagination to place them in the clothing being discussed. For instance, in a short article published in 1960 by *Xin Sheng Bao* simply titled, "Skirt Combinations," the author describes an illustration of a woman wearing a plain collared shirt and a patterned skirt that goes down to her knees as being, "elegant and graceful."[37] (Figure 2.7) Importantly, the author adds that, "The patterned skirt has two big pockets [on the side], which are convenient to use," and, "this is what is considered fashionable now."[38] In a different article published in 1972 by *Lianhe Shibao*, the author describes a "French V-neck Western-style dress [which is] winter's most… popular [and fashionable style]."[39] Commenting that there are a variety of iterations of this outfit, the

[37] 餘汶, "裙衫之配合," 新生報, May 20, 1960
[38] Ibid.
[39] "冬季洋裝," 聯合時報, 1972.

author notes that the shade one should buy depends on the color of the reader's skin. Also, writing that this outfit works best for "women who are a bit fuller,"[40] the author concludes that the outfit expresses an attitude that is, "refined and dignified."[41]

Figure 2.7. An illustration from a fashion article in Xin Sheng Shi Bao, published on May 20, 1960

Another important article by *Lianhe Shi Bao* which was published in 1964, titled "Lively and Comfortable Young Women's Outfits," details 12 different styles of dresses (Figure 2.8), which the author encourages mothers to get for their young daughters. The author makes the case that young women's dresses need to be both pleasing to the eye as well as comfortable, adding that, "except for beauty, stylishness, and comfort, women also need to express their liveliness [and] youthful[ness] [through the clothing]."[42] In some

[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] 群倫, "活泼和舒适的妇女服装," 聯合時報, August 29, 1964.

excerpts, the author particularly focuses on the stylistic aspects of the dress, such as in the excerpt about the dress depicted in Illustration 1 of Figure 2.8 when he writes: "the first picture shows a dress that a young woman could wear when going to a dance party. The clothing adopts contrasting colors. The black top has sequins or gold silk material. The style is very simple… In the middle front of the body, you can see that the skirt folds [into a pyramid shape]... In between the top and bottom, you can use red satin for the waist. The waist is five to six centimeters wide. Adding red to the front can add a breath of liveliness and youthfulness [to the outfit]."[43]

In other excerpts, the author highlights the practicality of some of the dresses which would have been worn for more leisurely occasions, while still acknowledging their fashionableness. For example, in one excerpt, the author comments on the long, hot summers in Taiwan. As a way of staying cool, the author recommends the dresses depicted in Illustrations 7, 8, and 9 of Figure 2.8. For illustration 7, as an example, the author writes: "Illustration 7 uses a soft and light material. Underneath the extra-wide collar, there are many folds… Young women and grown women: after you bathe, and dry and brush your hair, put on this cool and light outfit."[44] The author adds that both adult women (such as the supposed reader) and young women alike can don the styles of dresses discussed in this article.

The author also makes a few summative remarks, indicating that clothing should be elegant and not too frivolous. The author also makes some suggestions about what patterns work best for dresses and skirts, and how to make the best use of contrasting colors, stating,

[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.

for instance, that, “if you wear two types of colors of clothing, one should be deep and one should be light; it will give people an impression of softness and beauty.”[45]

While some of these dresses are designed more for leisurely occasions, and others more formal, what is significant about this article is that we observe a wide range of dresses that the author considers fashionable. Certain dresses have wide collars (particularly Illustration 7, which the author categorizes as being extra wide), while others have narrow collars (such as illustration 10). Some of the dresses utilize solid colors (Illustration 4), while others experiment with patterned designs and pockets (illustration 9). Also, while there is not considerable variation in the length of the dresses, we can still observe that some dresses stop slightly above the knee (illustration 5), and others go just below it (illustration 2).

Figure 2.8. Twelve illustrations from an article in Lianhe Shi Bao, published on August 29, 1964

[45] Ibid.

Three articles from the 1980s that I have selected show a diversity of women's clothing styles that were perceived as fashionable in clothing articles in the late martial law period. The first article, published in 1985, discusses the contributions of a fashion designer named Ye Zhendong to the field of fashion. This article showcases four photographs of different outfits by the designer that the author felt were most popular. The designers' outfits in this article share the characteristic of being refined in design, mild in color, and conservative in its overall physical appearance. In the first photograph (Figure 2.9), for example, the author writes of the outfit, a blue Western-style dress that runs down to the knees with slightly accentuated shoulder pads, that it, "[exemplifies] a refined and warm beauty." The author adds that, "jewelry and adornments are especially important for this style of clothing… broaches… [and] earrings… emphasize the clothing's high-class style."[46] The author's message in describing this designer's lineup of clothing is that it was made to emphasize the elegance and sophistication of any woman who wears it.

Figure 2.9 A photograph from an article in Zhongguo Shi Bao, published on October 14, 1985

[46] "讓線條表現服裝的個性," 中國時報, October 14, 1985.

In contrast, another article published by *Zhongguo Shi Bao* in 1982 titled, "Light and Relaxed Wear for Going Out on the Street" describes "leisure clothing" as a new fashion trend in the early eighties (Figure 2.10). Noting that this light and airy clothing is perfect for summertime, the author also makes the argument that, "in a time when the economy has fluctuated between booming and stagnating… [leisure clothing] will be accepted by everyone… [it] does not show one's standard of living… the gradation between rich people and poor people's clothing will come together."[47] The author quotes a designer, Wang Biying, as saying that the allure of leisure clothing stems from its simplicity and comfort.

Interestingly, while the author enthusiastically encourages women to go out and purchase leisure clothing, the designer, Wang Biying, and the author also warn that women should limit their wardrobe to no more than a two leisure outfits because, "buying this style of clothing all summer, non-stop, is really boring. People wearing it will quickly feel like it is dull."[48] Therefore, the author suggests to the reader that it is good to have this style for the proper occasions, but for a woman to be truly fashionable, she needs to have clothing for a variety of occasions.

Figure 2.10: A photograph from an article in Zhongguo Shi Bao, published on May 2, 1982

[47] 李凱莉, "輕輕鬆松穿上街," 中國時報, May 2, 1982.
[48] Ibid.

Lastly, one especially distinguished style that was discussed frequently in fashion articles in the seventies and eighties, which also contrasts with the two styles mentioned above, was disco-style clothing. The world-wide popularization of disco in the seventies and eighties, which was popular among both men and women, created a space for new experimental styles of clothing as well as another avenue for fashion writers to present a new fashion trend as a futurity. In an article published in 1980, provocatively titled: "A Sexy, Bold, and Feverish Dream: Bright and Beautiful Disco Clothing," the author provides recommendations for what the most suitable attire is for a woman to wear at a disco scene. The first style that the author recommends is skin-tight pants and a loose top, accompanied by shoes with heels. The author also recommends, "open-slit Western-style clothing with embroidered pearls, flower-patterned silk socks, and high-heeled shoes"[49] In addition to these suggestions, the author also discourages long clothing and formal wear, arguing that the point of the clothing that the author suggests is that it should emphasize the fluidity and energy being of the dancer's movements.

Similar to what I said about cosmetics articles, fashion articles about clothing did not typically promote specific products. Though, as I showed with the article about Ye Zhendong and Wang Biying, fashion articles about clothing sometimes advertised specific designer's outfits. Even when fashion articles were not promoting specific brands or designers, the vivid and lively images of outfits that these articles painted in the reader's minds created a positive picture of the clothing they discussed which would have, at the very least, made women readers *want* to buy some of the clothing they read about even if they did not actually go out

[49] "火辣奔放," 中國時報, February 21, 1980.

and buy it. Fashion articles' function as a messenger of the latest outfits on the market can be viewed as an extension of an advertisement that consequently lends itself to the benefit of consumer culture by enticing readers with the futurity they can attain if they buy a certain outfit or take part in a fashion trend. The reliability of these articles in promoting consumer culture, in my estimation, is evident in the fact that these fashion articles, both for clothing and cosmetics, have existed before, during, and after the martial law period. Certainly, if no one was reading these articles, they would have stopped publishing them.

Overall, especially by the late 1960s, newspapers were producing fashion articles about clothing far more frequently than before. New fashionable clothing styles were constantly introduced in Taiwanese fashion articles during the martial law era, and consequently clothing styles became more easily susceptible to being dated by a certain time period such as a decade, a year, or a season. As a result, the notions of "newness" and "modernity" in terms of clothing were in a constant state of flux, and therefore it is difficult to make any conclusion about vestimentary themes during the martial law period in Taiwan. Along with countless narratives propagated by different authors writing different articles that promoted different styles of clothing, futurity in these articles seems to have been all but ungraspable.

Responses from Interview Participants

In this section, I have selected three female interview participants with whom I conducted interviews about their general fashion and clothing. Their responses provide insight into the difference between futurities presented in women's fashion advertisements

and articles in newspapers, and the clothing and cosmetics that many ordinary women actually donned.

Ellie:

Ellie was born in 1939 and raised in Danshui. She describes her life during the fifties, as I noted in my previous chapter about clothing and economics, as being one that was defined in part by chronic financial struggles. As a result, Ellie did not understand fashion and her appearance to be a consequential part of her daily life. In fact, in my interview with Ellie, she had more to say about her school uniforms than the daily garments that she wore outside of school. She commented that at, "[Taiwan Girl's Normal High School] we had to wear a button-up shirt and a skirt. It was kind of a light brown color. [For one of the classes], we were like child soldiers. We would also wear a hat. Those kinds of clothes [signified] that we are in a sort of 'girl's army'."[50] Ellie also noted that at university, she and her classmates were required to wear military-style clothing once a week for their "drill class." Figure 2.11 shows Ellie, along with her male and female classmates, wearing military uniforms, complete with a hat, shirt, and pants, that appear to be made out of cotton, or cotton and a combination of other fabrics. These uniforms do not seem to have a gendered distinction between male and female.

Ellie also noted that on an average day at National Taiwan Normal University, she wore "standard clothing" (Figure 2.12). When I asked her what "standard clothing" meant, she replied, "Just whatever you can wear. At that time we were not particular about style. It's similar to today's clothes. Though, the clothing wasn't very pretty. Of course, if you are rich,

[50] Ellie in conversation with Nakota DiFonzo, February 7, 2020.

you can buy clothing that was made outside the country. But we common people couldn't wear something like that. Also, at that time, most of us did not wear trousers. We would all wear skirts. Nowadays we have so many options. The style back then, the style was very basic."[51]

When asked if she read newspaper articles or magazine articles about fashion, she replied that she did not. She stated that money, at least in the fifties and early sixties, was a matter of concern and that clothing served mostly a practical function. She noted, however, that she was not totally without stylish clothing. She continued that, "I used to own two or three *qipaos* [in the 1960s]. I have a friend whose mother gave me a *qipao* to wear. But it was not something that I would wear regularly. It was for special occasions… Taiwanese people would not wear it often. Chinese people would wear it more often. This clothing is from the mainland, in fact."[52]

Figure 2.11. Ellie and her classmates posing for a photo in their military attire at Taiwan Shifan Da Xue, 1958

[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

Figure 2.12: Ellie (right) poses for a summer photo with her classmates on a bridge, 1958

Ariadne:

Ariadne was born in 1966, and lived in Taipei until she moved to the United States to study for her undergraduate degree. In describing her clothing styles as a young adult and a grown adult, she emphasized that what she wore was "simple"; not projecting a unique style, pattern, or colors. In grade school, students were required to wear uniforms. Ariadne notes that in elementary school their uniform consisted of, "white socks… The skirts were probably navy blue… And [we] had a jacket too. [It was] nothing fancy or anything. And when I went to junior high school [and high school] it was similar. Instead of a khaki top, it was a [white] top."[53] According to Ariadne, while there was some flexibility in what female students could wear in elementary school (such as necklaces, hair braids, etc.), students were

[53] Ariadne in conversation with Nakota DiFonzo, December 30, 2019.

required to follow strict clothing codes in middle school and high school. She commented that: "[There were] no accessories, no makeup, no nail polish; that kind of thing" [54]

Ariadne stated that there was a certain negative perception about girls in her school that focused too much on their appearance. In her own words: "students that might not have done as well on the exams might go to schools that were rated a little bit lower, so their grades would probably not be as good. They might do different things [with clothing]. They might be more rebellious, and not want to follow the rules. That's pretty normal, actually."[55]

Although Ariadne did not participate in many fashion trends, she did choose to perm her hair after graduating from high school. "I remember after I graduated from high school, I got a perm for the first time… It was one of the only times I got my hair permed over all those years."[56] When I asked her if it was common for a lot of people at that time to perm their hair, she replied that it was. I interpret Ariadne's decision to perm her hair as representing her ability to take advantage of her then expanded capacity to express herself through fashion, a capacity that was much more restricted when she was a student in grade school.

Translating into her life outside of school, and her life after high school, Ariadne noted that she typically wore *dānchún* [plain and simple] clothing that was comfortable. Therefore, when asked about how much fashion advertisements and fashion articles from newspapers or magazines influenced her clothing and cosmetic decisions, it came with little surprise that Ariadne responded that she did not pay much attention to them. She also added that, "It is a very simple- back then kids should be focusing on their studies. I don't think-

[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

nowadays it's different- but back then I don't think that we even thought that we needed to wear any accessories."[57]

I then asked if she wore makeup or used any cosmetics in high school, to which she replied, "I didn't even think I needed to apply makeup, so I think it's just a- again, back to this *dānchún*; you may not think that it is a need to put on this makeup. And not to mention during school time, when it is definitely not allowed. Again, to remind you, it [was] very different [back then]." When I then asked if she did not use makeup or other cosmetics simply because of school rules, or because it was her personal choice, she responded that, "I still didn't wear a lot of makeup [regardless of the school rules]. Even nowadays. I might have started doing a little lipstick in my college years. Even that, I didn't do a whole lot of that. In a way, I kept that habit [of wearing little or no makeup]. I think kids nowadays are overdoing it."

Amelia:

Amelia was born in 1973 in Gaoxiong, and moved to Taipei when she was 3 years old, at which point her family moved to Taipei where she lived until she graduated from university. Since Amelia was born just 14 years before the end of the martial law era, and she was therefore not an adult before martial law was lifted, much of her clothing was determined by her parents. Also, although her family's financial situation was comfortable, and the economy of Taiwan was in a steadily growing, Amelia's family was nevertheless frugal, and their frugality was reflected in the clothing that she wore.

[57] Ibid.

Just as with the other interview participants discussed above, when asked to opine on the clothing that she wore during the marital law period, her attention immediately turned to her school uniforms. She stated that, "we also had to wear uniforms, speaking of clothing and fashion… You cannot judge a person about how they look like [in terms of] their clothing because everybody had a uniform."[58] She described her uniform as consisting of, "a white shirt and a simple skirt; a knee-length skirt. Nothing too short, nothing too long."[59] (Figure 2.13) Amelia also noted that she and kids her age were not even thinking about fashion until they were much older. She continued that, "And that was the purpose of the uniform, I think; to wear uniform so the kids don't spend time thinking about it [what they will wear]. But by junior high… girls [could not] have long hair. Everybody had to have short hair about one centimeter below their ear lobe."[60] Furthermore, when I asked about accessories that she may have started to experiment with in middle school or high school, Amelia replied that accessories, "[were] not forbidden, but just as kids we didn't think about wearing earrings, necklaces, or anything like that. If any kid had anything decorative, I think it would be more like a safety charm kind of thing; for health or for safety. [It would be] more like a charm rather than a fashionable statement."[61]

I then asked Amelia what type of everyday clothing her parents bought for her to wear outside of school. She said that, "I don't think we changed out of our uniform. We even slept in it! Then the next day you would just get up and then go [to school]. So we didn't bother worrying about whether that shirt would be wrinkled or anything."[62]

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[58] Amelia in conversation with Nakota DiFonzo, December 30, 2019.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.

Figure 2.13. Amelia and her classmates pose for a photo in their school uniforms

Amelia spent a year in Ithaca, New York, during her fifth-grade year, because her father was invited to be a visiting scholar there. During this time, Amelia became increasingly aware of the clothing and fashion that others were wearing, in large part because there was no uniforms at the school in Ithaca she attended. However, when I asked her if she was influenced by fashion advertisements or fashion articles in newspapers (or magazines) as an elementary school, middle school, high school, or even college student, she responded by saying, "[No], but I imagine some of my classmates might have. I was not allowed to buy my own clothes. I did not have the allowance to do it. And we didn't have any fashion magazines lying around. So I didn't. But I definitely know people like that. Late elementary school, definitely classmates were aware of idols, movie stars, and singers [and the clothing they wore in fashion articles]. Whether or not they imitated them, I don't know… maybe

hairstyle."[63] She recalled, for instance, that some of her female classmates in high school and university imitated a Farrah Fawcett- style hairdo.

Although Amelia was not particularly focused on her outward appearance through fashion during her life in the martial law period, one excerpt from my interview with her, however was particularly striking. She told me that she was a very studious student. However, one time in her all-girls middle school, she was accidently placed in a regular class instead of an advanced class. She described to me that the students in this class made alterations to their uniform, such as, "fold[ing] their skirt up to make it shorter, or secretly alter[ing] their uniform to make it look slightly different… or add a fold to their white shirt."[64] In Amelia's view at that time, she assumed they did this because they were bad students.

Furthermore, she noted that in high school and college, she took note of students who wore makeup. Honing her attention on her studies, Amelia refrained from wearing makeup. In fact, even now she still rarely wears any. She added that when she was a student at National Taiwan University, almost none of the women wore makeup. Her perception about wearing makeup at the time was: "You must be dating, which is also not allowed. Or you are trying to attract guys. Like, 'what are you doing? You should be focusing on studying. You are not a serious student.' I think that [if] you are a student back then, it [would have been] considered [better to] not pay attention to your appearance, because you should only focus on studying. You are *supposed* to only focus on studying. Dating, attracting the other sex. These are all bad. It [was] not allowed."[65]

[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

Just as Amelia and others like her harbored a personal judgment toward young girls and grown women in grade school and university who dressed up too much or wore makeup, she also experienced what she felt to be a feeling of distaste being aimed at her from men when she dressed up. “I dressed up and then I would think that’s why boys shunned me. They’d think I’m a player. Yeah, like, ‘you look too good, so that must mean that you are not serious.’ I was actually a top student so it was ironic, I feel.” [66]

Summative Remarks

In this chapter, I have used Tani Barlow’s theoretical framework to demonstrateb that because “woman” as a category is a historical catachresis with no foundational definition, that the “eventuated woman” will always be a dynamically changing social construct. The eventuated women in fashion articles and advertisements that I have presented illustrate fashion as a futurity.

Not all fashion articles presented fashion as a futurity, however. Some fashion articles discussed fashion shows and clothing exhibitions that were taking place in Taiwan or internationally; articles that were certainly not advertising clothing to the ordinary Taiwanese woman. Others focused on clothing that actors, actresses, and models wore. The existence of a diversity of other types of fashion articles, however, does not nullify what I have presented in this chapter. In fact, it highlights my point that there was not a singular, dominant narrative on what was considered fashionable.

I also argue that because the fashion articles and advertisements I have shown did not have a single narrative about what was fashionable, they alone are not reliable for providing a

[66] Ibid.

comprehensive view of the fashion during the martial law period. My interviews with Taiwanese women further complicate the narrative by showing that newspaper advertisements and magazines were not always effective in attracting women to the fashion that was being shown in advertisements or discussed in articles.

This chapter leaves several questions open that I hope to answer with future research. I am interested in exploring how women's fashion advertisements portrayed futurity to women in other mediums, such as magazines, billboards, and television. Also, I would like to expand my analysis to include how men's fashion articles and advertisements were framed.

IV: CONCLUSION

As I have demonstrated in this thesis, expression through fashion in Taiwan during the martial law period (1949-1987) was dynamic and lively. Though Taiwanese people prior to the martial law era donned creative and colorful styles, Taiwanese fashion was dramatically transformed by the growing presence of a consumer-capitalist culture beginning in the 1950s. In large part due to political, economic, and cultural influence from the United States, the GMD increasingly predicated their legitimacy on their ability to foster a more economically affluent society for both individuals and businesses. As a result, a population of Taiwanese people used some of their disposable income to incorporate a greater range styles of fashion from around the world (especially the West); styles which articulated Taiwanese identity ambivalences.

During this time, Taiwan's fashion market expanded and foreign and domestic fashion designers cultivated a consumer base of fashion consumers, a growing number of whom had the ability to spend. Furthermore, a number of small businesses blossomed, some of which certainly would have sold clothing, cosmetics, shoes, and accessories. However, as my interviews with Taiwanese respondents highlighted, amidst the animated world of fashion in Taiwan, there was a population of people who were encumbered by strenuous economic realities and could not partake in mainstream fashion trends. Even those who had the financial resources to participate in popular fashion trends sometimes opted to don more modest styles of fashion.

I have also demonstrated that images of women promoting certain fashion products in newspaper articles and advertisements about fashion were an important component for some beneficiaries of the fashion market to sell their product. Fashion

advertisements and articles in newspapers that presented the possibility of women being fashionable if she purchased the product being discussed were strategically marked with language such as “modern,” “sexy,” and “in vogue.” However, in order to generate more revenue, beneficiaries of the fashion market continuously marketed new fashion, contending that whatever new product being sold would make a woman fashionable and modern. Futurity was often made more complicated and fleeting as different beneficiaries of the fashion market were often in traffic with one another, and they usually presented their own fashion products as a futurity. While not all fashion was portrayed as a futurity in newspapers and advertisements, it was still a prevalent tactic that benefitted Taiwan’s commercialized fashion market.

Women were by no mean automatons who blindly subscribed to the fashion products which were discussed in certain newspaper articles and advertisements. My interviews with three female respondents presented at the end of the second chapter demonstrate that, just as I underlined in my interviews in the first chapter, financial constraints were a consideration for a number of Taiwanese women during the martial law period, and so many could not participate in fashion trends which were propagated by beneficiaries of the fashion market. Also, the women I interviewed indicted that their general attitude, even if/when they did have disposable income, was that simple, functional styles of fashion were preferable to showy ones.

As I have demonstrated in this thesis, fashion was in a dynamic state of evolution during the martial law period. The emergence of a consumer-capitalist culture in Taiwan beginning in the 1950s marked the start of a fast-paced, expanding fashion market where

fashion producers and fashion consumers interacted with one another in a continual conversation over how to articulate the identity ambivalences of Taiwanese consumers of fashion.

APPENDIX

Chronology of the History of Taiwan

4000 B.C.	First known Neolithic Austronesian people arrive in Taiwan.
1517	Portugese ships encounter Taiwan, refer to it as *Ilha Formosa* (The Beautiful Island).
1624	Dutch establish first settlement in Taiwan.
1626	Spanish establish first settlement in Taiwan.
1642	Spanish establishment invaded by the Dutch.
1662	Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga) ousts the Dutch from Taiwan.
1683	Zheng Chenggong is defeated by the Qing. Taiwan is incorporated into the Qing empire.
1895	After the Qing defeat in the first Sino-Japanese War, Taiwan is made a dependency of Japan as part of the Treaty of Shimonoseki.
1945	Taiwan comes under Guomindang administration after the defeat of the Japanese in World War II.
1947	The February 28th Incident.
1949	Taiwan is placed under martial law.
1971	Taiwan withdraws from the United Nations. The People's Republic of China assumes its place.

1975	Chiang Kai Shek dies; Jiang Jingguo becomes Nationalist Party chairman.
1978	Jiang Jingguo is elected president by the National Assembly.
1979	The United States recognizes the People's Republic of China and ends its formal relations with Taiwan.
1986	The Democratic Progressive Party is established.
1987	Jiang Jingguo lifts martial law.
1988	Jiang Jingguo dies.
1988-1996	Lee Teng-hui becomes president; oversees political liberalization.
1996	Lee Teng-hui becomes the first popularly elected president in the history of Taiwan.
2000	The Democratic Progressive Party wins its first presidential election, with Chen Shui-bian being elected president.
2008	Ma Ying-jeou is elected president. He is the first president of Taiwan to meet with a Communist Party General Secretary.
2016	Tsai Ying-Wen is elected president, making history as Taiwan's first female president. The American president-elect, Donald Trump, congratulates Tsai on her election, marking the first time since 1979 that a U.S. president or president-elect spoke directly with a Taiwanese head-of-state.

2020 Tsai Ying-wen is re-elected.

Map of Taiwan

(Source: http://ontheworldmap.com/taiwan/taiwan-road-map.html)

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