

Women and Youth Climate Change Activism in Taiwan

Research Report: Preliminary Findings

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During my MOFA Taiwan Fellow tenure from June 1, 2023 to December 31, 2023, I conducted preliminary research on my proposed research project, entitled “Women and Youth Climate Change Activism in Taiwan.” The purpose of this research is twofold: (1) to study the participation of women and youth in environmental activism in Taiwan; and (2) to examine Taiwanese civil society and its relationship with the Taiwanese state. I was particularly interested in the intersectionality between environmental activism, gender, and generations in Taiwan’s environmental activism landscape.

During this period, I learned about various aspects of contemporary environmental activism in Taiwan by officially conducting 22 interviews, including two group interviews. The durations of the interviews ranged from one hour to three hours. The (binary) gender breakdown of my interviewees was 13 females and 9 males. These 22 interviews, however, did not include my casual and/or professional conversations with Taiwanese scholars, professionals, and the ordinary people who took an interest in my research and who kindly shared their experiences and knowledge with me. This whole experience in Taiwan was extremely useful and humbling.

Although my research topic did not change, new thoughts evolved, and the scope of my research expanded as I spent time in Taiwan. My preliminary findings forced me to significantly alter my approach to studying contemporary environmental activism in Taiwan. In this report, I

will summarize my research contexts, methods, and main findings so far, and discuss my plans for future steps.

### **Environmental Activism and Movements in Taiwan**

The recent Taiwan government's initiatives on climate change as well as the history of environmental movements in Taiwan helped me to initially conceptualize my proposed study.

In 2021, the Taiwan government pledged to reduce its carbon emissions and achieve “net zero” by 2050 (MOFA). Despite the important role that Taiwan plays in the global community's efforts to mitigate climate change, the nation has been precluded from signing on to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and excluded from officially participating in the U.N. climate talks due to its un-recognized member status in the U.N. system. In this political context, environmental NGOs in Taiwan play significant roles not only in leading public discourse on issues of the environment domestically, but also in helping to make Taiwan more visible in the global environmental arena. The participation of Taiwanese NGOs in global arenas on behalf of Taiwan has led me to consider examining the relationship between Taiwanese civil society and the Taiwanese state as part of my research.

In general, youth are well represented in climate change movements globally (O'Brien, Selboe and Hayward 2018). In Taiwan in 2014, youth were core participants of Taiwan's Sunflower movement, which opposed the proposed economic policy of the Kuomintang (KMT) ruling party to further integrate Taiwan into China.

Building on Ming-Sho Ho (2006)'s “Green Democracy,” scholars have recently argued that environmental issues in Taiwan have reinforced its national identity and have rallied the young generation to a political commitment (Lepesant 2018). Growing environmental concerns

in Taiwan have been fused with Taiwanese identification as a democratic nation, which sets Taiwan apart from China. This fusion has been extended beyond the young generation to a larger segment of the Taiwanese population (Jobin 2021). Although Jobin (2021) calls this phenomenon “civic eco-nationalism,” we should not underestimate the role of the state in taking part in nation-building.

In the late 1980s, the development of environmental activism and movements in Taiwan and Taiwan’s democratization went hand in hand. Despite the existence of an authoritarian government, associational life in Taiwan emerged in many areas, including labor, women, disabilities, and the environment. Similar to their counterparts in Eastern Europe, environmental groups in Taiwan played major roles in social movements leading to democratization, acting as a powerful counter power to the state (Weller and Hsiao 1998; Reardon-Anderson 1992). In former authoritarian nations, early environmental activism, such as the conservation movement, has often been regarded by their governments as politically benign and thus avoided political censorship.

In Taiwan, the earliest environmental movement was the Nature Conservation Movement (NCM) (Hsiao 1996), which was led by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as the Wild Bird Federation of the Republic of China, the Homemakers’ United Foundation (HUF), and the Nature Conservation Union. The agenda to protect Taiwan’s fauna, flora, and the ecosystem seemed politically neutral and these NGOs were wise enough to maintain political neutrality for their own survival under an authoritarian government.

As we can guess from the name of the NGO, the Homemakers’ United Foundation, which was set up in January 1987, women were core participants in the nature conservation movement. “Nurturing” nature fits well with traditional gender roles that are expected of women

as they are viewed as caretakers and nurturers of the family, especially in the East Asian context. Due to these gender images and stereotypes, it is said that the authoritarian government never thought that the movement would grow to become a social force for democratization (Hsiao 2017). The homemakers' organizational skills through their environmental activism aided Taiwan's democratization by organizing political campaigns (Matsuzawa 2003).

The empowerment of Taiwanese women via women's rights movements is deeply connected with the female participation in environmental movements that began emerging toward the end of the martial law era (1949-1987). The Homemakers' United Foundation (HUF) is now one of the largest environmental NGOs in Taiwan. The organization initially attracted urban housewives and mothers who sought roles beyond the domestic sphere, and in the early 1990s, they grew to pressure the government to begin a nation-wide recycling program. By combining environmental activism with the Taiwanese Confucian family-centered approach to feminism, the HUF continues to contribute to Taiwan's environment from the perspective of what Wan-Li Ho (2016) calls Ecofamilism.

Since the end of the 1980s, anti-nuclear has emerged as a key topic in Taiwan's environmental scene. This has changed the initial political neutrality of environmental activism/movements in Taiwan. The anti-nuclear movements have become one of the most politicized environmental issues (Ho 2003, 2014; Jobin 2010), as they have ties with the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). The DPP, which is also part of the Pan Green Coalition in Taiwan, initially made environmental protection as part of its political platform. However, as the DPP grew more institutionalized, it has become more difficult to maintain such political commitments. Especially after taking power in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the DPP has been struggling to strike a balance between economic development and environmental protection. Thus, the

honeymoon period between the DPP and the anti-nuclear movements have long gone (Grano 2015).

## **Research Methods**

As I proposed, I conducted a seven-month fieldwork project, from June 2023 through December 2023, in Taiwan, except for a total of about two weeks when I spent time in Japan in September, visiting my family. While I was in Taiwan, I conducted participant observation by attending special activities, workshops, and training sessions organized by environmental organizations. To complement participant observation, I conducted semi-structured interviews with people who could supply me with relevant information for my study. The interviews included a founder and/or staff member from several environmental or other professional organizations as well as participants in some organizational activities. See Appendix 1 and 3.

During my fieldwork, I was affiliated with the Institute of Sociology (IOS) at the Academia Sinica in Taipei as a visiting scholar. The institute provided me with an excellent research base, which included not only a physical space—such as office space, internet access, copy machine access, library access, etc.—but also an intellectual space, which included conversations with Taiwan’s top-notch sociologists in my subject area, such as Dr. Paul Jobin and Dr. Hsin-Huang Micheal Hsiao, (whose works I cited in the previous section) and attendance at scholarly talks and conferences at the Institute of Sociology (IOS), the Institute of Taiwan History, and the Institute of Modern History. The IOS invited prominent sociologists from America as their guest speakers.

## Fieldwork

My main research area has been environmental activism and movements in China and Japan. Although I have been reading scholarly works on environmental activism/movements in Taiwan (and have one publication in Japanese about environmental activism in Taiwan), this was the first time for me to live in Taiwan and conduct research there. I was indeed a novice in studying about Taiwan's environmental activism/movements. Dr. Chih-Jou Jay Chen, Director of the Institute of Sociology, whom I had met previously at a social movement conference, made an excellent decision to assign Dr. Jobin to serve as my sponsor faculty at the IOS.

In June and July, I met a few staff members of environmental NGOs in Taipei and learned about their organizations as well as their upcoming activities. In particular, the Environmental Rights Foundation (ERF) had a few upcoming activities which, I found, aligned with my research agenda. These activities included: 1) the Youth Environmental Workshop in Taichung (Aug 21-23); 2) the Climate Lawsuit Lawyer Workshop (October 28 in Taipei, Nov. 18 in Taichung); and 3) the International Conference on Labor, Environmental and Asian Transnational Corporations—Toward an East Asian Business and Human Rights Movement (Nov. 25-26) in Taipei.

In mid-August, I attended the first two days of the Youth Environmental Workshop in Taichung, organized by the ERF, and I collected 21 survey responses out of a total of 22 youth participants. See Appendix 2. I also had meaningful casual conversations with the director of the Taichung office of the ERF. He has been in charge of the Workshop every summer. In late August, I was able to reunite with the director and a few youth participants of the Workshop at a fund-raising banquet in Taipei organized by the ERF. This reunion led me to secure a few follow-up interviews with three youth in September and October.

I attended the banquet upon an invitation, and it turned out to be a great opportunity to become acquainted with environmental communities in Taiwan. I not only got exposed to the ways through which Taiwanese environmental NGOs raise money for their coffers, but also met people in various occupations who support environmental causes. In particular, I noticed the presence and roles of lawyers in environmental advocacy/justice in Taiwan. Thus, I decided to include lawyers into my analyses of environmental actors. After I obtained I.R.B. approval of the change to my research scope from my home institution, I began conducting interviews with lawyers who work at environmental or legal NGOs and at private law firms.

In late October, I attended the Climate Lawsuit Lawyer Workshop. I was one of two academics out of 23 participants who participated in the workshop. The rest were lawyers seeking to learn about climate lawsuits. The gender breakdown of the participants was: 10 females and 11 males. One of the lawyer participants was a speaker at the Youth Environmental Workshop. I noticed that the ERF director appeared to know many of the lawyer participants already. My participation in the workshop led to four interviews of four lawyers in the following months. Three of the four lawyers had extensive environmental litigation experience.

In late November, I attended the International Conference on Labor, Environmental and Asian Transnational Corporations—Toward an East Asian Business and Human Rights Movement. Labor or environmental NGOs from Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan attended the conference. Together, these NGOs constituted a network of activists known as TTNC (Taiwanese Transnational Corporations Watch). I was able to exchange business cards with some participants and engaged in casual conversations with them. Before my departure from Taiwan in late December, I was able to interview a TTNC representative and a staff member from one of the international NGOs.

## **Preliminary Findings**

Because of the limited research time I have had since my return to the United States in late December, I have not yet transcribed my 22 interviews. This prevents me from conducting a full analysis of my data. Therefore, the findings below are my preliminary findings and my reflections on what worked and what did not work during my time in Taiwan.

First, my original plan to study the participation of women and youth in environmental activism in Taiwan needed to be altered. Initially, I identified the Homemakers' United Foundation (HUF) and the Taiwan Youth Climate Coalition (TWYCC) to be included into my study. With regard to the HUF, before my departure to Taiwan, I began subscribing to its activity newsletters, which revealed that the main focus of the HUF's current activism largely centers on food activism through food workshops for family and street demonstrations (which I coincidentally encountered twice near the Presidential Office). I also found that the TWYCC is based on youth in American high schools in Taiwan, which makes the organization very unique in terms of class and international exposure. Thus, I deemed the organization as unsuitable for my study. Because of these considerations, I began contacting other environmental organizations.

## Women

As I conversed with many female professionals and leaders, I found that they did not particularly think that their experiences in environmental activism/advocacy significantly differed from those of their male counterparts. During my fellowship tenure, I watched a series of news stories about the effects of the Me-Too Movement in Taiwan. Almost every day, women came forward and exposed their harassers in public. There was also a concerted effort



by the government to make the public more aware of the issue of sexual harassment. A public announcement poster on sexual harassment was seen in Taiwan's metro system. Academia Sinica also had a half-day workshop on the topic. One of the major environmental NGOs in Taiwan was also the center of public attention because of its internal sexual harassment case. Due to this societal context, my intention to apply a gendered lens in assessing environmental activism might have been seen by some as a search for another sexual harassment case.

Yet, the gendered lens has still useful for understanding the contributions of female professionals and leaders in Taiwan's environmental activism/advocacy field. In particular, in the law field, according to official statistics from the Taiwan Bar Association (TBA), dated May 31, 2022, the number of female lawyers outnumbered male lawyers in the under thirty category. More and more young females will enter into the legal profession in the future. One interviewee said that the TBA has noted this trend and created a task team to study it.

### Youth

With regard to my study on youth participation in environmental activism in Taiwan, I was able to collect survey data and interview data via my participation in the Youth Environmental Workshop as well as via recent Taiwanese scholarly articles on youth participation in environmental activism. As one of the authors of the scholarly articles mentioned, it was difficult to conduct interviews with high school students (less than 18 years old) due to the parental consent requirements. Based on six interviews within the underage population, this article concludes that Taiwanese high school students were less likely to participate in climate strikes due to academic demands and their school administration's negative attitude toward such activities.

I encountered the same problem as the author of this above-mentioned article when I was trying to interview high-schoolers. Based on a survey, interviews, and casual conversations with the participants, however, I found that high school students who participated in the workshop had been recruited through their social networks, and most had prior interests in environmental issues and/or prior participation experiences in other environmental workshops. During the two days of my observations at the workshop, I was so impressed by the participants' willingness to engage in the workshop, which was led by professionals (e.g., scholars, lawyers, NGO staff members, writers) on various topics beyond squarely "environment." The youth participants were not shy at all. They seemed to be deep thinkers with their own opinions. As a college professor, I could easily imagine that these high school students were good students at their schools. Some of these participants will participate in the workshop next year as helpers. They will also help the director to plan and organize the workshop prior to next year's workshop, and they will also help to recruit potential participants. The participants came from all over Taiwan and will eventually attend different colleges/universities. Some helpers are currently college students. A few are planning to go to graduate schools overseas. They appear to have created a tight knit community. Some college students continue to volunteer to help out other activities of the ERF as well (e.g., the fund-raising banquet). I imagine that they will continue to support environmental causes into their adulthood regardless of their future occupations.

In terms of scope, the survey revealed that their environmental concerns are largely the environmental protection of the local (Taiwanese) environment. Although I found no evidence of their environmental activism and/or issues being tied to Taiwan's national identity, as Lepesant (2018) has argued, it is worth investigating further.

#### Ties between Lawyers and NGOs

As I mentioned previously, I found lawyers to be key actors for my study of environmental advocacy/justice in Taiwan. This finding prompted me to include lawyers as an additional analytical focus of my study. Many environmental NGOs have in-house lawyers. The organizations also work with lawyers for their advocacy. There are two notable NGOs founded by lawyers. One is the Environmental Jurist Association (EJA) and another is the Legal Aid Foundation. The birth of these organizations is rooted in Taiwan's judicial reforms, which began in the mid-1990s<sup>1</sup>.

In 2010, environmentally conscious lawyers founded an NGO, the Environmental Jurist Association (EJA). The EJA has significantly contributed to the establishment of environmental legal experts, who not only lend their legal expertise but also act as activist lawyers in Taiwan (Grano 2015; Interviews 2023). The Legal Aid Foundation began its operations in 2004 after the passage of the Legal Aid Act the previous year. The foundation offers legal help to people who otherwise would not seek legal action due to a lack of financial means. These NGOs have helped people to bring lawsuits with regard to their environmental and labor issues and more. Thanks to these NGOs, litigations as a mechanism to solve an environmental dispute have been established in Taiwan. NGOs encourage and support victims to bring lawsuits against wrong doers by supplying them with resources, including access to lawyers.

One on-going, notable environmental lawsuit is the Climate Change Litigation, the first such litigation in Taiwan, filed by Greenpeace Taiwan, an International NGO. While the operations and activism of Greenpeace Taiwan differ significantly from Taiwanese local NGOs, this case showcases a lawyer-NGO-victims collaboration very nicely. When I interviewed Greenpeace staff members and its lawyer, they were moving toward challenging a constitutional

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<sup>1</sup> For more information on judicial reforms in Taiwan, please see Chisholm (2019).

law in Taiwan. This plan materialized on January 30th, 2024, when a dozen domestic and international NGOs filed a petition with the constitutional court to push the Taiwanese government to take action to better address intergenerational climate justice (Hsiao 2024).

### Ties between Environment and Labor/Work

I found that issues of environment and labor are often intertwined in Taiwan. This is because the destruction of the environment may directly destroy one's livelihood or even one's way of life. My interviews with environmental lawyers revealed the following cases, which articulate ties between the environment and labor/work in Taiwan.

First, the RCA (Radio Corporation of America) case is an on-going lawsuit, which was filed in 2004. The case involves workplace exposure to toxic chemicals, similar to what environmental sociologists in the U.S. call an environmental justice case. The RCA case is “the first and largest collective toxic tort lawsuit in Taiwan to date” (Chen 2023). In this case, there has been a collaboration between NGOs, victims (former RCA factory workers), lawyers, and other experts (e.g., epidemiologists, toxicologists, etc.). The Legal Aid Foundation financed the lawsuit, while many experts, including lawyers, did commendable pro bono work (interviews 2023). The Taiwan Association for Victims of Occupational Injuries (TAVOI) organized victims and coordinated them. Although the case is still on-going, a supreme court decision in 2022 awarded damages to 222 victims. For the many who had been fighting for almost two decades, the decision was a clear victory.

Secondly, there was a case about water pollution which damaged a local fishing community and the livelihoods of local fishermen. The local fishermen's association filed a lawsuit against the polluter. The case is the first lawsuit in Taiwan to be brought by a local

fishermen's association against a company. Although the fishermen lost the case due to technicalities on how to assess the degree of pollution and how to calculate the loss of their livelihoods, their lawsuit experiences, including their collaboration with lawyers, taught the fishermen's association the importance of keeping records (the lack of records created an obstacle to claiming their losses).

Thirdly, my attendance at an International Conference on Labor, Environmental and Asian Transnational Corporations—Toward an East Asian Business and Human Rights Movement opened my eyes to the transnational collaboration among labor or environmental NGOs from Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. A network of activists and NGOs, known as TTNC (Taiwanese Transnational Corporations Watch), monitors the overseas behavior of Taiwanese Corporations, in particular in the semi-conductor industry. More specifically, TTNC monitors environmental and labor standard violations as well as human rights abuses. For example, one of the conference topics was ocean pollution in Vietnam by the Formosa Ha-Tinh Steel Cooperation, a Taiwanese company. In addition, representatives from NGOs in Japan and South Korea respectively introduced their fights against Uniqlo, a Japanese clothing company, and Samsung, a South Korean electronics company.

#### Ties between Civil Society and the State

Because I currently have limited data on civil society and the state, this is the area I would like to develop further in the future. The presence of civil society is a normative aspect of Taiwan as a democratic nation. The Taiwanese government's support for the NGO community is expressed by the existence of the Department of NGO International Affairs under the MOFA. In 2020, Director General Lai, on behalf of the MOFA, stated that "MOFA will continue to strengthen cooperation with partner NGOs to boost participation in the world community and

allow Taiwan to shine” (March 27, 2020). Most recently, the top news of *Taiwan Today*, dated January 19, 2024, is entitled, “MOFA to keep partnering with NGOs to promote Taiwan in 2024.”

My interviews revealed some evidence of the MOFA’s wish to boost participation in the world community by partnering with NGOs. For example, the MOFA has funded NGOs (including an environmental NGO) to participate in international conferences. In 2022, the MOFA organized a two-day training workshop for NGOs on international operations, which focused on the United Nation’s SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals). With regard to environmental NGOs, selected NGOs have been invited to meet with the president of Taiwan on an annual basis. One of my interviewees stated that although there is an issue of who is invited and who is not, having a pipeline to the president’s office is a good thing.

My interviews also revealed that environmental lawyers had been involved with the affairs of the Ministry of Environment (e.g., Environmental Impact Assessment). Hence, there has been a collaborative relationship between the profession and the Ministry in the past.

### **Future Steps**

My immediate next step has been transcribing all the interviews. In the coming months and years, I hope to sharpen my research focus by re-examining my data and by reassessing whether to publish articles or a book. I would also like to continue traveling to Taiwan for research as often as possible. Luckily, I have a plan to pay a short visit to Taiwan in July 2024.

The general purpose of this short visit would be to conduct follow-up research for my project. I have two specific goals to achieve with this summer visit. The first goal is to conduct participant observation at a Youth Environmental Workshop in July, organized by the

Environmental Rights Foundation (EFR), an NGO in Taiwan. This will be my second participation in the workshop to get to know more Taiwanese youth who are interested in environmental issues. I kept in touch with a few youth participants from last year's workshop and they are assisting the EFR to organize this year's workshop. I was invited to join them again. The second purpose for my summer visit is to conduct more interviews with environmental lawyers, especially about the latest developments with the Climate Change Litigation, such as the petition with the constitutional court filed on January 30<sup>th</sup> 2024. I would like to explore the process of preparation and coordination among different NGOs to file this petition.

During my fellowship tenure, the National Central Library offered fellows various workshops on archival research, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also organized a few cultural trips. I came to know Taiwan fellows from other countries, and it was interesting to learn of their projects. I am grateful for the MOFA Taiwan Fellowship and my host institution, the Institute of Sociology (IOS) at the Academia Sinica, and for support from the staff at the Center for Chinese Studies and the librarians at the National Central Library, without which I would not have been able to spend 7 months in Taiwan within such an excellent environment and to embark on a new line of study.

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## Appendix 1

### Sample Interview Questions

問卷大綱：

#### **Qs on the organization : 關於組織**

- What does your organization (e.g., a law firm) mainly do?"  
有關您任職的單位，請您簡單介紹一下？
- What is the main goal/ content your organization works for?  
您任職單位的主要內容是什麼？
- What are gender compositions in your organization?  
在您任職的單位，女律師約占多少比例？

#### **Qs on the individuals : 關於個人工作經驗**

- When and why did you become a lawyer?  
為什麼您成為了律師？您什麼時候開始任職這份工作？
- When and how did you get interested in environmental law?  
您什麼時候對環境法發展興趣？為什麼？
- Would you describe your current position (occupational title) and your responsibilities?  
請您介紹一下您的工作範圍，包括職稱、工作職責？
- Would you describe the most memorable environmental litigation case you (have) worked on? Why is this memorable? In your opinion, what are the successful or unsuccessful aspects of the case? Please explain. What are some challenges that you have encountered?

您執行的環境訴訟案例中，您覺得那個是最難忘的？為什麼？

在您看來，您覺得貴單位執行的訴訟效果如何？有面臨什麼樣的挑戰嗎？

- What is Environmental Justice to you?

對您來說，環境正義是什麼？

- Would you describe the positive and negative aspects of being an environmental lawyer in Environmental Advocacy in Taiwan?

- 在臺灣環境倡議運動中，您覺得環保律師的角色有沒有相較正面／負面的面向？

- Does your organization work with other organizations, such as governments, NGOs, etc.? If so, please describe the working relationships with the respective organizations. What do other organizations bring to the table while law firms cannot?

您任職的單位有無與其他組織合作，如政府或 NGO 等 (e.g., TAVOI, scientists, etc. in RCA case)？若有，是什麼樣的合作性質？其他組織，它們提供什麼？若無合作關係，您覺得會是什麼原因呢？

- Would you describe the positive and negative aspects of such cooperation?

承上題，您覺得這樣合作關係有哪些優勢與限制呢？

## Appendix 2

### Survey for Youth

問卷小調查：《臺灣青年參與環保活動的情況》

松澤節子 Matsuzawa Setsuko | 美國伍斯特學院社會學／人類學系教授  
2023 年外交部台灣獎助金 (MOFA Taiwan Fellowship)、中研院社會所訪問學者

您好！我想了解台灣青年參與環保活動一些情況。您提供的信息僅用於學術目的。

同意：您在下面提供的信息將表明您的已決定自願作為研究對象。

問題：如果您有任何疑問，請直接問我。如果以後還有其他問題，  
可以通過電子郵件smatsuzawa@wooster.edu與我聯繫。謝謝您的幫助。

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年歲\_\_\_\_\_ 性別\_\_\_\_\_（自己選擇的性別）

Q1. 今天，您第一次參加環境工作坊嗎？ 是的\_\_\_\_\_

不是的\_\_\_\_\_ 幾次參加過了？\_\_\_\_\_

Q2. 除了環境工作坊以外，什麼樣的環保活動您參加過嗎？請舉個例子？

Q3. 您為什麼參加環保活動嗎？

Q4. 一般來說，誰給您提供環保活動參與的機會？（可以選擇複數回答）  
家人\_\_\_\_\_ 學校\_\_\_\_\_ 環保組織\_\_\_\_\_ 其他\_\_\_\_\_（其他的話，請舉個例子）

Q5. 您是不是環保組織的會員嗎？ 是的\_\_\_\_\_（那個組織？） 不是的\_\_\_\_\_

Q6. 誰對您的環保看法有很大的影響嗎？

Q7. 后天，如果您願意參加大約半個小時的訪談的話（經過網路電話），請寫下您的名字和電子郵件或其他的連繫方式。如果您對美國的大學有興趣的話，我也給您一些建議。

### Appendix 3

| Interviewees<br>: #s         | Date of Interviews | Employment<br>Title  | Note  |
|------------------------------|--------------------|--|---|
| 1                            | 6/20/23            | 環保 NGO<br>Researcher & Campaigner  |   |
| 2                            | 6/27/23            | 環保 NGO<br>Executive Director   |   |
| 3                            | 7/3/23             | 環保 NGO<br>General Secretary  |   |
| 4                            | 7/3/23             | 環境 NGO<br>Researcher   |   |
| 5                            | 8/22/23            | 環保 NGO<br>Branch Director  | <b>No official interview</b><br>Casual conversation |
| 6                            | 9/2/23             | Highschool student   | Youth Env Workshop                                  |
| 7                            | 9/27/23            | University student   | Youth Env Workshop                                  |
| 8                            | 10/18/23           | University student   | Youth Env Workshop                                  |
| 9                            | 8/29/23            | NGO<br>Lawyer  |   |
| 10<br><br>Group<br>Interview | 8/31/23            | 環保 NGO<br><br>-Climate & Energy Project<br>Manager<br><br>-Legal Coordinator<br><br>-Climate & Energy Campaigner |   |
| 11                           | 10/2/23            | 環保 NGO<br>Lawyer   |   |
| 12                           | 10/4/23            | 環保 NGO<br>Lawyer   |   |
| 13                           | 10/25/23           | Academia<br>Scientist  |   |
| 14                           | 11/17/23           | Law Firm<br>Lawyer   |   |
| 15                           | 11/22/23           | Law Firm<br>Lawyer   |   |
| 16                           | 12/1/23            | Law Firm<br>Lawyer   |   |
| 17                           | 12/6/23            | 環保 NGO<br>Lawyer   |   |
| 18                           | 12/ 13 /23         | Law Firm<br>Lawyer   |   |

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|----|---|---|--|
| 19 | 12/18/23  | Law Firm<br>Lawyer                              |  |
| 20 | 12/19/23<br>Labor Law   | Law Firm<br>Lawyer                              |  |
| 21 | 12/20/23  | Academia<br>Scientist/Board member of 環保<br>NGO |  |
| 22 | 12/21/23  | Labor NGO<br>Representative                     |  |
| 23 | 11/25/23<br>Casual<br>conversation<br><br>12/21/23<br>Interview | International NGO<br>Associate                  |  |

