

## Pro-Life or Pro-Choice? Humanistic Buddhists' Voices Surrounding Abortion in Contemporary Taiwan

Grace Cheng-Ying Lin<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

*This paper examines the voices surrounding abortion expressed by monasteries in Humanistic Buddhism in Taiwan. As the fundamental principle of ethics, non-harming (ahimsa) prioritizes the value of life. Master Yin Shun and Master Sheng Yen claim that a fetus is a sentient being, and abortion is a sin. Master Chao Hwei further demands a strategy that truly protects the women and the fetus in the patriarchal context. On the other hand, Master Hsing Yun, employing utilitarianism, states that a woman possesses the best knowledge of the consequences of an abortion. Master Hai Tao promotes a newly popularized ritual to appease aborted fetuses, while some monasteries are critical of its possible exploitation of women and manipulation of scriptures. The wide spectrum of Buddhist narratives challenges the pro-life vs. pro-choice mode of debate. Furthermore, the diversity of the narratives shows how reproductive politics in Taiwan is embedded within the conflicts between modernity and tradition, as well as locality and globality.*

**Keywords:** Abortion; abortion ritual; Humanistic Buddhism; Taiwan, yingling

### Pro-Life or Pro-Choice? Humanistic Buddhists' Voices Surrounding Abortion in Contemporary Taiwan

Abortion in Taiwan was legalized by the Eugenic and Health Protection Law in 1984. Since then, the number of abortions has been increasing rapidly. As seen in some jurisdictions in the West, debates on abortion at political and legislative levels often fall into the dichotomy between pro-life and pro-choice arguments. These movements may be mobilized by religious and feminist factions in countries where there used to be a strong state-church tie. Or, in the U.S., the pro-life camp adopts “fetal-centric framing” in contrast to the appeal of “commitment to protecting the rights of women” promoted by the pro-choice camp (Trumpy, 2016: 165). Abortion debates in the political arena of Taiwan are also divided into religious (led by Christian churches) and feminist camps. Nonetheless, in Taiwan, Buddhists represent 21.3% of the population, 44.2% are affiliated with folk religions, while only 5.5% are Christian (PRC). For most people, there is no clear border between Buddhism, Taoism, and folk religions (XZY, 2020). Hence, it is crucial to ask: how does Buddhism interpret abortion? How does Buddhism participate in the movement? What makes Buddhist involvement different? This essay, as a discursive analysis, focuses on the voices expressed by monasteries in Humanistic Buddhism (*Renjian fojiao* 人間佛教), a prominent Buddhist philosophy practiced in modern Taiwan.

Reformists Master Tai Xu (太虛, 1898–1947), as well as his student Master Yin Shun (印順, 1906–2005), were seen as “part of a larger reorientation in the self-perception of Chinese Buddhists” (Bingenheimer, 2015: 256). Master Tai Xu’s reform targeted jingchan (經懺, “penance through the

<sup>1</sup> Grace Cheng-Ying Lin, John Abbott College, Canada. E-mail: [cheng-ying.lin@johnabbott.qc.ca](mailto:cheng-ying.lin@johnabbott.qc.ca).



recitation of sutras” (Yu, 2013: 352) in Dharma Assemblies), which was a popular duty of monks and nuns in China. He argued that *jingchan* “constituted superstitious and feudal relic” (Yu, 2013: 355), and heavy *jingchan* duty as paid labor caused corruption within sangha (Heise, 2012: 228; Yu, 2013: 355). He asserted that Buddhism should be “human-centered,” which was called “Buddhism of Human Life (*Rensheng fojiao* 人生佛教)” (Chandler, 2004: 43; Eichman, 2011: 347). The merit of spiritual cultivation develops more efficiently in life than after death. Based on this reform, Master Tai Xu’s ambition was to “rationalize its organizational structure” and promote “social welfare activities” (Jones, 1999: 134). Master Yin Shun further established a new paradigm by stressing that Humanistic Buddhism is “creating an earthly Pure Land, or Buddhism for the human realm” (Eichman, 2011: 347). He renamed this approach “Buddhism of the human realm (*Renjian fojiao* 人間佛教)” (Chandler, 2004: 43; Eichman, 2011: 347). Based on that philosophy, he denied the notion of the Buddha as a godly figure and, instead, insisted that salvation is to be achieved within the human realm (Jones, 1999: 134). “[A]s humans, we can purify ourselves to perfection” (Changtzu, 2017: 25). Moreover, the focus of Buddhism switched from personal wellbeing to the benefit of everyone in the mundane world (Yu, 2013: 360). As a result, Charles Brewer Jones claimed that, compared to Master Tai Xu, Master Yin Shun went further in “secularizing Buddhism” (1999: 134). Institutions of Humanistic Buddhism in Taiwan, including Dharma Drum Mountain (DDM), Buddha’s Light Mountain (*Fo Guang Shan*), and Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation (Tzu Chi), achieved tremendous success due to their global influence (Chandler, 2004: 74; Eichman, 2011: 346-347). Despite the differences in doctrines and approaches, these monasteries all share characteristics embedded in an earthly “civil religion” (Madsen, 2007: 57, 137). The concept of “compassion for all people” is appealing to society for its this-worldliness. Sometimes, they are even called “new age Buddhists” in the media (Sui, 2014). Currently, Humanistic Buddhism is also gaining popularity in China (Li, 2005).

## Buddhist Embryology

A detailed demonstration of the development of the embryo is found in the following Sutra *Garbhāvākraṅtisūtra* (Sanskrit: *Rutai jing* 入胎經). For Buddhism, life is part of the ongoing process of birth and rebirth, and “the process of rebirth begins at the moment of death” (Kritzer, 2009: 73). After death, life continues through the intermediate being/existence/state (*antarābhava* in Sanskrit, *shen* 神, or *zhongyou* 中有) (Choo, 2012: 195; Kritzer, 2009: 78). Conception, just like death, is fundamentally determined by karmic causes and conditions. The accumulation of karma connects the man and the woman with the intermediate being and makes them parents and child (Choo, 2012: 195; Kritzer, 2009: 78). Meanwhile, other principal and subsidiary causes should all be ready in order to achieve conception and pregnancy (*yinyuan juzu* 因緣具足) (Shih, C. H., 2004). For example, the intermediate being should be present at the moment of intercourse due to the parents’ “defiled thought (lustful thought)” (Kritzer, 2009: 78). Here is Buddhism’s illustration of the interaction between the three parties:

The intermediate being sees the intercourse of the parents (humans or animals) who have a karmic connection to it. A desire arises in it and draws it to them. First, there is a confusing perception arising targeting the semen and the blood: it (the intermediate being) does not understand this is the intercourse between its parents. The confusion makes it believe that it is the intercourse between it and the parent, and this understanding creates greed and love. (Shih, C. H., 2004)



Based on that “greed” and “love,” the intermediate being can be physically attached to the parents. Scholars agree that this conceptive process is in line with the Freudian understanding of the parent-child relationship (Choo, 2012: 195; Kritzer, 2009: 80; Shih, C. H., 2004). When the parents reach extreme pleasure, they eject a drop of thick liquid, semen from the father and blood from the mother (*gechu yidi nonghou jingxue* 各出一滴濃厚精血) and the two drops blend. Hence, the intermediate being disappears and transforms into a new life called *kalala* (Sanskrit, *jeluolan* 羯羅藍), who resides in the mother’s womb in the shape of a fatty lump (Kritzer, 2009: 81; Shih, C. H., 2004). Then, the *Garbhāvākāntisūtra* describes the week-by-week embryonic development for 38 weeks (Kritzer, 2009: 73).

As a result, abortion may be seen as a sinful act that arbitrarily terminates the karmic connection between parents and child. Abortion, as well as infanticide, has been widely practiced in China and Taiwan since early history. However, at the same time, it was gradually regarded as a moral issue and was denounced by the government, Confucian literati, and religious sectors (Bray, 1997; Chen, Y., 2011; King, 2014; Lee, 1995; Leung, 2005: 216). Numerous Buddhist scriptures described the unfortunate consequences of having or performing abortions, such as the Buddhist encyclopedias compiled in the 6th century (Chen, Y., 2011: 318-319). Abortion was regarded as a mortal sin in some Chinese Buddhist texts as early as the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) (Kan, 2008: 377). The souls of those suffering women who had an abortion are summoned but can be relieved through ceremonial regulations (*yigui* 儀軌), particularly through confessional rituals (*chanyi* 懺儀) (Kan, 2008: 376). Furthermore, the Water and Land Paintings (*shuilubua* 水陸畫, paintings hung in a salvation ritual space) during the Ming and Qing dynasties (1644-1912) and the *Ceremonial Regulations for the Cultivation of the Purificatory Fast of the Victorious Assembly of Water and Land for the Saints and Commoners of the Dharma-World* (*Fanjie shengfan shuilu shenghui xuzhai yigui* 凡界聖凡水陸盛會修齋儀軌) clearly address the hope of salvation for infants and the mothers (Chen, Y., 2011: 289).

### Abortion in Taiwan: A Discursive Transition

In her studies on population governance in contemporary China, Susan Greenhalgh argued that:

[T]he emergence of population as a domain of thought and practices has been enormously productive, creating new objects and domains of administration, new forms of governance, new pedagogies of the nation, new types of docile bodies, new ethical conundrums, and even new meanings of the human. (Greenhalgh, 2005: 370)

Similarly, in Taiwan, the State’s ambition for modernization was realized through its control over its citizens’ bodies and its cooperation with global powers. This section examines the construction of discourses and the invention of institutional power surrounding population policies throughout the phases of political history in modern Taiwan.

#### ***“Counteroffensive against the Mainland”: 1950-1960***

Taiwan’s population was approximately 6 million in 1946 (TWSJTJHYJS, 2000: 186). The withdrawal of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang KMT) resulted in a population increase of 1.2 million (Lin, T., 2018: 4). However, the idea of population control was not commonly accepted by the KMT bureaucracy. Conservatives argued that population control was unconstitutional, violated Confucian philosophy and religious teachings, and violated the priority of population growth in the Three Principles of the People taught by Sun Yat-sen, the founder of KMT and Republic of China (Lu, 2013: 384-385; TWSJTJHYJS, 2000: 187). Moreover, population control betrayed the goal of

“Counteroffensive against the mainland (*fangong fuguo* 反共復國)” (Lu, 2013: 385; TWSJTJHYJS, 2000: 187). Wen-Hua Kuo explained that the KMT government would not admit there was a population crisis because it was expected to be immediately resolved after rejoining the mainland. On the contrary, to acknowledge the existence of a population crisis was equivalent to recognizing the new territory (the islands of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu), which deprived the KMT of its sovereignty and legitimacy (Kuo, 2008: 333).

### **“Two Children are Just Right; One Child is not too Few”: 1960-2000**

Taiwan’s rapidly growing population was gradually recognized as an issue. Aid from the United States (U.S.) was delivered to Taiwan from 1951 to 1965 under the approval of the Mutual Security Act (MSA) (Chiang, 2014: 104-105). With the cooperation of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) in Taiwan, U.S. consultation and assistance has been actively involved in population-control projects (Kuo, 2008: 343-344; TWSJTJHYJS, 2000: 193). Following this initial effort, the Family Plan was launched in 1964 (Zhuang, 1998: 551). Slogans promoting family planning, such as “two children are just right; one child is not too few (*erge haizi qiaqia hao, yige haizi bu xianshao* 二個孩子恰恰好, 一個孩子不嫌少)” were created and gradually accepted by society (Zhuang, 1998: 551-552). From the 1960s to the 1970s, more than 100,000 intra-uterine devices (IUD), called Lippes Loops, were implanted each year (Jiang, 2000: 203; Kuan, 2008: 76). Lippes Loops was an American product donated to Taiwan for free along with U.S. aid, so it was highly promoted by the government (Kuo, 2008: 347). Women were provided with biased information which led them to believe Lippes Loops was their best option (Kuo, 2008: 350-351). However, the device turned out to be harmful to women’s bodies for both short-term and long-term uses, such as excessive bleeding, pain, abnormal discharge, endometritis, pelvic inflammatory disease, or perforation of the uterus. Hence, as much as 20% of these women insisted on its removal (Kuo, 2008: 345-346). This plan was eventually attacked and stopped by conservative groups (Zhuang, 1998: 551). Then, pills (1967), condoms (1970), ligation for both men and women (1973), and medical IUDs (1975) were introduced (Jiang, 2000: 203). Nonetheless, illegal surgical abortions were conducted secretly in private clinics (Kuan, 2008: 76) with the Family Plan used as the primary rationale (Moskowitz, 2001: 17-21). There were approximately 30,000 to 50,000 abortions in 1961, which may still be much lower than the figures provided by some doctors in obstetrics and gynecology (Wu, 2009: 75).

At the beginning of 1982, the KMT government’s effort to control population growth finally led to a bill called the Eugenic and Health Protection Law that was submitted to the Legislative Yuan (Kuan, 2008: 110). Clause 6 under Article 9 indicates that abortion is permissible “when the pregnancy or delivery of fetus will affect the pregnant woman’s mental health or that of her family life,” which has, since then, served as the legal foundation for abortion. During the checks-and-balances process, the bill was received with hot debate in the Legislative Yuan between the tenured legislators (pro-life) who retreated to Taiwan with the KMT and have been serving as the representatives of Mainland China provinces, and the new legislators (pro-choice), who were recently elected by the local Taiwanese. The debates centred on conflicts between national values (Lifayuan gongbao, 1984: 17-18) and child welfare, which was violated by the Communists’ One-Child policy (Lifayuan gongbao, 1984: 22). While U.S. President Ronald Reagan’s control over abortion served as a positive model (Lifayuan gongbao, 1984: 15), the feminist movement in the U.S. was also employed as an example by the “pro-choice” camp (Lifayuan gongbao, 1984: 37). The Eugenic and Health Protection Law was eventually passed in 1984 and went into effect in 1985 (Kuan, 2008: 110).



### **“Children are Our Best Heirloom”: 2000**

During the past decades, marriage and birth rates in Taiwan have both dropped drastically. At the same time, according to the estimates of several governmental officers and legislators, there were about 300,000 to 500,000 abortions performed in Taiwan every year of the 2000s (Lifayuan Gongbao, 2006: 73). The National Development Council acknowledged that the trend resulted from contemporary social changes (GJFZWYH, 2018). In 2010, the Ministry of the Interior chose a slogan “Children are our best heirloom (*baizi shi women de chuanjiabao* 孩子是我們的傳家寶)” from a public competition to label a campaign to boost birth rates (Gongshi xinwenwang, 2010).

In 2003, religious groups proposed removing Clause 6 under Article 9 of the Eugenic and Health Protection Law (SMLLYJZX). Two years later, in 2005, they also proposed the addition of a 6-day waiting period, during which the mothers-to-be must attend mandatory counselling to decide the sort of their children, before going forward with an abortion (SMLLYJZX). The Legislative Yuan was composed of newly elected local young legislators from Taiwan. Regardless, the involved legislators were still divided into two camps: those supportive of the religious groups (pro-life) and those supportive of the feminist groups (pro-choice), and all were women. While some pro-life legislators worked with U.S conservative delegates, anti-abortionists and scholars (Lin, J. & Xu, C.: 2005), the feminist camp argued that it is was “national shame (*guochi* 國恥)” to consult foreigners (the U.S.) for law-making concerning Taiwanese women’s bodies (Lifayuan gongbao, 2006: 74-75). The debates centred on women’s individual concerns and Taiwanese identity, which revealed the political changes following democratization and liberalization.

### **Conflicts between Feminist and Religious Groups: 1987-Present**

As described in the previous section, the debates around abortion between religious groups and feminist camps took shape in the 2000s. Since the 1970s, feminist leaders have been actively introducing Western theories of feminism to Taiwan (Kuan, 2008: 236-237). Since the lift of the Martial Law in 1987, feminist groups have contributed tremendously to social and political reforms (Kuan, 2008: 237). In the early 2000s, responding to the religious group’s challenge to abortion, feminists initiated the “bodily autonomy”, “my body, my autonomy” and “respect for women’s life” slogans to support women’s right to access abortion (Kuan, 2008: 243-244 & 247). Feminist groups have been successful in their lobbying campaigns: “(they) already gained and established political power over both the Administrative branch of government and legislature” (Kuan, 2008: 246).

The key figure from the religions camp, Father Louis Aldrich (also called Ai Liqin 艾立勤), is a professor in the Faculty of Theology and the founder of the Center of Bioethics at Fu-Jen Catholic University. Shocked by the number of abortions performed in Taiwan, Father Aldrich rallied 1300 leaders from all the religious groups in Taiwan in 2002, notably from Buddhism, Taoism, the Consistent Way (*Yiguandao* 一貫道), the Religion of The Heavenly Emperor (*Tiandijiao* 天帝教), the Religion of The Heavenly Virtue (*Tiandejiao* 天德教), and Christianity. This alliance was named the Great Coalition and People’s Movement for the Respect for Life (GCPMRL, *Zunzhong shengming quanmin yundong dalianmeng* 尊重生命全民運動大聯盟). It was joined by several prominent Buddhist figures, including Master Sheng Yen of DDM and Master Cheng Yen of Tzu Chi. Starting from 2003-2004, with the help of Buddhist communities, the Center of Bioethics distributed 245,000 copies of an American-made anti-abortionist film, “The Eclipse of Reason”, which displays every detail of the surgical process of late-term abortion, to high school teachers and students (SMLLYJZX). Among the religious groups, Christian churches remain particularly active and vocal on the political level. The

Heartbeat Bill Alliance proposed a referendum to introduce heartbeat bill to Taiwan in 2019 (Qiao, 2019; XTFAGTLM, 2019). “Stand for Life (*Wei shengming zhanli 為生命站立*)” launched by Ray of Hope Christian Registered Charitable Organization (*Xiwang zhi guang hui 希望之光會*) organized protests on a regular basis to pursue the removal of Clause 6 in Article 9 of Chapter 3 of the Eugenic and Health Protection Law (XWZGH, 2013; Zhang, Y., 2019). Various key Buddhist institutions joined a signed petition for the cause (XWZGH, 2013).

Buddhist involvement in anti-abortion movements was not as confrontational or structured as Christian churches. The leaders chose to present rich narratives to the society, as a means to convince them of their position on the issue. The following sections list the teachings delivered by the iconic leaders of Humanistic Buddhism. Through a comparative study, this analysis sheds light on the Buddhist strategies in response to the reproductive politics in Taiwan.

### **Pro-Life: Abortion is a Sin**

In Buddhism, with the fundamental principle of “non-harming (*ahimsā*),” the value of life is prioritized (Keown 2016: 211). The First Precept clearly states that “injury to living creatures (*Paṇātipātā*)” is not permissible (Keown 2016: 208). Damien Keown demonstrated that Buddhism recognizes “both the inviolability and the fragility of human life”. Nonetheless, at the same time, “while intentional killing is always wrong there is no obligation to preserve life at all costs” (Keown, 2016: 211). As a result, ethical dilemmas may arise when the interests of the players fall into conflict and a difficult decision has to be made with an ethical justification. Based on Buddhist embryology, it is not surprising that many Buddhist masters are partial to the fetus’ beneficence. For example, Tzu Chi hospitals do not perform abortions nor sex-selection screening (Xu, T., 2011).<sup>2</sup> According to one patient’s feedback, OB/GYN doctors are more conservative than doctors in other specialties:

I was five-to-six-week pregnant. However, I was diagnosed with an embryonic pregnancy (the size of embryo remained too small and did not develop). I was referred to Tzu Chi hospital in Xindian, Taipei, by a private clinic since that was where I gave birth to my first child. The doctor (of Tzu Chi hospital) commented that I should have stayed in the clinic since Tzu Chi does not prescribe pills such as RU-486 for early abortions. The doctor said that if the embryo does not develop, I could take exercise or eat “hot (definition of food quality based on theories of Chinese medicine)” food such as sesame oil chicken soup so that the uterus contracts and the embryo is miscarried naturally. If I preferred a procedure under anaesthetic to remove the tissues from my womb, the doctor recommended that I should wait for another week. (mayck, 2014)

Master Yin Shun, as well as Master Sheng Yen (1930-2009)<sup>3</sup> — an icon in Humanistic Buddhism — further claimed that abortion is a sin. As a Buddhist scholar, Master Sheng Yen’s insights were highly admired by Master Yin Shun, and they have had numerous academic dialogues (Shih, S., 2005). On the other hand, Master Sheng Yen often referred “*Rensheng fojiao*” (Master Tai Xu’s words) to

<sup>2</sup> The Hualien Tzu Chi hospital was where Master Yin Shun stayed in the final years of his life (Guo & Chen, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> Master Sheng Yen founded the DDM in 1989. He earned his Ph.D. in Japan and taught at the university level in Taiwan. He was named “one of the fifty most influential people in Taiwan during the past four hundred years” (Fagushan quanqiu zixunwang). One of his famous quotes was: “The Dharma is so good, yet so few people know about it and so many people misunderstand it” (Fagushan quanqiu zixunwang). The DDM was designed to be a space for academic education on the Dharma, “more about thinking than acting” (Madsen, 2007: 95). Employing the philosophy of Chan/Zen, Master Sheng Yen acknowledged the diversity of modern society. He claimed that all religions — including monotheist religions — should be respected because each religion reveals part of “single ultimate reality” (Madsen, 2007: 98). The DDM is particularly popular among intellectuals and enjoys a high cultural capital (Madsen, 2007: 87).



Humanistic Buddhism so that he has “differentiated himself with other Buddhist leaders in Taiwan and also reaffirms his gratitude to the teaching of Master Tai Xu” (Chandler, 2004: 43).

### ***The Fetus is a Future Buddha***

Master Yin Shun and Master Sheng Yen both claimed that no matter how secular laws define abortion, to kill a human or a human-like being (*siren* 似人) are both serious moral sins (Shih, Y., 1993). The term “*siren*” refers to a fetus who is still in the development stages of a human shape. Their life is no different from a human who has been born despite the incomplete shaping process (Shih, S., 2010; Shih, Y., 1993). A fetus is also a future member of society and a future Buddha (Shih, S., 2010). Moreover, killing a person who is innocent, unconscious, and unable to resist is cruel and short of respect for the value of life (Shih, S., 2010). Even in the case of sexual violence, the person who should be punished is the assailant. The fetus is innocent, so why does it deserve a death penalty? It requires protection like all humans and animals (Shih, S., 2012).

### ***Karmic Connection between Children and Parents***

Additionally, in Buddhism, pregnancy results from a karmic connection between the parent and the child, which means the child is closely related to the woman (Shih, S., 2012). In the case of youth pregnancy, Master Sheng Yen asserted that the parents of teenagers should take responsibility for their teenage pregnancy by taking care of the fetus. If the parents cannot afford to do so, then society should take care of the fetus (2010).

Based on the above, it is clear that scholars of classic Humanistic Buddhism are against abortion in most circumstances. This argument is constructed based upon the welfare of the fetus as a living being and the principle of *ahimsā*. In this argument, the mother, the father and the related families are expected to respect the law of karma and treat the arrival of the new life mindfully.

### **Pro-Choice: She Has Autonomy**

Different from Master Yin Shun and Master Sheng Yen, Master Hsing Yun (1927-)<sup>4</sup>—another iconic figure of Humanistic Buddhism in Taiwan—constructed his stance by focusing on women’s autonomy. Master Hsing Yun was ambitious in promoting Humanistic Buddhism, stating that, “I have been diligently promoting Humanistic Buddhism in my life, wanting to make Humanistic Buddhism a symbol of modernity, civilization, progress, and practicality” (Shih, H. Y.a). Nonetheless, the way Master Hsing Yun promoted Humanistic Buddhism might be different from Master Yin Shun. He integrated the secular and the sacred as well as tradition and modernity, as his teaching was “sanctifying the secular life of Buddhists and extending the sacred space to the public arena beyond the temple walls” (Yu, 2013: 351).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Fo Guang Shan* was founded by Master Hsing Yun in 1967. Master Hsing Yun has more than two thousand ordained disciples and millions of followers (Dashi luezhuan). The Buddha’s Light International Association (BLIA)—an institute that promotes the Dharma and Master Hsing Yun’s teaching to spread Buddhism across the five continents—was established in Los Angeles in 1992. It has branches in more than 170 countries and regions, and it is the largest Chinese-speaking association in the world (Dashi luezhuan).

<sup>5</sup> Master Hsing Yun’s philosophy was to “care for society and for all beings” (Chandler, 2004: 109). He particularly emphasized the accessibility of the Dharma to everyone and believes that charitable actions are more efficacious than meditation or study (Chandler, 2004: 75). He reformed forms of ritual, such as the death ritual, which is “simple” enough to be comprehended by ordinary people but at the same time “solemn” enough so that people could experience the profoundness of the Dharma (Yu, 2013: 357, 359). Nonetheless, Master Hsing Yun’s emphasis on “this-worldliness” has attracted much criticism (Chandler, 2004: 45, 60, 75, 79, 95). For example, he was named a “political monk (*zhengzhi heshang*)” for being too involved in politics (Chandler, 2004: 20-21, 108). He claimed that wealth accumulation



**Abortion: Women's Choice**

Stuart Chandler (2004: 248-249) and Richard Madsen (2007: 70) both agreed that the Buddha's Light Mountain maintains Confucian values because Master Hsing Yun highlighted virtue and morality. Master Hsing Yun emphasized on the harmony between men and women, analyzing gender differences, both biologically and socially (Chandler, 2004: 87-88). He urged them to act as good husbands and wives based on gender differences and complete each other (Chandler, 2004: 88). He even prescribed how mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law should get along with each other (Shih, H. Y. b). Nonetheless, at the same time, Master Hsing Yun admired Western society because women's rights and status are highly respected there (Shih, H. Y., 2003). He stressed that women are as capable as men, and equality is exactly the quality sanctioned by Buddhism (Shih, H. Y., 2003). He asserted that women can have an enjoyable life without marriage. Divorce is acceptable if the marriage can no longer bring happiness to the couple (Shih, H. Y., 2003).

This type of "this-worldliness" was also shown in Master Hsing Yun's view of abortion. In Buddhism, karma is partly determined by intent (*cetana*) (Byrne, 2006: 122). Killing for fun, abuse, or ignorance of right and wrong are serious offenses under the law of karma (Byrne, 2006: 122). Karma is also determined by results (*vipāka*). It is expected that the outcome of an action should be utilitarian, "a greater good cancel out the harm, or bigger benefit versus smaller harm" (Byrne, 2006: 123). Therefore, "Buddhism is the home of relativism, since in a Buddhist view there is no absolute" (Byrne, 2006: 123). Master Hsing Yun stressed that complicated human issues such as life and death could never be solved by religion, morality, or the law (Shih, H. Y., 2003; Yu, 2011: 390-391). He argues that, under utilitarianism, animal research is acceptable because it is done to benefit humans (Yu, 2011: 390-391). Similarly, abortion is acceptable. The killing is not done for resentment; instead, it is done because women do not have a choice (Shih, H. Y., 2003). Proponents of social justice might want a woman to keep the pregnancy of a fetus with a disability, but are they going to take care of the child for her in the following several decades? Or, sometimes a child is conceived because of sexual violence, how can we outsiders share the woman's complicated emotions toward the future child (Shih, H. Y., 2003)? In these unfortunate circumstances, society should be sympathetic. The best way is to allow the person in the situation to decide by herself. The woman should have the right and autonomy, and her decision should be fully respected (Shih, H. Y., 2003).

**Karma**

It is important to note that Master Hsing Yun's sympathy for abortion is not unconditional. He clarified that there is karma following an action. While making a decision, a person should understand the karma, be willing to accept the consequences and take the responsibility (Shih, H. Y., 2003). If a woman has no choice but to have an abortion, she should take measures to "solve the injustice and disentangling the knots" by delivering karmic merit through doing good deeds, confession, and cultivation. Most importantly, prevention is better than remedy (Shih, H. Y., 2003). Master Hsing Yun is particularly concerned with youth pregnancy. He strongly urges society to tackle the issue by reinforcing morality education, etiquette, and sex education. The couple should face up to it and take responsibility to rear the child. Otherwise, premarital pregnancy is a mistake, and abortion (following

---

is fine as long as it is moral and that it is shared with others (Chandler 2004: 95). Moreover, with its headquarters' dramatic, fancy and spacious structure, the Buddha Light Mountain seems like a religious 'Disneyland.' Sightseeing is then transformed into a religious experience (Chandler, 2004: 26). Master Yin Shun affirmed that, "my Humanistic Buddhism is different from Master Hsing Yun's Humanistic Buddhism" (Chen, G. 2015). André Laliberté's research demonstrated the difference between Master Hsing Yun and Master Yin Shun. The former employed Humanistic Buddhism by his own interpretation, but the latter employed it in a "more restrictive terms" (Laliberté, 2001: 123).





youth pregnancy) is the second mistake because lewdness and killing are both regarded as sins in Buddhism (Shih, H. Y., 2003).

Master Yin Shun, Master Sheng Yen and Master Hsing Yun demonstrate the pro-life and pro-choice arguments in a Buddhist version. Nonetheless, in Buddhism, stances on abortion are not only limited to these two camps. The following sections show how the contrasts between the two stances can be further examined and explored.

### Whose Autonomy? Whose Wellbeing?

Master Chao Hwei (1957-)<sup>6</sup> is a nun, a student of Master Yin Shun, a Buddhist ethics scholar and a feminist activist. On the issue of abortion, Master Chao Hwei has been working closely with GCPMRL, and she has had numerous dialogues with the feminist groups in the media. She stressed that the binary argument on abortion — pro-life vs. pro-choice — is problematic and demanded a more refined method that could be applied in the Taiwan’s cultural context.

### *Equality between Sentient Beings*

Master Chao Hwei argued that, in medical science, definitions of life and death often fluctuate to accommodate medical procedure needs. For example, in those circumstances, the fetus can be seen as not a person, so abortion cannot be a killing (Shih, C. H., 2008: 247). To facilitate stem cell procurement, an embryo can be claimed as not a life (Shih, C. H., 2008: 247). Or, to initiate organ harvest, a person diagnosed with brain death can be claimed as dead (Shih, C. H., 2004).<sup>7</sup> However, in Buddhism, all forms of creatures are regarded as a life embedded within an ecosystem, so the embryo/fetus is a life whether it is complete human or not (Shih, C. H., 2008: 246-248). All lives are sentient beings (*sattva*), and all are equal (Shih, C. H., 2008: 241) Indeed, the Buddha clearly warned that “[i]t is not permissible to go on killing sentient beings and still call oneself a disciple of the Buddha” (Lopez, 2004: 407 as cited in Byrne, 2006: 119). Sentient beings have self-love (*atmasneha*) and love for new birth (*pumarbhavasneha*), which is an innate desire to survive and to enable life to go on for generations (Shih, C. H., 2004). Therefore, even embryonic selection for IVF can be ethically problematic (Shih, C. H., 2008: 268). Master Chao Hwei employed the communicative method of “putting oneself in others’ shoes (*zhitong zhi fa* 自通之法)” indicated in the sutra *Samyukta Agama* (Sanskrit, *Za aban jing* 雜阿含經) to explain her stance on this. Through feeling and perceiving, it is possible to understand a person’s or an animal’s emotions (Shih, C. H., 2008: 249-250). As a result, “a Buddhist would try all means to avoid killing” (Shih, C. H., 2004) since when “seeing them alive,

<sup>6</sup> Master Chao Hwei was the founder of the Buddhist Hongshi Institute in Taoyuan County. In addition, she is currently the dean of the Faculty of Social Science as well as the chair of the Department of Religious Studies of the Hsuan Chuang University in Hsinchu City (Zeng, 2018). She has been involved in social movements since the 1980s, and she has been described as a “tireless advocate” who has been “seeking structural change” (Eichman, 2011: 355). She supports LGBTQ+ and human rights, animal protection and environmentalism (Zeng, 2018). Moreover, as a previous leader of the Protecting Buddhism Corps of the Buddhist Association of the Republic of China, she has been working enthusiastically against the stigmatization of Buddhism in media since the 1980s (Shih, C. F. & Shih, S. K., 2009; Zeng, 2018). Furthermore, Master Chao Hwei is a feminist. She strongly opines the Eight *Garudhammas* (the Eight Rules of Respect (of nuns), *Bajingfa* 八敬法) (Zeng, 2018). She also challenged the Dalai Lama on gender hierarchy within the monastic order when he visited Taiwan in 2001, which pushed him to call for a meeting of Tibetan and Southeastern Asian Buddhist representatives (Zeng, 2018). In 2018, when the #MeToo campaign arose within Chinese Buddhist institutions, Master Chao Hwei publicly denounced the patriarchal structure and organizational enclosure of contemporary Chinese Buddhism (Zeng, 2018).

<sup>7</sup> Margaret M. Lock’s work detailed how organ transplantation as a new medical procedure and the invention of an artificial ventilator as a means to extend organ activities triggered the necessity for a medical definition of death (brain death) in the 20th century. Please see *Twice Dead: Organ Transplants and the Reinvention of Death*. California Series in Public Anthropology, 1. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

cannot bear to see them die. Hearing their sound, can not bear to eat their meat [a quote by Mencius]" (Shih, C. H., 2008: 251).

### ***Hierarchy of Transmigrating Beings***

Then, should we protect a fetus's life by all means? In Buddhism there is a "hierarchy of transmigrating beings" (Byrne, 2006: 124). Master Chao Hwei affirmed that if a pregnant woman gives up the fetus in order to survive (*qiusheng* 求生), she should not be excessively blamed (C. Shih, personal communication, July 31, 2008). Based on this method "putting oneself in others' shoes," it is understandable that some forms of lives feel more intimate than others based on the human's relationship with them, such as a mother and her child vs. another mother's child (Shih, C. H., 2008: 254). The way humans treat others is also determined by their personality accumulated through reincarnations and karma (Shih, C. H., 2008: 255). However, it does not mean that all abortions are ethically acceptable. The distribution and screening of the documentary "The Eclipse of Reason" by GCPMRL caused harsh debates between feminist and religious groups. Master Chao Hwei commented: "it is the truth [of abortion] despite the frightening images" (Shih, C.H., 2008: 319). Feminist groups argued that the religious group distributed the documentary based on their anti-abortion motives, and she responded: "Didn't the feminist group strongly oppose the documentary based on its motives, too?" (Shih, C. H., 2008: 319). There is an ethical hierarchy among abortions. Some women may suffer from difficult and/or oppressive situations while others may simply choose abortion because it is convenient (Shih, C. H., 2008: 284).

### ***Seeking an Independent Position***

In the U.S., the popular "pro-life versus pro-choice paradigm" (Smith, 2005: 119) has been critiqued for "oversimplifying" (Rye & Underhill, 2020: 1830). A significant population in the American society is in fact comprised of "intermediate group of situationists" (Rye & Underhill, 2020: 1829). Moreover, the voices and lived experiences of "marginalized communities" (Smith, 2005: 129), such as disability rights (Ziegler, 2017) or the social and economic struggles of women of colour (Smith, 2005), have often been neglected. Therefore, an "independent position" (Smith, 2005: 133) is in need for reproductive justice. Master Chao Hwei also argued that the binary paradigm in Taiwan fails to recognize distinct forms of oppression in the Asian context. She firmly supported women's autonomy, but, for her, autonomy should target the patriarchal power instead of the fetus, which is also vulnerable in the social structure (Shih, C. H., 2008: 293). A consideration period is a means by which women can exercise their autonomy—a key quality to bioethics—by providing them with sufficient information, knowledge and time. This is particularly important for women who are under patriarchal pressure (Shih, C. H., 2008: 351). Taking the preference for sons as an example, a large number of female fetuses are aborted every year in Taiwan due to the pressure of the husband's family. (Shih, C. H., 2008: 300-301). While most members of the feminist camp are "middle-class elites", it is crucial to consider the needs of women with less resources and pursue strategies that can truly achieve their autonomy (Shih, C. H., 2008: 350). Master Chao Hwei does not totally agree with the concepts of "unwanted pregnancy" or "unexpected fetus," either. Who should be the one to "want" or "expect"? The woman? The husband's family (which is significant in Taiwan's context), or any charity organization as long as they express their support (Shih, C. H., 2008: 297-298)? These answers might not be discoverable merely through the "pro-life" and "pro-choice" models.



## Beyond Pro-life vs. Pro-choice: Abortion Ritual

Another challenge to the binary paradigm is the abortion ritual, which is a newly emerging ritual that attempts to appease or rescue *yingling* (fetus spirits 嬰靈), which are the spirits of fetuses that have died from abortions or miscarriages. This ritual, *mizuko kuyō* (water child memorial rite), was first popularized in Japan, and, according to some scholars, was imported to Taiwan during the 1980s (Kan, 2008: 380; Moskowitz, 2001: 34-36; Wan, 2001: 2; Wu, 2009: 175 & 219). Driven by the patriarchal structure, marketing mechanism and media culture, an abortion ritual can turn manipulative and exploitative against women (Hardacre, 1997; Moskowitz, 2001). Nonetheless, it is more complex than an oppressive propaganda. William R. LaFleur claimed that, in Buddhism, the journey of the soul keeps going on after the ending of a fetus' life and returns to one of the six realms of reincarnation (LaFleur, 1992: 14-29). An abortion ritual provides a “middle way” (LaFleur, 1992: 213) for society to negotiate the tension between the life and death of the fetus. An abortion ritual allows for the opportunity to express grief and gratitude to the fetus for its sacrifice (LaFleur, 1992: 144 & 217). Moreover, a woman's freedom to express or acknowledge her feelings does not “bar her from deciding to have an abortion” (LaFleur, 1992: 213). The abortion ritual can be therapeutic (Kuan, 2008: 91; Moskowitz, 2001: 123). Furthermore, the ritual makes it possible to assist the woman in mapping out her strategies towards the past and the future (Harrison & Igeta, 1995; Lin, G.C., 2015).

As the most fervent abortion ritual promoter amongst Buddhist representatives, Master Hai Tao (1958-)’s own ritual is bolstered by rich discourses that he delivered and that are disseminated by media that he owns. Many successful Buddhist monasteries in Taiwan are not affiliated with Master Tai Xu or Master Yin Shun, but they “promote new and innovative methods of keeping Buddhism relevant to contemporary concerns” (Eichman 2011, 348). Master Hai Tao is one example. As a self-claimed Humanistic Buddhist, Master Hai Tao decided to convert to a monk after learning about Master Yin Shun’s theory (Haitao fashi de hongfa beiyuan). He cited Master Tai Xu’s teaching to reaffirm an individual’s responsibility to improve society (Shih, H. T., 2015). According to him, Humanistic Buddhism is often misunderstood to be only concerned with humans. In fact, Buddhism attempts to be concerned with all forms of life. Therefore, Master Hai Tao shared another term “Humanistic bodhi/enlightenment (*Renjian puti* 人間菩提)” with the Tzu Chi Foundation hoping his ambition can be more fully expressed (Shih, H. T., 2013). This concept might explain his enthusiasm about life release and abortion rituals.<sup>8</sup>

### *Haunting Fetus who Should be Born but is not Born*

According to Master Hai Tao, the destination of the spirit (*ling* 靈) is determined by causality. If one aborts a fetus that comes to be rewarded, then she loses merit. If one aborts a fetus that comes to take revenge, she commits a new karmic mistake. Hence, Master Hai Tao defined *yingling* as a fetus who “should be born but is not born (*yingsheng weisheng* 應生未生)” (Nianforen, 2011). After being aborted, *yingling* has to stay until their destined life expectancy in the mundane world is over and they

<sup>8</sup> Master Hai Tao owns an enormous “compassion career (*cibei zhiye* 慈悲志業)” (Haitao fashi cibei zhiye), including branches in Taiwan and in various cities across the world, arenas, charity organizations, TV station and publication business. Master Hai Tao is a controversial figure in Taiwanese Buddhism partly because of his promotion and practice of releasing animals (*fangsheng* 放生) for years. This program is organized by his China Preserve Life Association. The association receives disciples’ donations and purchases live animals, birds and fish, and then ships them to dams or mountains for release. *Fangsheng* has been harshly criticized by animal right activists as an abusive behaviour since it encourages brokers to catch more animals to sell. Also, the release of invasive alien species is harmful to ecosystem. *Fangsheng* was also critiqued by Master Cheng Yen and Master Chao Hwei (Shenghuo zhongxin, 2013; Shih, C. H., 2008: 264-266).

can finally enter the category of ghosts and return to reincarnation (Nianforen, 2011). *Yingling* have a stronger power of grudge (*yuanli* 怨力) and this power accumulates as they grow. They survive on the primordial breath (*yuanqi* 元氣) and spirit (*yuanshen* 元神) of the mother. So the stronger *yingling* become, the weaker the mother becomes (Nianforen, 2011). *Yingling* haunt their parents. Based on Buddhist embryology, if the *yingling* is a male, he haunts the mother; if the *yingling* is a female, she haunts the father (Nianforen, 2011).

As a result, for those women who have had abortions, along with their male partners, Master Hai Tao strongly advised them to attend abortion rituals to save their *yingling* (Yingling lianwei). Most ritual performers charge, but Master Hai Tao insisted that the ritual should be free of charge. If a parent needs psychological consultation and assistance, they can also seek help from his temple institution (Yingling lianwei). The ritual process is straightforward and can even be done at home via the internet. The parents can sign up and register for a membership, providing information about the participant and the fetus (such as the date of the abortion). They then provide the *yingling* with a Buddhist name because it is longing for care and identity and that name will be inscribed on a tablet which will be placed in the Palace for Redeeming Baby Spirits (*Zi'an dizang dian* 子安地藏殿), located in the Hall of Dharma or the Bodhimanda of Life, enjoying the care and power of Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha.<sup>9</sup> The participants can log on to the website and check the ritual and space at any time. However, to show their sincere confession and goodwill, they are encouraged to do good deeds. Also, they are strongly encouraged to chant sutras at home to deliver karmic merit to *yingling*, namely the *Scripture on the Fundamental Vows of Dizang Bodhisattva and Dharani Sutra on Prolonging Life and Eliminating Crimes and Protecting Children* (*Foshuo changshou miezui buzhu tongzhi tuoluoni jing* 佛說長壽滅罪護諸童子陀羅尼經), which claims that killing a fetus is one of the five serious offences in Buddhism (Wei suoyou yingsheng weisheng yinger chaodu qifu). As of December 31st, 2016, the number of *yingling* registered in the institutions has reached 15,414,821, with parents-to-be from all over the world (Wei suoyou yingsheng weisheng yinger chaodu qifu).

### ***Do Yingling Haunt?***

Master Yin Shun, Master Sheng Yen and Master Hsing Yun were critical against the narratives that illustrate *yingling* as a menacing ghost. Master Chao Hwei was even the leader of the protest against the Lecture Hall of Compassion's propaganda for abortion rituals in 1990, which was one of the first Buddhist institutions in Taiwan to publish a high-profile advertisement promoting abortion rituals (C. Shih, personal communication, July 31, 2008). Master Yin Shun and Master Sheng Yen clearly demonstrated that it is not the Buddhist idea that the fetus spirit haunts the mother (Shih, S., 2002: 116; Shih, Y., 1993). Master Yin Shun asserted that the haunting images of the fetus spirits are illusionary (*xumang* 虛妄). Neither the *yingling* term, nor the idea of the spirit haunting the mother exist in classic orthodox Buddhist texts (Shih, Y., 1993). Both Master Yin Shun and Master Sheng Yen argued that the *Longevity Sutra* could be a forged Japanese classical text. Master Chao Hwei also argued that abortion ritual performers very often manipulate the language of false classics (Shih, C. H., 2010). However, even the *Longevity Sutra* does not identify *yingling* nor does it present a horrifying

<sup>9</sup> Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha (*Dizang Pusa* 地藏菩薩 in Chinese, *Jizō* in Japanese) is highly related to the cult of death in China. The *Dizang pusa benyuan jing* 地藏菩薩本願經 (*Scripture on the Fundamental Vows of Dizang Bodhisattva*) vividly demonstrates the Buddhist rite of death and afterlife in late medieval China and India (Ng, 2007: 115). According to this Sutra, *Dizang Pusa* vows to rescue all suffering beings from the Six Realms to liberation. In Japan, *Jizō* is regarded as a protector of children/fetuses, and during a *mizuko kuyo* ritual offerings are made to him. *Jizō* went through a "down scaling" construction process in Japan which eventually made him an imperfect but compassionate "bodhisattva that is close to the people" (LaFleur, 1992: 47).



image of a haunting fetus, implying that dead fetuses do not become fierce ghosts. Instead, Master Sheng Yen and Master Chao Hwei affirmed that, according to Buddhism, despite having different lifespans, all souls are equal because they all turn to an intermediate being embodied by its intention (*zhongyou de yichengshen* 中有的意成身) and incarnate in the Six Realms after death (Shih, C. H., 2010; Shih, S., 2002: 114). The soul of an aborted fetus does not develop a sense of revenge or grudge against its intended new parent (Shih, S., 2002: 114). Master Chao Hwei agreed that the personalities of the intermediate beings vary, so some of them may linger in the mundane world due to their attachment, but it is extremely rare (Shih, C. H., 2010). However, without the support of a physical body, the souls eventually leave and return to reincarnation unless they fall into the Realm of Hungry Ghosts (Shih, C. H., 2010). She argued that some abortion ritual performers take advantage of these exceptional cases to generalize the images of fetal spirits (Shih, C. H., 2010).

### ***Is Ritual Necessary?***

Master Sheng Yen stressed that a salvation *chaodu* (超度) ritual for the dead in Buddhism should be performed on an equal basis. To perform a *chaodu* ritual, particularly for one type of spirit—*yingling*—is a new invention (Dishui Huofeng, 2012). Even the *Longevity Sutra* does not propose an abortion ritual only serving *yingling* (Shih, S., 2002: 115). Moreover, Master Sheng Yen did not agree that karma can be solved in abortion rituals since causality is a long ongoing process (Dishui Huofeng, 2012). Master Hsing Yun did not appreciate abortion rituals of the “buying-peace” style. He criticized the practice stating that manipulative businesses take advantage of women’s guilt and use religion as a money scam (Shih, H. Y., 2003). Similarly, Master Chao Hwei agreed with the therapeutic function of the ritual, but she denounced some abortion ritual performers for amplifying women’s fears, worries and distresses. This trick is disrespectful to the dead and is not a selfless kindness to comfort the living as Buddhism pursues (Shih, C., 2010).

Based on the debates above, Master Hai Tao’s abortion ritual serves as a representative case that reveals how a consensus within Buddhism is hard to achieve while numerous Buddhist institutions have enthusiastically entered the market (Kan, 2008: 393).

### **A Social Movement in Taiwanese Buddhist Style**

In response to the reproductive politics in Taiwan, compared to the Christian churches’ assertive approaches such as convening a coalition, proposing a referendum or organizing protests, most of the Humanistic Buddhist leaders’ approach seemed relatively discreet (Laliberté, 2001: 98). Taking the Presbyterian Church as an example, it has a long history of political engagement: from combats against the Chinese KMT’s rule in the 1940s to the fight for human rights and Taiwan’s independence in the 1970s (Rubinstein, 1991: 4). On the other hand, André Laliberté claimed, Buddhist institutions often “exercise their influence through informal channels within existing institutions (Laliberté, 2001: 118)”. In fact, Master Yin Shun was described as “a giant in Buddhist philosophy, and a dwarf in action and practices” (Zhang, 1990). Laliberté pointed out that this Buddhist tendency in political engagement is mainly shaped by the religious leaders’ belief in “conservative theology” (Laliberté, 2001: 118), which focuses more on “harmony within society” (Laliberté, 2001: 120). This attitude results partly from the KMT’s protection and control over the Buddhist Association of the Republic of China under the Martial Law (Jones, 1999: 176; Laliberté, 2001: 112), and partly from the leaders’ Chinese background, wanting to distance themselves from new political dynamics based on Taiwanese identity (Laliberté, 2001: 114). More importantly, due to the hierarchical structure of Buddhist institutions, religious leaders’ beliefs can be delivered to and accepted by their disciples (Laliberté, 2001: 98).

Furthermore, Richard Madsen (2007) asserted that the key difference between Western and Taiwanese democratization is based on the “relationship between an individual and the state” (Madsen, 2007: 132). In Taiwan, Buddhist and Taoist religious associations are not submissive to the government since they own their social and political powers through voluntary and autonomous memberships (Madsen, 2007: 133). Nonetheless, these religious groups flourished because they did not contend with the government. Participating in a religion became an efficient and safe way to transform society. Meanwhile, these institutions and their participants tend to adapt to the world instead of subverting it (Madsen, 2007: 101). While Western experiences suggest that individual freedom is reached when one is emancipated from social norms, democratization in Taiwan shows that a society is able to achieve emancipation by means of reinterpreting and reintegrating social norms – or “Asian values” (Madsen, 2007: 132).

## Conclusion

Through a narrative analysis, this paper demonstrates the wide spectrum of Buddhist narratives in response to reproductive politics. Master Yin Shun, Master Sheng Yen and Master Chao Hwei stressed that a fetus is a life, and lives are equal since they are all sentient beings. As the fundamental principle of ethics, “non-harming (*ahimsā*)” highlights the value of life as a priority. Therefore, Master Yin Shun and Master Sheng Yen claimed that abortion is a moral sin. Meanwhile, Master Chao Hwei acknowledged that there is a hierarchy of transmigrating beings (such as the mother’s life vs. the fetus’ life). On the other hand, Master Hsing Yun, employing utilitarianism, stated that abortion is acceptable if it results in more benefit than harm based on good intent. Therefore, a woman is in the best position to make a decision based on her autonomy since she possesses the best knowledge of the consequences. Nonetheless, allowing for autonomy does not compromise the power of the Buddhist concept of karma.

The wide spectrum of Buddhist narratives reveals the limitation of the mode of absolute pro-life vs. pro-choice debates. Master Chao Hwei critiqued that this mode was oversimplified and failed to recognize the needs of women in Taiwanese patriarchal contexts. The abortion ritual that Master Hai Tao promoted could provide women with an opportunity to express their feelings to *yingling*. Meanwhile, the fact that some of the rituals are performed through manipulating women’s fear of vengeful *yingling* was denounced by other Humanistic Buddhists as exploitative and deviated from the appeal of orthodox Buddhists.

As Gay Watson observed: “Buddhism has faced a double challenge in each culture it has entered: to remain true to the core of its teachings and to express these in a way that responds to the needs of the new situation” (Watson, 2003: 25). The debates on abortion in Taiwan take place in cross-cultural dynamics involving Chinese tradition as well as U.S and Japanese influences. For Humanistic Buddhists, social movements do not necessarily indicate conflicts or revolution. They mostly focus on educating their followers and society through teachings and rituals. Based on the spectrum of fluid interpretations surveyed in this paper, Humanistic Buddhism in Taiwan represents an elastic agenda instead of an institutionalized authority. The label Humanistic Buddhism enjoys respectable cultural capital, and many institutions are willing to join the camp. The tradition of Buddhist involvement in social changes prefers to transform social changes instead of denying them.





## References

- Bingenheimer, M. (2015). "Writing history of Buddhist thought in the twentieth century: Yinshun (1906-2005) in the context of Chinese Buddhist historiography". *Journal of Global Buddhism*, 10: 255-290.
- Bray, F. (1997). *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Byrne, C. J. (2006). "Would a Buddhist freeze a cane toad? An exploration of the modern phenomenon of environmental Buddhism and the ethics related to the doctrine of Ahimsa (non-harming)". *Contemporary Buddhism*, 7 (2): 117-127. doi:10.1080/14639940601025056.
- Chandler, S. (2004). *Establishing a pure Land on Earth: the Foguang Buddhist Perspective on Modernization and Globalization (Ser. Topics in contemporary buddhism)*. University of Honolulu: Hawai'i Press. doi:10.21313/9780824862404.
- Changtzu, B. (2017). *Introducing Venerable Yinshun to the West*. Yinshun Cultural and Educational Foundation, Taiwan. <https://www.yinshun.org/Books/Introducing%20Ven%20Yinshun%20to%20the%20west.pdf>
- Chen, G. 陳國賓 (2015, April 9) Yinshun tan Zhengyen yu Xingyun 印順談證嚴與星雲 [Yin Shun talking about Cheng Yen and Hsing Yun]. *Ziyou shibao 自由時報 Liberty Times*. <https://talk.ltn.com.tw/article/paper/870161>
- Chen, Y. 陳玉女. (2011). "Mingdai duotai, chanwang, niying de shehui yinying: cong sifu fojiao duotai chanwang shuiluhua tanqi 明代墮胎, 產亡, 溺嬰的社會因應: 從四幅佛教墮胎產亡水陸畫談起" [Social responses to abortion, death of dystocia, and infanticide in the Ming: four Buddhist Water and Land paintings on abortion and death of dystocia]. *Mingdai de fojiao yu shehui 明代的佛教與社會 [Buddhism and Society in the Ming Dynasty]* (pp. 283-321). Beijing: Peking University Press.
- Chiang, M. (2014). "The U.S. aid and Taiwan's post-war economic development, 1951-1965". *African & Asian Studies*, 13 (1/2): 100-120. doi:10.1163/15692108-12341287.
- Choo, J. J. C. (2012). "That 'fatty lump': Discourses on the fetus, fetal development, and filial piety in China before the eleventh century CE". *Nan Nü -- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China*, 14 (2): 177-221. doi:10.1163/15685268-142000A1.
- Dashi luezhuān 大師略傳 [Brief biography of the master]. *Xinyun dashi quanji 星雲大師全集 [Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun]*. Retrieved July 29, 2020, from <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/intro/master>
- Dishui Huofeng 地水火風. (2012, March 5). *Shengyan Fashi: Yingling wenti zuotanhui dawen 聖嚴法師：嬰靈問題座談會答問 [Master Shengyen: answering questions at conference on Yingling issues]*. *Xuefowang 學佛網 [Learning Buddhism Net]*. <http://big5.xuefo.net/nr/article11/114544.html>
- Eichman, J. (2011). "Prominent nuns: Influential Taiwanese voices", *Cross Currents*, 61(3): 345-373. doi:10.1111/j.1939-3881.2011.00187.x.
- Fagushan quanqiu zixunwang 法鼓山全球資訊網 [Dharma Drum Mountain Global Website]. *Shengyen fashi shengping luezhuān 聖嚴法師生平略傳 [Brief autobiography of Master Sheng Yen]*. [https://www.ddm.org.tw/page\\_view.aspx?siteid=&ver=&usid=&mnuid=1125&modid=50&mode=](https://www.ddm.org.tw/page_view.aspx?siteid=&ver=&usid=&mnuid=1125&modid=50&mode=)
- Gongshi xinwen wang 公視新聞網 [Taiwan Public Television Service]. (2010, August 31). *Neizhengbu guli shengyu kouhao jinwu chulu 內政部鼓勵生育口號今午出爐 [At noon Ministry of the Interior reveals its slogan to encourage childbirth]*. <https://news.pts.org.tw/article/157865?NEENO=157865>
- Greenhalgh, S. (2005). "Globalization and population governance in China." In: A. Ong and S. J. Collier (eds.) *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems* (pp. 354-372). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Guo, S. 郭書宏 and Chen, R. 陳瑞娟. (2005, June 5). *Yinshun zhanglao zuo yuanji gejie zhenjing 印順長老昨圓寂 各界震驚 [Master Yin Shun passed away yesterday, various circles of society shocked]*. *Renjian fubao 人間福報 [The Merit Times]*. <https://www.merit-times.com/NewsPage.aspx?unid=205629>
- Guojia fazhan weiyuanhui 國家發展委員會 [National Development Council]. (2018, August). *Zhonghua minguo renkou tuigu (2018 zhi 2065 nian) 中華民國人口推估 (2018至2065年) [Estimate of population of Republic of China]*. <https://pop-proj.ndc.gov.tw/>
- Haitao fashi cibe zhiye 海濤法師慈悲志業 [Master Haitao's Charitable Activities of Loving Compassion]. Retrieved July 29, 2020, from <http://www.haitao.org.tw/vow/honfa.htm>

- Haitao fashi de hongfa beiyuan 海濤法師的弘法悲願 [Master Hai Tao's great wish to spread the Dharma]. Haitao fashi cibi zhiye 海濤法師慈悲志業 [Master Haitao's Charitable Activities of Loving Compassion]. Retrieved July 29, 2020, from <http://www.haitao.org.tw/vow/honfa.htm>
- Hardacre, H. (1997). *Marketing the Menacing Fetus in Japan*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Harrison, E. G., & Igeta, M. (1995). "Women's responses to child loss in Japan: the case of 'Mizuko Kuyō' [with Response]". *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 11(2), 67-100.
- Heise, I. (2012). "For Buddhas, families and ghosts: The transformation of the ghost festival into a dharma assembly in Southeast China". In: P. Williams and P. Ladwig (eds.) *Buddhist Funeral Cultures of Southeast Asia and China* (pp. 217-237). Cambridge: Cambridge University Express.
- Jiang, Q. 江千代. (2000). "Taiwan diqu biyun fangfa zhi yanjin 台灣地區避孕方法之演進" [Evolution of contraceptive measures in the Taiwan region]. In: S. Huang 黃思誠 (eds.) *Taiwan fuchanke bainian shi 台灣婦產科百年史 [Taiwan Gynecology Centennial]* (pp. 203-207). Taipei: Zhonghua minguo fuchanke yixuehui 中華民國婦產科醫學會 [Taiwan Association of Obstetrics and Gynecology].
- Jones, C. B. (1999). *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660-1990*. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Kan Z. 闕正宗. (2008). "Taiwan dangdai yingling gongyang de lishi yu zhengbian 台灣當代嬰靈供養的歷史與爭辯" [History and debates on the contemporary yingling relief ritual in Taiwan]. *Taiwan fojiao shilun 台灣佛教史論 [History of Buddhism in Taiwan]* (pp. 375-394). Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua Pub.
- Keown, D. (2016). "Buddhism and abortion: Is there a 'middle way'?" In: D. Keown (eds.) *Buddhism and Abortion* (pp. 199-218). London: Palgrave Macmillan Limited.
- King, M. T. (2014). *Between Birth and Death: Female Infanticide in Nineteenth-Century China*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Kritzer, R. (2009). "Life in the womb: Conception and gestation in Buddhist scripture and classical Indian medical literature". In: V. R. Sasson and J. M. Law (eds.) *Imagining the Fetus: The Unborn in Myth, Religion, and Culture* (pp. 73-90). Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press.
- Kuan, H. 2008. "Abortion Law and Abortion Discourse in Taiwan: Rights, Social Movements and Democratization." SJD Diss., University of Pennsylvania Law School.
- Kuo, W. 郭文華. (2008) "Meiyuan xia de weisheng zhengce: 1960 niandai Taiwan jiating jihua de tantao 美援下的衛生政策- 1960年代台灣家庭計劃的探討" [Health policy under the U.S. aid: an investigation of Taiwan's family during the 1960s]. In: Shang-jen Li 李尚仁 (eds.) *Diguo yu xiandai yixue 帝國與現代醫學 [The empire and modern medical science]* (pp. 325-365). Taipei: Lianjing chuban 聯經出版 [Linking Publishing].
- LaFleur, W. R. (1992). *Liquid Life: Abortion and Buddhism in Japan*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Laliberté, A. (2001). *Buddhist organizations and democracy in Taiwan*. *American Asian Review*, 19(4), 97-129.
- Lee, J. 李貞德. (1995). "Infanticide and child abandonment from Han to Sui 漢隋之間的「生子不舉」問題" [Problems of not-lifting-up children during the Han and Sui dynasties], *Taipei: History-Philology-Institute Bulletin, SINICA*, (66): 747-812.
- Leung, A. K. 梁其姿. (1997/2005). *Shishan yu jiaohua: Mingqing de cishan zuzhi 施善與教化: 明清的慈善組織 [Charity and enlightenment: charity organizations in the Ming and Qing dynasties]*. Taipei: Linking Publishing.
- Li, L. 李利安. (2005). *Fojiao de chao renjianxing yu renjian fojiao 佛教的超人間性與人間佛教 [The transcendentalism of Buddhism and Humanistic Buddhism]*, *Zhexue yanjiu 哲學研究 [Philosophical Research]*, 7. <http://www.aisixiang.com/data/20257-3.html>
- Lifayuan gongbao 立法院公報 [Legislative Yuan Gazette]. (1984). 73 (32).
- Lifayuan gongbao 立法院公報 [Legislative Yuan Gazette]. (2006). *Lifayuan diliujie disanhuiqi weisheng huanjing ji shehui fuli weiyuanhui dishibaci quantiweiyuan huiyijilu 立法院第六屆第三會期衛生環境暨社會福利委員會第十八次全體委員會議紀錄 [Minutes of the 18th Meeting of Members of the Social Welfare and Environmental Hygiene Committee of the Sixth Legislative Yuan, 3rd Session]*, 95(28): 59-101.
- Lin, G. C. (2015). "A regime where the woman's voice is heard: Guanluoyin as a form of abortion ritual in contemporary Taiwan". In: N. Ijichi, A. Kato, and R. Sakurada (eds.) *Rethinking Representations of Asian Women: Changes, continuity and everyday life* (pp. 155-171). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lin, J. 林進修 and Xu, C. 許昌平. (2005, November 29). *Liwei yao xiu yousheng baojian fa ling guiding rengong liuchan qian xu you liuri "sikaqi" 立委要修優生保健法 另規定人工流產前須有六日「思考期」 [Legislators attempt to amend the Eugenic and Health Protection Law and propose a 6-day "consideration period"]*.



- Shengming lunli yanjiu zhongxin 生命倫理研究中心 [Human Life Ethics Center]. [https://theology.catholic.org.tw/klife/news/news\\_022008004.html](https://theology.catholic.org.tw/klife/news/news_022008004.html)
- Lin, T. 林桶法. (2018) Zhanhou chuqi dao 1950 niandai Taiwan renkou de yichu yu yiru 戰後初期到1950年代臺灣人口的移出與移入 [Emigration and immigration in Taiwan during post war to the 1950s], *Taiwan xue tongxun* 臺灣學通訊 [Newsletter of Taiwan Studies], 103: 4-7.
- Lu, F. 呂芳上. (2013) *Minguo shilun (shang) 民國史論(上)* [History on the Republican (China) (vol. 1)]. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan 臺灣商務印書館 [The Commercial Press].
- Madsen, R. (2007). *Democracy's Dharma: Religious Renaissance and Political Development in Taiwan*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Mayck. (2014, February 17). Fenxiang rengong liuchan qian rangren nanguo de kanzhen guocheng 分享人工流產前讓人難過的看診過程 [Sharing a sad clinical experience before an abortion]. BabyHome. <https://forum.babyhome.com.tw/topic/4301588>
- Moskowitz, M. L. (2001). *The Haunting Fetus: Abortion, Sexuality, and the Spirit World in Taiwan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Ng, Z. (2007). *The Making of a Savior Bodhisattva: Dizang in Medieval China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Nianforen 念佛人. (2011, July 8). Hai Tao fashi fangtan: Yingling fuchou, nande chanmuqin, nude chanfuqing 海濤法師訪談：嬰靈復仇，男的纏母親，女的纏父親 [Master Hai Tao talking about Yinglings: male (Yingling) haunts the mother, and female father]. Xuefowang 學佛網 [Learning Buddhism Net]. <http://big5.xuefo.net/nr/article8/78530.html>
- Pew Research Center. (n.d.). Pew-Templeton Global Religious Futures Project: Taiwan. [http://www.globalreligiousfutures.org/countries/taiwan/#/?affiliations\\_religion\\_id=0&affiliations\\_year=2010&region\\_name=All%20Countries&restrictions\\_year=2016](http://www.globalreligiousfutures.org/countries/taiwan/#/?affiliations_religion_id=0&affiliations_year=2010&region_name=All%20Countries&restrictions_year=2016)
- Qiao, W. 喬偉剛. (2019, October 23). "Xintiao fa'an" tingzhenghui na nue maogou leibi sha yinger 「心跳法案」聽證會 拿虐貓狗類比殺嬰兒 [Public hearing on heartbeat bill comparing killing babies with torturing cats and dogs]. Shangbao 上報 [Up Media]. [https://www.upmedia.mg/news\\_info.php?SerialNo=73963](https://www.upmedia.mg/news_info.php?SerialNo=73963)
- Rubinstein, M. A. (1991). *The Protestant Community on Modern Taiwan: Mission, Seminary, and Church*. Armonk: NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Rye, B. J. and Underhill, A. (2020). "Pro-choice and pro-life are not enough: an investigation of abortion attitudes as a function of abortion prototypes". *Sexuality & Culture* (2020) 24:1829–1851
- Shenghuo zhongxin 生活中心. (2013, January 04). Haitao fangsheng re zhengyi, Zhengyan: husheng bing bushi wuwei fangsheng 海濤放生惹爭議，證嚴：護生並不是無謂放生 [Master Haitao releases animals and causes controversies. Master Cheng Yen: protecting life is not equivalent to releasing life in a pointless manner]. Etoday. <http://www.ettoday.net/news/20130104/148591.htm>
- Shengming lunli yanjiu zhongxin 生命倫理研究中心 [Human Life Ethics Center]. (n.d.). Jiuzhu taier wei hu shengming 救助胎兒，維護生命 [Saving fetuses and protecting lives]. <https://theology.catholic.org.tw/klife/aboutus.html>
- Shih, C. F. 釋傳法 and Shih, S. K. 釋性廣. 2009. "Sheyun langchao zhong zhi hujiao yundong" 社運浪潮中之護教運動—以中國佛教會護教組為探討核心 [Protecting Buddhism in the wave of social movement: protecting Buddhism Corps of Buddhist Association ROC as the Discussion Core]. *Hsuan Chuang Journal of Buddhism Studies* no. 11: 55-86.
- Shih, C. H. 釋昭慧. (2004). Yi fofa yi guan renlei peitai (taier) de diwei 依佛法以觀人類胚胎（胎兒）的地位 [Observing the status of the human embryo (fetus) based on the Dharma], *Hongshi shuangyue kan 弘誓雙月刊* [Hongshi Bimonthly], 84. <http://www.hongshi.org.tw/writings.aspx?code=9DFE134E02517C885F4355E54BFD04A2>
- Shih, C. H. 釋昭慧. (2008). *Fojiao houshe lunlixue 佛教後設倫理學* [Meta-ethics in Buddhism]. Taipei: Fajie chubanshe youxian gongsi 法界出版社有限公司 Dharma-Dhatu Publications.
- Shih, C. H. 釋昭慧. (2010). Yingling chaodu mianmianguan: da Chengying renzhe wen 嬰靈超渡「面面觀——答承穎仁者問 [A survey on Yingling appeasement: answering Chengying's questions]. *Hongshi shuangyuekan 弘誓雙月刊* [Hongshi Bi-Monthly], 106. <http://www.hongshi.org.tw/writings.aspx?code=12257BAAB77A637126B36F3A3D5239A0>

- Shih, H. T. 釋海濤 (2013, March 27) Haitao fashi: cong geren anle dao yuzhou zeren. Zhang Suwen 2007 nian jiyue caifang yu Guangzhou Guangxiaosi Ganlufang 海濤法師：從個人安樂到宇宙責任 張素聞 (2007年9月採訪於廣州光孝寺菩提甘露坊) [Master Hai Tao: from personal happiness to cosmic responsibility: interview by Zhang Suwen in Ganlu Hall, Guangxiao Temple, Guangzhou]. Douban xiaozu 豆瓣小組 [Douban small group]. <https://www.douban.com/group/topic/37710995/>
- Shih, H. T. 釋海濤 (2015, June 15) Haitao fashi: fojiaotu de zeren jiushi rang shiren liaozhi fojiao 海濤法師：佛教徒的責任就是讓世人知佛法 [Master Hai Tao: Buddhists' responsibility is to inform people of the Dharma]. Dagong fojiao 大公佛教. <http://bodhi.takungpao.com/ptls/shuhua/2015-06/3020132.html>
- Shih, H. Y. 釋星雲. (2003) Renjian fojiao dangdai wenti zuotanhui: shehui yiti tantao (shangce) fojiao dui nüxing wenti de kanfa 人間佛教當代問題座談會：社會議題探討 (上冊) 佛教對「女性問題」的看法 [Conference on contemporary issues in Humanistic Buddhism: discussion in social issues (vol.1) Buddhist views on women's issues]. Renjian fojiao de xingzhe: Xingyun dashi 人間佛教的行者：星雲大師 [The doer of Humanistic Buddhism: Master Hsing Yun]. <http://www.masterhsingyun.org/article/article.jsp?index=6&item=24&bookid=2c907d4944d9a3fc0144f6f59b760008&ch=1&se=7&f=1>
- Shih, H. Y. 釋星雲. (n.d.). Renjian fojiao yulu zongmen sixiang pian hongfa lisheng 人間佛教語錄宗門思想篇 弘法利生 [Humanistic Buddhism quotes, thoughts of sect: promoting the Dharma and benefiting lives]. Renjian fojiao de xingzhe: Xingyun dashi 人間佛教的行者：星雲大師 [The doer of Humanistic Buddhism: Master Hsing Yun]. <http://www.masterhsingyun.org/article/article.jsp?index=30&item=35&bookid=2c907d4945216fae0145495435f801ba&ch=3&se=2&f=1>
- Shih, H. Y. 釋星雲. (n.d.). Renjian fojiao yulu shenghuo yingyong pian lunliguan 人間佛教語錄 生活應用篇 倫理觀 [Humanistic Buddhism quotes, application in life: ethics]. Renjian fojiao de xingzhe: Xingyun dashi 人間佛教的行者：星雲大師 [The doer of Humanistic Buddhism: Master Hsing Yun]. <http://www.masterhsingyun.org/article/article.jsp?index=15&item=35&bookid=2c907d4945216fae0145495435f801ba&ch=2&se=2&f=1>
- Shih, S. 釋聖嚴. (2002). “Yingling zuosui zhishuo you genju ma? 嬰靈作祟之說有根據嗎” [Is there a theoretical base for huanting Yinglings?]. Xuefo Qunyi 學佛群疑 [Questions and answers on Buddhism], 114-117. Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corp.
- Shih, S. 釋聖嚴. (2005). Yinshun zhanglao yu wo 印順長老與我 [Master Yin Shun and I]. Yinshun wenjiao jijinhui tuiguang jiaoyu zhongxin 印順文教基金會推廣教育中心 <http://yinshun-edu.org.tw/archived/dynamicdata/flash/book/bf01/C03.html>
- Shih, S. 釋聖嚴. (2010, August 14). Shengming de jiazhi: Shengyen fashi yu Shan Guoxi shuji zhujiao, Wu Ruoquan, Tao Zhe de duihua: Duotai shi bu zunzhong geti de shengcunquan 生命的價值—聖嚴法師與單國璽樞機主教、吳若權、陶喆的對話：墮胎是不尊重個體的生存權 [Value of life: conversation between Master Sheng Yen, Cardinal Paul Shan Kuo-Hsi, Ruoquan Wu and David Tao: abortion is disrespect of one's right to life]. Qiye fojiao shushe 七葉佛教書舍. <http://www.book853.com/show.aspx?page=4&&cid=714&cid=49>
- Shih, S. 釋聖嚴. (Shengyen fashi dafagu 聖嚴法師大法鼓 [Master Sheng Yen Great Dharma Drum]. (2012, October 24). Duotai (Shengyen fashi-dafagu0022) 墮胎 (聖嚴法師-大法鼓 0022) [Abortion (Master Sheng Yen Great Dharma Drum 0022)] [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m7yRrltA2s>
- Shih, Y. 釋印順. (1993). Zhongguo fojiao suotan 中國佛教瑣談 [Miscellaneous talks on Chinese Buddhism]. Huayu ji 華雨集 [Anthology of the flower rains] vol. 4. Hsinchu County: Zhengwen Pub. 正聞出版社. <http://www.mahabodhi.org/files/yinshun/28/yinshun28-05.html>
- Smith, A. (2005). “Beyond pro-choice versus pro-life: Women of color and reproductive justice”. *The National Women's Studies Association Journal*, 17 (1): 119-140.
- Sui, C. (2014, January 29). Meeting Taiwan's new-age Buddhists. BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-25772194>
- Taiwansheng jiating jihua yanjiusuo 台灣省家庭計畫研究所 [Taiwan Provincial Institute of Family Planning]. (2000). “Taiwansheng jiating jihua shiliao 台灣省家庭計畫史料” [Historical material of Taiwan province family plan]. In: S. Huang 黃思誠 (eds.) *Taiwan fuchanke bainian shi 台灣婦產科百年史* [Taiwan Gynecology Centennial] (pp. 186-202). Taipei: Zhonghua minguo fuchanke yixuehui 中華民國婦產科醫學會 [Taiwan Association of Obstetrics and Gynecology].
- Trumpy, A. J. (2016). “I hate it, but it still sounds good: Collective identity and the evaluation of oppositional frame resonance”. *Social Movement Studies*, 15(2), 164–179.



- Wan, C. 萬金川. (2001). Cong Yingling jibai kan binzang wenti 從嬰靈祭拜看殯葬問題 [Observing funeral and interment issues based on Yingling worship]. Faguang 法光[Dharma Light Monthly], 145. <http://enlight.lib.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-BJ013/bj013133120.pdf>
- Watson, G. (2003). “Buddhism and the feminine voice”, *Contemporary Buddhism*, 4 (1): 25–31. doi:10.1080/1463994032000140167.
- Wei suoyou yingsheng weisheng yinger chaodu qifu 為所有應生未生嬰兒超渡祈福 [Praying for merit for all fetuses which should be born but is not born]. Life Caring Association. Retrieved January 31, 2019, from <http://www.cpla.org.tw/child.htm>
- Wu, Y. 吳燕秋. (2009). Nadio yu m-sinn: zhanhou Taiwan funu duotaishi (1945–1984) 「拿掉」與「毋生」(m-sinn): 戰後臺灣婦女墮胎史(1945–1984) [To Pick Off and Not to Deliver: Women’s History of Abortion in Post-war Taiwan (1945–1984)]. PhD Dissertation, Institute of History, National Tsing-Hua University.
- Xingzheng Yuan 行政院 [Executive Yuan]. (2020, March 24). Taiwan de minjian xinyang 台灣的民間信仰 [Taiwan’s folk belief]. Executive Yuan, Taiwan. <https://www.ey.gov.tw/state/D00B53C98CD4F08F/ebdc93b1-e9df-4bf4-8bfe-c6374a0f811f>
- Xintiao fa’an gongtong lianmeng 心跳法案公投聯盟 [Heartbeat Bill Alliance]. (2019, September 10). Weihe yao tuidong xintiao fa’an 為何要推動心跳法案 Why does Taiwan want to promote the heartbeat bill [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rVCgN26d2no>
- Xiwang zhiguang hui 希望之光會 [Ray of Hope Christian Registered Charitable Organization]. (2013). Baiyuan dengbao lianshu baoming 百元登報連署報名 [NT100 for signed petition published on newspaper]. <https://sites.google.com/site/rayofhopetainan/stand-for-life/bai-yuan-deng-bao-lian-shu-bao-ming>
- Xu, T. 徐庭揚. (2011, May 17) Huayi Mennuo Ciji: buzuo xingbie shaijian 花醫門諾慈濟：不做性別篩檢 [Hualian Mennonite Christian Hospital and Tzu Chi Hospital: no sex selection] Gengsheng ribao 更生日報 [Keng Sheng Daily News]. [http://www.ksnews.com.tw/index.php/news/contents\\_page/0000165187](http://www.ksnews.com.tw/index.php/news/contents_page/0000165187)
- Yingling lianwei 嬰靈蓮位 [Yingling lotus tablet]. (n.d.). Shengming dianshitai 生命電視台 [Life TV]. Retrieved January 31, 2019, from <http://life-tv.org/cdqf/>
- Yu, X. 學愚. (2011). Renjian fojiao: Xingyun dashi rushishuo rushixing 人間佛教：星雲大師如是說，如是行 [Humanistic Buddhism: ] 中華書局(香港)出版有限公司, Mar. 1, 2011
- Yu, X. (2013). “Re-creation of rituals in humanistic Buddhism: A case study of FoGuangShan”. *Asian Philosophy*, 23(4), 350–364. doi:10.1080/09552367.2013.831609
- Zeng, Z. 曾芷筠. (2018, October 22). Fomen xianu Shi zhaohui 佛門俠女釋昭慧 [Shih Chaohwei the Buddhist swordswoman]. Jing zhoukan 鏡週刊 Mirror Media. <https://www.mirrormedia.mg/story/20181019pol001/>
- Zhang, C. 張慈田. (1990). Foxue yanjiu yu xiuxing: fang Jiang Canteng jushi 佛學研究與修行—訪江燦騰居士 [Buddhist studies and cult: an Interview with Kulapati Jiang Cian-teng]. Xinyu yuekan 新雨月刊 [Renaissance Monthly], 31. <https://blog.xuite.net/mop.david/blog/brick-view/42726746> Society for Buddhist
- Zhang, Y. 張元融. (2019, June 16). Duotai fei weiyi xuanze shengyang haizi jiushengming 墮胎非唯一選擇 生養孩子救生命 [Abortion is not the only choice. Bearing the child to save a life]. Taiwan xingbao 台灣醒報 [Awakening News Networks]. <https://www.anntw.com/articles/20190616-QXTS>
- Zhuang Y. 莊永明. (1998). Taiwan yiliaoshi 台灣醫療史 [Medical History of Taiwan]. Taipei: Yuanliu Publishing.
- Ziegler, M. (2017). “The disability politics of abortion”, *Utah Law Review*, 2017(3), 587–631.