

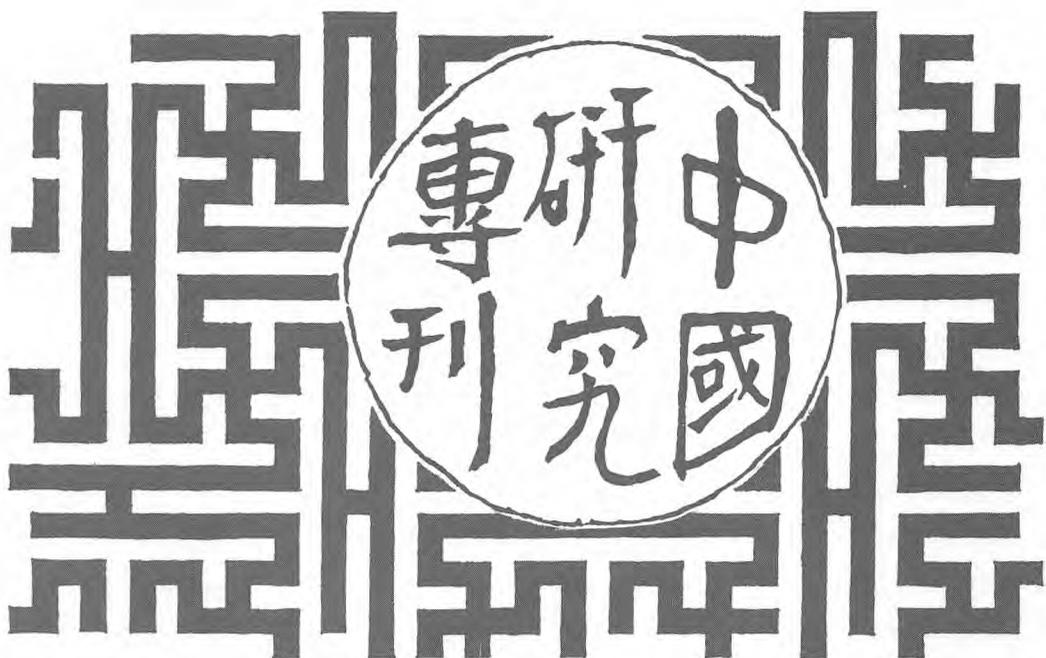


INSTITUTE OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA • BERKELEY  
CENTER FOR CHINESE STUDIES

# Guide to Women's Studies in China

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

Gail Hershatter, Emily Honig,  
Susan Mann, and Lisa Rofel





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# Contents

Acknowledgments .....	vi
Introduction .....	vii
1. Research on Women in Contemporary China.....	1
<i>Wang Zheng</i>	
2. Guide to Women's Studies Centers and Special Projects in the People's Republic of China.....	44
3. Into the Postcolonial Era: Women's Studies in Hong Kong .....	63
<i>Hon-ming Yip</i>	
4. The Uneasy Marriage between Women's Studies and Feminism in Taiwan.....	115
<i>Yenlin Ku</i>	
5. Women's Studies Research Centers, Publications, and Scholars in Taiwan.....	135
<i>Lin Ho-lin</i>	
6. Bibliographic Guides .....	146
Selected Bibliography.....	148
Topical Index.....	191
Glossary of Primary Authors.....	207

# Introduction

The 1980s and 1990s marked a turning point in research on Chinese women on both sides of the Pacific. In the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, national conferences and new research projects and publications signaled an explosion of interest in women's studies, feminism, and gender relations. Within the academy as well as in women's organizations, these innovations have provoked a renewed critical interest in feminist theory developed in a diversity of contexts, in China and abroad. At the same time, Chinese scholars working in the United States and American scholars, in dialogue with one another, began to reconfigure anglophone scholarship on Chinese women. American scholars who had built studies of Chinese women on the foundations of pioneering work published in the 1970s and 1980s began testing the limits of these paradigms and perspectives. Their work on China made them especially sensitive to critiques of colonial representations in Western feminist scholarship and especially responsive to the emerging body of transnational feminist work. Chinese scholars working in the United States engaged as well as reworked Western feminist theory. The Chinese Society of Women's Studies that they formed in the United States has built an extensive transnational network of communication about issues of concern to Chinese women. Both Chinese scholars in the United States and American scholars began conversations with scholars from the PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

Thus communication across the Pacific has entered a new era, highlighted by the organization of conferences and research projects involving international collaboration. Such conferences include "Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State," held at Harvard University and Wellesley College in 1992 with scholars in attendance from the United States, Britain, Taiwan, and the PRC; the First International Women's Studies Conference held at Beijing University in 1992; the 1993 Tianjin conference on

women's studies, organized by the U.S.-based Chinese Society for Women's Studies; the "Family Process and Political Process in China" conference held in Nankang, Taipei, in 1992, organized by the Institute of Modern History at the Academia Sinica; the 1995 Beijing "Symposium on Chinese Women and Feminist Thought," the 1996 "Seminar on Feminism and Feminist Philosophy: Theory and Practice," and the 1997 "Program in Feminist Philosophy and Public Policy," all organized by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; and the 1997 Nanjing workshop on "Women, Health, and Development," organized by the Chinese Society for Women's Studies.

In Taiwan and Hong Kong, two major research and publication initiatives in women's studies mark the 1990s as a new era. The first is a three-year project on Women in Modern Chinese History, initiated by the Institute of Modern History at the Academia Sinica in Taiwan. The Taiwan project, directed by Wang Shu-huai and Lü Fang-shang and funded by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, has already created an archive of primary sources and gathered an exhaustive bibliography covering all the extant secondary literature on the history of women in modern China, along with a human resource database listing names, institutional affiliations, and research interests of scholars worldwide who are engaged in studies of women in modern Chinese history. The second project is a five-volume biographical dictionary of Chinese women from ancient times to 1990, an international effort jointly directed by Dr. Lily Xiao-hung Lee of the Hong Kong Baptist College and Dr. Agnes Stefanowska of the Department of East Asian Studies at the University of Sydney. Contributors, writing in English and Chinese, are drawn from the international scholarly community.

The explosion of interest and research in women's studies in the PRC, Hong Kong, and Taiwan is shaped by a multitude of factors. Socioeconomic changes are certainly one impetus. Economic reforms in China, the intensified establishment of export industries in Taiwan, and the increasing mobility of Hong Kong capital, including investment in the PRC, have precipitated changes in women's lives that seem worrisome and promising at the same time. Women's studies scholars have therefore asked questions about women's income, divisions of labor, the relationship between work and household status for women, and migration. The different political regimes of the three areas have also led to specific local questions. In China, women's studies scholars have been concerned with the devolution of economic decision making

and the lack of government intervention in establishing standards for hiring and firing women. With the introduction of a market economy, they have also called attention to the commercialization of pleasures that revolve around women's bodies, including fashion, sexual services, and trafficking. Finally, they have begun to trace migration of women from inland to coastal provinces in search of work in foreign-run or multinational industries.

In Taiwan, democratic elections and political liberalization have opened new arenas for feminist social and political activists, who in turn have shaped the agenda of feminist academicians. Scholarly work has focused on issues ranging from divorce and inheritance law to prostitution and political action. In Hong Kong, the change in political status from a British colony to a part of the PRC has led to questions about the influence of colonialism on gender arrangements as well as on the production of knowledge about Chinese women, the relationship of culture and gender, and the interracial, intercultural multivocality of Hong Kong society. Finally, the emergence of a new identity merging Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the PRC into a "Greater China" has sharpened awareness of the differences in the relationship of politics and culture to women's lives in all three areas.

In spite of this seeming plethora of transnational Chinese women's studies scholarship, constraints to its development remain, the most crucial being financial limitations. Much of the new work being produced in Chinese is carried out on a shoestring budget, with minimal, if any, institutional support. Mainstream universities and research institutes have barely begun to acknowledge the importance of gender studies. Forced to carry on research and teaching in their conventional disciplines, many Chinese scholars interested in women's studies have relegated their efforts to their spare time and paid for the costs of publication out of their own pockets. Raising money for further research absorbs much of this time and energy. Limited resources leave little to spare for communication or outreach, especially to foreign scholars. On the U.S. side, institutional support for women's studies has increased steadily, but most of it is concentrated in the study of women in Europe and North America. All faculty teaching and doing research in women's studies are heavily burdened by departmental obligations that leave little spare time for the innovative bridge building required.

At the same time, it is important to acknowledge the crucial role played by international agencies and foundations (or some-

times by individuals within those foundations) in creating possibilities for communication between women's studies scholars on both sides of the Pacific. For example, the efforts and initiatives of Mary Ann Burris, of the Ford Foundation, were critical to the organization of international conferences on Chinese women and in funding research on women in the PRC. Likewise, the Asia Foundation has contributed to funding a number of women's studies conferences in Taiwan.

This four-part guidebook offers a preliminary map of the emerging intellectual terrain of Chinese women's studies in the PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The first three parts analyze the emergence of women's studies scholarship in the PRC, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, respectively, describing the major institutions, organizations, publications, and individuals engaged in that scholarship. The essays are written by feminist scholars from each of the three countries. Wang Zheng, from the PRC, received her Ph.D. in history from the University of California, Davis, and is active in the Chinese Society of Women's Studies. Hon-ming Yip (Yip Hon Ming) is on the faculty of modern history at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and is currently engaged in writing an oral history of women in Guangdong's Pearl River delta. Yen-lin Ku, a well-known activist in the feminist movement in Taiwan as well as in establishing women's studies courses at colleges and universities, is currently teaching at the National Chiao Tung University in Hsinchu, Taiwan, and writing a book entitled *Neither First nor Third World: The Feminist Experience of Taiwan*.

Each essay is written with an emphasis on the trajectory and concerns of the particular country. Thus they do not all follow the same format. The essay on the PRC develops the epistemological shifts and underpinnings of a field that is creating itself from the ground up in the post-Mao era. Such a focus is of utmost importance, given that within the PRC women's studies is compelled to justify itself in relation to economic reform when speaking to the government and to political and cultural democracy when speaking to critics of the state. The essay on Taiwan traces the development of the feminist movement and, subsequently, women's studies, focusing on the tensions between feminist activists and scholars concerned with women and gender issues. The essay on Hong Kong reveals the crucial role of colonialism in shaping women's history and the writing of women's history, so that the development of local women's studies scholarship takes place in dialogue with accounts of Chinese women written by Western scholars.

Following these essays is an extensive bibliography listing approximately 350 entries. These include monographs, edited volumes, and articles by women's studies scholars in the PRC, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. All concern women in these three countries, focusing on social science and historical scholarship. Studies of literature are not included in this bibliography, nor are articles by and about women in the popular press. This bibliography is intended to represent women's studies scholarship from the 1970s through the present. Additional bibliographies are cited as well, so that the reader can track entries not listed here. The bibliography is followed by an index that enables readers to identify entries focusing on specific topics.

This guide is not meant to be comprehensive. Its coverage is limited to the research institutes, universities, and women's organizations that we were able to visit or that our collaborators were able to report to us. We have focused on historical studies and on analyses in the social sciences because we believe those fields suffer most from a lack of information and communication. Colleagues in literature and activists in women's organizations have done more to keep in touch with one another than have historians and social scientists.

Our primary goal with this guide is to assist scholars on both sides of the Pacific who may wish to collaborate or consult with one another on topics of mutual interest, through correspondence or exchange programs. But we hope that our guide will serve two additional purposes: to link ongoing research projects, to the mutual advantage of all sides, and to support and encourage graduate students who are interested in gender studies by leading them to resources for their research. Guides to Chinese archival resources and field sites are readily available to younger scholars in the United States, but none provides specific information for students interested in gender studies. By the same token, feminist scholars in Chinese societies are able to carry out ambitious empirical studies of women and gender relations, but they have not had access to transnational forums in which to analyze and discuss their findings.

We look forward to the continued initiative of numerous scholars in these endeavors.

ONE

## Research on Women in Contemporary China

WANG ZHENG

One of the most significant social phenomena in contemporary China, often overlooked by China specialists, is the continuous development of research on women since the mid-1980s. The end of the Maoist era terminated the monopoly of class as *the* category for social and historical analysis. Women emerged as a focal point in public debates as well as in scholarly scrutiny in the reform era. Different social and political groups expressed their objection to Maoism or their vision of modernity through discussing women; their conversations, in turn, formed powerful discourses on gender in post-Mao China. Research on women (*funü yanjiu*), carried out primarily by urban educated women, has become a nationwide women's movement that is creating new gender discourses in China. This essay examines the social and political contexts of the rise of research on women in contemporary China, attempts to delineate the contours of this movement, and discusses its meanings to the women involved, as well as the relationship between the Chinese women's movement and Western feminism.

As a participant, observer, and sometimes both in the development of research on women in China in the past several years, I present my observations and information based on my interviews with women scholars and activists in China and my participation in some projects carried out in China, in addition to my survey of related literature and documents. However, I do not claim that this paper represents an "inside view." As a Chinese historian of women in the United States who has studied Western feminist

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Thanks to Susan Mann, Susan Greenhalgh, and Tani Barlow for comments on an early version of the paper, and to Emily Honig and Gail Hershtatter for their suggestions on the final draft.

scholarship for a decade, I view the ongoing women's movement in China from multiple perspectives.

### Establishing a Chinese Women's Studies—The Initial Stage

Many Western feminist scholars have criticized the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) for abandoning gender equality in the course of revolution. Yet for many Chinese women who grew up in the People's Republic of China, especially urban women who were beneficiaries of the equal educational and employment policies of the Maoist era, the CCP-created presumption that "Chinese women were liberated" was a fact beyond questioning. In the early years of the reform era, however, this presumption was seriously shaken by the inadvertent effects of the one-child policy. In the early 1980s, cases of female infanticide and abuse of women who gave birth to female infants in the countryside were reported in newspapers nationwide. This was shocking to the Women's Federation (Fulian) as well as to most urban educated women, since these were practices supposedly relegated to the pre-1949 past—before Chinese women were liberated. The national Women's Federation immediately launched a campaign to "protect the legal rights of women and children," a move that suggested that women's liberation was an unfinished cause and needed more public attention.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after that, other problems related to urban women attracted more public attention and media coverage. These included divorce (associated with long-term separation of married couples or social and spatial mobility of groups of men and women during and after the Cultural Revolution), marriage (a large number of urban educated women were reaching their thirties with dim prospects of marriage, an issue that caught the attention of the Central Committee of the CCP), women's employment (the urban economic reforms quickly threatened gender equality in the sector of public ownership), women's femininity (as a critique of the ultra-leftist line that supposedly masculinized Chinese women), and prostitution (increasingly prominent with the development of a market economy).<sup>2</sup>

Facing all kinds of women's problems in the new political era and assigned the task of solving those problems by the Central

<sup>1</sup> See Li Xiaojiang 1991 and Tan Shen 1991.

<sup>2</sup> See Honig and Hershatter 1988.

Committee, the revived Women's Federation (which had been disbanded during the Cultural Revolution) decided that theoretical research on women should be one of its priorities. In the post-Mao pursuit of scientific knowledge and methods, theoretical research (which connotes a scholarly approach and scientific methods), instead of a Maoist mass movement, was seen as the correct approach to finding solutions to women's problems. In September 1984, the national Women's Federation held the First National Conference on Theoretical Research on Women, which emphasized the importance and urgency of research on women and asked local Women's Federation branches to organize women researchers as well as to improve the theoretical quality and analytical ability of Women's Federation cadres. Zhang Guoying, a leader of the national federation, stressed candidly at the conference, "We must realize the urgency of social investigation and theoretical research on women's problems. We should guide the practice of the women's movement with theory. Otherwise, the Women's Federation will not be an authoritative mass organization."<sup>3</sup> In other words, federation officials felt not only that emerging women's problems urgently called for solutions, but also that consolidation of the leading position of the Women's Federation in the age of scientific modernization urgently called for its engagement in theoretical research. The official push from the national Women's Federation provided legitimacy for research on women, and the power of the Women's Federation's organizational network stimulated research on women nationwide over the next few years. There can be no doubt that the Women's Federation was the major force behind the surge of research on women.

In October 1986, the national Women's Federation held the Second National Conference on Theoretical Research on Women. The two-year interval had witnessed obvious progress in women's research. More than a hundred people attended the conference, of whom 50 percent were not from the Women's Federation system but from academies of social sciences and universities throughout the country. Six major topics were discussed at the conference: reform and women's liberation, women's role in the construction

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<sup>3</sup> Xi Xingfang 1989. Introducing the content of the first conference, Xi gives an account of "an important talk" by Du Runsheng, director of the Rural Policy Institute of the Central Secretariat. The talk, which represents the party's guideline to the Women's Federation, emphasizes that the Women's Federation should both encourage women to work for the party's goals in the new era and grasp women's special problems and provide services for women.

of spiritual civilization,<sup>4</sup> women's image and the view of women, the social value of reproduction, how to create successful women (*funü chengcai*), and the establishment of Chinese *funüxue* (lit., "women's studies"). On the last issue, two opposite opinions were expressed. The first opinion resisted establishing *funüxue* on the grounds that the term was never seen in Marxist classics and it came with opening up to the West, so using it might carry the implication of bourgeois feminism. The second opinion advocated women's studies: *funüxue* was a discipline, a part of human sciences, just like economics, sociology, psychology, anthropology, and so on. It had no class nature; both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat could study it.<sup>5</sup>

### The Debate over "Funüxue"

The disagreement expressed at the conference over the issue of *funüxue* was a continuation of a public debate. In 1982 the academic journal *Guowai shehui kexue* (Social sciences abroad) first mentioned women's studies, which was translated as *funüxue*. The same journal in 1984 published a translation of an article from the Japanese journal *Science of Ideas*, "The History of the Feminist Movement and Women's Studies." In 1983, *A Collection of American Female Writers' Short Stories* was published, and in the introduction the editor, Zhu Hong, briefly described women's studies in American universities. She translated the term as *funü yanjiu* (women's research or research on women). In 1986 the China Women's Press published a translation of a Japanese work, *Nüxingxue rumen* (An introduction to women's studies). Here women's studies was translated as *nüxingxue* (lit., female studies). Although the three terms have since been used by different people to refer to women's studies, they contain subtle differences in Chinese connotation. *Funüxue* and *nüxingxue* are apparent neologisms of foreign descent. Although both of them convey an idea of academic discipline with the word *xue*, *nüxingxue* could be construed as merely a study of female physiology and psychology.

<sup>4</sup> "Spiritual civilization" (*jingshen wenming*) is a term promoted by the CCP in the economic reform era. *A Chinese-English Dictionary of Neologisms* 1990 gives the following definition of the term: "The advanced state of mankind's spiritual life. It consists mainly of two aspects: one is the scale and level of development in education, science, culture, art, hygiene, athletics, etc.; the other is the direction and level of development in sociopolitical thought, ethics and morality. The two penetrate and promote each other. It is the opposite of *wuzhi wenming*, material civilization."

<sup>5</sup> Xi Xingfang 1989. See also Zhu Qing 1987.

*Funü yanjiu* sounds native and has little ambiguity in terms of its content: any issue relating to women could be the subject of *funü yanjiu* (research on women). However, this term does not suggest a strong connection with an academic discipline. As I will discuss below, *funü yanjiu* in China, unlike women's studies in the West, is not concentrated in academic institutions. In my view, *funü yanjiu* is an accurate term to refer to what has been going on in China, while *funüxue* is a good translation for women's studies abroad.<sup>6</sup>

In 1984, *Funü gongzuo*, a journal of the Women's Federation, printed an article by Deng Weizhi calling for establishing *funüxue* in China.<sup>7</sup> In "Improving and Developing *Funüxue*," Deng suggests that it is important for research on women to be labeled *funüxue*, so that people will consider women's issues from an academic perspective: "Our country has the experience of a women's movement since the May Fourth period, especially the precious experience of work on women in the period of socialist construction. Some of the experience has been theorized, but most of it is still waiting to be theorized and waiting to be composed into a whole scientific system. *Funüxue* is the product and demand of the advancement of the women's movement."<sup>8</sup>

On January 27, 1986, *Zhongguo funübao* printed a short article by Deng Weizhi titled "Welcome the Golden Age of *Funüxue*." This article caught the attention of both Li Xiaojiang, a teacher of literature who had just begun her career as an advocate for women's studies in China, and Luo Qiong, a high-ranking member of the old guard of the national Women's Federation. Li

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<sup>6</sup> This point refers to the current state of research on women in China. As the field of research on women has been changing continuously, the connotations of both *funü yanjiu* and *funüxue* will change accordingly. Currently, although most attention in the field is still aimed at addressing women's issues in contemporary society, some women scholars are beginning their feminist efforts in academic disciplines. They have articulated clearly that they are aiming at "establishing feminist disciplines." It is my prediction that eventually, the term *funüxue* will be used to refer only to feminist disciplines in academic institutions, although it will be a very long process for a Chinese women's studies to take shape in academia.

<sup>7</sup> Deng Weizhi is a renowned scholar from the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences who rose to fame in the mid-1980s by constantly advocating new ideas in public. In my interview with him in 1995, Deng told me, "I read about the term *funüxue* from a journal that printed translated information from abroad. I had no idea what *funüxue* was. But I figured it was a new scientific discipline. I think we need to develop all new disciplines in social sciences."

<sup>8</sup> Deng Weizhi 1995, p. 2. For a comment on Deng's role in promoting women's studies in China, see Ding Juan 1992, p. 194.

had already in 1985 formed an association for *funüxue* attached to the Association of Future Studies of Henan Province. Now she found *funüxue* becoming a national topic, especially with the help of Luo Qiong. On March 8, 1986, Luo published an article in *Jingji ribao*—"Pay Attention to Theoretical Research on Women's Problems"—in which she opposed introducing *funüxue* to China, for "our theory of women's liberation is different in ideological system, objects of service, and final goals from the so-called *funüxue* that came into being in the United States and Japan since the 1960s."<sup>9</sup>

In China an issue becomes prominent and political once a high-ranking figure takes a stand. *Funüxue* quickly became a sensitive issue because of Luo's open involvement. But in the open and free political atmosphere of the mid-1980s, Luo's official voice failed to suppress other voices from below. Instead, it stimulated a public debate on the necessity of establishing *funüxue* in China. Some people thought women's problems should be studied in different academic disciplines and that *funüxue* would narrow the scope of research on women. Some believed that *funüxue* was a comprehensive and systematic science that included well-developed disciplines dealing with the subject of women but that conditions for establishing *funüxue* in China were not yet in place. But others felt an urgent need to establish a Chinese *funüxue*. While Luo criticized *funüxue* as being unorthodox, many insisted that Marxist *funüxue* inherited and developed the Marxist theory of women's liberation and hence had its own bright prospects in China. Hardly anyone involved in the debate had any idea of a feminist concept of gender, that is, one that regarded gender as a cultural construction as well as a principle of social organization, although the increasing attention to women's issues as well as to the issue of women's studies signified the opening of the public forum on gender.<sup>10</sup>

The debate on *funüxue* did not help clarify what women's studies was in the West, but it got many people excited over the idea of *funüxue*. For most of them, "funüxue" signified a brand-new Western academic field that promised a modern scientific approach to women's issues. People who were tired of orthodoxy and people who wanted to carry on Marxism both found *funüxue* attractive because this "scientific academic field" seemed to enable

<sup>9</sup> Ding Juan 1992, p. 194.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. See also Sun Xiaomei 1991.

them to move beyond the status quo. The debate did not last long, because many people, including the Women's Federation cadres, were eager to jump on the bandwagon of *funüxue*. Many in the federation felt that contemporary women's problems called for a scientific approach. The Women's Federation in the new age should have new functions as well as a new image. *Funüxue* carried no political stigma but had some academic prestige. So beginning in 1986, one after another, local Women's Federations formed associations of women's studies or research on women. These associations were a new form of organization, providing a space for scholars and Women's Federation cadres to meet and discuss subjects of mutual interest. They also served as a channel for Women's Federation cadres to reach out to the academy for help with their research projects. In 1990 the national Women's Federation set up a national Women's Studies Institute (Quanguo funü yanjiusuo),<sup>11</sup> which published the nation's only theoretical journal on women's studies, *Funü yanjiu luncong* (Collection of women's studies). This quarterly journal has so far remained the most important scholarly forum for women researchers inside and outside the Women's Federation system.

What made the 1980s a remarkable age for women's research is not just efforts of the Women's Federation cadres, but also the spontaneous activities of many women scholars. In 1985, Li Xiaojiang formed an Association of Women's Studies in Henan. In the same year, another Association of Women's Studies was formed at the Beijing Foreign Languages Institute by some Chinese and Western teachers in the English department. And in Changsha, a women's society was formed by local women scholars to meet and discuss their concern with women's issues. In 1987, the Center for Women's Studies, an outgrowth of Li Xiaojiang's Association of Women's Studies, was established at Zhengzhou University. In 1988, a Women's Salon<sup>12</sup> was formed at Beijing University by Qi Wenying, a professor of U.S. history; an Association of Women's Research was established at the Central Party School by some graduate students and faculty; at Tianjin Normal University, Du Fangqin, Ming Dongchao, and other women faculty formed a

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<sup>11</sup> The national Women's Federation established a Research Institute on the History of the Women's Movement in 1979 and a Research Institute on Women's Status in 1983. The two were combined in 1990 to form the Women's Studies Institute of China.

<sup>12</sup> A salon is regarded as an informal gathering whose organizer does not have to go through the troublesome procedure of registration for a formal organization.

"Women's History and Current State" research group; at Fudan University in Shanghai, some women teachers in the English department formed a women's studies group; Xu Anqi and Cheng Huifen from the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, together with some women journalists, formed a women's salon; and in Beijing, the nongovernmental Chinese Institute of Management established a Women's Studies Institute headed by Wang Xingjuan, a freelance researcher who in 1992 opened the first national women's hot line.<sup>13</sup>

China had seen a surge of research on women in the 1920s and 1930s, spurred by May Fourth feminism and carried out predominantly by male intellectuals. This new wave of research on women in the late twentieth century has been conducted primarily by women. Since the mid-1980s, research on women has proliferated. The political chill that followed the Tiananmen incident of 1989 affected some nonofficial organizational activities, but it did not stop the development of research on women. Why has research on women become such a widespread form of women's activism in the post-Mao era? What has served as its theoretical underpinning? What is its relationship to the state? What are women's goals and strategies? And who are the women that have played a major role in creating and sustaining this movement?

### The Marxist Theory of Women and the Women's Federation

From the very beginning, many scholars and Women's Federation cadres have claimed that Chinese women's studies is guided by a Marxist theory of women (*Makesizhuyi funüguan*). To understand the variety of meanings attached to this claim, we need to look briefly at the historical development of the CCP's theory of women's liberation.

The CCP's official discourse on women's liberation has its origins in the May Fourth feminist movement, Marxist theories of communist revolution and the history of private ownership, European socialist views on women's liberation, the Soviet Russian model of women's liberation, and the nationalism of the early twentieth century, when the party was founded. After May Fourth feminism made women's liberation a badge of modernity in China's political discourse, all political forces in China that claimed to be progressive had to uphold the banner of women's

<sup>13</sup> See Liu Jinxiu 1992.

liberation.<sup>14</sup> The CCP, founded by a group of cultural and political radicals who regarded women's emancipation as one of their commitments, began to institutionalize ideas of women's liberation first in the National Revolution (1925–1927), then in the Communist-held base areas, and later in the PRC. In this long and complicated process, although the CCP's discursive practices have reflected a range of ideological and political origins, a clearly articulated theory of women's liberation has been formed and designated as the theoretical underpinning and guideline for Chinese women's liberation. Except for a few texts translated from Western originals or Japanese translations of Western originals, the main body of the theory consists of works by women's liberation theorists in the party, as well as the party's documents addressing women's issues in different historical periods. The major tenets of the theory are (1) that women's oppression is associated with private ownership; as such, it is a part of class oppression; (2) that women's participation in socialist and communist revolution is the only correct way to their eventual liberation; and (3) that the socialist state implements gender equality, but women's thorough emancipation can be achieved only at a higher stage of human history—communism.<sup>15</sup>

According to this theory, socialism ensures a high stage of women's liberation by eliminating private ownership and practicing gender equality in all spheres. In the Maoist era, social practices followed this theory faithfully. Gender equality was written into the constitution, and the implementation of gender equality in education and employment was effective, at least in urban areas and the state-owned sector. Even though gender hierarchy in Chinese culture was never seriously challenged by the Maoist state, the slogan inherited from May Fourth feminism, "the equality between men and women" (*nannü pingdeng*), entered daily language in the PRC with the power of state propaganda, and gender equality became a state-sponsored dominant theme in China's gender discourses. This Maoist discourse of gender equality, an equality often measured by masculine standards, has

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of May Fourth feminism, see Wang Zheng 1995a. For an analysis of the CCP's early gender politics, see Gilmartin 1995. Gilmartin argues convincingly that the May Fourth feminist influence on the CCP is much greater than scholars in the West have estimated.

<sup>15</sup> The classics include Bebel 1928, Du Junhui 1936, and Luo Qiong 1986. Luo's work provided an updated synthesis of the party's gender policies and theories on women's liberation.

become both the target of contemporary Chinese women's critique and a major source of their critical strength in the post-Mao era.

In the reform era, when the party's priority of developing a market economy either contradicted or canceled its earlier policies of gender equality, the theory of women's liberation became the most important site where the Women's Federation negotiated with the state for the interest of women. The Women's Federation actively engaged in reformulating, reiterating, and promoting the theory of women's liberation. In this process, a new fixed term—Marxist theory of women—was used to denote the theories that had been formulated in the long process of the Chinese revolution. The content of the Marxist theory of women, however, was not fixed at all. By shifting emphasis in their exposition, advocates of the Marxist theory of women were able to use it flexibly for their political purposes. The Women's Federation propaganda about the Marxist theory of women served to remind the party of its commitment to gender equality, as well as to consolidate the power of the official women's organization.

Women in the Women's Federation system or in different branches of the government in charge of women's affairs have consciously used the Marxist theory of women in one way or another to defend women's interests in the reform era. The most famous case in point happened in the early 1980s. When surplus labor posed an immediate problem in the early years of urban economic reform, some sociologists and economists (predominantly men) openly proposed that the high rate of women's employment was inappropriate for the Chinese economy at this stage and that women should go home to make room for men in the workforce. Women's Federation cadres and women scholars opposed this argument, deploying the Marxist theory of women as their weapon. They contended that women's participation in social production is the precondition of women's liberation; without women's economic independence, equality between men and women would have no material base; socialism with Chinese characteristics needed to guarantee women's equality in employment. A high-level Women's Federation official, Guan Tao, subsequently commented that studies and public debates conducted by the Women's Federation cadres and women scholars on women's employment created such a powerful public consensus that it influenced state policy makers: "In the early 1990s, when some people made a proposal to the State Council suggesting that in order to reduce employment pressure China should practice

periodic employment for women, Premier Li Peng vetoed it right away."<sup>16</sup> In other words, the Women's Federation cadres and women scholars in the reform age have consciously embraced the Marxist theory of women to empower women. One of the most successful maneuvers of the Women's Federation in this period occurred on March 8, 1990, when Jiang Zemin, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the CCP, read publicly a speech titled "The Entire Party and the Entire Society Should Establish the Marxist Theory of Women," drafted by cadres of the Women's Federation. The speech was quickly invoked by the Women's Federation as the message to officials of different administrative levels that women's liberation was still an issue on the agenda of the Central Committee of the party.<sup>17</sup>

There are two obvious reasons for Chinese women to adopt this strategy at this historical moment. First, women in responsible positions in charge of women's affairs have all been influenced by the Maoist theory and practice of gender equality. Because their values and beliefs had long been shaped by discursive practices of gender equality in the Maoist era, they were alarmed by increasing gender inequality in the social, economic, and political life of the reform age. Second, only the Marxist theory of women gave women some political leverage in negotiating with the state on behalf of women's interests. It should be noted that in this context, the term "the Marxist theory of women" should not be understood narrowly as the several Marxist principles summarized in Jiang Zemin's speech. Rather, it signifies the whole discourse of women's liberation of the Maoist era.<sup>18</sup> This discourse,

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<sup>16</sup> Guan Tao 1995, p. 8. In this talk, which emphasizes the important role Chinese women have played in the state decision-making process, Guan also alludes to the fact that the Women's Federation maneuvered to have the top party leaders reiterate in public the principles of the Marxist theory of women.

<sup>17</sup> See *Zhongguo funübao*, March 8, 1990. After Jiang's speech, the Women's Federation began concentrated propaganda on the Marxist theory of women. A textbook, *Makesizhuyi funüguan* (The Marxist theory of women), was published for classes in women's cadres' schools (Na Ren and Sun Xiaomei 1991). The strategy of letting the top party leader reiterate the Marxist theory of women was repeated in 1996 when, on March 8, Jiang Zemin gave a speech titled "Nannü pingdeng shi cujin woguo shehui fazhan de yixiang jiben guocuo" (Gender equality is a fundamental state policy in promoting our social development) (*Zhongguo funübao*, March 8, 1996). For further information on the federation's promotion of Jiang's speeches, see *Zhongguo funübao* in the two periods.

<sup>18</sup> Significantly, in 1991 women researchers in the national Women's Federation and the Shanxi Women's Federation jointly compiled *An Introduction to the Marxist Theory of Women*. The authors reviewed the whole history of Chinese women's liberation under the CCP and discussed policies, legislation, and organizations relat-

which includes the legitimacy of the Women's Federation as well as other institutions and legislation that guarantee gender equality and which has created the legitimacy of the party's rule by describing the party as the savior of Chinese women, exerts its power over the new state leaders, who are far less committed to gender equality than the early CCP founders. The discursive power of women's liberation over the state, and Chinese women's conscious deployment of that power, are distinctive "Chinese characteristics" relating to research on women.

The active role of the Women's Federation in promoting the Marxist theory of women and research on women indicates that the Women's Federation is no longer simply an organ of the government that only serves to make Chinese women statist subjects, as many believe it was in the Maoist era. Rather, it consciously explores strategies to work for women's interests. To be sure, carrying out state policies and demands is still a major part of "woman-work" (*funü gongzuo*) in the Women's Federation. Nevertheless, the new dimension of the federation's "woman-work"—that is, studying and solving women's problems—helps place the federation in the position of mediator between women and the state in the reform era.

When we assess the changing role of the Women's Federation, it is also necessary to highlight certain continuities. Although in the reform era the government has partially abandoned the Women's Federation financially (that is, the Women's Federation has to finance some of its own projects and activities, as well as part of its employees' bonuses), Women's Federation cadres are still government employees, and its top officials at different administrative levels are still appointed by their superiors in the government. This means that if the head of a local Women's Federation feels that her first priority is to satisfy her boss and secure her job, she can make the whole institution focus on government directives rather than initiate work for women's interests. This factor largely determines the different performances of Women's Federations in different locales. In other words, the institutional continuity ensures that the Women's Federation will continue to function as a part of the state bureaucracy.

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ing to women's liberation. Apparently, the Marxist theory of women is not treated simply as some ideas about women's liberation, but also as practices of Chinese women's liberation (Shanxi Women's Federation 1991).

The other important continuity is ideological: the primacy of the Marxist theory of women. As suggested above, the insistence of the Women's Federation cadres on the Marxist theory of women can help them argue for social justice for women. But in the language of the Marxist theory of women, many Women's Federation cadres also maintain the "truth" that a successful Chinese women's movement can only be led by the CCP with the Women's Federation as its leading body.<sup>19</sup> Actually, the federation's publication of a history of the Chinese women's movement and histories of local women's movements, a major research effort in the mid-1980s, reinforced that "truth," or rather myth, created in the Maoist discourse of women's liberation. Reclaiming that "truth" reflects the desire of Women's Federation cadres to consolidate the power of the Women's Federation after ten years of eclipse. But it also means that the Women's Federation does not challenge the core of the Maoist discourse of women's liberation. The Women's Federation is still supposed to be *the* legitimate organization representing Chinese women.<sup>20</sup> Mobilizing women to achieve goals set by the party is still the main objective of the Women's Federation. The federation's attempt to identify with both women and the party-state is consistent with the Marxist theory of women, for the socialist state supposedly represents the fundamental interest of women (though it is more accurate to say that the Chinese socialist state *defines* the fundamental interest of women). However, although the tenets of social justice and gender equality in the Marxist theory of women have been challenged by the forces of the market economy, the statist core in the Maoist discourse on women has been seriously challenged by Chinese women since the beginning of the reform era and particularly in the 1990s. In fact, the latter challenge provides much of the dynamic in the development of Chinese women's studies.

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<sup>19</sup> See Luo Qiong 1992, pp. 8–12; and Shanxi Women's Federation 1991, p. 136.

<sup>20</sup> See Barlow 1994. In this article, Barlow argues that Fulian has monopolized the representation of Chinese women ever since its establishment.

### The Role of Women Scholars

The promotion of research on women by the Women's Federation originally aimed at simultaneously promoting women's interests and consolidating the official leading position of the Women's Federation in the Chinese women's movement. But for women scholars in academia, excited by the ongoing political and intellectual efforts of dismantling Maoism in the early 1980s as well as by newly received scattered information on Western feminism and women's studies, research on women pointed to a new means of political participation and opened up a new social space for women's spontaneous activism. In the post-Mao era, intellectual women began to reject the making of women by the party-state. In this respect, Li Xiaojiang, then a scholar of literature at Zhengzhou University in Henan, played the most prominent role in the 1980s.

While many women contested the Women's Federation monopoly by engaging in scholarly or activist projects for women on their own, Li Xiaojiang did more than that. In a pamphlet published in 1989, Li openly questioned the necessity of the federation's existence, claiming that there would be no effect on society if the Women's Federation were disbanded overnight. She predicted that if the federation failed to reform, "it would be difficult for the Women's Federation to find its space of development in the social development."<sup>21</sup> Li's criticism was threatening to top officials of the Women's Federation. Since the founding of the All-China Women's Federation, they had never confronted any challenge to their leading position in the party-controlled Chinese women's movement. Moreover, Li's critique drew on the language of reform: the socialist big iron pot was being broken up, and any institution without practical utility would be eliminated in the process of reform. The theme of reform justified Li's audacious criticism. Women's Federation officials found themselves on the defensive.<sup>22</sup> They had to *prove* the utility of the Women's Federation in the reform era before they could claim a leading

<sup>21</sup> Li Xiaojiang 1989, p. 37.

<sup>22</sup> Luo Qiong 1992 was an explicit reply to Li Xiaojiang's charge. Luo was incensed by Li's claim that "it would be difficult for the Women's Federation to find its space of development in the social development" if it did not change. Luo cited many "historical facts" to demonstrate Fulian's achievements in the Maoist era and called for Women's Federation cadres to make continuous efforts for women's liberation.

position. Seen in this light, the federation's increasing efforts to work for women's interests have not only grown from within, but also have been stimulated by pressure from outside.

Li rejected the Women's Federation not only because she saw it as inept in representing women's interests, but also because she believed that "awakened" Chinese women now had the ability to organize by themselves and no longer needed an authority to control all women's affairs.<sup>23</sup> Historically, of course, the party had established the All-China Women's Federation not because Chinese women were incapable of self-organization, but rather because there were too many "awakened" women and too many women's organizations for the CCP to control or to "lead directly." The founding of the Women's Federation in 1949 marked the closing of the social space for Chinese women's spontaneous activism that had been created since the May Fourth era. With the end of the Mao era, significantly, Chinese women intellectuals demanded the reopening of that space.<sup>24</sup>

Interestingly, Li's challenge to the Women's Federation did not result in two separate camps of research on women, one by women scholars and one by Women's Federation cadres. From the very beginning the two groups worked closely to establish a Chinese women's studies. Many research projects are jointly done by women in academia and women in the Women's Federation. Li herself has relied heavily on the help of women in local branches of the Women's Federation to carry out many projects and activities. This cooperation can be explained in several ways. First, conferences on women held by the Women's Federation and publications run by the Women's Federation have been important forums for women scholars whose home institutions usually give little support to their research on women. In other words, women scholars do not have the necessary resources to engage in large-scale activism on their own, while Women's Federation cadres are paid and equipped to do research on women. There is no reason for scholars to reject Women's Federation resources in their shared interest in promoting research on women.

Second, women scholars have been treated as either equal partners or specialists by Women's Federation cadres. In the new field of research on women, the Women's Federation cadres do not

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<sup>23</sup> Li Xiaojiang 1989, p. 43.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of Chinese women's activism before 1949, see Wang Zheng 1995a.

claim superiority or leadership over women scholars. Moreover, women scholars have the freedom to choose not to participate in a project. Instead of compromising their independent positions, women scholars have been able to participate in policy making by working with the Women's Federation.

Third, women inside and outside the Women's Federation who are engaged in research on women are mostly from the same cohort and have similar educational backgrounds. In the 1990s they were about forty years old and had experienced the Cultural Revolution. Many of them had been sent down to the countryside in the Cultural Revolution and entered college after it was over. As college graduates, some of them were assigned to academic institutions, others to the Women's Federation. Differences derived from their current working environments do not easily override the common goals and views they formed in their similar past experiences. In fact, women of the same cohort inside and outside the Women's Federation share more views than women of different generations within the Women's Federation. Some women in the Women's Federation are very conscious of their historical role in transforming the Women's Federation (a process we might characterize as "subversion from within"). This younger generation of Women's Federation cadres has made possible the active role the Women's Federation has played in research on women in the past decade.

Finally, theoretical conflicts in the field of research on women have not happened along a clear-cut line between women in the academy and women in the Women's Federation. In the early days, Li Xiaojiang's challenge to Women's Federation legitimacy was criticized as "bourgeois feminism" by the federation's old-timers such as Luo Qiong. But the federation's very engagement in studying women's problems in the reform era implied a recognition of the inadequacy of Maoist class theory. In fact, after the Cultural Revolution, the whole nation, including Deng Xiaoping, was eager to abandon class as the only category of social analysis. It was precisely against this political and intellectual background that the rising attention to women's problems in post-Mao China emerged. Even though a clear conceptualization of gender did not emerge in this period, gender issues no longer had to be encompassed, or diverted, by a class analysis. In this context, the charge of "bourgeois feminism" was weak and unconvincing. It failed to grip the younger generation of Women's Federation cadres who

were also abandoning Maoist class analysis and exploring new ways of conceptualizing women's issues.

Instead of drawing a line between the Marxist theory of women and "bourgeois feminism," some women researchers in the Women's Federation began a conscious effort to merge the two. *An Introduction to the Marxist Theory of Women* (1991), a book compiled jointly by the national Women's Federation and the Shanxi Women's Federation and praised by the Women's Federation officials as the first theoretical work on the Marxist theory of women in contemporary China, devotes a whole chapter to the relationship between the Marxist theory of women and feminism. Although the analytical framework of the authors was still the Marxist theory of women, they nevertheless criticized the "extreme view" of entirely rejecting Western feminist theory. The authors contended that people holding this view "overlook the fact that women have always been in the oppressed position in class societies, and that their struggle is beneficial to the liberation of humankind. They neglect the fact that feminist pursuit of an ideal society without gender oppression but with gender equality is consistent with the Marxist ideal of eliminating all exploitation and oppression."<sup>25</sup> The authors found it "unscientific" to refuse to recognize the merit in feminist theory and practice. The correct attitude, they argued, was to incorporate the useful examples of feminist struggle into the development of the Marxist theory of women, including feminist critique of traditional culture, feminist strategies in fighting for equal rights, and feminist efforts to raise women's consciousness. These statements signified an important departure of the Women's Federation from its former position of opposing Western feminism.

If the changing attitude of Women's Federation officials toward Western feminism prevented a head-on collision between the Marxist theory of women and emerging feminist activities in 1980s China, it is also important to recognize that women scholars in academia did not entirely abandon the Marxist theory of women, nor did they immediately embrace a gender critique promoted by Western feminism. In the process of theoretical development, there is no distinct line between women scholars and Women's Federation cadres, although women in academia were the first to be exposed to Western feminism in the 1980s through contacts with Western feminist scholars in their institutions or through

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<sup>25</sup> Shanxi Women's Federation 1991, p. 272.

reading about feminism in academic journals or in original English works. Because there was very little translation of contemporary feminist texts in the 1980s and because most scholars in China do not read English, women in China who were interested in Western feminism had some information about Western feminist movements but very limited knowledge of feminist theoretical developments.<sup>26</sup> Their perceptions of Western feminism were often shaped by personal contacts with Western feminists whom they happened to encounter or by critiques of Western feminism made in the Maoist discourse on women.<sup>27</sup> There is little wonder that in this early stage women scholars were promoting a women's studies in China without grasping the concept of gender that is central in the development of women's studies in the West.<sup>28</sup>

### An Essentialized Woman and the Discourse of Femininity

What were the specific intellectual strands that shaped or stimulated Chinese women scholars' search for a new direction in the 1980s? In its initial stage, Chinese women's studies received more impetus from contemporary political and intellectual ideologies in China than from Western feminism.

The late 1970s and early 1980s were characterized by a surge of interest in gender differentiation. This interest was in part a rejection of the desexed, politically turbulent years of the Cultural Revolution. Women's resentment toward a legalized gender equality that held men as the standard also played a large role in

<sup>26</sup> Li Xiaojiang 1988, p. 21, names Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* and Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* as the representative works of contemporary Western feminist theory. In fact, these two were the only major works translated into Chinese in the 1980s. It is obvious from Li's book that by 1988, when she was already a prominent advocate of women's studies in China, the most recent major Western feminist work she had read was *The Feminine Mystique*.

<sup>27</sup> For concrete examples, see Wang Zheng 1993.

<sup>28</sup> Li Xiaojiang's works in the late 1980s can best illustrate this point. In *The Exploration of Eve* (1988), she presents a history of the Chinese women's movement that duplicates the official representation of the history of Chinese women's liberation. In *Women's Way Out* (1989), she argues that excluding female labor is necessary when reform seeks high efficiency but that an open economic system provides more opportunities for women than before; individual women should discard the mentality of dependency so that they can seize the opportunities and find a way out of women's predicament. These works show little awareness of gendered power relations in Chinese society and reveal the author's uncritical view of contemporary state policy on modernization and the official representation of Chinese women's history.

this burst of enthusiasm to “be women.” But for theorists, the issue of gender differentiation was also closely connected with the neo-Marxist critique of the party. This critique, represented by the renowned theorist Wang Ruoshui’s “alienation” theory, ushered in an age of reappraisal of the Communist regime. According to Wang’s theory, thirty years of the CCP’s proletarian dictatorship had alienated both the Chinese people and the party itself; it had distorted the human nature of the people and corrupted the party. By the time this challenging critique was suppressed by the party, the terms “alienation” and “human nature” had already entered Chinese intellectual and literary discourse. Theorizing and describing an essentialized and universal “human nature” became a popular theme in theoretical and literary works in the following years.

Following the logic of alienation theory, other theorists began to argue that the ultra-leftist egalitarian policy on women had distorted women’s nature. Masculinization of Chinese women was soon added to the list of ultra-leftist crimes. Feminization of Chinese women therefore became a progressive stance, suggesting a negation of the Maoist politics as well as a recovery of human nature. The Cultural Revolution “iron girl” was ridiculed in both academia and popular culture; women of the generation brought up on Maoist gender equality found themselves pitied by women of the younger generation, for they had not lived a feminine life; some had even become repulsively masculinized as a result. Many women writers gained popularity by depicting that generation’s agonizing process of retrieving femininity or rediscovering a feminine self. An emphasis on gender differentiation (achieved through the feminization of women) in dress, social roles, behavior, and occupations became the hallmark of the 1980s and marked the birth of a discourse of femininity in post-Mao China.<sup>29</sup>

This process of gender differentiation went hand in hand with the rise of women’s studies. When many Chinese women rejected a desexed Maoist era and Maoist gender equality by adopting feminine dresses and social roles, some women scholars went

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<sup>29</sup> See Honig and Hershatter 1988, pp. 42–51, for the fad of femininity in China and its political implications. Feminine dress and feminine roles advocated in the media in the early 1980s also suggested a call for freedom of choice of personal lifestyles and a rejection of the state control of private life. The individualistic message had a liberating effect on many women who had not dared to do anything different from what the government required.

further than that. They wanted to differentiate women not only from men in appearance, but also from class in theory. After all, an era without gender differentiation had been achieved mainly through the power of the singular, overbearing analytical category—class. Moreover, in both the Marxist theory of women and the Maoist practice of long-term class struggle, women's interests were either subordinated or neglected in the name of class struggle. Separating women from class, some felt, was crucial to providing a theoretical basis for women's studies in China. While Women's Federation research on women's problems implied a departure from the dominance of class theory, some women scholars explicitly challenged class theory by theorizing women in essentialist terms.

In retrospect, it is not accidental that the Western term "women's studies" caught Chinese women's attention. "Women's studies" came at a time when Chinese women were looking for something to support their struggle to break away from the grip of class theory. "Women's studies" suggested to Chinese women that in modernized countries women were regarded as a separate, independent category deserving scientific and scholarly research. What could be more effective than women's studies to announce the distinctiveness of women? What else could separate women from class through the use of scientific theories and methods? Understandably, women's studies quickly became the major vehicle that enabled Chinese women to define "woman" as a category of analysis and to move away from the dominance of class theory. Li Xiaojiang's works in the 1980s provide the best illustration of this process.

In *The Exploration of Eve* (1988), Li strives to provide a theoretical basis for a women's studies in China by separating women from class. She conceptualizes her effort as redefining the Marxist theory of women. Li contends that the configuration and evolution of the female precedes and transcends class in nature. "The two belong to different categories (women belong to a human ontological category, and class belongs to a social historical category)." Li argues that a conceptual abstraction of women is the only correct starting point for a Marxist theory of women. "The precondition of a Marxist theory of women is to abstract entire women, that is, to abandon women's state, nation, historical time, class, and age in order to obtain a conceptual generalization." She further contends that a Marxist theory of women "belongs to human science." As such, "it not only examines

women's class qualification in social and historical terms, but also studies sex differences on the bases of biology and psychology; and it also attempts to grasp women's existence in the essential movement of human society."<sup>30</sup>

Li's frequent use of words such as "science," "nature," and "essence" reveals a clear affinity with the Chinese intellectual debate over alienation theory. Her appeal to science and scientific knowledge is also a strategy frequently used by Chinese intellectuals in their efforts to dismantle Maoist political discourse. In fact, in this process Chinese intellectuals have created a discourse of scientific modernization. Li's effort in establishing a scientific women's studies is certainly shaped by this discourse. In the political and intellectual context of 1980s China, a scientific understanding of women is to use the language of "hard science" or pseudo-science (mostly early-twentieth-century imports from the West) to present an essentialized woman. This essentialized woman is neither to be controlled by Marxist class theory nor to be regulated by proletarian women's liberation theory. Rather, as Li Xiaojiang suggests, this essentialized woman should be the basis of a Marxist theory of women.

Li Xiaojiang's discussion of women's studies in the West most clearly demonstrates her intellectual indebtedness to Western feminism as well as her limited knowledge of contemporary feminist theories. She notices that beginning with the feminist movement of the 1960s, women's studies in the West has developed rapidly in academia as a force in revolt against traditional theories. In her perception, the contemporary feminist movement in the West means that "women as a whole body are revolting against a male-centered society on the basis of 'woman's' interests. This revolt is an abstraction that provides a real basis for the theoretical abstraction in women's studies."<sup>31</sup> Here the word "abstraction" means searching for a generalized and essentialized woman who transcends all social qualifications. Seeing the purpose of women's studies as that of theorizing women abstractly certainly reflects Li's own concerns in her political context. But this "abstraction" is exactly what supplied her with a perspective different from the dominant class theory. In Li's view, the feminist movement in the West suggests that women can be an abstract entity fighting for their shared interests. The key to reaching that

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<sup>30</sup> Li Xiaojiang 1988, pp. 31, 32–33.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

abstraction in China, as Li sees it, is to foster a female consciousness, that is, to make Chinese women realize that they are women.

Stimulated by knowledge of the Western feminist movement, Li's consciousness of female subjectivity is nevertheless not a gender consciousness. In Li's theory, there are two key components in female subjectivity: female consciousness and self-realization, that is, striving to reach one's potential in all realms. Female consciousness, according to Li, is an awareness of being female, that is, being different from men not only in physiology but also in sex roles. I am not using the term "gender roles" since in Li's theory women's roles as mother and wife are innately determined by the female reproductive system. Li's theory of female consciousness is based on a critique of the Maoist discourse of women's liberation. She argues that Mao's notion of gender equality was still male-centered in that women were measured and judged according to men's standards, as expressed by the slogan "women can do whatever men can do," and that women's participation in social productivity does not equal women's liberation, as the "double burden" weighs heavily on women. These critiques of Maoist discourse were significant in the 1980s. But rather than criticizing socialist women's liberation for its failure to change patriarchal culture and institutions, Li blames it for its disregard of women's unique femaleness and for its "distortion of the original features of the two sexes."<sup>32</sup>

The rise of women's studies, which strove to provide a scientific understanding of femininity as well as a consciousness of female subjectivity, has both been shaped by and has contributed to the discourse of femininity that began with the public debate on women's nature. Glorifying women's feminine role, this discourse of femininity may provide psychological relief for women who once felt guilty for playing the roles of mother and wife, even though it does nothing to change the reality of women's double burden. Emphasizing women's essential nature, this discourse has helped effect the separation of women from class, posing a direct critique of the traditional Marxist theory of women. The discourse of femininity, after all, was created largely by women themselves while it opened up social space for women's spontaneous activism. In short, the making of the discourse of femininity in the 1980s embodies Chinese women's efforts to challenge Maoism.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Li Xiaojiang 1989, pp. 70, 140.

<sup>33</sup> Significantly, in 1993, Li Xiaojiang called for an end to the separation of women from class. She apparently realized that Chinese women had already accom-

The discourse of femininity is not, however, entirely positive in its effect on Chinese women. Women's nature, or femininity, has more negative connotations than human nature in male-centered cultures. When women are defined by femininity, they are reduced to less than human beings. Unless the cultural baggage contained in the word "woman" is discarded, an appeal to "being a woman" results in reactivating many disparaging notions of women in Chinese culture that had been suppressed in Maoist gender discourse. No matter how much more freedom Chinese women enjoy now by glorifying femininity (the most noticeable freedom is of course to wear whatever feminine clothes they like), it is obvious that the discourse of femininity has also restricted women's development. One example may illustrate the point. At a women's conference in Shanghai in 1992, Xie Xide, a renowned female physicist (at the time over seventy) and the former president of Fudan University, one of the best in Shanghai, presented a table of female enrollment in the physics department; it showed a dramatic increase in the 1950s and 1960s and a dramatic decline since the late 1980s. In 1993, no female students were enrolled in Fudan's physics department. A whole generation of young women has come to feel that they have to channel their intelligence into more "feminine" occupations.

Moreover, the discourse of femininity has been promoted by different social groups. While Li Xiaojiang and other women intellectuals were advocating an essential femaleness for political purposes, commercial interests found in femininity a lucrative commodity. In the market economy the Chinese media has seen an explosion of images of "modern femininity." Various images of modern feminine women are created with the basic elements of traditional feminine virtue, sexy bodies, and consumerism. The power to define women has been shifted from the state to market forces. With the power of the mass media, commercialized modern femininity has overshadowed the consciousness of female subjectivity promoted by Li Xiaojiang and other women, while the latter lacks conceptual power to deal with the new challenge. In the changed political and social milieu of the 1990s, many Chinese women scholars began to be keenly aware of the need for new

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plished that historical task. However, without a gender perspective, she believed it was time for Chinese women to "merge into society": "If we continue to simply emphasize women's problems and singularly protect women's interests, we will not have new results. Not only that, we will appear too narrow-minded and absurd." See Li Xiaojiang 1993, p. 31.

conceptual frameworks to create counterdiscourses to the discourse of femininity and to move beyond the limits of the Marxist theory of women.

### Research on Women in the Context of the Fourth World Conference on Women

At the beginning of the 1990s, research on women in China experienced significant changes. New concepts from Western and global feminisms first trickled and then gushed into China with the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women and the Nongovernmental Organizations (NGO) Forum of 1995. The flow of contemporary feminist theories and practices into China has become a major source of new analytical tools that Chinese researchers on women are eager to grasp. As a result, research on women is not only expanding in scope but also changing in quality with new interrogations of dominant discourses.

In the past few years, feminist scholars in the West, especially those who study Chinese women, have conducted many projects involving women scholars in China. These projects include Western scholars' trips to China, during which they give talks to Chinese women scholars, and conferences and programs in their home institutions in which they invite scholars from China to participate. Of these activities, the most influential was the conference on "Engendering China" held at Harvard University in 1992. This was the first time that a group of women's studies scholars from China participated in an academic conference abroad. As Chinese historian of women Du Fangqin comments, it was "the first formal dialogue between Chinese and Western scholars on research on women in China."<sup>34</sup> Western feminist critiques of ethnocentrism, orientalism, and cultural imperialism helped create an academic environment that women scholars from China found congenial.<sup>35</sup>

Although the Harvard conference was designed to bring together Chinese and Western scholars of Chinese women, one of its most significant results was providing an opportunity for dialogue between two groups of Chinese women: those engaged in women's studies research in the PRC and Chinese women scholars

<sup>34</sup> Du Fangqin 1995, p. 69.

<sup>35</sup> Papers presented at the conference are compiled in Gilmartin et al. 1994 and Li Xiaojiang, Zhu Hong, and Dong Xiuyu 1994.

living in the United States who had formed the Chinese Society for Women's Studies (CSWS). One of the main goals of this organization was the promotion of women's studies in China, and the Harvard conference proved crucial for this project. One direct result was that the two groups of Chinese women decided to organize a joint seminar. In the summer of 1993, the CSWS and the Center for Women's Studies in Tianjin Normal University held a two-week seminar, "Chinese Women and Development—Status, Health, Employment," at Tianjin Normal University. Five members from the CSWS (the author was among them) presented feminist perspectives on gender issues, and more than ten scholars at home delivered reports on their research projects on women's problems in China. More than a hundred women (from both academia and the Women's Federation) from all over China attended the seminar.

The Tianjin seminar enabled Chinese women scholars in diaspora to raise a feminist voice directly in China. This group of women had become involved in women's studies while receiving their graduate education in the United States. Most of them are of the same cohort as the majority of women's studies scholars in China. That is to say, they were also mostly products of Maoist gender discourse when they left China. Studying in the United States, many of them went through a similar intellectual experience: demythologizing Maoist women's liberation with a feminist critique. In fact, they have become the first group of Chinese feminists in the post-Mao era who are intellectually conscious of their position and who do not shun the label "feminist." The diaspora position has marginalized this group of women but at the same time strengthened their potential to be a source of counterdiscourses in China. The Tianjin project was one of their efforts to open a channel for the development of feminism in China.

Members of the CSWS were surprised by the eagerness expressed by women researchers at home to learn about feminist theories and methodologies. Even a high-ranking national Women's Federation cadre said candidly, "Marxism is not enough to analyze women's problems in today's China. We need new theories and we should learn anything that can help explain Chinese women's problems." She asked me straightforwardly, "Now, tell me, what do you think is the most useful thing for Chinese women in your study of Western theories?" The open-mindedness demonstrated in the seminar indicates women researchers' keen awareness of the limitations of the Marxist

theory of women and their strong desire for new conceptual frameworks.

For most of the participants, the Tianjin seminar was the first introduction to the feminist concept of gender. Heated discussions followed lectures, and Chinese women's issues were examined in a new light. The questions raised at the seminar included the following: Has the state always represented women's interests? Was women's participation in social productivity a state policy to promote women's liberation or a state expediency to use women's labor? What state policies had a liberating effect on Chinese women? On which group of women? What should women do when facing gender discrimination in the job market, sexual harassment in the workplace, and violence in the family, besides looking for individual help from counseling services and hot lines? Not all the questions were analyzed carefully and thoughtfully, but the questions themselves suggest a significant step away from the myth that the socialist state automatically represents the fundamental interest of women. Women researchers in China later regarded the Tianjin seminar as the beginning of the "large-scale landing of the global women's movement and feminism in China" that introduced to Chinese researchers the key feminist concept—gender.<sup>36</sup>

In addition to the Western scholars and Chinese women scholars in diaspora, a third force has played an important role in helping the flow of feminism to China: international organizations or Western private foundations. Of these, the Ford Foundation played the most prominent role in the first half of the 1990s. The Ford Foundation funded both Chinese participation in the Harvard conference and the Tianjin seminar. In June 1995, it also funded another major exchange between Chinese and Western scholars, the conference "Chinese Women and Feminist Thought" in Beijing. The Ford Foundation, with its program on reproductive health in China, has helped send Chinese women scholars to attend conferences abroad and has brought Western scholars to China to attend conferences or work on specific research projects. In this sense, the Ford Foundation has enabled increasing intellectual exchanges and communication between women scholars in China and the West. What is more, with the Ford Foundation's

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<sup>36</sup> Liu Bohong and Jin Yihong n.d.; Du Fangqin 1995, p. 70. Both the Harvard conference and the Tianjin seminar have reached a much larger audience than their participants by the publication of conference papers and seminar proceedings.

funding, many Chinese women scholars and activists have been able to engage in projects for which they would be unlikely to get support from their own institutions or the government. Aside from large-scale research projects on reproductive health, the Ford Foundation has funded projects on rural women's development, women's education, the mobility of the female population, and women's legislation. Those projects have taught feminist perspectives and approaches to women's problems. More important, this learning does not end with the completion of a specific research project. The women involved have continued their examination of Chinese women's issues with their newly acquired feminist knowledge. For example, a group of women was funded by the Ford Foundation to translate *Our Bodies, Our Selves* into Chinese. In the process, they formed an organization on women's health and engaged in further research on Chinese women's health issues. Cases such as this indicate that in the past few years, intellectual and material resources from abroad have served as a strong stimulus in the growth of a feminist movement in China.<sup>37</sup>

The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW) was certainly the most significant event in the development of research on women in the 1990s.<sup>38</sup> Since China was the host country, the FWCW began to influence research on women in China long before it was in session. But before examining Chinese women's role in the process, we first need to look at the Chinese government's role in this event.

The paranoia expressed by the government at the time of the conference puzzled many people. Why did the Chinese government bid to host the FWCW in the first place? The top Chinese leaders made the decision in early 1991 when they were desperately looking for some means to change their international image created by the Tiananmen incident of 1989. Interestingly, their assumption that hosting a women's conference would help change their image reflects the power of the Maoist gender discourse. One of the tenets in the Marxist theory of women holds that "the degree of woman's emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation."<sup>39</sup> This is well known to

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<sup>37</sup> For more information on projects funded by the Ford Foundation and other international organizations, see Tan Shen 1995.

<sup>38</sup> A portion of this section has been published in *Signs* 22, 1 (1996).

<sup>39</sup> This sentence is one of the most frequently cited Marxist tenets in Chinese texts on women in the PRC. It originally appears in the Chinese translation of Friedrich Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Engels mentions that Fourier was "the first to declare that in any given society the degree of woman's emancipation

Chinese leaders. The leaders also believe that Chinese women are more liberated than women in the West. Therefore, displaying the great achievements of women's liberation in socialist China would demonstrate to the world the high degree of general liberation in China. Seen in this light, the FWCW was the best showcase that China's top leaders could devise.<sup>40</sup>

Although the decision of the Chinese leaders to host the FWCW was mainly one of political expedience, it had some immediate positive effects on women. In its effort to present the best face at the FWCW, the government began to give ad hoc support to some projects intended to benefit women. For example, a project called "Welcoming the FWCW, Millions of Loving Hearts Devoted to Spring Buds" coordinated resources from both the government and the public to help thousands of girls from poor regions begin schooling.<sup>41</sup> To be sure, projects of this kind only directly benefit a small percentage of women. Nevertheless, with much propaganda, they sent a message that the central government was making special efforts to improve women's status as a gift presented to the FWCW. Officials at different administrative levels understood that they had to do something special to "welcome the FWCW." As a result, the national Women's Federation moved to a huge new office building in downtown Beijing; publishers began to look for monographs on women's issues; editors of journals and newspapers organized special issues to either display women's achievements or discuss issues related to women; and special TV programs were produced to spread information about the FWCW and its accompanying nongovernmental organizations forum. The official line of welcoming the FWCW in the period preceding the conference greatly heightened public interest in women, contrasting sharply with the state's withdrawal from women's causes in previous years.

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is the natural measure of the general emancipation." See Tucker 1978, p. 690.

<sup>40</sup> In the summer of 1995, when the rising paranoia overshadowed the desire to display achievements, the decision to host the conference became controversial within the party. Those who were responsible for making the decision began to explain their original motivations and the political context when they made the decision. The June 4 incident was explicitly mentioned in the explanation that was passed to local party branches and participants in the NGO forum.

<sup>41</sup> *People's Daily* (overseas edition), April 13, 1994, p. 7. Prior to this project targeting girls, the government had a "Hope Project" to help children in poor regions begin schooling. State-owned enterprises as well as individuals from all over the country donated money to the "Hope Project."

In this period of official mobilization to welcome the Fourth World Conference on Women the nation saw a sudden surge in the establishment of women's studies centers. Out of their concern to look as modern and progressive as Western countries at the time of the conference, the chief officials working on the conference began to show interest in the state of women's studies. In February 1994, the National Committee of Education and the national Women's Federation jointly called a two-day conference on women's studies. The conference chair was Peng Peiyun, chair of the China Organizing Committee for the FWCW. The agenda of the conference was to discuss women's studies at home and abroad and to make suggestions for China's preparation for the FWCW, but its main goal was to give government officials an idea of what women's studies was and how to present Chinese women's studies at the FWCW. When directors of women's studies centers in universities were invited to the conference, some twenty-five centers responded. Apparently, many of these were formed in a rush after the universities received the conference notice. Very likely, many women's centers consisted only of a name and a deputy who could attend the conference. Nevertheless, universities all over the country learned that women's studies was now supported by the government.<sup>42</sup>

Not all women found the government's new attention to women desirable. Many women scholars and activists found that the state's interest in presenting a glorified image of Chinese women interfered with their effort to identify and study women's problems in contemporary society. Some women's studies associations affiliated with local branches of the Women's Federation shifted their focus from research on women's problems to displaying women's achievements. The problem was not only that much energy and resources were diverted from solving women's problems to praising women's achievements. More serious was that exposing women's problems politically subverted the move to display an advanced state of Chinese women's liberation. Some women researchers began to worry about a possible negative consequence of the FWCW: drawing state attention to the movement for research on women that previously had been largely overlooked by the state. If women's issues were to become connected with the political interest of the government, then research

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<sup>42</sup> The information on the women's studies conference was provided by researchers who attended the conference.

on women could be defined as political, and therefore subject to government regulation or surveillance. Politicizing research on women, therefore, could lead to the end of a women's activism that had been relatively ignored in the reform era. This chilly prospect almost became a reality in 1995.

In spite of such uneasiness, up to the end of 1994 many women activists were still hopeful that the FWCW, and especially the NGO forum, would provide an impetus to the growth of a non-government-controlled women's activism in China. The preparation for the conference, which involved the efforts of many Chinese women inside and outside the government, served as a process of consciousness raising. This was the first time that many Chinese, men and women, had ever heard of an NGO. For those women involved in preparation, especially those who had the opportunity to attend international preparatory meetings, seeing how NGOs functioned and what issues they raised was an eye-opening and empowering experience. Inspired by global feminism, many women quickly began to popularize the idea of NGOs, the concepts of women empowering women and sustainable human-centered development, and other major issues raised by women all over the world. By presenting global feminist activities to a Chinese audience, many women scholars and Women's Federation cadres changed their formerly reserved view of feminism. The new slogan became to "connect the rails" (*jiegui*) (merge) with international women's movements. The word "feminism" not only appeared frequently in official women's journals and newspapers, but also took on a positive valence.<sup>43</sup>

The preparation for the FWCW and the NGO forum both circulated global feminism and generated much more women's activism in China. Women working in the Chinese official preparatory committee, local Women's Federation cadres, and women activists in society made concerted efforts to increase Chinese women's participation in the NGO forum. Originally, the Chinese government decided to organize thirty panels by government branches

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<sup>43</sup> *Funü yanjiu luncong* (Collection of women's studies) published by the Women's Studies Institute of China of the national Women's Federation is the major medium promulgating global feminism. In the issues in 1994, articles introducing international preparatory meetings and discussing global feminism almost entirely replaced discussion of the Marxist theory of women. The authors of those articles were all participants in international meetings. The articles expressed an enthusiasm for merging with the global women's movement.

and the Women's Federation. With the increasing knowledge of what the NGO forum was about, women in the Chinese preparatory committee maneuvered to expand the number of panels and to include the participation of nongovernmental organizations. In the end, forty-seven panels were presented by Chinese women. Moreover, to "connect the rails" with the global women's movement, the organizers of Chinese panels also included topics that had not been discussed in public previously. Women and human rights, women and the environment, and violence against women were among the topics inspired by global feminism. As a result, the final list of topics presented by Chinese panels closely resembled the major issues raised in the Platform for Action. Many women participants saw the FWCW and the nongovernmental organization (NGO) forum as the greatest opportunity of the century to break China's intellectual isolation and to push the boundaries of women's activism in China.<sup>44</sup> They were also excited by what they perceived as the new openness expressed by the government.

Unfortunately, that openness ended abruptly. In early 1995, Chinese government leaders, encountering challenges and protests by human rights organizations at international meetings, began to see the risks lying ahead: what if those organizations held a demonstration right in the middle of Tiananmen Square? The site of the NGO forum, the Chinese government decided, had to be moved far away from Beijing, to the small town of Huairou. Chinese women activists at home and abroad were stunned when they heard this decision. The implication was clear. In the eyes of the nation's top leaders, an international honor to China had become an international threat to China's political stability or, rather, to state control of power. The decision to isolate the NGO forum expressed not only the leaders' determination not to let this event disturb China's political status quo, but also the state's suspicion and hostility toward women's spontaneous activities. The ramifications of this decision quickly and adversely affected Chinese women activists.

The government wasted no time in tightening control over the women's conference. The forty-seven panels to be presented by Chinese women were closely screened through "rehearsals." Talks

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<sup>44</sup> For more information on Chinese women's participation in the preparation for the conference, see Ford Foundation 1995. In the book, more than fifty women write about their own experiences attending international activities.

were geared more to displaying Chinese women's achievements than to discussing problems. All the delegates to the NGO forum had to go through official training sessions that warned them against the purported international hostility toward China. Nationalism was fanned so that each delegate would consciously defend China's honor in front of foreigners even without the presence of security personnel. Disparaging rumors were spread through official channels to taint the image of the NGO forum, to create a psychological gap between Chinese and foreign women, and to justify the tight security measures.<sup>45</sup> Local newspapers were not allowed to send their journalists to report on the conference. Western scholars who wanted to do research on Chinese women were not welcomed. Meetings held jointly by women in China and women from abroad on the topic of Chinese women could no longer get official approval. Women who had attended conferences abroad were visited and questioned by public security personnel. In short, the situation in China embodied a paradox: the country was about to host the largest international conference in world history; meanwhile, the state was taking the most severe security measures in the reform era to keep Chinese people isolated from the outside world.

To many Chinese women scholars and activists, the drastically changed political situation threatened to close up the social space for women's spontaneous activism that they had created in the previous decade. To serve the best interest of their cause, they had to keep a low profile so they would not attract unwanted attention from the security system. Their strategy was to further "depoliticize" research on women. This depoliticization included (1) consciously keeping research on women away from politically sensitive issues, such as human rights, and (2) engaging in some seemingly "nonpolitical" projects for the time being.<sup>46</sup> The strat-

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<sup>45</sup> The most widespread rumor was that many foreign prostitutes would come to the conference and that foreign women were planning to parade naked in Tiananmen Square.

<sup>46</sup> When global feminists demanded that women's rights be treated as human rights, Chinese women researchers were very cautious. They preferred to deploy the officially approved phrases such as "improving women's status" and "protect women's rights and interests" rather than use the language of human rights. With the tremendous political tension around the human rights issue before the conference, an open identification with human rights could put one in the official category of antigovernment political dissident.

On the second point: keenly aware of their limited options in the repressive political atmosphere before the conference, women in the Shaanxi Women's Federation began a huge project—a gigantic silk wall hanging embroidered by more than

egy had its cost, as it meant that women researchers could not expect to have an open exchange with foreign women at the NGO forum on all the issues. Instead, in this historic event they had to perform within the political boundary drawn by the government. In other words, they had to treat the NGO forum like a showcase, as the government stipulated.

Moving from the initial stage of empowerment in 1993–94 to this later stage of repression, many women activists were filled with frustration, disappointment, anger, and sadness. It was heartbreaking for them to see that state power was able to straitjacket an international event that was meant to empower women. Yet they were not without hope. When I met my friends at the NGO forum, everyone said, “Just keep a low profile and wait for the paranoia to pass.” They sounded like seasoned farmers who know very well how to contend with bad weather. In this kind of unfavorable political climate, one should just do some repair work, preparing for a warmer, more productive season.

The political weather has always changed suddenly in China. Even before the adjournment of the official conference, the Chinese government leaders’ paranoia had already faded. The NGO forum ended without incident. There was no demonstration against the Chinese government; instead, there were some demonstrations against American imperialists! The Chinese government realized that most women from abroad were not coming to discuss China’s problems at all. None of the Chinese participants tried to make trouble. All those in the forty-seven panels read their lines according to the script that had been rehearsed many times. With their skillful performance, Chinese participants showed the state that women were not an oppositional force. The end of the NGO forum brought tremendous relief to government leaders. They were further thrilled by the gratitude and praise of foreign government officials at the UN conference. It seemed to government leaders that hosting the conference had gained them honor after all. Their nervousness was thus suddenly replaced by smugness when the FWCW adjourned. Quickly, officials at different government branches staged celebrations. All of them, in their different capacities of working for the conference, had contributed

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a thousand rural women. The collective embroidery project, to be displayed at the site of the NGO forum, was a way to inform rural women of the approaching women’s conference. This masterpiece of women’s art was sold after the conference and the money is to fund Shaanxi rural women’s development.

to winning honor for China. The Chinese preparatory committee also had a grand celebration, issuing award certificates to each participant in the NGO forum (there were five thousand of them nationwide) to acknowledge their great contribution to the nation.

This national farce amused many of the women who had participated. They understood that the celebrations signified a switch of official views of the conference. The official return to a positive assessment of the conference meant that Chinese women could move toward merging with the global women's movement. After the Platform for Action was solemnly signed by government officials all over the world, the national Women's Federation was quick to use the pledge of the Chinese government. It launched a nationwide campaign to implement the Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration, the two documents that "voice the aspirations of women all over the world," as the Chinese media proclaimed. This campaign, though only heeded by the Women's Federation system, is creating legitimacy for expanding Chinese women's activism under the guidance of the two official documents. In other words, the two documents will serve as the measure of Chinese women's achievements from now on. And this shift to global feminism in the discourse of Chinese women's liberation is sanctioned by the government with its official boast of China's great contribution to the birth of the two documents.<sup>47</sup>

### The Emerging Gender Consciousness

In the congenial climate of post-FWCW China, women scholars and activists are openly discussing women's issues with increasing awareness of a feminist gender perspective. The official newspaper of the national Women's Federation, *Zhongguo funübao* (Chinese women's news), and the journal of the Institute of Women's Studies in China, *Collection of Women's Studies*, have become the major media to express feminist gender consciousness while promulgating the spirit of the World Women's Conference.

To "let every one share the treasure left by the conference," the chief editor of *Zhongguo funübao*, Wang Xiuling, invited a group of participants in the NGO forum to a discussion meeting in October 1995. The newspaper printed the abstracts of each participant's talk under the title "Seeing the World through Women's Eyes."

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<sup>47</sup> The official newspaper *Zhongguo funübao* is the best place to observe the evolution of the official discourse on women.

The topic was the concept of gender. A woman scholar expressed succinctly the major point of the discussion: "The greatest inspiration the women's conference gave to people is that we should look at things with a gender perspective." A woman writer described how her heightened gender consciousness enabled her to discern blatant sexism in the media. She emphasized that "by raising gender consciousness, you will notice all those things you have never been aware of before." Several women stressed the urgency of adopting a gender perspective in China. They called on Chinese newspapers to "develop the achievements of the conference to influence the society and decision makers so that they will consider the gender issue. We should use our pens, our voices, and our minds to spread gender consciousness."<sup>48</sup>

In 1996, the open discussion on gender continued, and top officials of the Women's Federation also joined the effort publicly. On June 20, 1996, *Zhongguo funübao* printed on its cover page the headline "Promoting the Concept of Gender, Awakening Women's Self-consciousness." The article reported the talk by the vice-chair of the National Women's Federation, Huang Qizao, presented at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the national Women's Federation and chairs of provincial and municipal branches of the Women's Federation. The reporter stated that the two documents passed at the FWCW raised the issue of the concept of gender, and "now, the concept of gender is already prevalent internationally. It has become the embodiment of progressiveness, justice, and wisdom." The article gave Huang's explanation of the concept of gender:

To incorporate gender into policy making, we have to begin gender analysis before a policy, a law, a program, and a project is made. We have to study what kind of effect they would have on women and men respectively. If a policy is only beneficial to men but not to women, then it is unjust and unreasonable. We also have to evaluate the actual implementation of our policies and programs. If women cannot benefit directly from them or men benefit more than women, that means the policies, programs, and projects are biased.<sup>49</sup>

Huang emphasized that for the concept of gender to enter mainstream society, it would have to be introduced to officials at different levels, and policy makers would have to be helped to

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<sup>48</sup> See *Zhongguo funübao*, October 30, 1995, p. 4.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, June 20, 1996, p. 1.

grasp it. After making it clear that to promote women's development was the responsibility of all levels of government, Huang made a special call for Chinese women's voluntary participation in the cause of achieving equality, development, and peace. The talk, in short, reflected the strong effect the FWCW and NGO forum had on the Women's Federation system. Promoting a gender consciousness as well as women's voluntary participation in women's own cause was not only legitimized but also incorporated into the agenda of the Women's Federation. After the top official's call, *Zhongguo funiubao* began a series of discussions on how to promote the concept of gender. Women scholars in different fields as well as government officials were invited to those discussions. The focus of discussions was mostly policy oriented, revealing the eagerness of those women participants to affect the decision-making process as well as to make gender a mainstream concept.<sup>50</sup>

Such open discussions demonstrate that the FWCW has helped bring feminism to the forefront in China's official media. It also signifies the emergence of a new public debate that is qualitatively different from the public debate on femininity in the 1980s. Whereas intellectual women in the 1980s strove to separate women from the overarching category of class by appealing to femininity, in the 1990s they are turning to a feminist concept of gender for theorizing women's problems. This new focus of intellectual women's attention promises the development of a feminist gender discourse in China.

However, much intellectual interrogation is needed before women researchers in China can be free from the grip of the discourse of femininity. A serious impediment to promoting the concept of gender, as well as a sign of conceptual confusion, is that the term "gender" does not yet have a fixed Chinese equivalent among women's studies scholars in China. In the above-cited discussions, two Chinese phrases are used interchangeably to refer to gender consciousness: *xingbie yishi* and *nüxing yishi*. *Nüxing yishi* also means "female consciousness," and *xingbie yishi* reads literally as "consciousness of sex difference." The ambiguity in the meaning of the terms and women's indiscriminate usage of them suggest that there is little awareness of the conceptual differences in these terms and of the word "gender." Because *nüxing yishi* signifies the whole discourse of femininity, using *nüxing yishi* to mean gender consciousness

<sup>50</sup> See *ibid.*, July 9 and July 22, 1996.

means grafting a Western feminist concept onto a Chinese discourse without recognizing or admitting their incompatibilities. It is time for women scholars in China to start a theoretical and linguistic separation of gender from femininity. This separation will constitute a challenge to the discourse of femininity.

Significantly, some women's voices have begun to criticize the discourse of femininity in recent years. In "Fifteen Years, How Far Have We Come?" published in 1995, literary critic Chen Huifen challenged many prevailing views on women and pointed out that the "new myth of femininity" has created new dilemmas for women. She called readers' attention to the social process of creating women and emphasized that it was important to see "with what kind of value standards does the society regulate women and make women." Chen warned, "Behind women's natural and unrestrained 'individuality,' there is the aspect of compulsory roles. That is the cultural code of male society and commercial culture's secret code that guide and shape women in visible and invisible ways." Chen argued that women need an awakening of self-consciousness. However, what defined this awakening was "not an identification with and following of the new myth, but rather an interrogation of all prevailing views and a deeper analysis and understanding of social reality."<sup>51</sup>

This emerging intellectual interrogation by Chinese women is being facilitated by a dramatically increased availability of feminist texts in China. The official documents of the FWCW, which have been reprinted in many women's journals of the Women's Federation system; the huge quantity of materials disseminated from the NGO forum (each of five thousand Chinese delegates took home some of those materials); and feminist texts published in China in 1995 in welcoming the FWCW<sup>52</sup> all will stimulate further debate and interrogation in due course. Meanwhile,

<sup>51</sup> Chen Huifen 1995. It is not surprising that this new interrogation is from a woman literary critic. Feminist literary criticism has developed in China since the early 1980s. Chinese feminist literary critics have produced many important works. But often the effect of those works is limited to literature. For a more elaborate critique of the discourse of femininity, see Chen Huifen 1996.

<sup>52</sup> Before the FWCW, three books by members of the Chinese Society for Women's Studies were published in Beijing: Bao Xiaolan 1995; Sharon K. Hom and Xin Chunying 1995; and Wang Zheng 1995b. In the three books, the word "gender" is translated as *shehui xingbie*. The authors use this coined Chinese phrase to call readers' attention to the new concept. These feminist texts are regarded as the best books of 1995 by some women readers in China. See the survey "Wo du 1995" 1996.

increasing awareness of the limitations of the Marxist theory of women among women scholars in China is turning them more eagerly than ever to international feminist theories. The demand for translated feminist theoretical texts is high, though the supply is seriously restricted by limited resources. Hopefully, support from international organizations will continue so that important feminist theoretical works, Western or non-Western, can be translated into Chinese to aid Chinese women's construction of their own feminist gender discourse in China.

### Conclusion

Research on women in China has been carried on for more than a decade. Because this is the first time in Chinese history that women have taken the initiative to launch a movement on a national scale, the movement is one of the most significant things happening in contemporary China. It is aiming at both theory and social practice. Institutes and associations of women's studies everywhere are continually holding conferences on women. Women researchers including both Women's Federation cadres and women scholars meet frequently to discuss current women's situations, problems, and solutions. Through their activities, women have demonstrated their intention to carve out a social space for women and participate in decision making, at least when it directly relates to women's lives.

In contrast to contemporary feminism in the West, the contemporary Chinese women's movement began with research on women. It emerged from Chinese intellectuals' concerted efforts to dismantle Maoism. It has absorbed much of the language and ideologies of post-Mao political and intellectual discourses. Although the movement was successful in making a conspicuous social category out of gender (long subordinated to and overshadowed by class in the Marxist theory of women), ironically, it accomplished this by deploying the concept of an essentialized woman. It therefore also contributed to the formation of a discourse of femininity that expressed Chinese women's revolt against Maoist statist control in the 1980s. However, in the 1990s, when the market economy has drastically changed women's social and economic environment, the discourse of femininity has lost its original political edge as an oppositional force. Instead, it has been co-opted by increasingly powerful commercial forces. The mass media-promoted modern femininity, a mix of traditional

female virtues and consumerism, has become a dominant norm that regulates women's behavior and restricts women's choice. Against this background, an increasing number of women researchers have turned to Western feminism for sources of resistance.

Chinese women researchers do not need to bridge a large gap to embrace feminism, if we define feminism as a commitment to gender justice. Although feminism was treated in a derogatory way by the CCP after it assumed power in 1949, the Maoist discourse on women's liberation traces its origins to May Fourth feminism. It was precisely this influence that led the Maoist state to guarantee equal educational and employment opportunities, at least to urban women. Contemporary Chinese feminists, who came of age when these policies were in effect, are increasingly nostalgic about the gender justice they enjoyed (and took for granted) under Maoist socialism. At the same time, however, they object to two elements of that version of gender justice: the state control of its terms and deployment and the male standard by which equality was measured. Research on women expresses these Chinese women's firm commitment to gender justice, a commitment first shaped in the Maoist era, as well as their aspiration to take control of women's issues into their own hands.

Early in this century, Chinese male intellectuals found in Western liberal feminism a weapon to attack the dominant Confucian culture. With the core concept "women are human beings, too," they promoted a women's emancipation movement in China. Toward the end of the century, Chinese women intellectuals are discovering in contemporary Western feminism a new conceptual framework, gender. It has become a pattern in this century that Chinese intellectuals turn to the West to look for intellectual inspiration to form their own resistance to the dominant discourse in China. It has proven an effective strategy. Conceivably, they will continue to do so. In fact, in post-FWCW China, many involved in the movement for research on women express a strong desire to learn about Western feminism and to merge with global women's movements. Their interaction with feminists from outside China has taught them that Chinese women will not lose their own cultural identity by learning from others, but will be empowered politically and intellectually in their pursuit of gender justice. This new level of openness, facilitated by a state-sanctioned campaign to merge with global feminism, promises a continued growth of a women's movement with a feminist gender

consciousness and a feminist agenda in the PRC at the end of the twentieth century.

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## Guide to Women's Studies Centers and Special Projects in the People's Republic of China

Many of the following addresses and phone numbers are drawn from the list edited by Zhang Yanxia, Information and Data Center, Women's Studies Institute of China (Women's Studies Institute of China, *A Collection of Theses on "Women's Studies in China"* [Huairou, Beijing: Women's Studies Institute of China, 1995], pp. 86–106).

### Women's Studies Centers, Associations, and Groups

#### *National Associations*

Committee on Chinese Women's Health and Development  
(Zhongguo funü jiankang yu fazhan zhuan ye weiyuanhui)  
Organizer: Liu Bohong  
Founded 1993.

Women's Studies Institute of the All-China Women's Federation  
(Zhonghua quanguo funü lianhehui funü yanjiusuo)  
Address: Women's Studies Institute of the All-China Women's  
Federation, 15 Jianguomennei dajie, Beijing 100730.  
Phone: 86-10-6522-5396  
Fax: 86-10-6522-5396

The institute was established in 1991 and now has more than twenty researchers in three departments: theoretical research on women, the history of the women's movement, and policies on women. The deputy director, in charge of institute operations, is Tao Chunfang. Liu Bohong is the director of the department of theoretical research. The institute has two long-term projects: a recently completed survey of Chinese women's status, covering

twenty provinces and cities, in which the provincial Women's Federations all participated, and a project on women's reproduction and health sponsored by the Ford Foundation. They have completed a number of other projects, including a study of abortion in Beijing. In addition, they have published a history of the Chinese women's movement before 1949 and are now compiling a history of the Chinese women's movement since 1949. They have also conducted comparative research on women's employment in Beijing, Guangzhou, and Hong Kong. In the mid-1990s they were planning a project on the problems of Chinese women in the course of modernization, with a focus on women's image in the mass media and the situation of women in rural enterprises. They publish a series on women titled *Funü yanjiu longcun* (Collection of women's studies).

### *Beijing*

Chinese Society of Marriage and Family Research (Zhongguo hunyin jiating yanjiu hui)

Address: 15 Jianguomennei dajie, Beijing 100730

Phone: 86-10-6522-1133 x2513

Fax: 86-10-6522-5396

Founded 1981. Director, Tao Chunfang.

Women's Studies Center at Beijing University (Beijing daxue zhongwai funü wenti yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: Women's Studies Center, History Department, Beijing University, Beijing, 100871

Phone: 86-10-6250-1655

Fax: 86-10-6250-1259

Founded 1990. Director, Zheng Bijun.

As of 1994 the center had twenty-three affiliated scholars. The leading body includes Zheng Bijun, director (professor of Chinese history; Zheng runs the first M.A. program on Chinese women's history); Qi Wenying, deputy director (professor of American history); Tao Jie (deputy director); Zang Jian (secretary-general). The center has been designated the culture and education NGO (nongovernmental organization) by the Women's Federation (Fulian).

The center has hosted a series of international conferences, both broad-based meetings on women's studies in China (1992) and gatherings focused on topics such as "Traditional Chinese

Culture and Chinese Women from Ancient Times Down to the May Fourth Period" (1994).

In the early 1990s, the center held a series of preparatory conferences for the UN World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995.

Together with the Ningxia Institute of Education the center also conducted a joint research project in Ningxia, Qinghai, Gansu, and Guizhou on the problem of girls not attending school. As a follow-up to this research, the center planned to set up training courses for school administrators, teachers, and mothers; to invite participants in these courses to visit Beijing; and to compile textbooks and other educational material for use in Village Education Centers established by the Ningxia Institute.

A second major project addressed the employment problems of educated women, conducting surveys, hosting symposia, and making studies of distinguished women intellectuals as role models.

Finally, the center in 1993–94 proposed the creation of a women's studies information center to compile databases on women's studies organizations, publish a semiannual newsletter, and collect publications representing international women's studies scholarship.

Women's Studies Center, People's University (Zhongguo renmin daxue nüxing yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: Room 44B, Linyuan Building 7, People's University, Beijing 100872

Phone: 86-10-6251-1949

Fax: 86-10-6845-2747

Founded 1993. Director, Sha Lianxiang.

Women's Studies Center, Central Party School of the Communist Party of China (Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao funü yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: Central Party School of CPC, Haidian District, Beijing 100091

Phone: 86-10-6250-6150

Founded 1993. Director, Wang Hong.

Theoretical Research Institute on Women's Work, Capital Normal University (Shoudu shifan daxue funü gongzuo lilun yanjiuhui)

Address: Trade Union, Capital Normal University, 105 Xisanhuanbei Road, Beijing 100037

Phone: 86-10-6841-4411 x2627

Founded 1993. Director, Zhou Qian.

Center of Chinese Ethnic Women's Studies, Central University of Nationalities (Zhongyang minzu daxue funü yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: Graduate Division, Central University of Nationalities, Beijing 100081

Phone: 86-10-6842-0077 x2465/2271

Fax: 86-10-6842-1861

Founded 1993. Director, Zheng Yushun.

Women's Studies Group, Center for Comprehensive Agriculture Development, Beijing Agriculture University (Beijing nongye daxue zonghe nongye fazhan zhongxin funü yanjiu xiaozu)

Address: Center for Comprehensive Agriculture Development, Beijing Agriculture University, 2 Yuanmingyuanxi Road, Beijing 100094

Phone: 86-10-6258-2337, 86-10-6258-5866

Founded 1992. Director, Lin Zhibin.

Beijing Foreign Studies University Women's Studies Forum

Address: c/o English Department, 2 Xisanhuanbei Road, Beijing 100081

Phone: 86-10-6842-2277 x476

Founded 1986.

Women's Research Institute, Chinese Academy of Management Science (Zhongguo guanli kexue yanjiuyuan funü yanjiusuo)

Address: 127 Di'anmendong Street, Beijing 100009.

Phone: 86-10-6403-3881.

Founded 1988. Director, Wang Xingjuan.

The Women's Research Institute (Funü yanjiusuo) was founded in October 1988, the first NGO of its kind. It is registered under the Academy of Management Science, a nongovernmental organization, which has 70-80 institutes under it. Wang Xingjuan registered it to get legal status, and she and several others provided the start-up money, but she gets no money from the academy. The group rented a small room in an elementary school and received a 10,000-RMB grant from a Hungarian American to research the problem of women's employment. In 1992 the center moved to six rooms in the Di'anmen Zhongxue; annual rent is 60,000 RMB. The center pays no wages; funding is used to cover operational expenses. Most of the researchers work part time.

One research group working at the center examined the question of surplus labor let out of the factories—where does it go? As of the late 1980s, thirty million people had been let go from factories, 70 percent of them women. In 1988, the center sent out two thousand questionnaires to thirteen cities and wrote a report based on the replies. The group found that most of the women had found work, but at lesser jobs. The report, which argues for the creation of part-time jobs, was issued in 1989–90 but was ignored by the authorities because of the tense political situation. In 1993 Wang Xingjuan restarted the project, finding that twenty million more workers had been laid off, again mainly women.

The center has also sponsored research projects on prostitution, women's political participation, and women engineers and skilled workers. Subsequently the center turned its attention to concrete projects to help women.

Beijing Theoretical Research Institute on Women's Issues (Beijing shi funü wenti lilun yanjiuhui)

Address: Beijing Women's Federation, 3 Taijichang, Beijing 100743

Phone: 86-10-6519-2646

Director, Zhou Jing.

Jinglun Family Center (Jinglun jiating kexue zhongxin)

Address: 101, No. 2 Dongchang Hutong Beixiang, Beijing 100006

Phone: 86-10-6524-1030

Fax: 86-10-6513-5690

Founded 1993. Director, Chen Yiyun.

### *Tianjin*

Women's Studies Center, Tianjin Normal University (Tianjin shi-fan daxue funü yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: Women's Studies Center, Tianjin Normal University, 154 Weijin Road, Nankai District, Tianjin 300074

Phone: 86-22-2737-3318

Fax: 86-22-2532-6146

The center, established in January 1993, has more than ten affiliated professors and lecturers. Director is Du Fangqin, professor of classics (phone: 86-22-2747-8195; fax: 86-22-2532-6146).

Research projects in the mid-1990s and their directors included Women, Mothers, and Children (Hao Yongjuan); Comparative Study of Women in Chinese, British, and American Literature (Yuan Fangyuan); Chinese Women since the May Fourth Movement (Ming Dongchao); Chinese Women's History (Du Fangqin)

and others); Women of South China (Du Fangqin and Jin Yihong of the Institute of Philosophy, Jiangsu Academy of Social Sciences).

In the summer of 1993 the center hosted an international seminar "Chinese Women and Development: Health, Employment, and Social Status," funded by the Ford Foundation, which brought together Chinese scholars in diaspora and scholars from many regions of China.

Research Center for Women and Development, Nankai University  
(Nankai daxue funü yu fazhan yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: 13th Floor, Economy School Building, Nankai University,  
Tianjin 300071

Phone: 86-22-2350-1773, 86-22-2747-8797

Fax: 86-22-2334-4853

Founded in 1994. Director, Tan Lin.

### *Shanghai*

Shanghai Women's Studies Institute (Shanghai funüxue xuehui)

Address: 245 Tianping Rd., Shanghai 200030

Phone: 86-21-6437-7393

Fax: 86-21-6437-4544

Director, Zhang Liming.

The Shanghai Women's Studies Association, from which the institute developed, was established in 1986. The institute concentrates on the discussion of problems currently facing women, including employment, women's political participation, education, law (e.g., the influence of insufficient enforcement on the protection of women and children), marriage and family, population, talent (*chengcai*), and psychology. During 1990-92, the institute prepared a report on the status of women in Shanghai (*Shanghai funü diwei baogao*). Employment and employment law are the institute's main foci. It has also conducted joint investigations with the Civil Administration Bureau (Minzheng ju), which is also researching women and the family, and with the Labor Bureau (Laodong ju), which is also working on employment. In fall 1993 the institute hosted an International Research Meeting on Family Ethics Education in China and Abroad (Zhongwai jiating lunli jiaoyu yanjiuhui), with participants from the United States, Taiwan, and Japan.

Shanghai Marriage and Family Society (Shanghai shi hunyin jiating yanjiuhui)

Address: 245 Tianping Road, Shanghai 200030

Phone: 86-21-6437-7393

Fax: 86-21-6437-4544

Founded 1982. Director, Wang Cuiyu.

Women's Studies Center, Fudan University (Fudan daxue funü yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: Fudan University, 220 Handan Road, Shanghai 200433

Phone: 86-21-6549-2222 x3051

Founded 1994. Director, Peng Xizhe.

Women's Studies Center, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (Shanghai shehui kexueyuan funü yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: No. 7, 622 Lane, Huaihaizhong Road, Shanghai 200020

Phone: 86-21-6372-5280

Fax: 86-21-6327-0004

Founded 1995. Director, Zhou Meifang.

### *Anhui*

Anhui Women's Studies Institute (Anhui sheng funüxue xuehui)

Address: Research and Investigation Division, Anhui Provincial Women's Federation, 11 Changjiang Road, Hefei, Anhui Province 230001

Phone: 86-551-260-7803

Founded 1987.

Director, Zhang Xiaolan.

Anhui Marriage and Family Society (Anhui sheng hunyin jiating yanjiuhui)

Address: Anhui Provincial Women's Federation, 11 Changjiang Road, Hefei, Anhui Province 230001

Phone: 86-551-260-6736 Director, Zhang Xiaolan.

### *Gansu*

Gansu Women's Studies Association (Gansu sheng funü wenti yanjiuhui)

Address: Gansu Women's Federation, Building 1 Tongban, Lanzhou, Gansu Province 730000

Phone: 86-931-841-5936 x2125

Founded 1989. Director, Liao Shilun.

Women's Studies Division, Research Institute of Northwest Population Institute at Lanzhou University (Lanzhou daxue xibei renkou yanjiusuo funü wenti yanjiushi)

Address: Tianshui Road, Lanzhou, Gansu 730000  
Phone: 86-931-882-8127 x610  
Fax: 86-931-48-5076  
Founded 1988. Director, Wei Huilan.

*Guangdong*

Women's Studies Institute of Guangdong Provincial Women's Federation (Guangdong sheng fulian funü wenti yanjiusuo)  
Address: 3 Meihuacun, Zhongshan Road, Guangdong Province 510080  
Phone: 86-20-718-5667 / 5673  
Founded January 1989. Director, Chen Zhiyun.

Guangdong Women's Studies Association (Guangdong funüxue yanjiuhui)  
Address: 3 Meihuacun, Zhongshan Road, Guangdong Province 510080  
Phone: 86-20-718-5667  
Fax: 86-20-718-5684  
Founded 1985. Director, Shi Shuhua.

Family Research Center (Jiating yanjiu zhongxin)  
Affiliated with *Jiating* magazine.  
Liu Ming, Editor; Zheng Chen, Director of Research Center.

*Guangxi*

Guangxi Women's Studies Association (Guangxi Zhuangzu dizhiqu funü lilun yanjiuhui)  
Address: 22 Gucheng Road, Nanning, Guangxi Autonomous Region 530023  
Phone: 86-771-586-1102  
Founded 1987. Director, Liu Xujin.

*Hainan*

Women's Studies Center, Hainan University (Hainan daxue funü yanjiu zhongxin)  
Address: Social Sciences Department, Hainan University, Haikou, Hainan 570028  
Phone: 86-898-625-8112 x2401, 86-898-625-6648  
Founded 1994. Director, Li Ping.

*Hebei*

Women's Studies Center, Hebei University (Hebei daxue funü yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: 4 Henzhu Road, Baoding, Hebei 071002

Phone: 86-312-502-2921, 86-312-502-2929 x674

Fax: 86-312-502-2648

Founded 1994. Director, Zhang Yanchun.

Hebei Research Institute on Women's Issues (Hebei sheng funü wenti yanjiuhui)

Address: Office of the Hebei Provincial Women's Federation, 1 Shiyi Road, Shijiazhuang, Hebei 050051

Phone: 86-311-709-2853

Founded 1986. Director, Wang Huanchen.

*Heilongjiang*

Heilongjiang Women's Studies Association (Heilongjiang funü wenti yanjiuhui)

Address: 9 A'shihe Street, Nangang District, Harbin, Heilongjiang 150001

Phone: 86-451-364-4398

Founded 1986. Director, Han Shuhua.

Heilongjiang Marriage and Family Research Institute (Heilongjiang sheng hunyin jiating yanjiusuo)

Address: 11 A'shihe Street, Nangang District, Harbin, Heilongjiang 150001

Phone: 86-451-364-4398

Founded 1986. Director, Zhang Yibing.

The institute originally focused on marriage and family research. It is under the joint jurisdiction of the Heilongjiang Women's Federation and the Heilongjiang Academy of Social Sciences. It has a staff of fifteen, eight of whom conduct research. Projects completed as of the mid-1990s included a survey of 1,441 peasant families in six provinces, a provincial-level survey of women's status in Heilongjiang (part of the Women's Federation survey described above), a survey of prostitution in Harbin, a study of the marriage and family life of owners of private enterprises in Harbin, and a study on the conflicts between marriage and careers in Harbin.

*Henan*

Women's Studies Center, Zhengzhou University (Zhengzhou daxue funü yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: Women's Studies Center, Zhengzhou University, Zhengzhou, Henan 450052

Phone: 86-371-797-3682 x3163

Established May 1987 by Li Xiaojiang, the center currently has the following faculty members: Fan Luoping, lecturer in the Chinese department; Zheng Ming, lecturer, in charge of foreign contacts; Lin Yansheng, lecturer; Wang Aiping, lecturer and administration manager of the Women's Museum; Zheng Yongfu, associate professor in the history department; Lu Meiyi, lecturer in the history department; Wang Ge, administrator.

The center has offered courses on women's literature, the history of the women's movement in modern China, female aesthetics, female self-realization, and theories of women's studies.

In the mid-1990s the center was engaged in establishing a Women's Museum (an exhibition of Jiangyong women's letters was opened in September 1992); organizing and editing the Women's Oral History Project (see section on Special Projects), conducting the research project "How the Factor of Sex Affects Women's Achievements," sponsored by the National Educational Committee; conducting a survey of the situation of female college students after graduation; and completing the research project "Women's Reproduction and Health," sponsored by the Ford Foundation.

Henan Women's Education and Research Center

Address: 22 Jingqi Road, Zhengzhou, Henan, 450002

Founded 1991. Director, Liang Jun.

The center is an outgrowth of the women's cadre school of Henan. It has two associate professors and nine lecturers who do both teaching and research. The center has offered numerous courses to women of different regions on topics such as "Women, Family, and Career" and "Women's Psychological Health." It is currently engaged in three research projects: (1) a study on enhancing the ability of abstract thinking in girls; (2) teaching self-reliance to female workers in cities and towns; (3) rural women's health education. The center is one of the local bases for the project on women's reproduction, funded by the Ford Foundation. The center is both writing a research report and carrying out an educational program on hygiene and health in several villages in Henan.

Henan Theoretical Research Institute on Women's Issues (Henan sheng funü wenti lilun yanjiuhui)

Address: Henan Women's Federation, 15 Jinshuihe Road, Zhengzhou, Henan 450003

Phone: 86-371-595-3231

Founded 1986. Director, Yang Biru.

Women's Studies Institute, Henan Research and Development Center for Central China's Culture and Economy (Henan sheng zhongyuan wenhua jingji yanjiu kaifa zhongxin funü yanjiusuo)

Address: 12 Hongqi Road, Zhengzhou, Henan 450002

Phone: 86-371-394-5577 x2390

Fax: 86-371-394-3250

Director, Zhu Yaoxian.

### *Hubei*

Hubei Women's Studies Association (Hubei sheng funü lilun yanjiuhui)

Address: Hubei Provincial Women's Federation, Shuiqu Lake, Wuchang, Hubei 430071

Phone: 86-27-781-6677 x32566

Founded 1986. Director, Jiang Daguo.

Women's Studies Center at Wuhan University (Wuhan daxue funü yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: Philosophy Department, Wuhan University, Wuhan 430072

Phone: 86-27-782-2712; -2861

Fax 86-27-781-2661

Founded 1993. Director, Luo Ping.

Director Luo Ping, professor of sociology, is assisted by deputy directors Wang Xiuying and Wang Chungue. The center has twenty-eight affiliated faculty in the fields of sociology, women's studies, philosophy, history, law, literature, psychology, ethics, medicine, aesthetics, economics, journalism, biology, education, politics, and chemistry. Ongoing research projects include studies focusing on the values of women college students, women's sexual life, sexual harassment, religious beliefs, women in literature and art, women's history, and other topics.

*Hunan*

Hunan Women's Studies Association (Hunan sheng funüxue yanjiuhui)

Address: 1 Shaoshan Road, Changsha, Hunan Province 410011

Phone: 86-731-221-7481

Founded 1986. Director, Mo Wenxiu.

*Jiangsu*

Jiangsu Women's Research Institute (Jiangsu sheng funü yanjiusuo)

Address: Women's Research Institute, 1 Ma'an shan Ningxia Street, Nanjing, Jiangsu 210013

Phone: 86-25-331-0493

Founded 1990. Director, Li Ping.

The institute, founded under the aegis of the Jiangsu Women's Federation, has a staff of ten. As of the mid-1990s they had conducted the following research projects: a survey of Chinese women's status in Jiangsu (part of the national survey described above); joint work with the Jiangsu Academy of Social Sciences on women's development in different areas of Jiangsu; the development of China's township and village enterprises and rural women's liberation; and a history of the Jiangsu women's movement.

The institute publishes a bimonthly magazine, *Funü lilun yanjiu qingkuang jiaoliu* (Women's studies information exchange)

Jiangsu Women's Studies Association (Jiangsu sheng funüxue yanjiu hui)

Address: 1 Ma'an shan Ningxia Street, Nanjing, Jiangsu 210013

Phone: 86-25-330-1967

Founded 1986. Director, Shen Meihua.

Women's Studies Group, Jiangsu Academy of Social Sciences (Jiangsu sheng shehui kexueyuan funü yanjiu xiaozu)

Address: 12 Hujubei Road, Nanjing, Jiangsu 210013

Phone: 86-25-445-2481

Founded 1988. Director, Shen Han.

*Jiangxi*

Jiangxi Women's Studies Institute (Jiangxi sheng funüxue xuehui)  
Address: Jiangxi Women's Federation, 145 Bayi Street, Nanchang,  
Jiangxi 330046  
Phone: 86-451-621-4404  
Fax: 86-451-622-9553  
Director, Li Sujin.

Women's Studies Center, Jiangxi Academy of Social Sciences  
(Jiangxi sheng shehui kexueyuan funü yanjiu zhongxin)  
Address: 11 Hongdubei thoroughfare, Nanchang, Jiangxi 330006  
Phone: 86-791-833-3695 x2688, 86-791-833-0106  
Founded 1994. Director, Wang Mingmei.

*Jilin*

Jilin Women's Studies Institute (Jilin sheng funüxue xuehui)  
Address: 49 Sidalin Street, Changchun, Jilin Province 130051  
Phone: 86-431-890-2513  
Founded 1986. Director, Wang Zhenying.

Jilin Marriage and Family Research Institute (Jilin sheng hunyin  
jiating yanjiuhui)  
Address: 49 Sidalin Street, Changchun, Jilin Province 130051  
Phone: 86-431-890-2408

Women's Studies Center, Northeast Normal University (Dongbei  
shifan daxue funü yanjiu zhongxin)  
Address: 110 Sidalin Street, Changchun, Jilin 130024  
Phone: 86-431-568-5086 x3273  
Fax: 86-431-568-4009  
Founded 1993. Director, Wei Shuyi.

Women's Studies Center, Yanbian University (Yanbian daxue funü  
yanjiu zhongxin)  
Address: 105 Gongyuan Road, Yanji, Jilin 133002  
Phone: 86-433-271-5921 x610  
Founded 1993. Director, Li Fushun.

*Liaoning*

Liaoning Theoretical Research Institute on the Women's Move-  
ment (Liaoning sheng funü yundong lilun yanjiuhui)  
Address: 55 Hepingbei St., Heping District, Shenyang, Liaoning  
Province 110002

Phone: 86-24-282-5934

Founded 1986. Director, Liu Hairong.

Women's Studies Group, Research Institute for Region and City Development Strategies, China Academy of Management Science (Zhongguo guanli kexue yanjiuyuan quyü ji chengshi fazhan zhanlue yanjiusuo funü wenti yanjiuzu)

Address: Department of Social Sciences, Dalian University of Science and Engineering, 2 Linggong Road, Ganjing District, Dalian, Liaoning 116023

Phone: 86-411-470-8550

Fax: 86-411-467-1009

Founded 1988. Director, Liu Zeyuan.

### *Qinghai*

Qinghai Women's Studies Association (Qinghai sheng funü wenti yanjiuhui)

Address: Research and Investigation Division, Qinghai Women's Federation, Xining, Qinghai 810000

Phone: 86-971-823-8911 x2419

Founded May 1995. Director, Wang Hui.

### *Shaanxi*

Shaanxi Women's Federation Research Office (Shaanxi sheng funü lianhehui yanjiushi)

Address: 1 Yu Cai Road, Yan Ta District, Xian, Shaanxi 710054

Phone: 86-29-520-1954

Fax: 86-29-721-5422

Research Office Director, Gao Xiaoxian.

This provincial office of the Women's Federation has conducted many studies of the situation of rural women in Shaanxi and other provinces.

Shaanxi Society of Women's Studies, Marriage, and Family (Shaanxi sheng funü lilun, hunyin jiating yanjiuhui)

Address: 1 Yu Cai Road, Yan Ta District, Xian, Shaanxi 710054

Phone: 86-29-520-1954

Fax: 86-29-526-2189

Founded 1986. Director, Gao Xiaoxian.

Women's Studies Center, Shaanxi Normal University (Shaanxi shifan daxue nüxing yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: International Exchange Center, Shaanxi Normal University, Xian, Shaanxi 710062

Phone: 86-29-526-3786

Fax: 86-29-526-1391

Founded 1995. Director, Jiang Kaijun.

Xi'an Jiaotong University Female Population Research Center  
(Xi'an jiaotong daxue nüxing renkou yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: 28 Xianning Road, Xi'an, Shaanxi 710049

Phone: 86-29-326-8384

Fax: 86-29-323-7910

Founded 1986. Director, Zhu Chuzhu.

### *Shandong*

Women's Studies Center, Shandong Provincial Women's Federation  
(Shandong sheng fulian funü yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: 482 Jingbaweyi Road, Jinan, Shandong Province, 250001

Phone: 86-31-690-4314

Founded 1993. Director, Liu Baoli.

### *Shanxi*

Shanxi Women's Studies Association (Shanxi sheng funü lilun yanjiuhui)

Address: Shanxi Provincial Women's Federation, 46 Jiefang Road, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province 030002

Phone: 86-351-202-8494

Founded 1987. Director, Cao Xinyi.

Women's Studies Center of Female Talent Research Institute,  
China Research Institute of Human Resources Development  
(Zhongguo renli ziyuan kaifa yanjiuhui nüxing rencai yanjiuhui nüxing yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: Talent Institution, Organization Department of Shanxi Province, Taiyuan Shanxi 030071

Phone: 86-351-404-5198; -9529

Founded 1993. Director, Liu Cuilan.

### *Sichuan*

Women's Studies Institute of the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences

Chengdu, Sichuan

Director, Kuang Shiyong

Sichuan Theoretical Research Institute on Marriage, Family and Women's Studies (Sichuan sheng hunyin jiating ji funü lilun yanjiuhui)

Address: 3 Shude Lane, Ningxia Street, Chengdu, Sichuan Province 610031

Phone: 86-28-663-7669

Founded 1987. Director, He Qinggui.

### *Xinjiang*

Xinjiang Women's Studies Association (Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu funü lilun yanjiuhui)

Address: Xinjiang Regional Women's Federation, 42 Minzhu Road, Wulumuqi, Xinjiang Autonomous Region 830002

Phone: 86-991-282-4696

Founded 1989. Director, Reyiman.

Women's Studies Center, Xinjiang University (Xinjiang daxue funü yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: Xinjiang University, 14 Shengli Road, Wulumuqi, Xinjiang Autonomous Region 830046

Phone: 86-991-286-2753 x2845

Founded 1994. Director, Liu Yun.

Research Group on Women's Theory, Xinjiang Medical College (Xinjiang yixueyuan funü lilun yanjiu xiaozu)

Address: Trade Union, No. 1 Hospital affiliated with Xinjiang Medical College, Wulumuqi, Xinjiang Autonomous Region 830054

Phone: 86-991-484-2011 x2603

Director, Li Wenping.

### *Zhejiang*

Zhejiang Research Institute on Women's Issues (Zhejiang sheng funü wenti yanjiu xuehui)

Address: Zhejiang Women's Federation, 2 Shengfu Road, Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province 310025

Phone: 86-571-705-3246

Founded 1987. Director, Lu Su.

Women's Studies Center, Hangzhou University (Hangzhou daxue funüxue yanjiu zhongxin)

Address: 34 Tianmushan Road, Hangzhou, Zhejiang 310028

Phone: 86-571-807-1224 x2100

Founded 1989. Director, Tong Shaosu.

Director Tong Shaosu is an associate professor and vice-secretary of the Party Committee of the university. The center held an international conference on women's employment and development in October 1993.

### **Special Projects**

*Funü zhi* (Women's gazetteer)

Contact: Huang Sha, Shanghai Women's Federation

The Women's Gazetteer is to collect and publish information on the history, economy, and social practices of women in the Shanghai area. New gazetteers are being assembled across China in the 1980s and 1990s. In Shanghai, districts, counties, and special groups including unions, youth, and women are preparing gazetteers. The Women's Gazetteer is being prepared by the Women's Federation (Fulian). (Not every location in China has undertaken such a project. The provinces of Fujian and Shaanxi are working on women's gazetteers, and organizations in some other locations are assembling gazetteers on the women's movement, a more specialized topic.)

Historically, women have never had a gazetteer devoted exclusively to them. They have appeared in gazetteers when cited for their model behavior, often as chaste widows or martyrs. The aim of this gazetteer project is to answer the following question: From the time of the opening of Shanghai as a treaty port until the post-Liberation period, how did women struggle for education and social rights? The gazetteer covers the time period 1842-1990. Materials have been collected from libraries, municipal archives, various work units, and to a lesser extent individual oral histories. Approximately twenty people are working on this project, most of them retired teachers and cadres who have volunteered. The gazetteer was scheduled for completion in 1997, but as of this writing has not yet appeared. Topics include politics, culture, and labor, but specific subtopics will partly be determined by the availability of evidence. As of 1993, material was being collected on labor, government regulations affecting women, women's wel-

fare work, health, education, child rearing, women in white-collar and service jobs, women in the garment trades, and women in the medical profession.

#### Women's Hot Line

Address: 127 Di'an men dong dajie, Beijing 100009

Office phone: 86-10-6403-3881

Hot line phone: 86-10-6403-3383

The hot line was founded in 1992, with money from Global Fund for Women. It is operated by the Women's Research Institute under the Chinese Academy of Management Science. The hot line runs twenty hours a week, Monday-Friday, 4-8 P.M.; it is staffed by volunteers who have had some college education and taken a training course. According to personnel of the Women's Research Institute, people call with questions about marriage, divorce, husbands' extramarital involvements, health, sex, and employment-related problems.

#### Women's Oral History Project

Contact: Li Xiaojiang

This project to collect twentieth-century oral histories is modeled on Studs Terkel's book *American Dreams*. Women are encouraged to tell their life stories, which are taped. Each interview is about five hours long, and some follow-up interviews are conducted. This project, originally scheduled for completion in 1995, will be published by the Beijing Normal University Publishing House (Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe). The project builds on an earlier research project sponsored by the Women's Federation (Fulian) on the history of the women's movement. The tapes and transcripts will be housed in the Women's History Museum being set up in Zhengzhou by Li Xiaojiang.

The oral history project is divided into two parts, each covering half of the twentieth century. "That half of the century" includes the years before the 1949 revolution and is divided into four volumes: women and war (two volumes), employed women of all classes, and ordinary women. The volumes on women and war include such topics as how women deal with children, menstruation, etc., in war and how war is experienced differently by women. The project will include interviews with women in Shaanganning and Jiangxi, as well as other former revolutionary base areas. The volume on "ordinary women" deals with marriage and other topics.

"This half of the century" covers the post-1949 period and deals with employed women, village women, the history of political movements, and marriage and the family.

The section on village women includes interviews with women on the economic changes of the 1950s, their experiences with collectivization, including pregnancy and work, breastfeeding and meetings, midwives old and new, women moving into formerly male jobs, and the influence of cadres and sent-down youth on the rural scene in the 1960s. Gao Xiaoxian, a Women's Federation official who has conducted interviews in rural Shaanxi, reports a number of interesting problems in conducting interviews with village women. Urban researchers know little about daily rural life in the 1950s, and there is no published material on it. This makes it more difficult to formulate the right questions to elicit information. Because of dialect problems, interviewers must depend on local cadres. She has also encountered the issue of how to stimulate the memories of interview subjects whose sense of their life experience is organized quite differently. For example, some cannot remember what year their children were born.

The rural interviews are being conducted primarily in Henan, Sichuan, Shaanxi, Shanxi, Anhui, and Hunan. Interviewers are located through the local Women's Federations. These are all agricultural provinces where Fulian has adequate resources to take on the project. Shanxi was of special interest because of its early history of collectivization and also because it was the home of model units such as Dazhai. This piece of the project has not yet been published.

### THREE

## Into the Postcolonial Era: Women's Studies in Hong Kong

HON-MING YIP

Women's issues have become subject matters of serious academic research in Hong Kong since the late 1970s, along with the development of a local social movement to promote women's awareness and status. Although the specific issues might be new, this attention to women's situation is not, nor is the mutual interaction of research and activism. In the 1920s and 1930s, activists in the campaign against child slavery and the servitude of *meizai* (young female bond servants; *muijai* in Cantonese) were also researchers of women's problems and advocates of social research for the advancement of women's welfare and rights. Works published then, such as H. L. Haslewoods' *Child Slavery in Hong Kong* (1930) and Mai Meisheng's *Fandui xubi shilüe* (Outline history of the movement against the possession of young female bond servants) (1933) are still cited by contemporary researchers as useful references. They represent early efforts of expatriate and Chinese Christians and social reformers to challenge the practice of human trafficking and Hong Kong's colonial policy of nonintervention in the Chinese patriarchal tradition of parents' prerogative to sell their offspring. These works recorded conditions of female members of the lower classes in Hong Kong as perceived by social campaigners who had tried to save them. They rely upon basic statistics and general descriptions of institutional development.

In the postwar period, the social sciences flourished, and social science research methods were widely applied to ethnographic studies of Hong Kong society. To anthropologists such as E. Anderson, M. Freedman, H. Baker, E. Johnson, A. Sankar, J. Stockard, M. Topley, B. Ward, J. Watson, and R. Watson, whose fieldwork in Hong Kong's New Territories concerned issues of marriage, family, kinship, folklore, and women's life, the territory

was like a living nineteenth-century museum. As a result of the colonial policy of "divide and rule" and nonintervention in rural Chinese customary practices, Hong Kong became seen as preserving Chinese traditional customs. Hong Kong thus attracted numerous professional anthropologists studying the Chinese "little tradition," as well as amateur ethnographers or historians, including members of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and district officers who had developed a strong interest in the place as their overseas home. Their works, published in the 1960s and 1970s, contributed to the reconstruction of Hong Kong's cultural history in which women are among the bearers and transmitters of culture as well as the subjects of acculturation.

With Hong Kong's rapid socioeconomic development in the 1970s and 1980s, social issues such as employment, education, health, welfare, communication, criminology, and politics have become major subjects of social science research. They are also the categories under which related studies of women are reviewed.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, feminist theories have been introduced to academic as well as social circles and hence have spurred critical discourse and action. While some scholars of the younger generation have worked on appraisals of traditional Chinese ideas and attitudes toward women, others concentrate their attention on issues of current concern.

The discovery and rediscovery of the uniqueness of indigenous female identities and consciousness constitute a major part of the recent local and academic activities in Hong Kong. Based on previous ethnographic studies of Hong Kong's cultural tradition, historians and ethnographers have developed an interest in women and migration, work, education, marriage or "marriage resistance," folklore, and religion. Indeed, radical critics of culture challenge not only the Chinese patriarchal ideology, but also colonial knowledge, known as orientalism. In their view, the policy of nonintervention in Chinese patriarchal tradition was actually in line with the Western view that treats the Chinese as the "other."

While developing their analyses, feminists might have invited criticism for their "universalist" or "essentialist" assumption that still reflected a Western worldview, from which the ideal of a modernized woman free from traditional premodern domestic constraints is derived. An urge to deconstruct what has been perceived as untenable essentials in feminism is thus in order. To

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<sup>1</sup> F. M. Cheung and Pun 1987.

achieve the work of both decolonization and deconstruction, it has been proposed that feminist discourse should first recognize women's voices in culturally and socially specific contexts.<sup>2</sup> It is under the effect of this rethinking by students of women's studies in a milieu conducive to Sino-Western interaction that Hong Kong is advancing into its postcolonial era.

### **Academic Organizations and Research Projects**

If local resources are to be consolidated, researchers and activists need to cooperate and organize. It has been a consensus that feminist scholarship flourishes where there is a community of fellow researchers, drawing on each other for mutual support, stimulation, and criticism. Among the women's groups in Hong Kong,<sup>3</sup> the Gender Research Program at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) has been considered the most academically oriented one. The program was first established in 1985 under the name of Gender Role Research Program, a unit at the Center for Hong Kong Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Renamed the Gender Research Program, it became an affiliated program of the Hong Kong Institute of Asian-Pacific Studies in September 1990. Since the Center for Hong Kong Studies was integrated into the new Hong Kong Institute of Asian-Pacific Studies, the Gender Research Program has been identified as one of the eight strategic research programs of the institute.

As its proclaimed objectives, the program stresses promoting interdisciplinary research and disseminating knowledge on the roles and activities of women and men in the context of the changing social, economic, and cultural milieu of Chinese societies across the Asian-Pacific region. In addition, the program provides research support for new course development and social reform. Members of the program include CUHK staff from a wide range of academic fields such as humanities, education, social sciences, business management, and medical science. The program periodically hosts international conferences, seminars, and local workshops. Past conferences include the 1989 International Conference on Gender Studies in Chinese Societies, the 1991 International Conference "Gender and Society: The Pacific Rim Experience," and the 1992 "International Conference on Comparative Perspec-

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<sup>2</sup> Jaschok 1984.

<sup>3</sup> Yau, Au, and Cheung 1992.

tives on Women, the State, and Industrial Restructuring in East Asia" (in collaboration with the University of California, Davis).

Program participants initiate conversation with the public in the hope of promoting gender equality and women's development. In promoting dialogue with the public, the program sponsors annual workshops on various general topics. The range of issues addressed can be seen from the titles of some of those workshops: "Hong Kong Family in the 1990s: Contradictions and Outlook" (1991), "Sexual Harassment in the Workplace" (1992), "Community Participation of Women" (1993), and "Little Women, Little Men: Gender Role Stereotypes and Conflicts in Development" (1994).

Ongoing activities cover the compilation of the following documentation of gender studies: database and bibliography on gender studies (e.g., F. M. Cheung et al., *Database and Bibliography of Gender Studies in Hong Kong and China* [1991]), publications and research reports, compilation of gender statistics, and listings of women's organizations and research institutions. Also included are the following collaborative or commissioned research projects: women in management, violence against women in Chinese societies, community needs of women and men in Shatin, and equal opportunities for women and men in Hong Kong.

In addition to regular program meetings and seminars, visiting scholar presentations, and so on, activities of the program also diversify into networking with local women's organizations and cooperating with overseas universities or research institutions, among others. Since 1991, the program has published a biannual newsletter, *Gender Studies: News and Views*, to provide information on the current trends of academic development in the field with essays, reports, and reviews, as well as news releases.

Other educational institutions also play a part in the local effort to promote women's studies. In the late 1980s, for instance, the Asian Studies Centre of the University of Hong Kong and the Hong Kong Women's Council cosponsored two conferences: "How History Becomes Nature: An Inquiry into Our History as Women in Hong Kong" (November 1988) and "Women in Hong Kong: From Domestic into Public Worlds?" (December 1989). The Hong Kong Baptist College, as the first local tertiary educational institution to offer an undergraduate course on the history of Chinese women, supported an academic week hosted by its historical society with the theme "Women's Life in Early Hong Kong, 1840-1949."

Interinstitutional and international academic collaboration continues to flourish in this cosmopolitan city. Two projects of biographical dictionaries have been planned: *An Annotated Biographical Dictionary of Hong Kong Women, 1841–1991* and *A Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*. The former has its base at the Asian Studies Centre of the University of Hong Kong and has drawn the support of scholars from various local universities and institutions. The latter involves scholars from Australia, the United States, Canada, Europe, Japan, China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.<sup>4</sup>

## Major Areas of Research

### *History of Chinese Women*

With the support of their affiliated institutions, women scholars in Hong Kong have consolidated their resources to promote studies of Chinese women's history. In studying Chinese history, they intentionally focus their studies on women's role and status, women's consciousness, and traditional views about women. Liu Yongcong and Huang Yanli are the representative female scholars in this field. Graduated from the University of Hong Kong in the mid-1980s with theses on women in Chinese history, both Liu and Huang are now faculty members at Hong Kong Baptist University, where they teach Chinese women's history. Together with these two scholars, students have accumulated research on Chinese women and dynastic history, traditional views, customs, marriage and family, literature, and so forth, as delineated below.

*Source materials.* Though source materials on Chinese women are scarce, especially when compared to material on men, we can still search for relevant information by combing Chinese classics, archives, encyclopedias and reference books, documents in official histories, relics, literature, and paintings. In a paper on the direction of Chinese women's history, Liu Yongcong notes the rich historical materials on women in the Chinese classics.<sup>5</sup> To facilitate research on Chinese women's history, it is imperative to exploit these underused treasures and to carefully evaluate their texts and discourses.

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<sup>4</sup> Clara Ho [Liu Yongcong] 1996.

<sup>5</sup> Liu Yongcong 1993b.

*Women in dynastic history.* As most historical source materials on Chinese women are concerned with the elite class, it is no wonder that much research using documentary materials centers on women of the imperial family. Works of this kind by Hong Kong scholars include a thesis on marriage relations between the Eastern Han imperial family and influential clans of social elites, a series of papers on Wu Zetian by a historian specializing in the Tang dynasty, and a thesis on Empress Liu and the politics of the Northern Song. In addition, scattered in journals, magazines, and collections of essays are articles on women in the imperial palace (e.g., princesses, empresses, consorts, imperial concubines, families of the sovereign's mother or wife, and queens regnant).<sup>6</sup>

*Traditional views on women.* One of the themes in the study of women in the Chinese imperial palace is the idea held in Chinese tradition of the *femme fatale*, used against beautiful women and women rulers. Liu Yongcong wrote her Ph.D. dissertation and a series of articles adopting a critical view of this patriarchal ideology. In addition to her dissertation on the idea of the *femme fatale* in Han times, her other articles on the same period include one on the interpretation of women as causes of natural disasters and another on the development of the theory imputing national subjugation to women.<sup>7</sup> Liu also discusses the development of the *femme fatale* idea in the pre-Qin period and negative commentaries by historians on the rule by queens regnant since Wei-Jin times. Another essay on the historical view of *femme fatale* in ancient China provides an overview of the problem.<sup>8</sup> In sum, the author calls for a fair reevaluation of prominent female figures in Chinese history on the basis of a new gender perspective, in contrast to the conventional male-centered view of history.

Pertinent traditional ideas on women also include the "female talent" discourse, which is the theme of Liu Yongcong's M.A. thesis. Other relevant papers by her address views of women's destiny and their talents and virtues in Chinese tradition and during Qing times.<sup>9</sup>

*Literature.* While Liu concentrates her attention on traditional perceptions of women, her colleague Huang Yanli focuses her

<sup>6</sup> Li Xueming 1968, 1970; Huang Yuese 1988a, 1988b, 1989a, 1989b; Zhang Yuejiao 1988; Mou 1952, Lin 1976, Liu Liyan 1980.

<sup>7</sup> Liu Yongcong 1989a, 1991b, 1992.

<sup>8</sup> Liu Yongcong 1991e, 1991d, 1990.

<sup>9</sup> Liu Yongcong 1987; 1986-88, 1988, 1989b, 1991a, 1991c.

studies on women's views as expressed in literary form. Her works on Chinese women's consciousness reflected in their poems, writings by women in the Han, and Zhu Shuzhen's writings,<sup>10</sup> discuss literary works by Chinese women in the ancient period, the perspectives of their individual styles, the influence of the times, and women's psychological states as manifested in their writings.

As to the modern period, there are several theses on women and modern Chinese literature, including Huang Weiyong's discussion of women in modern Chinese novels and Yang Yufeng's study of the issue of women's liberation during the May Fourth period.<sup>11</sup> Mimi Chan's *Through Western Eyes: Images of Chinese Women in Anglo-American Literature* (1989) analyzes Western stereotypes of Chinese women as reflected in literary works.

*Marriage and family.* On Chinese marriage and folklore, there is a thesis by Tan Daxian on Chinese wedding ritual songs and an article by Liu Weimin on ethnographic studies of Chinese marriage customs.<sup>12</sup> These works describe not only the related rituals and customs, but also the expressive culture of marriage as manifested in wedding laments sung by women.

On marriage customs in different dynasties, there are a few essays or articles on situations in ancient times and the Tang-Song period.<sup>13</sup> For the modern age, Yan Qiyun's thesis on Chinese women's status in the family and freedom of marriage from late Qing times to the May Fourth era discusses a critical period when the age-old tradition was challenged and new ideas led to change.<sup>14</sup>

With respect to family, the crucial basis of Chinese society, a collection of papers published by the Faculty of Social Science and the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong covers a wide range of issues, including urban and rural families, women's status in the family, and children's socialization and education.<sup>15</sup> This volume is the product of an international conference on modernization and Chinese culture sponsored by CUHK and signifies the achievement of academic exchange between Hong Kong academicians and scholars from other parts of the world.

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<sup>10</sup> Huang Yanli 1991, 1990, 1983.

<sup>11</sup> Huang Weiyong 1976, Yang Yufeng 1983.

<sup>12</sup> Tan Daxian 1984, Liu Weimin 1968-69.

<sup>13</sup> Mou 1952; Hu Yongchao 1961, 1966-67, 1968.

<sup>14</sup> Yan Qiyun 1985.

<sup>15</sup> Qiao et al. 1991.

*Social customs and ethnic subculture.* Social customs of other ethnic groups, especially those in south China, have captured the attention of Hong Kong's anthropologists. Colleagues at the Department of Anthropology of the Chinese University of Hong Kong have been involved in research on women in Fujian, Guangxi, Hunan, and other provinces. Several papers presented at a conference on the Huidong people held at CUHK in 1990 were compiled into a book.<sup>16</sup>

*Religious beliefs.* Women and folk religion has been one focus of research. Zeng Zhaoxuan's *Tianhou de qiji* (The empress of heaven's miracles) (1991) relates the historical development of myths centering on the famous goddess. Substantial works have been published on Christianity. Pui-lan Kwok began her research on women and the Christian faith in Hong Kong and continued to pursue the subject in her graduate studies in the United States. Her dissertation, "Chinese Women and Christianity, 1860-1927," one of the pioneering works on the issue, was published in 1992.<sup>17</sup>

Another local researcher on the Protestant church, the Reverend Carl Smith, has also written on women. Among his works, the paper "The Protestant Church and the Improvement of Women's Status in Nineteenth Century-China" is the one most directly related to the subject.<sup>18</sup> Most of Smith's publications, however, are on Hong Kong, where China's influence has been ever-present at the same time that Western culture has shaped the ethos of this territory of cultural hybridism.<sup>19</sup>

### *Women in Hong Kong's History*

Reviewed below are studies on women's historical experiences in Hong Kong, this "melting pot" of things Chinese and Western, of ideas about tradition and modernity, struggling still to build its own identity. The work to establish an independent sphere of women's studies has just begun. On such weak ground, theoretical breakthrough is yet to come in the field.

Local students of women in Chinese history, notwithstanding their efforts to establish serious scholarship in the field, especially in the area of literature and women, traditional views and attitudes toward women, and so forth, have had difficulties in

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<sup>16</sup> Qiao 1992.

<sup>17</sup> Kwok 1992.

<sup>18</sup> Smith 1977b.

<sup>19</sup> Yip 1991.

exploring the subjectivities of women, especially female commoners. Just like scholars in other regions of the world, Hong Kong's researchers face the problem of a dearth of historical documents on women except for those of the elite class. Naturally, in Hong Kong as in China, stories of palace women are among the most popular topics of published works, and marriage, family, and customs the areas most often discussed.

Comparatively, there is more information about women in the local history of Hong Kong because the territory has long been a station of fieldwork for ethnographers who take interest in the "little tradition." Their research projects, though not exclusively on women, do contain important information about the role of female bearers and transmitters of culture, from the early single women immigrants, the Hakka female household managers, and folk singers, to women workers in modern factories and crusaders of the women's movement, Chinese as well as expatriate.

*The early female immigrants.* In terms of Hong Kong's ties with mainland China, the cultural and socioeconomic significance of Hong Kong as an appendage to the Pearl River Delta deserves some attention. In this regard, population migration between the two regions stands out as an important point of concern. The history of women's immigration into Hong Kong during the early colonial period is marked by numerous sad stories, one of which is the tragic lives of women sold to become prostitutes, concubines, or bond servants. Many of these cases involved kidnaping and forced enslavement. These took place in the context of frequent natural disasters in China, especially in the south, which led to poverty and crime. Kani Hiroaki's *Kindai Chūgoku no kurii to choka* (1979), though underrecognized and underquoted until now, represents the most serious academic effort to analyze the background, the system, and the repercussions of this phenomenon of the sale and transfer of women. Making use of the Po Leung Kuk archive, Kani, while focusing his book mainly on Chinese women sold overseas, actually touches on the social history of women in Hong Kong, which was both a transfer port and a receiving place for female victims from mainland China.

In a more focused way, M. Jaschok's *Concubines and Bondservants: The Social History of a Chinese Custom* (1988) centers on the institution of *muijai* under which girls were bought as servants by Chinese families. It is not an exaggeration to emphasize the prevalence of the system in both China and Hong Kong. In many households, every child had his or her own *muijai*, and when a

woman married into her husband's family she brought along her own young servants. One is amazed at the difficulty encountered by the Hong Kong government in attempting to abolish the system during the 1920s and 1930s. One of the major obstacles for the colonial government was the defense of the institution by members of the social elite, who argued that the institution was a quasi-charitable one because it rescued poor young women from potential prostitution. Both Kani and Jaschok deal with this paradox. Whereas the former based his analysis mainly on documentary materials, the latter presents vivid case histories based on interviews with the descendants of *muijai*.

Most recently, in his article "Women and Female Children in Hong Kong and South China to 1949: Documents of Sale and Transfer" (1990), J. Hayes further documents the sale and transfer of women and girls with his own collection of invaluable deeds of sale dating from the Qing to as late as the late 1950s. These papers, mostly found in the New Territories, document the persistence of this practice of selling women as adopted daughters, concubines, and *muijai*.

Although the system remained in operation until the 1950s, it had attracted attention and concern since the 1910s. Abolitionists campaigned against child slavery and the possession of female bond servants in the 1920s and 1930s. Some of their works, such as Haslewoods' *Child Slavery in Hong Kong* and Mai Meisheng's *Fandui xubi shilüe*, are still cited by contemporary researchers. Not until the 1970s, however, did scholars begin to refresh their interest in the subject and dig for source materials such as archives, old newspapers, government reports, and records. With a few significant pieces of information, C. Smith, for example, was able to detail in his article "The Chinese Church, Labor, and Elites and the Mui Tsai Question in the 1920s" (1981) the interactions surrounding the *muijai* question among the British Parliament, the Hong Kong government, the Christian Anti-Mui Tsai Society, the Chamber of Commerce, and labor unions during the 1920s.

Current researchers also see the need to study the links between female immigrants, free or enslaved, and their homeland to trace their social background as well as the economic condition of their native towns. Kani, for instance, devoted a portion of his book to the study of the socioeconomic milieu of south China, while Jaschok has continued to research the lives of Hong Kong's unmarried domestic maids—their origins, upbringing, status, and social connections before emigration; in a progress report, she

establishes the premise of her work: women who vowed to remain unmarried (*zishunü*) made their choice consciously, freely, and willingly.<sup>20</sup> While *zishunü* represents the type of woman who resisted marriage, another group practicing the custom of delayed transfer marriage also draws the academic interest of scholars such as J. Stockard.<sup>21</sup> Although Stockard's work is on the Canton Delta, her information comes from many interviews of elderly women from the delayed marriage area who currently live in Hong Kong. Her book also records their lives after immigration in the 1930s, when sericulture in south China, in which they had been engaged and from which they had derived economic independence, collapsed along with the world depression.

The majority of unmarried women who immigrated to Hong Kong remained unwed and later served as domestic servants, becoming well known as the *Shunde majie*. Scholars who have conducted research into this type of spinsterhood include M. Topley, a renowned anthropologist who was one of the pioneer researchers exploring the links between marriage resistance and sericulture in Guangdong, and A. Sankar, who has written in detail on the institution of the vegetarian hall as a place of respite for spinsters who immigrated to Hong Kong or Singapore.<sup>22</sup> Both Topley and Sankar noted the religious connections of the vegetarian halls, which were sponsored by either Buddhist or Taoist organizations. Topley and Hayes described the affiliation of several Hong Kong vegetarian halls with the sect of Xiantian dao (The Way of Former Heaven). Sankar points out that the vegetarian hall was organized around a religious family system that fortified the bond of sisterhood and offered stability, financial security, safety, companionship, and legitimation to the spinsters who were separated from their natal home.<sup>23</sup>

*Family and kinship.* In China, a cultural system that values family as its social core, married women were traditionally less than full members of their husbands' families. Hugh Baker's study of marriage and family in Hong Kong notes that women in the New Territories could not become formal lineage members. They seldom participated in the rituals of ancestor worship.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Kani 1979; Jaschok 1984.

<sup>21</sup> Stockard 1989.

<sup>22</sup> Topley 1975; Sankar 1978, 1984, 1985.

<sup>23</sup> Topley and Hayes 1968; Sankar 1978.

<sup>24</sup> Baker 1968: 51.

In her case study of Ha Tsuen, Rubie Watson observed that women were often placed outside patrilineages. They were not supposed to appear at ancestral halls or in open and formal ceremonial activities of lineages. In terms of obligation, women should serve first their natal families and then their husbands' families. The patrilocal pattern of residence helps to strengthen the tradition that a bride belongs within her father-in-law's family.<sup>25</sup> In terms of rights, women were not equal partners of their brothers and husbands. They could not inherit property or have shares of family estates. Their legal rights to dispose of their dowries were also limited.<sup>26</sup> Similar observation can be found in research reports by James Watson, who mentions that women in the New Territories do not worship clan ancestors and are not worshipped by clan members after death.<sup>27</sup>

Despite women's low status in the lineage, they could build up certain networks among their affines. Affinity held special importance for women, especially those of lower social classes. Whereas landlord-merchants tended to make use of relations by marriage to maintain their superior social position, male peasants were active only within patrilineal circles, leaving their women in charge of liaisons among affines. The kinship circles established by female in-laws provided women with security and the basis for a social identity. As outsiders to the patrilineage, and under the traditional taboo against heterosexual friendship, women tended to establish sisterly affection among in-laws and circles of female affines. These women constituted their major sphere of activities. These networks were central in preparations for birthdays, marriages, or funeral ceremonies. Despite their marginality in a male-centered society, these circles performed certain functions of liaison beneficial to both sexes.<sup>28</sup>

According to Rubie Watson's research on servitude and kinship in the Hong Kong region, based on ethnographic field data on Ha Tsuen and Hong Kong government surveys on the *muijai* problem, the Chinese family was characterized not only by inequality between the sexes but also by hierarchical differentiation among members of the same sex. One example is the contrast between wives and daughters, on the one hand, and concubines and

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<sup>25</sup> Rubie S. Watson 1991a.

<sup>26</sup> Rubie S. Watson 1984; 1985: 107, 126, 129n, 135; 1986; 1991a.

<sup>27</sup> James Watson 1982.

<sup>28</sup> Rubie S. Watson 1981; 1985: 133-136.

housemaids, on the other, in terms of rank within the household and social class or status. In relation to men, all women were but partial family members. Yet wives enjoyed a legitimacy denied to concubines and maids, whose place was dependent and marginal.<sup>29</sup>

*Folk religion and expressive culture.* In the rural areas, where patriarchal tradition persists, women tend to express their grievances through an expressive subculture. Similarly, inasmuch as the majority of women in traditional China were illiterate and underrepresented in the literary tradition of elite culture, their voices might be more visibly expressed in folk culture and religion. Thus, if we are to understand the mentality and spiritual life of nonelite women, we need to scrutinize these areas for their role and symbolic significance in women's lives. For example, numerous oral versions of the myth of Tianhou (Empress of Heaven) contain strong hints that she had a special relationship with spinsters and other unmarried women. In the New Territories, a number of women maintained that Tianhou killed herself rather than marry an older man chosen by her parents. Some versions of the cult may have accepted suicide as a legitimate means of death.<sup>30</sup>

As with the Tianhou cult, of which women and men may have different versions, popular performing arts might also convey different cultural messages to female audiences than to their male counterparts. Barbara Ward explored this issue in her study of Hong Kong's regional operas.<sup>31</sup> However, nothing in the field of Hong Kong's folklore receives as much attention as the funeral and wedding laments sung solely by women. These laments embody a distinct women's culture passed down from generation to generation yet full of creative transformation. Zhang Zhengping published a collection of lament songs sung by native women in the northwestern New Territories, whom he visited during his undergraduate years at the Chinese University of Hong Kong while working as a research assistant to Kani Hiroaki.<sup>32</sup> Kani later coauthored a report in Japanese on Hong Kong's folk songs.<sup>33</sup> In his article "Death and Abuse in Marriage Laments: The Curse of

<sup>29</sup> Rubie S. Watson 1991b: 231–255, esp. 247, 250.

<sup>30</sup> James Watson 1985: 292–324, esp. 297.

<sup>31</sup> Ward 1985.

<sup>32</sup> Zhang Zhengping 1969.

<sup>33</sup> Kani, Nishimura, and Yutaka 1976.

Chinese Brides" (1978), C. F. Blake discusses the sociocultural, experiential, and ritual contexts of the laments. These include scolding one's parents, reviling the matchmakers, and cursing the groom's side. As noted by festival and ritual watchers like Hugh Baker, brides in the New Territories wail and cry at their weddings because marriage uproots a young woman from her home and deposits her among strangers to begin the painful process of building security and new social relationships.<sup>34</sup> His research is based upon the materials he and his wife collected in 1972 in Sai Kung, as well as the research of Zhang, Kani, and others. While some scholars treat the laments as a form of folk art, others are interested in their social and cultural significance.<sup>35</sup> In his 1990 article "New Territories Poetry and Song," Patrick Hase, a long-time researcher of village life in Hong Kong, has analyzed the content of this genre, comparing it to others such as mountain songs. Famous for their songs, the Hakka women in Hong Kong have been studied by scholars such as Elizabeth Johnson, who recorded songs sung by a middle-aged Hakka woman.<sup>36</sup> (Included in this study is the life history of a female Hakka wage laborer.) In addition to the common theme of marriage, the repertoire also contains songs about women with husbands going abroad to work. These vividly depict the problem in south China of large-scale migration of men abroad, leaving the women behind alone for a long period. In another article, Johnson (1988) discusses Hakka dirges sung during funerals. Both Johnson and Blake contribute to the analysis of the social and cultural meaning of this form of emotional expression of Hakka women.

*Subcultures of ethnic and social groups.* As a unique dialect group with cultural differences from their neighbors the Cantonese, Hakka people and Hakka culture have become popular topics for anthropological study. The depiction of Hakka women is usually included in works on marriage, such as Valerie Garrett's notes on a Hakka wedding in Hong Kong.<sup>37</sup> A book coauthored by Berkowitz, Brandauer, and Reed (1969), titled *Folk Religion in an Urban Setting: A Study of Hakka Villagers in Transition*, illustrates the customs and rituals of marriage and their implications for women.

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<sup>34</sup> Baker 1981.

<sup>35</sup> Tan Daxian 1988.

<sup>36</sup> E. Johnson 1984.

<sup>37</sup> Garrett 1980.

The lives of women in other ethnic or dialect groups should also be important topics of research. Unfortunately, apart from sketchy references in two Ph.D. dissertations, one on the Teochiu with a section on marriage preference, the other on the Fujianese with a section specifically on Fujianese women,<sup>38</sup> systematic studies on women and ethnic culture in Hong Kong have yet to come out. Studies of this kind will provide us not only with a differential perspective on the issue of women and culture but also with a comparative view of Hong Kong's ethnic groups and those in the mainland. For example, in his dissertation Guldin has argued that Hong Kong's Fujianese women find more success in Hong Kong than they do back home in terms of self-reliance because of their long experience of self-sufficiency while the men are overseas.

The anthropological method of life history will certainly help to record lively, meticulous, and concrete stories of women from various ethnic or dialect groups, communities, different generations, and all walks of life. Thus far, besides stories recorded in Jaschok's book, we have also seen some case histories of Hong Kong women collected in a book edited by Mary Sheridan and Janet Salaff, *Lives: Chinese Working Women* (1984). The cases range from the older generation of spinster-domestic servant-nun, village wife, and Hakka wage laborer to the younger generation of wage earners. Though the collection is focused on working women, the issues concerned are not limited to economic conditions but include the pressures on these women to continue tradition and maintain the family-centered and male-focused life.<sup>39</sup> According to Salaff in her book on young working women in Hong Kong, women of the younger generation are at a crossroads of tradition and modernity, Chineseness and Westernization.<sup>40</sup> Their economic power and work experience help to improve their position in the family, yet both Chinese tradition and modern industrial-colonial structures strengthen the role of males as heads of the family, thereby limiting the status of working women and keeping them under restrictive family obligations.

*Socioeconomic transformation, cultural change, and continuity.* In Hong Kong today, change and continuity paradoxically coexist in

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<sup>38</sup> Sparks 1978, Guldin 1977.

<sup>39</sup> In the Sheridan and Salaff collection (1984), see esp. the essays by Sankar, Davis-Friedmann, and Salaff.

<sup>40</sup> Salaff 1976b.

many aspects of life—a theme echoed by scholars of various disciplines. With their training in participant-observation, anthropologists have produced keen reports on the effect of socioeconomic development on culture. In her study of Hakka women in the New Territories, for example, Dorothy Bracey points out that they have deviated from the Chinese ideal of women's domestic and private roles and assumed stronger female solidarity and more important economic tasks while their husbands migrated for work.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, as their economic status improved with time and the men returned, the women had less need to work, and their autonomy and female solidarity were paradoxically undermined.

Certain traditional practices still remain in spite of the drastically changed environment. Festivals and rituals continue as part of community life. Old values and even certain social institutions may persist for some time. In another case study of Hakka women in Hong Kong, Elizabeth Johnson holds that industrialization and urbanization, while changing women's attitudes and behavior with regard to childbearing, do not necessarily work to limit fertility.<sup>42</sup> Instead, economic security and property holding may work with the persistence of traditional lineage and village organization to maintain high fertility. Neither has serious decline occurred in the obligation felt by the younger generation to respect, support, and care for the aged.<sup>43</sup>

As for the generation growing up during the period of rapid development in the 1960s–1970s, familial values prevailed in spite of the institution of the factory system and the rise of urban social organization. Janet Salaff's case studies of ten working daughters in Hong Kong vividly detail this paradoxical phenomenon. Even the most "Westernized" girls, in terms of both outlook and attitude, were under extreme pressure to continue the traditional, family-centered life.<sup>44</sup>

*Sino-Western cultural interchange.* While Hong Kong's women may appear "Westernized" on the outside, they may not realize the extent to which they are traditional and Chinese inside. As pointed out in a research report on thirty-six Chinese women in Hong Kong, cultural values continue to affect women's attitudes

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<sup>41</sup> Bracey 1979.

<sup>42</sup> E. Johnson 1975.

<sup>43</sup> E. Johnson 1984: 88.

<sup>44</sup> Salaff 1981; 1984: 9.

irrespective of external life events.<sup>45</sup> After all, Westernization, and sometimes modernization, denotes the imposition of foreign values and tends to induce resistance, especially when Westernization takes place in a colonial context.

In this regard, there has been a sense of urgent need to explore the subject of women in colonial society, including both Chinese and Western women, their relations and interactions. In this open field, female expatriates, Eurasian women, and their connections with Chinese women in Hong Kong are subjects to pursue. Carl Smith and Susanna Hoe have provided some basic information in this regard.<sup>46</sup> Life stories and biographies of people's experiences in the interracial and intercultural context of the colony have also begun to be written. Irene Cheng's *Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times* (1976), for example, recounts the life of a Eurasian woman of the upper class and the milieu in which she worked and raised her famous family.

Carl Smith notes the wide variety of situations of the parents of first-generation Eurasians in Hong Kong. Some were actually of lesser social status. He also mentions that many foreign men in Hong Kong did not make Hong Kong their permanent home. Thus their Chinese wives were left alone with small children after the foreign fathers left the colony for their homeland.<sup>47</sup> Some mothers were what Smith calls the "protected women"—a distinct class of Chinese women who were euphemistically described as "living under the protection of foreigners" in nineteenth-century China's coastal cities. Many of these women were Tanka boat people sold to their merchant "protectors."<sup>48</sup>

Interracial marriages, especially those in the earlier period, might involve certain problems of cultural conflict and adaptation. Smith has mentioned, for instance, the situation of a Chinese Christian woman who married a foreigner but then had difficulty fitting into a European congregation.<sup>49</sup>

Social movements that addressed Chinese women's status were established in the beginning years of Hong Kong's missionary history. The Chinese church, as mentioned above, played a significant role in campaigning against the *muijai* system.<sup>50</sup> About

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<sup>45</sup> F. M. Cheung 1979c.

<sup>46</sup> Smith 1993, Hoe 1991.

<sup>47</sup> Smith 1993: 5, 11, 18.

<sup>48</sup> Smith 1969: 13–17, 27.

<sup>49</sup> Smith 1977a: 52–60, esp. 56–57.

<sup>50</sup> Smith 1981.

1850, missionary women came to Hong Kong to work among the Chinese. They promoted female education in the east. Among them was the first foreign woman in Hong Kong, who was the first person to provide education for Chinese girls in the colony.<sup>51</sup> These women missionaries provided a model for a positive female vocation other than that of wife and mother.<sup>52</sup>

Until the publication of books such as Susanna Hoe's *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong: Western Women in the British Colony, 1841-1941* (1991), most expatriate women, including activists in the antislavery, antiprostitution, and antifootbinding campaigns, were excluded from the record of Hong Kong's history. In her book, Hoe reconstructs the "missing story" of these female actors, who did more than passively hide themselves in the "private sphere." This book, together with others such as I. Cheng's *Clara Ho Tung*, cited above, will enrich the repertoire of life stories and biographical information about intercultural and interracial relations of women in Hong Kong.

*Agenda for further research.* As this review demonstrates, as far as the social and cultural history of women in Hong Kong is concerned, many significant areas of research have been barely touched upon or have simply been ignored, and certain conceptual problems remain to be solved. Serious academic research should be conducted on the interactive cultural relations between Chinese and Western women in the colony. Attention should be directed not only to the influence of Western women on the Chinese but also vice versa, especially in terms of the influence of Chinese women's culture-based subjectivities on Western women in reshaping the latter's patronizing attitudes. Both Jaschok and Hoe are aware of this aspect. To find out the personal effects of these interactions, oral history and life history methods can be extended to the studies of Western women who were campaigning with their Chinese "sisters," for example. Source materials on the work of missionary women are almost certainly available and can be used to shed light on the issue.

To reconstruct the early history of Chinese women's immigration into the colony, the Po Leung Kuk archive should be perused as a body of substantial and detailed primary source materials providing information on the social and economic background, as well as the mentality, of the immigrants who had been kidnapped

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<sup>51</sup> Smith 1976: 24-28, esp. 26.

<sup>52</sup> Smith 1977b: 114.

and forced to serve as prostitutes, bond servants, and slaves. As for immigrant women who arrived in a much later period or even recent arrivals, oral histories can be collected to record their adaptive strategies and women's role in enculturation compared to men's. Equally interesting and important is the problem of women's emigration. Research on this topic from the perspective of social and cultural history is rare. It was only mentioned in passing in James Watson's *Emigration and the Chinese Lineage: The Mans in Hong Kong and London* (1975). More focused studies are called for.

With respect to the issue of cultural change, research problems include the effect of Westernization/modernization, tradition challenged by modernity, the generation gap, the rise of youth culture and subculture. Recently, colleagues at CUHK have begun to work on the areas of subculture as well as indigenous culture. But women and cultural change is still very much an open field.

Equally open are the fields of women, social class and community, women and concepts of the life cycle in the family, property rights, economic interdependence, female solidarity, and friendship. Although some work has been done on social networks, customs, marriage patterns and alternatives, family life and kinship communal life, and festival rituals of two or three ethnic groups, more subdialect speech groups (e.g., those from Shanghai) should be surveyed on their tradition and ways of life, as well as the culture of their settlements.

On women and religion, a field emphasized by cultural historians and anthropologists, scholarship focused on Hong Kong has yet to be developed. We have seen works on Buddhist and Taoist vegetarian halls and women's special view of the Tianhou cult. Carl Smith's pioneering work on women and Christianity still awaits follow-up studies. A vast void has yet to be filled in the area of ideology and belief systems and in the implications and function of rituals in relation to women's lives in religious communities.

Although folklore and popular culture have received more attention, especially from anthropologists, there are still some rarely touched areas, such as women storytellers, folk performers and artists, and heroines in legends, folk literature, and oral tradition. Even on ritual laments, which have been frequently referred to, further studies are called for with a comparative approach because the genre is also seen in other parts of China and the world.<sup>53</sup> Comparison of urban and rural women will also be

<sup>53</sup> Shanghai minjian wenyijia xiehui 1988, 1989.

helpful for the examination of the paradox of the rapid industrialization and modernization of the city, on the one hand, and the enduring influence of old customs and values in the rural areas under colonial noninterventionism, on the other.

While the effect of the process of urbanization and related socioeconomic transformations on women's social status should continue to be explored, the reconstruction of the history of rural Hong Kong deserves even more urgent attention. Many historic villages in the colony's countryside have been transformed into new towns during recent decades of urban development. Local documents and material relics should be collected and preserved.

In the course of modernization, the challenge of Hong Kong's female social activists to the deep-seated patriarchal culture is especially worthy of solid documentation. The history of the women's movement in Hong Kong itself—from the early campaigns against the *muijai* system to the movement against concubinage until the early 1970s and finally to the recent fight over inheritance laws in the New Territories—still awaits in-depth research. Crucial topics to cover are the experiences of the female crusaders, including expatriate and Chinese social reformers and their interactions. Existing general accounts require both factual substantiation and theoretical analysis.<sup>54</sup>

#### *Women and Current Social, Economic, and Political Conditions*

In Hong Kong, the upsurge of social research projects in the 1970s related to women was more a result of the development of the field of social sciences than the aftereffect of the women's movement in Hong Kong. As observed by academics and social researchers, women's studies in Hong Kong, until recently, has seldom been directly affected by the local women's movement, and academic endeavors have seldom been turned into social action. Research projects on women in the 1970s were conducted mainly to provide government offices or social organizations with data needed for policy. Their practical function was the concern of the day rather than academic sophistication, not to mention their contribution to the social advancement of women. Studies of women's current conditions, as reviewed below, show evidence of this utilitarian orientation, especially in the areas of family planning, welfare, social service, and the like.

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<sup>54</sup> Zhang Caiyun et al. 1992.

*Marriage and family.* Past research has been largely sociological in nature, focusing on topics such as social change and the family, including the transformation of family structure; industrialization and fertility; parenthood and child-rearing patterns; and delayed marriage.<sup>55</sup> Other major work is related to social service or policy making, including family planning; full-time housewives' experiences; married women's needs in special district communities; marital and family problems; and family and the law.<sup>56</sup> On Hong Kong's current situation, recent research reports have been focused on family scale, dwelling patterns, and women's role. More studies of women's perception of the family, their family life experiences and the creation of the myth of the "ideal household" as women's place are called for.<sup>57</sup>

*Health.* The field of women and health has long been dominated by studies of gynecology and of women's physical and mental health and women's health services.<sup>58</sup> With the addition of research on sex differences in response to contraceptive practices and the conception of women's social role and status in relation to psychological problems and psychiatric symptoms, the area is now developing to cover comparative studies of treatment-seeking behaviors and experiences of men and women.<sup>59</sup> Women as not only clients but providers of health services is a topic waiting to be explored. Women's experiences in the existing system of health service and the structure and ideology of the system are continuously under review.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Huang Huiming 1986, Li Mingkun 1991, Salaff 1976b, Wang 1985; C. Y. Choi 1975; Boys' and Girls' Clubs Association of Hong Kong 1983, E. Johnson 1975, Lam 1982, Lieh-Mak 1986, Lowe 1980; Rosen 1978; Salaff 1976a.

<sup>56</sup> FPAHK 1977, 1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1989; Mitchell 1972; P. Ng et al. 1976. Xianggang nüqingnianhui 1984. Tunmen quyihui 1991. Family Welfare Society 1981; Lung 1983. FPAHK and International Federation 1977; Pegg 1986; Law Reform Commission 1990.

<sup>57</sup> Wu Junxiong et al. 1993: 65–81.

<sup>58</sup> Alagaratnam et al. 1982; Ing, Ho, and Petrakis 1977; E. Leung 1985; Ngan and Tang 1986, 1988; O'Hoy and Tang 1985; Sheldon et al. 1985; Tam and Ng 1981; T. C. Tan, Donnan, and Chang 1988; G. Tang 1982, 1985a, 1985b, 1989; Tsoi, Poon, and Ho 1983; Tsoi et al. 1988. F. M. Cheung 1979a, 1979b; George 1990; Hung, Ling, and Ong 1985; Koo, Ho, and Rylander 1988; E. Lau 1991; Ling 1986; MacKay 1979, 1981, 1982, 1991; Ngai and Tse 1990; Shek and Mak 1987; Tan and Donnan 1985; Tan et al. 1988.

<sup>59</sup> Kwan 1991; Sharp 1985; R. P. L. Lee 1976, 1980. Wu Junxiong et al. 1993: 114–125.

<sup>60</sup> Wu Junxiong et al. 1993: 125–126.

*Social welfare.* Critical social researchers have argued that Hong Kong's social welfare system is inclined to reinforce gender stereotypes. Most of the community programs for women aim more at helping them play their role well within the family as wives, mothers, and daughters-in-law than at supporting them in individual personality development, self-identification, career establishment, and community involvement.<sup>61</sup> In addition to previous surveys on women's needs and community services, studies of services rendered to widows, young girls seen as problems, and battered wives,<sup>62</sup> it has been suggested that more research should be done to identify women's problems as well as the shortcomings of the social welfare system so as to set guidelines for future reform and development.

*Deviant and criminal behavior.* Women can be victims of deviant and criminal acts or legal offenders themselves. Past work on relevant issues includes reports on rape, marital abuse, pornography, prostitution, and female offenders and drug abusers.<sup>63</sup> Current concern has turned to violence against women, such as indecent assaults or sex crimes, domestic violence, and women as victims and perpetrators of crimes.<sup>64</sup> As sexual harassment has become the heated topic of the day, studies of the situation in Hong Kong are urgently needed. Among the first pertinent surveys are those on victims' experiences and sexual harassment on local campuses.<sup>65</sup> Cases in other spheres and attitudes of the public and the authorities still await substantiation and analysis of data.

<sup>61</sup> Wu Junxiong et al. 1993: 154; XFX 1985.

<sup>62</sup> Yuan 1988; Hong Xuelian 1988; Social Welfare Dept. 1983; Research and Statistics Section; 1984; XSFL 1987; XSYF 1990; XFX 1990. Christian Family Service Centre 1970; Hodge 1973. C. S. T. Chan 1984; Chung 1972; Devoy 1972; Social Welfare Dept., JWG 1976; Social Welfare Dept., RSS 1975. Kwan 1990.

<sup>63</sup> F. M. Cheung 1988; F. M. Cheung and Chung 1982; Cheng, Ip, and F. M. Cheung 1984; HKCW 1978, 1983; HKO 1981; B. W. K. Lau 1982; C. K. Lee and J. T. F. Lau 1990; Lethbridge 1978, 1980; Whyte 1988. E. Chang 1988; HKCSS 1987. Blowers 1990; FGSL 1986; Shi Huiling 1986. AGCUS 1970; Chan 1975; C. W. Cheung 1989; Hodge 1979; HKCW 1974; Lethbridge 1978; Social Welfare Dept. 1958; Tang 1986, Tang 1987; Tsang 1982. Ding, Chan, and Cheng 1971; Hong Kong Prison Department 1982; Lo 1983; Y. M. J. Ng 1987; I. S. L. Wong 1983.

<sup>64</sup> Andry 1990; F. M. Cheung and Law 1990; FGXL 1991; C. K. Lee and J. T. F. Lau 1990; H. C. Lee and F. M. Cheung 1990; E. K. W. Li 1990; C. C. Lu 1990. E. Chang 1988; K. S. Chang 1978; HKCSS 1987; Longstaff and Lo 1980; Mulvey 1986; Phillips 1982. Wu Junxiong et al. 1993: 190-208.

<sup>65</sup> FGXL 1992. Po-king Choi et al. 1993.

*Education.* Until recently, research on education lacked a gender perspective. Only a few theses on women's educational attainment and economic participation and on the differential educational attainment of children can be considered relevant.<sup>66</sup> Since the mid-1980s, critical educators have published reviews on gender stereotyping in Hong Kong's primary and secondary textbooks on history and social science. They have also appraised the sex distribution of students in local institutions of higher education.<sup>67</sup> The most recent discussions emphasize gender differentiation in academic achievement; gender prejudice in education circles, in teachers' mentality, and in open and hidden curricula; and issues of women and higher education.<sup>68</sup> More concrete and substantial surveys of pertinent issues are called for. An agenda for further research includes teacher-student interactions; the positions of girls and boys within the classroom; their expectations toward subject selection, studies, and careers; and the correlation between gender differentiation and class stratification.<sup>69</sup>

*Career and employment.* Most of the researchers on women's careers and employment are scholars in the fields of business management, sociology, and economics. Thus their research concentrates on the issues of women in management, careers for women, women in the labor market, working women (job perceptions and preferences), and changes in family structure.<sup>70</sup> Recent topics of discussion include the supply and demand of female labor and the comparison between men and women in terms of their employment patterns.<sup>71</sup> On the agenda for future research are surveys of the human resources of men and women, labor recruitment in various occupations and job prospects for women, and women's expectations of work, as well as other social factors affecting women's employment.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Huang Weibo 1983, S. L. W. Tang 1981.

<sup>67</sup> Ou Jiezheng 1992, You and Lu 1988.

<sup>68</sup> Wu Junxiong 1991: 40–53. Ou Jiezheng 1992. Mak 1991.

<sup>69</sup> Wu Junxiong 1991: 53–55.

<sup>70</sup> Francesco and Leung 1983; Ho 1976, 1981, 1983b; Ting-Chau 1980. Cashmore 1989, M. T. Cheung 1981, HKG 1992. S. H. Chan 1985; FLX 1990; Ho 1984b, 1985; HKYWCA 1984, HKYWCA and HKSYC 1982; C. H. Ng 1991; Salaff 1976b; Lui 1991; F. M. Wong 1972, Wong 1981; Y. C. Wong 1987a, Wong 1987b; Wu Junxiong 1991. HKCS 1982; HKCIC 1978; So and Young 1991; Young 1991; Chow and Blumenfeld 1984. HKYWCA and HKSYC 1979; C. H. Ng 1991.

<sup>71</sup> Wu Junxiong 1991: 2–27.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 27–28.

*Sex roles and stereotyping.* Academic research on women in Hong Kong can be said to have been pioneered by the study of sex-role stereotyping. As we have seen, the Gender Research Program at CUHK, as the most academically oriented women's concern group, was initially named Gender Role Research Program. In the late 1970s, works were published on such topics as sex-role stereotypes, patterns of cognitive ability, and sex-role adoption among Hong Kong kindergarten children.<sup>73</sup> In the early 1980s, the Chinese sex-role inventory was developed to measure sex-role stereotypes held by Chinese adolescents in Hong Kong, and further research reports on the correlation between cognitive abilities and sex-role stereotypes appeared.<sup>74</sup> At the same time, women's inferior status became the subject matter of academic inquiry. One social science thesis probes the attitudes, values, and experiences of senior civil servants to understand the perpetuation of women's inferior position in the civil service.<sup>75</sup> A general report on Hong Kong women and gender role change in the twentieth century was published in 1986 as a result of collaboration between the YWCA and the City Polytechnic.<sup>76</sup>

In recent years, women's image in the media has become an important area of concern to local activists. Along with the heated discussion in newspapers and magazines on how women are packaged in advertisements and movies and on television and radio programs, women's groups have conducted content analysis of pornographic publications and published reports on gender stereotyping in television commercials.<sup>77</sup> The agenda for further investigation in the field of mass media and women's images covers the symbolic significance and ideological implication of messages conveyed by the mass media, the reception of these messages, and how the audience, as message receivers, in turn influence the remaking of information.<sup>78</sup>

In another arena, specialists in education continue to criticize Hong Kong's textbooks in terms of the gender-role images they convey to students. These books fail to represent gender roles in Hong Kong society accurately, including the part played by

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<sup>73</sup> A. O. N. Lee 1979; Keyes 1979; L. Leung 1979.

<sup>74</sup> Keyes 1984, 1980, 1983.

<sup>75</sup> Lai 1982.

<sup>76</sup> Xianggang nüqingnianhui and Chengshi ligong xueyuan 1986.

<sup>77</sup> Patridge 1989. AAF 1987; FGSL 1986; Ho 1983a; Patridge 1989; Shi Wenhong 1989; Siu 1980; So 1990a, 1990b; XFX 1992.

<sup>78</sup> Wu Junxiong et al. 1993: 103.

women in social and economic activities, whether in the contemporary period or in history.<sup>79</sup>

Gender-role research has great promise. It is a significant field of academic study with profound social implications. Critical scholars and social researchers will continue to deconstruct myths behind gender-role stereotyping and appraise women's status in relation to men in a patriarchal structure and culture.

*Sociopolitical movement.* Since the 1980s, the women's movement in Hong Kong has experienced a process of intensification and localization as more and more grassroots activists have played a leading role in social campaigns previously led by expatriates or Chinese elites. Radical campaigners also engage in research projects relevant to their movement. Members of the Association for the Advancement of Feminism and the Hong Kong Women Christian Council, for instance, have conducted surveys on women's participation in public affairs and political activities.<sup>80</sup>

Academic scholars have charted women's activism as well. One dissertation addresses women's participation in Kowloon's Mutual Aid Committees; another details the political representation of women in Hong Kong.<sup>81</sup> Other writings include an article on potential sources of support or nonsupport for the women's movement and a paper on the consequences of women's participation in social affairs (collected in a book on political and social changes in Hong Kong).<sup>82</sup> Scholars have also discussed the organization of specific groups of women, such as workers or working-class housewives.<sup>83</sup> For academics who are also active crusaders, the data and information gathered from their community activities also provide source materials for their research projects.<sup>84</sup>

In the 1980s, scattered publications discussed women's rights, women and the law, feminist theories, and the local women's movement.<sup>85</sup> Popular topics of discussion in the 1990s pertain to the politicization of women's issues. Although developmental trends have yet to be traced in detail, basic information on the formation of local women's groups is now available in an occasional

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<sup>79</sup> You and Lu 1988, Ou Jiezheng 1992.

<sup>80</sup> XFX 1985, Hu Luxi 1991.

<sup>81</sup> Scott 1980. Wan 1985.

<sup>82</sup> Khor 1985. Li Mingkun 1987.

<sup>83</sup> S. H. Chan 1985; F. M. Cheung and R. Yuen 1987.

<sup>84</sup> See, for example, F. M. Cheung 1989.

<sup>85</sup> Sharp 1986; Association of Female Senior Government Officers 1985; Chen Baoqiong 1987.

paper entitled *Women's Concern Groups in Hong Kong*, published by the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.<sup>86</sup> The Gender Research Program of the same institute was also commissioned by the Shatin District Board in 1992–1993 to conduct a survey on women's participation in community affairs in Shatin.<sup>87</sup> A more general overview of women's attitudes toward participation in public affairs came out as a contribution to the Association for the Advancement of Feminism's new publication *Xianggang funü dang'an* (Hong Kong women's archives), which covers a critical discussion of women's position in Hong Kong's political framework.<sup>88</sup> As academic research and sociopolitical movement draw closer to each other, heated issues such as customary male inheritance and entitlement to ancestral property in the New Territories are likely to become subject matters of research, with emphasis on the structural and cultural basis of gender inequality in the territory. Also on the agenda for further study are women's voting behavior and women and party politics.

The study of women and local sociopolitical participation has emerged along with the politicization and localization of Hong Kong society from the mid-1980s to the 1990s. Compared to the social research projects carried out previously, studies since the late 1970s not only have higher academic quality, but are also related more closely to the women's movement. Works published earlier have been criticized as too descriptive and superficial. In the area of career and employment, for example, no hypotheses were developed or tested; studies of the family were not guided by well-developed theories; and research on "deviant behavior" was devoid of a gender perspective. Not only did these works lack conceptual frameworks, they were also deficient in explicit political discourse and thus could hardly be used as resources for social actions. The joint forces of the development of social sciences and the effect of feminism on the academic world set off the changes since the late 1970s. In the process, as indicated above, gender-role research has figured prominently as a popular subject of research, and sociopolitical movement has become an area not only for campaigners, but also for academic activists.

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<sup>86</sup> Yau, Au, and Cheung 1992.

<sup>87</sup> Tan Shaowei n.d.

<sup>88</sup> Wu Junxiong et al. 1993.

## Conclusion

Recent trends anticipate that, on the one hand, social consciousness and feminist ideology will inevitably work to make women's studies part of the women's movement, and on the other hand, new methodology and interdisciplinary research will help give rise to fresh analytical frameworks. Feminist theories certainly contribute to the conceptual endeavors in the field. Women's studies in Hong Kong still has a long way to go, however, to advance its theoretical underpinnings. The Gender Research Program of CUHK has chosen to focus on gender, instead of women. This decision has invited accusations of giving insufficient prominence to women's issues or not treating women's problems independently. The merit of gender studies, nevertheless, lies in the dynamic approach, which emphasizes the relational character of women's issues. If gender research can contribute to the understanding of how women fare in contrast to men in the patriarchal culture and structure, its potential function to push forward the social movement to promote gender equality and to improve women's status should be acknowledged.

Nonetheless, gender studies, as an interdisciplinary field, suffers from even more deficiencies in theoretical framework and research methodology than does women's studies. A model has yet to be formulated that can both incorporate and transcend sociology, anthropology, history, and literature. We need to augment the structural-functionalism that used to dominate social science research with appropriate concepts and methods to facilitate the exploration of gender-based subjectivities. To better interpret the dialectical interrelationship between subjectivities and objective structures, sociology might have to work together with historical ethnography, for instance.

In this regard, ethnicity- or class-based multivocal subjectivities that have surfaced in the ethnographically oriented research on Hong Kong's women's history can complement findings on women in Chinese history, which are relatively more "great tradition"-oriented, as this review has revealed. On the other hand, the efforts to identify women's voices from within their own lives and within their communities also pose a challenge to feminist theories that tend to patronize non-Western women with universalized Western ideals, without recognizing other forms of culture-based subjectivities. In this respect, feminist scholarship tinted with universalism ironically intersects with colonial discourses of orientalism, muting the voices of the women them-

selves. One Hong Kong feminist activist has proposed that one way to discover "indigenous female identities in interaction with forces of oppression" is to study the "under-researched part of women's history in Hong Kong constituted by those Chinese women who...expose the...interfacing of patriarchy and colonial strategies."<sup>89</sup> This attempt will also contribute to the differentiation of patriarchal social patterns, including those under colonialism.

In its self-reflective attention to Hong Kong's specific context, Hong Kong's women's studies, like other academic fields, is not simply producing footnotes to Western theories. In fact, feminist researchers and the women who are the subjects of research can inform each other in the course of research and create a joint force for theoretical breakthroughs. It is increasingly clear that as we formulate a postcolonial academic and social discourse against the hegemonic structures and ideologies of orientalism and universalism, local women's consciousness and identities will become the subject of research. Whether this academic trend can result in fruitful achievement in Hong Kong's postcolonial era is yet to be seen.

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<sup>89</sup> Jaschok 1991: 2, 6.

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## FOUR

# The Uneasy Marriage between Women's Studies and Feminism in Taiwan

YENLIN KU

If we broadly define women's studies to encompass studies on, for, or by women, then the history of women's studies in Taiwan can be divided into four periods corresponding to the development of the local feminist movement: (1) the pre-movement period (before 1972), when there was little research on women; (2) the first wave (1972–1982), when research on women increased as Western feminism was imported; (3) the second wave (1982–1993), marked by the integration of women's studies into academic institutions as well as an emerging split between feminist and nonfeminist women's studies scholars; and (4) the third wave (1993–), when women's studies became more connected to the feminist movement. This essay documents and analyzes this historical process of change from the perspective of a feminist activist and researcher who has been involved in the movement for more than a decade.

### The Pre-Movement Period (before 1972)

Before 1972 there was very little research on women in Taiwan. Among the 1,669 entries in the *Bibliography of Literature on Women in Taiwan* (published in 1990), only 147 were published between 1900 and 1971. More than half of these works are related to marriage and family life and women's legal status. The rest consist of studies on family planning and women's work, psychology, and education. Among all of the publications, at least 11 deal with adopted daughters (*yang-nü*) and child daughters-in-law (*t'ung-yang-hsi*), reflecting the special situation of women at the time.

Studies during this period were by and large descriptive in nature and problem-oriented, displaying little attempt to analyze women's inferior status in patriarchy; the works of the famous anthropologist Margery Wolf on rural women and historian Pao Chia-lin on the roots of gender equality in Chinese history were the ones most often quoted by later researchers.<sup>1</sup> Not identifying themselves as feminists (at that time, at least), Wolf and Pao nevertheless conducted their research from a woman's perspective.

### The First Wave (1972–1982)

The growth of women's studies during 1972–1982 was partly due to the economic boom and partly inspired by the burgeoning feminist movements abroad as well as in Taiwan. The short-lived Pioneer Press, the only movement organization in the mid-1970s (led by Lu Hsiu-lien), produced fifteen books or translations related to women in 1976 alone. Lu's own work *New Feminism* was an effort to combine liberal feminism and traditional femininity.<sup>2</sup> Other publishers introduced Western feminist works translated by well-known writers such as Yang Mei-wei and Ouyang Tze. Ouyang et al. translated a substantial part of *The Second Sex* in 1972. In her 1975 *New Theories on Women's Problems*, Yang summarized, among others, Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch*, Margaret Mead's *Sex and Temperament*, and Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*. Historians Li You-ning and Chang Yü-fa co-edited *Literature of the Modern Chinese Women's Rights Movement* in 1976 and *Collected Essays on Chinese Women's History* (*Chung-kuo fu-nü-shih lun-wen-chi*) in 1979. Pao edited a book of almost the same title, *Chung-kuo fu-nü-shih lun-chi*, in 1979. Except for studies on adopted daughters and child daughters-in-law, whose numbers had been minimized as a result of reduced family size in Taiwan, all types of research found before 1972 kept growing in number well into the 1980s. New topics of research covered abortion, divorce, aging, and media studies. Most researchers, however, did not write from the perspective of women's own interests. For instance, when the government promoted birth control as a means to check population growth, researchers also

<sup>1</sup> Ku 1990; Wolf 1972, Pao 1972.

<sup>2</sup> Hsiu-lien Annette Lu has been generally regarded as the leader of the first-wave feminist movement in contemporary Taiwan. See Ku 1989. On *New Feminism*, see Ku forthcoming.

treated abortion as a medical, ethical, and, especially, a population problem rather than as a woman's right to control her own procreation.<sup>3</sup>

### The Second Wave (1982–1993)

#### *Awakening*

A turning point in the history of the feminist movement in Taiwan came in 1982,<sup>4</sup> when Li Yuan-chen and her friends started the first feminist monthly and press, *Awakening*, "to raise female consciousness and to encourage self-development."<sup>5</sup> As an organized effort to promote feminism on the island, *Awakening* sought to continue importing and translating Western thought, to explore Chinese women's history, and to provide a forum for local feminists.<sup>6</sup> It reviewed laws and policies to make proposals for revision, and it evaluated legislators' performances based on women's needs. Such information and interest was limited, however, to a small circle of women. Feminist views were largely shunned by academic journals and the media. Many of the writings published in *Awakening* were in fact (or were expected to be) rejects of mainstream periodicals and newspapers. Not until the late 1980s was the hidden censorship partially removed; in the 1990s *Awakening* writers were eagerly recruited by editors of these publications.

In addition to local and translated feminist books, *Awakening* in 1991 published *Nüshu*, "a collection of women's writings embroidered in the secret script of *nüshu*, the only writing system in the world invented and used exclusively by women for hundreds of years in a remote Chinese village. When Gong Zhebing, its discoverer, failed to find a publisher in China, he approached *Awakening*. After a long debate within the group, *Awakening* agreed to undertake this laborious and costly project.

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<sup>3</sup> Ku 1990.

<sup>4</sup> Ku 1989.

<sup>5</sup> Chiang and Ku 1985b.

<sup>6</sup> Between 1982 and 1987, *Awakening* introduced works such as John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of the Rights of Women* (nos. 3 & 4, 1982), Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (no. 8, 1982), Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* (no. 9, 1982), Jean B. Miller's *Toward a New Psychology of Women* (no. 10, 1982–no. 24, 1984), and Alice Schwarzer's conversations with Simone de Beauvoir, among others.

*Women's Studies Research and Conferences*

Women's studies became known in Taiwan after the UN Decade for Women (1976–1985).<sup>7</sup> But most researchers simply fed local data into Western statistical models, presenting few innovations in theory or methodology. The bulk of "research papers" in academic journals and conferences were quantitative studies based on highly structured questionnaires.<sup>8</sup> Many "women's studies researchers," striving to meet the "neutral and objective" standards, refused to view women as being oppressed or deprived.

These tendencies are exemplified by the first women's studies conference, "Women's Roles in the Process of National Development," organized in 1985 by the Population Studies Center of National Taiwan University. Ten of the seventeen papers presented were traditional quantitative studies. In at least three the female research subjects' socioeconomic status was measured against their fathers' educational attainment or occupational achievement. Trying to theorize "women's problems" devoid of a feminist framework, however, often led to confusion. When one researcher tried to explain why more than half the subjects in her survey approved of the feminist movement, she suggested that they misunderstood the question and went on to criticize feminists for "having wrong ideas and using wrong terms by arguing that women are exploited."<sup>9</sup>

In the same year, two international conferences were also held in Taipei. "The Future Role of Women in Asia," organized by Soochow University, was similarly development-oriented. The Asian Christian Women's Conference "Sightseeing and Traffic in Women," organized by the Presbyterian Church, not professing to be "academic" like the previous ones, expressed genuine concern for women's social needs. It shed light on the serious problems of prostitution in Taiwan and resulted in the establishment of the Rainbow Project, an outreach program for underage prostitutes, and a large-scale demonstration against trafficking in 1987.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The United Nations declared 1976–1985 as the Decade for Women. The themes of the Decade were equality, development, and peace. The UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was passed during the Decade. Although not a member of the United Nations, Taiwan was at least affected by the feminism in the air.

<sup>8</sup> Ku 1990.

<sup>9</sup> Hung 1985, 2:552–614, esp. 578.

<sup>10</sup> See Ku 1989, 9–20.

Political liberalization accelerated on the island after the mid-1980s, lifting the taboo attached to social activism. The same period also witnessed a gradual strengthening of pro-feminist sentiments in society at large and in academic circles in particular. Aside from the mobilization of the feminist movement, the following factors contributed to the more receptive social atmosphere: the influence of global feminism (including several important visits by Peggy McIntosh, Esther Chow and Chen Yu-shih),<sup>11</sup> the return of feminist scholars from working and studying in North America, Europe, and Japan (e.g., Ding Nai-fei, Chang Hsiao-hung, and P'ing-lu), and the establishment of women's and gender studies programs in universities. Many scholars and media workers, however, still treated feminism with suspicion. The tendency to dilute the critical nature of feminist studies and confuse it with gender studies and the traditional studies on women was evident in the activities and publications of the women and gender studies programs in academic settings.

This tension was most evident in the 1987 conference "Female Intellectuals and the Development of Taiwan Society," organized by *China Forum* in honor of International Women's Day. In response to a paper chronicling the history of Taiwan's feminist movement, most (female) scholars attending the conference denied that such a movement existed. Citing the constitutional guarantee of sexual equality, they argued that the movement was not needed, nor would it be accepted by women. Some asserted that the correct movement strategy for women was not to form a separate women's organization but to join other progressive social movements. They pointed out that the newly founded New Environment Housewives League, which also accepted male members, constituted the ideal model because it won acclaim by improving the environment instead of subverting gender roles or antagonizing the other sex. In that year, the most widely publicized activities of the league were picketing McDonald's for its

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<sup>11</sup> McIntosh gave several talks on women's studies, its methodology, and her phase theory on the development of curriculum during her visits to Taiwan. Her influence was important in affirming the relationship between the feminist movement and women's studies to an audience who had more faith in white, Western scholars than in local "activists." Chow, a visiting scholar from the American University in Washington, D. C., also helped to legitimize a feminist viewpoint by speaking from her own expertise. In 1989 Chen, a professor at Alberta University, Canada, ambitiously launched the *Woman Mankind Semi-Annual*, which translated important feminist works such as *In a Different Voice* and *Revolution Postponed*.

high prices and advocating garbage classification.<sup>12</sup> These scholars insisted that only by making real contributions to society could women gain true respect and recognition.

Feminist scholars, few in number, continued facing discrimination in their struggle for survival in the academic community in the 1980s. To take a feminist stance meant one had to overcome double obstacles (those for a woman and for a feminist) in almost all endeavors, including having papers and newspaper articles published, offering courses, and applying for research grants, most of which were administered by men who had been trained in social science disciplines in the United States during the 1960s. When feminist scholars were invited to participate in mainstream conferences, their work was usually subjected to harsh criticism. For example, psychologist Rhoda Chen was the only woman invited to present a paper on women's issues in the culture and ethics session of the well-publicized "Nongovernmental National Construction Conference" organized in 1989 by influential liberal male scholars and sponsored by a financial tycoon in Taipei. After Chen delivered her empirical study "Domestic Violence and Family Relations," her discussant Chen Chih-nan, an authority on Chinese family and kinship from the Chinese University of Hong Kong, dismissed family violence for being "too womanly [read, trivial]" (*p'o-p'o ma-ma*) to be discussed in an academic conference. In 1992, Chen Yi-ling, a graduate student in urban and rural studies at Taiwan University, applied for a research grant to study the housing problems faced by single mothers in Taipei. The reviewers turned down her application because of the "gender bias" in her project, for she "left out single fathers and single residents." In addition, one of them argued, "What the single mothers need is psychological counseling, so this kind of research should be done by psychology majors."<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, some signs of change began to surface in the late 1980s. In 1988 the Research Program on Gender and Society of National Tsing Hua University hosted the Academic Conference on Gender Roles and Societal Development. Although most of the papers were still quantitative studies within traditional disciplines, some of the researchers began to be more sensitive to women's situations and to reflect upon their own research motivations. Esther Chow, the keynote speaker, instructed researchers to

<sup>12</sup> Ku 1989.

<sup>13</sup> Chang 1992:2-23, esp. 23.

beware of the male bias embedded in Western sociological theories and statistical methods.<sup>14</sup> She suggested combining qualitative and quantitative methods as a way to "reach a complete and thorough understanding of truth." Yu-mei Yu Chao asked herself what the ultimate purpose of her research was and stated her wish for a reciprocal relationship with the women she studied; Chung-cheng Lin admitted in his study on wage and occupational differentials between the sexes that women not only do not get equal pay for equal work, but also suffer from "unexplained differentials within occupations."<sup>15</sup>

In addition, beginning in 1986, at least a few women's or gender studies courses began to be taught in universities through the program of general education. The number of women's studies courses steadily increased over the years, although not all of them incorporated a feminist standpoint. More encouragement came from the fact that female college students began to organize their own study groups on a growing number of campuses.<sup>16</sup> These young women, less burdened by tradition, were keen to build a collective female identity and women's subculture.

## Institutionalization

### *The Asia Foundation and the Women's Research Program*

The Asia Foundation played an important role in promoting democracy and social participation in Taiwan by financing nascent organizations and sponsoring individuals for visits abroad. Both the Pioneer Press and Awakening were recipients of such grants. The Asia Foundation was also the key supporter of the first women's studies conference in 1985. Dr. Sheldon Severinghaus, then its Taipei representative, personally brought together Li Yuan-chen (publisher of *Awakening* and professor of Chinese literature at Tam-kang University) and Nora Chiang (executive secretary of the Population Studies Center and professor of geography at Taiwan University). Awakening assisted Chiang in organizing the conference and compiling the first women's studies bibliography in Taiwan, *Bibliography of Literature on Women in*

<sup>14</sup> Chow 1988, esp. 6-35.

<sup>15</sup> Chao 1988, esp. 71-279; Lin 1988, esp. 221.

<sup>16</sup> Ku 1990.

*Taiwan, 1945–1985*. Also in 1985 I co-authored the English monograph *Past and Current Status of Women in Taiwan* with her.

Although it took some persuasion by Taiwan feminists, the Asia Foundation also funded the formation of the Women's Research Program (WRP), housed in the Population Studies Center at Taiwan University. The initial hope was that its location there would be temporary and that it would eventually develop into an autonomous information center for women. In fact, the organization became increasingly "academic" and decreasingly responsive to the feminist movement. The stated goals of the WRP were reworded several times from the original "to raise interest in local women's studies and to collect, categorize, and exchange women's information locally and internationally," first becoming "to promote the status of women's studies in the academic community...to develop collaborative research and exchange information with women's studies scholars and institutes abroad" and then "to promote studies on women and gender in the academic community...to promote the direction of women's studies and policy making by academic means."<sup>17</sup> The tendency was to put more effort where recognition could be gained in academic circles and from the government than where it was needed by the movement.

Nevertheless, for other scholars the WRP is still "the first establishment of women's studies on a Taiwanese university campus" and "has been successful in serving as a resource center for women in northern Taiwan."<sup>18</sup> In the past decade, it has organized workshops and conferences and offered seed grants to young scholars. Its library has an extensive collection of locally produced research on women, and its quarterly *Bulletin of the Women's Research Program* disseminates information on international women's studies organizations and conferences. The WRP has also published monographs, occasional papers, and the *Directory of Gender Studies Scholars in Taiwan* (1994); in 1990 it started the *Journal of Women and Gender Studies*. Although refusing to be aligned with the feminist movement, it has fulfilled the role of an active resource center.

The WRP is still housed in the Population Studies Center, although not officially part of Taiwan University despite all the

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<sup>17</sup> Ai-ni Chen 1985; *Bulletin of the Women's Research Program* 1985:29; Chinese pamphlet of the WRP, 1991.

<sup>18</sup> Hsiao-chin Hsieh 1993, esp. 8.

past efforts to have it integrated. After the Asia Foundation stopped its initial funding, the program survived on income from its various projects, as is often the case with other research programs in Taiwan. Its three coordinators all have been female faculty members at Taiwan University. Hu Yow-hwey, its acting coordinator for the fall semester of 1994, told me in an interview that many of the program's scholars had begun to adopt a feminist perspective in their research in recent years but that the decision to become an activist remained a personal choice.<sup>19</sup>

*The Research Program on Gender and Society.* In 1989, Chou Bih-erh, one of the researchers at the WRP, left to start the Research Program on Gender and Society (RPGS) at the newly formed College of Humanities and Social Sciences at National Tsing Hua University. Initially funded by the college and the Asia Foundation, the program aimed to develop systematic courses and coordinate interdisciplinary research on women, gender, society, and culture (English pamphlet of the RPGS). Unlike the WRP, which is not officially part of Taiwan University and includes researchers from other campuses, the RPGS has been a regular program of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences but not of Tsing Hua University as a whole. All of the RPGS members, initially seven women and eleven men, are faculty of the same college. In the 1993 conference "Gender Studies Courses within the University-level General Education Programs" sponsored by the Ministry of Education, two of the RPGS male members explained that naming the program gender studies was intended to "bring the man back in" and to reduce male anxiety over being left out in women's studies.<sup>20</sup>

The RPGS has concentrated its activities on the campus of Tsing Hua: offering gender-related courses through its members' home departments; holding discussions, seminars, and conferences; and participating in other campus activities. The National Science Council sponsored the RPGS's integrated research project "Gender and Society" in 1989 and "The Cultural Construction of Gender" in 1992.<sup>21</sup>

Like the WRP, the RPGS received its funding from the Asia Foundation only for the first three years. After 1992 it had to share its college funding and membership loyalty with other new

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<sup>19</sup> Telephone interview with Hu, December 28, 1994.

<sup>20</sup> Soong and Chang 1993, esp. 68.

<sup>21</sup> Hsiao-chin Hsieh 1993:9.

programs within the college. Consequently the responsibilities of fund-raising and activity planning fall mainly on the shoulders of the coordinator, who is elected every two years. Two coordinators have been men.

*Center for Research on Gender.* Vincent Hsieh, a young male psychologist, founded the Center for Research on Gender (CRG) at Kaohsiung Medical College in 1992. Ever since the CRG's establishment, Hsieh has been its director, and his wife, director of the counseling center of a neighboring junior college, its chief executive.

Initially funded also by the Asia Foundation, the CRG has been active in soliciting grants from government agencies, organizing workshops and lecture series, and sponsoring collaborative research projects. Because he occupies an institutional position, Vincent Hsieh has been invited to present papers at most local conferences pertaining to gender, education, psychology, and health.

*Research Project on Women in Modern Chinese History.* In 1992 the Institute of Modern Chinese History at Academia Sinica launched a long-term research project on Women in Modern Chinese History (WMCH). It is funded by the Chiang Ching-kuo International Academic Exchange Foundation. For the first three years, the WMCH aimed at collecting research materials, archives, and catalogues of modern Chinese and Taiwanese women's history, holding seminars, and publishing the annual *Research on Women in Modern Chinese History*. In the next three to six years, the WMCH plans to organize an international conference on Women in Modern Chinese History.

### *Major Debates*

For years following 1987, the major issues of debate centered on the positioning of women's studies in Taiwan society, the value of gender neutrality in women's studies research, and the relationship between women's studies and the feminist movement.

Women's studies was readily accepted by female social scientists in Taiwan and even hailed as a new territory early in 1985, but its historical roots in the feminist movement and association with feminism were strictly rejected by the same people. Even after the feminist community pushed for the establishment of the first women's studies institute, the few women occupying institutional positions denied the link between feminism and "scholarship."<sup>22</sup> Because the research programs attached to universities

<sup>22</sup> See Chou and Chiang 1988, Yuan-chen Li 1991:7-9.

have much easier access than individual scholars to academic and government resources and are the official authority on women's issues, they demonstrated little intention to change the status quo. The theoretical debates were generated by feminist scholars outside these programs who, discontented with the complacency, attempted to establish the bond between feminism and women's studies. Except when under pressure to respond, the mainstream scholars usually disregarded the challenges.

Chou and Chiang of the WRP were the first to use "objectivity" and "neutrality" as academic standards to distinguish themselves from "emotional" feminists. In a conference on social movements in Taiwan, Chou and Chiang twice emphasized the "neutral and objective" nature of women's studies and dismissed the bond Li Yuan-chen expected to forge between research and an activist movement. In the following conference Li openly challenged the WRP to give up their "neutral and objective" stance to bring new stimuli and dimensions to research on women. "Holding on to the quantitative methodology," stated Li, "can only perpetuate the repression imposed on minority groups." She posited a dialectical relationship between the subject and object of research.<sup>23</sup> Chou brought up the standard of neutrality again in the discussion session of the 1990 conference on Women and Health organized by the WRP. Liu Chung-tung, the paper presenter, replied that she "strives at comparative objectivity, i.e., when everyone is given the opportunity to present her subjective views we could reach relative objectivity." She admitted that neutrality had been problematic for her.<sup>24</sup>

The debate about women's studies research and "neutrality" exploded yet again at a conference on Psychology and Contemporary Life organized in July 1991 by Vincent Hsieh at the Kaohsiung Medical School. The conference included the panel discussions "Women's and Gender Studies: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" and "Promoting Gender Studies in Southern Taiwan." Hsieh invited Nora Chiang and Chang Chueh of the WRP and Chou Bih-erh of the RPGS to be the guest speakers.<sup>25</sup> Feeling that the audience in southern Taiwan should not be misguided in their first encounter with women's studies, Li Yuan-chen flew down to Kaohsiung at her own expense to open up a debate on the

<sup>23</sup> Chou and Chiang 1988, Yuan-chen Li 1989.

<sup>24</sup> Women's Research Program 1990b:172.

<sup>25</sup> Vincent Hsieh 1992:37.

definition of women's studies. At the conference, Chang still insisted that women's studies should be "objective and neutral"; Chiang wanted to exempt patriarchy from being held responsible for women's problems; and Chou advocated ideology-free research.<sup>26</sup> Li jumped from the audience to challenge their views. She argued that

women's studies should be built from the perspective of women and be critical of the dominant male bias in traditional fields. A scholar should assume a neutral and objective attitude in trying to examine her research data, in presenting her perspective, and in being aware of the limitations of her theories and methodology. ... There is no so-called "neutral and objective" theory and methodology in the twentieth century. Based on critical self-examination, women's studies is the academic field that develops feminist theories and methodologies. Without the foundation of feminism, women's studies won't exist. Without challenging male dominance, women's studies neither offers new perspectives of research nor makes contribution to scholarship, because women have already been studied from male perspective before women's studies came into being. The same should be true for gender studies.... It would be a waste of tax money if gender studies institutes are set up merely to repeat and reinforce traditional views.<sup>27</sup>

With little time for serious discussion, the chairperson of that session quickly drew a conclusion that men and women should try to "live together harmoniously and understand each other's heart."<sup>28</sup> Li was criticized by some in the audience for having no scholarly manners and being too emotional.

The relationship between women's studies and the feminist movement was another arena of conflict. It was most openly and explicitly debated when Hwang Shu-ling (a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Wisconsin and visiting researcher at the RPGS) contributed an article to *Awakening* criticizing women's studies scholars in Taiwan for betraying the cause of women's studies by trying to separate it from feminism and the feminist movement. Hwang observed that they borrowed the label women's studies from the West and then infused it with anything connected with women, children, sex, or even counseling and cosmetology.<sup>29</sup> The

<sup>26</sup> *Min-chung Daily* 1991.

<sup>27</sup> Yuan-chen Li 1991: 9.

<sup>28</sup> *Min-chung Daily* 1991.

<sup>29</sup> Hwang 1991: 2-3.

same issue of *Awakening* included an essay I authored providing historical data, as well as an essay by Li Yuan-chen.<sup>30</sup> The entire issue was reprinted in two newspapers, provoking debate within the local women's studies and social studies communities.

Responding to the intensity of debate, *Awakening* organized a roundtable discussion about women's studies in Taiwan, held in December 1991, which included speakers from *Awakening*, the WRP, and the RPGS. Chang Chueh, new coordinator of the WRP, illustrated the relationship of women's studies, feminism, and the women's movement with three circular regions that were only partially overlapping. She argued that women's studies scholars should be free to do research on women or from women's perspective. They could try to add new theories to existing ones in explaining phenomena concerning women, but these new theories did not need to be feminist in nature. Women's studies scholars could supply activists with their research data, but they did not have to be feminists themselves.

It was pointed out that historically, the feminist movement had created the social need for women's studies. In both Chinese and Western histories, it was argued, one could find insightful individuals critiquing the social construction of gender, but their views were ignored. Women's studies was created by the feminist movement. To assume the "objective and neutral" attitude and pursue "the collective interest" in a male-dominated society differed little from taking the male standpoint and upholding the male interest. Doing research on women in this manner had a good chance to earn grants for researchers, but it served to consolidate the system that oppressed women.

Hwang Yu-hsiu tried to explain why many female scholars were reluctant to commit themselves to feminism. First, she pointed out, women's studies was imported from the West; most women's studies scholars received advanced education abroad and were thereby cut off from their roots at home. Consequently, they became alienated from local women and society. Second, women's studies scholars, few in number to begin with, were scattered in individual disciplines and had to survive in male-dominated academia on their own merits. To win approval from their male colleagues, they tended to avoid offending the latter by refraining from using feminist analysis. Such self-repression, however, sometimes confused their own reasoning, and they them-

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<sup>30</sup> *Awakening*, August 1991.

selves could become unconsciously repressive. Were women's studies not built upon women's point of view, she argued, it would have no roots, no strength, and no influence as an academic field, and therefore it would win neither respect nor recognition. She concluded that trying to speak in fathers' and brothers' tongues and looking down upon mothers (feminism) and sisters (the feminist movement) was a cognitive as well as strategic mistake, and she therefore proposed mutual support among women to gain strength for the movement.

One result of this encounter was that the WRP began to hold a series of lunch-time discussions on the "local feminist movement" and "indigenizing women's studies." Hu also responded positively to feminists' criticism of "objective" social research being used by the ruling apparatus to repress women.<sup>31</sup> The challenges global feminist scholars made within and without traditional academic disciplines helped greatly in creating space for local feminism. Nora Chiang, after being promoted to the chair of the Department of Geography and director of the Population Studies Center, recognized the influence of the feminist movement on geographical studies, and, when referring to new developments in geography, used terms like "patriarchy" and "female subordination."<sup>32</sup> In 1995, as the acting coordinator of the WRP, Hu proposed an action research workshop to the director of social affairs of Taipei City to remedy traditional social studies methodology, which excluded the participation of the researched.<sup>33</sup> Hu and Chiang are but two examples of women academics in Taiwan who openly changed their attitudes toward feminism.

### The Third Wave (1993–)

Women's issues received much media attention in Taiwan in the early 1990s as the women's movement organized demonstrations, press conferences, public hearings, and signature campaigns. Awakening's lawyers drafted the Equal Employment Bill, which, endorsed by thirty-nine legislators, was introduced into the legislature in 1990. Beginning in 1993, Awakening together with the Warm Life Association, a group of divorced women, advocated

<sup>31</sup> Yow-hwey Hu 1992a: 1, 1992b: 7–8, esp. 3.

<sup>32</sup> Chiang 1993: 2–4, esp. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Audio tape-recording of Chen Jyu, new director of social affairs of Taipei City, meeting women's groups on January 7, 1995.

the revision of the Family Law and held public hearings all over the island. Such activism opened up new topics for research. The Council of Labor Affairs, prompted by the mounting pressure, held a series of seminars on the welfare and training of female laborers. It also sponsored the WRP and the Sociology and Anthropology Institute (chaired by Chou Bih-erh) of Tsing Hua University to organize conferences on the Equal Employment Bill in 1991 and 1994. Other conferences in the early 1990s included "Female Literature" (1992) by the Young Chinese Writers' Association and *China Times*; "Women's Political Participation" (1993) by the Central Women's Committee of the ruling Nationalist Party (KMT); "Women's Policy" (1994) by the opposition Democratic and Progressive Party (DPP); "Women and Gender Education" (1993) sponsored by the Ministry of Education and organized by the Center for Adult Education of Chung-cheng University and the WRP; "Gender Education in the General Educational Curriculum" (1993) sponsored by the Ministry of Education and organized by the WRP; and "Women and the Mass Media" (1994) by the Institute of Journalism at Taiwan University. In the conference "Women and the Mass Media," feminist discourse was already an undisputed mode of analysis. Among the sixteen papers presented, at least eleven tried to incorporate a feminist perspective or were sensitive to the patriarchal construction of gender.

#### *Feminist Studies Association*

In the late 1980s, when women's studies was becoming a prominent new field of study, feminist and sexist (upholding sex-role stereotyping) gender analyses were curiously mixed under the common denominator "women."<sup>34</sup> To preserve a separate space for feminist discourse, the Awakening Foundation (registered in 1987) established the Feminist Studies Center in 1990. Even among Awakening members, the naming of the center (feminist vs. gender) was a source of entangled debate. In 1993, in an effort to recruit female scholars who might be reluctant to be identified with an activist group, the center developed into the independent Feminist Studies Association (FSA).

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<sup>34</sup> Sensitive to market change, publishers and magazines were anxious to sell new "feminist" products, some of which were blatantly anti-feminist or misogynist. *Collection of Feminist Criticism* (edited by Tze in 1988) is a typical example of the mixture of feminist and sexist works.

Openly claiming to be the academic arm of the feminist movement, the FSA draws its members primarily from female faculty. To maintain its mobility and minimize the maintenance cost, the FSA chooses to remain an unregistered, unofficial group, occupying no office space and operating on a small collection of membership fees. Promising no financial benefit or institutional support to its members, the FSA seeks to promote feminism on campuses, to articulate feminist perspectives on social issues and women's rights, and to provide a network for emotional support and information exchange among feminist scholars.<sup>35</sup>

The FSA has been active since its inception. The academic positions of its members endowed the FSA with a media privilege not enjoyed by other women's groups. Yet its unofficial status and commitment to a social movement alienated such grant-dispensing agencies as the National State Council and the Ministry of Education. Such a position also distinguished the FSA from all other women's and gender studies institutes established in the previous decade.

The first collective action the FSA took was to reform the gendered university curriculum of requiring men to take military education and women to take nursing courses. Strongly criticizing the gender stereotypes these courses reproduced, the FSA proposed to the Ministry of Education and testified in the legislature that both courses be made elective and open to students of either sex, and their contents revised to eliminate gender bias. Following this proposal, students on a number of campuses campaigned for the removal of the requirements. As of 1995 only the Faculty Council of Taiwan University had passed this motion. The other major effort undertaken by the FSA concerned preventing sexual harassment on college campuses, an issue brought to public attention in March 1994 when a female student at Taiwan Normal University accused a professor of having repeatedly raped her.

## Conclusion

Feminists throughout the world share the same conviction that the world could be different and that alternatives are viable to the historically created male-dominated structures and value systems. By doing women's studies, we try to clarify what we oppose, set

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<sup>35</sup> Yu 1993:23.

the groundwork for creating a vision for the future, and develop strategies for change.

In the process of making our visions come true, however, we have to work under the constraints set by the present power relationships we wish to change and with those people motivated by different goals. A great deal of agony and confusion experienced in the Taiwan women's studies community derives from the fact that our women's studies came before there was a strong feminist community. When the label of women's studies was imported, but its history, vision, and rebellious spirit were left behind, it could be easily reduced to a personal vehicle of career advancement. It took ten years to rebuild the link between feminism and women's studies in Taiwan, thanks to the vigorous growth of women's studies abroad and the efforts made by local feminist groups. But the bond is not yet consolidated, and new challenges lie ahead.

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## Women's Studies Research Centers, Publications, and Scholars in Taiwan

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### Research Centers

#### *The Awakening Foundation (Funü xinzhi)*

The foundation is a privately funded women's organization that serves as a voice and advocate for women's issues. It publishes a monthly magazine (*Awakening*), sponsors the publication of books about women's issues and gender relations (recently, for instance, subsidizing an elegantly printed monograph on the "women's writing" (*nüshu*) that has been the subject of much research in the PRC),<sup>1</sup> gives press conferences and has a speakers' bureau, and offers training programs to people interested in working on women's issues. Originally centered in Taipei, it has recently established local chapters in Xinzhu and Gaoxiong and has expanded its activities to include participation in political campaigns. *Awakening* has also encouraged the formation of feminist clubs (*nüxing she*) on university campuses.

#### *Women's Research Program (Funü yanjiu she)*

Located in the Population Studies Center (Renkou yanjiu zhongxin) on the campus of National Taiwan University, this tiny program is currently directed by Chang Chüeh, associate professor in the university's Institute of Public Health. The WRP's library is packed with materials (including materials in English) published in Taiwan and obtained through exchanges with women's studies programs in the PRC, Hong Kong, and Korea. The collection of

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<sup>1</sup> Kao Yin-hsien and Yi Nien-hwa, *The Women's Script*, trans. Kung Che-ping (Taipei: Awakening, 1992).

master's and other theses on women written in Taiwan is invaluable. The program publishes a monthly bulletin, *Funü yanjiu tongxun*.

*Research Program on Gender and Society (Liangxing yu shehui yanjiu shi)*

This program is sponsored by the Graduate Program of Sociology and Anthropology at National Tsing Hua University and is housed in the College of the Humanities and Social Sciences. Its faculty coordinator directs a program staffed by seventeen other faculty members in the departments of sociology, anthropology, psychology, history, and literature. Research and teaching in the program focus on four areas: gender, family, and labor markets; women and development; feminist and gender theory; and women in history and literature. The program publishes occasional papers and sponsors seminars and workshops on gender issues. It also encourages research in transnational or cross-cultural perspectives.

*Research Project on Modern Chinese Women's History (Zhongguo funü jindai lishi yanjiu jihua)*

This three-year project, funded by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, is sponsored by the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica. The project includes a substantial research component, commencing with a major new monograph on foot binding; a path-breaking archival and bibliography project that aims to collect, reproduce where necessary, and compile bibliographies for all the extant secondary literature on the history of women in modern China; and a human resource database providing names, institutional affiliation, and research interests of scholars worldwide engaged in studies of women in modern Chinese history. The first issue of the project's annual journal, *Jindai Zhongguo funüshi yanjiu* (Studies of women in modern Chinese history), appeared in June 1993.

## Journals and Magazines

### *Academic Publications*

There are two academic journals that focus exclusively on women's studies:

- \* *Funü yu liangxing xuekan* (Journal of women and gender studies), published by Women's Research Program, Population Studies Center, National Taiwan University since January 1990.

Contains papers in Chinese and English presenting international perspectives on women.

- \* *Funü yanjiu tongxun* (Bulletin of the Women's Research Program), published by the Women's Research Program, Population Studies Center, National Taiwan University.

Academic publications concerning Chinese women can most frequently be found in the professional journals for fields in the humanities and social sciences. Examples include the following:

1. Journals, working papers, and collections published by various institutes of the Academia Sinica, Nankang, Taipei, especially those published by the Institutes of Ethnology, Social Sciences and Philosophy, Economics, and Modern Chinese History. These include the following:

- \* *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jingji lunwen* (Academia economic papers), published by the Institute of Economics;
- \* *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan sanminzhuyi yanjiusuo congkan* (Collection from Research Institute of the Three Principles of the People) and
- \* *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan sanminzhuyi yanjiusuo zhuanxi xuankan* (Selection of special topics from the Research Institute of the Three Principles of the People), both published by Sun Yat-sen Institute for Social Sciences and Philosophy, previously known as Institute of the Three Principles of the People;
- \* *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan minzuxue yanjiusuo jikan* (Collected papers of the Institute of Ethnology);
- \* *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan minzuxue yanjiusuo zhuanxi* (Special issues of the Institute of Ethnology);
- \* *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan minzuxue yanjiusuo zhuanxi yizhong* (Collected special issues of the Institute of Ethnology);
- \* *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* (Collected papers of the Institute of History and Philology);
- \* *Guojia kexue weiyuanhui yanjiu huikan: Renwen ji shehui kexue* (Proceedings of the National Science Council, Republic of China, Part C: Humanities and social sciences), published semi-annually by the National Science Council, ROC.

2. Journals published by departments of universities in Taiwan, such as

- \* *Jingji lunwen congkan* (Taiwan economic review), published by the Department of Economics, National Taiwan University;
- \* *Donghai xuebao* (Academic journal) (Tunghai University);
- \* *Zhengda lishi xuebao* (Academic journal of history) (National Chengchi University);

- \* *Qinghua xuebao* (Academic journal) (National Tsing Hua University);
- \* *Shida lishi xuebao* (Academic journal of history) (National Teachers University);
- \* *Taida kaogu renleixuekan* (Academic journal of archaeological anthropology) (National Taiwan University);
- \* *Renkou xuekan* (Journal of population studies) (Population Studies Center, National Taiwan University).

3. Journals published by academic associations in the humanities and social sciences, including

- \* *Zhongguo shehuixuekan* (Chinese journal of sociology);
- \* *Zhongguo minzuxue tongxun* (Bulletin of Chinese ethnology).

4. Academic journals published outside of formal academic institutions, such as

- \* *Taiwan shehui yanjiu jikan* (Taiwan: A radical quarterly in social studies), published by a group of Western-trained academics and radical intellectuals. The March 1993 issue of the journal is a special issue on women's studies in Taiwan.
- \* *Si yu yan* (Thought and words: Journal of the humanities and social sciences), an academic journal of humanities and social sciences financed by membership fees. Membership is open to anyone with an academic affiliation, from undergraduate students to university professors.

5. Collections or papers from special conferences on women's issues, such as

- \* *Funü yanjiu shuqi yanxihui lunwenji* (Papers from the Summer Workshop on Women's Studies), sponsored by the Women's Research Program, Population Studies Center, National Taiwan University, 1988;
- \* *Dangjin funü jiaose yu diwei yantaohui* (Conference on women's role and position in contemporary society), sponsored by Zonta, a women's organization composed of well-established businesswomen and female professionals, 1989;
- \* *Funü zai guojia fazhan guochengzhong de jiaose yantaohui lunwenji* (Papers from the Conference on Women's Roles in National Development), sponsored by the Women's Research Program, Population Studies Center, National Taiwan University, and *China Tribune* magazine, 1985;
- \* *Xingbie jiaose yu shehui fazhan xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* (Papers of Conference on Sex Roles and Social Development), sponsored by the Women's Research Program, Population Studies Center, National Taiwan University, and the Institute of

Sociology and Anthropology, National Tsing Hua University, 1989;

- \* *Nüxing zhishi fenzi yu Taiwan fazhan* (Papers of Conference on Female Intellectuals and Development in Taiwan), sponsored by *China Tribune* magazine, 1989.

#### *Nonacademic Publications*

In addition to mainstream academic publications, there are several other types of publications focusing on women in general, and on women of Taiwan in particular.

1. Journals or magazines published by women's organizations of different orientations, often in connection with a particular social movement. Articles found in these publications are often issue-oriented or appear in response to particular events. In addition, each of these publications represents a distinctive viewpoint with respect to women's issues and the direction of the women's movement. Examples include

- \* *Awakening* (*Funü xinzhì*). Taiwan's earliest feminist magazine; the first issue appeared in 1982. *Awakening* was designed to be a consciousness-raising magazine. It covers a broad range of practical issues (social, economic, political, and legal) facing women, such as child care, the domestic division of labor, abortion, prostitution, women's labor unions, and sexual harassment. Valuable firsthand reports on women's working conditions, living experiences, etc., often can be found in these articles.
- \* *Xinnüsheng* (New women's voice) is published by the Women's Studies Club of National Taiwan University, one among a few feminist student organizations founded in the late 1980s. Most of the articles are written by and for university students. It focuses on cultural criticism of the patriarchal system in Taiwan. Chinese translations of contemporary Western feminist theoretical works comprise a significant proportion of these articles. Some other women's studies groups in colleges also publish newsletters.
- \* *Woman Mankind* (*Nüxingren*) (semiannual) began publication in February 1989. This feminist magazine was founded by two Western-trained feminists, Yu-shih Chen (Chen Youshi) and Li Ang. It consists of translations and introduction of Western feminist theories, cultural criticism, literary works, and social commentaries. The *W.M. Semi-Annual* is more theory-oriented than *Awakening* (which tends to focus on topics of current

relevance to women in politics, economy, and society) and devotes more articles to the critical analysis of patriarchy in literature and culture.

2. Magazines focusing on social work and social problems. Because women are seen as weak, vulnerable, and easily victimized, articles on women often dominate this type of magazine. Family violence and rape are common topics. The most frequently cited periodicals of this type are

- \* *Zhang laoshi yuekan* (Teacher Zhang monthly);
- \* *Fudao yuekan* (Guidance monthly);
- \* *Fudao xuebao* (Journal of counseling).

3. "Commercial" or "mainstream" women's magazines. Many of these magazines combine articles for working women, articles about fashion, and other columns and features common in women's magazines in the United States. Such magazines rarely publish research. However, they provide rich primary source materials for studies of popular culture and social values. Major publications in this category are

- \* *Funü yu jiating* (Woman ABC);
- \* *Funü zazhi* (The woman);
- \* *Funü shijie* (Women's world);
- \* *Nüxing* (Mademoiselle);
- \* *Funü yuekan* (Women's monthly). See also the following fashion magazines: *Dai* (Diana); *Furongfang* (Phoebe); *Moli* (Jasmine); *Meili jiaren* (Marie Claire).

4. Publications of the Fulianhui, the women's organization formed and sponsored by the Nationalist government and the Nationalist Party (KMT). Until the four-decade restriction on the formation of voluntary organizations (according to the law, during the past forty years only one voluntary organization of each kind was permitted in Taiwan: for example, one women's organization, one labor organization, etc.) was lifted in the late 1980s, the Fulianhui (the full name is Zhonghua funü fangong lianhehui) was the only legal women's organization in Taiwan. Since the president and major leaders of Fulianhui are usually wives of KMT high-ranking officials, the publications of the Fulianhui provide abundant primary source materials on the women's policy of the Nationalist government and the KMT, including materials showing how the KMT mobilized women in China and women in Taiwan for various political ends in different historical periods.

5. General magazines that feature reviews and commentaries on social and cultural issues sometimes have special sections on particular women's issues. Many articles in these magazines are written by scholars in formal research institutes and professors in universities, and they often contain useful secondary sources and/or present new research findings, even though the format is not academic. Magazines with such features include

- \* *Zhongguo luntan* (China tribune): social, political, cultural, and historical articles;
- \* *Lishi yuekan* (Historical monthly): academic essays on special topics in history;
- \* *Dangdai* (Contemporary): cultural criticism, political discourse, contemporary thought;
- \* *Xiachao* (China tide review): seen as a magazine representing the left's theoretical arguments;
- \* *Si yu yan* (Thought and speech);
- \* *Taiwan shehui yanjiu jikan* (Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies);
- \* *Renjian* (People): published by a famous Taiwanese novelist and leftist, Chen Yingzhen. Lavishly illustrated with photographs, this magazine emphasizes daily life experiences and features stories about groups and individuals who are disadvantaged or suffer discrimination in the larger society. It includes firsthand reports on women's issues such as the prostitution industry. These reports are often valuable because materials on such topics are difficult to obtain, sometimes appearing only in church organizations' publications. The style of the stories lies somewhere between anthropological fieldwork and newspaper special reports, except that the stories often include strong value judgments. Financial difficulties caused the journal to cease publication in 1991.

### Fields and Subfields of Research

Studies of Chinese women published in Taiwan tend to be concentrated in certain areas. With some notable exceptions (e.g., the newly emerging women's studies programs), most are done within the framework of established academic disciplines.

1. *Demography*. Since the family-planning program and the birth-rate control in Taiwan during the past few decades have gained international attention, a large proportion of research on women in Taiwan is done on related topics, such as fertility rates,

fertility behavior, the effects of various factors on women's fertility, conception and abortion (as a family planning practice only), female migration, sex-specific mortality rates, age at marriage, sex ratios at birth, etc. Demographers also are studying the issue of abortion, focusing on its legal ramifications.

2. *Labor market research.* Rapid industrialization and its effects on women's roles are also key topics in studies of women in Taiwan. Normally, in these studies, problems are addressed at a macro level: hence women appear as the "female labor force" or as a "reserve army" of labor, instead of as individual workers. Typical topics in this field are industrialization and participation of women in the labor force, supply and demand in the female labor force, determinants of female labor market behavior, married women's labor market reentry, etc. There are some studies of wage inequality and of sex discrimination and stratification, most written by economists. Research on micro-level issues includes studies of job satisfaction, the perception of work, and occupational decision making by women. Most of the latter studies are done by psychologists and sociologists.

3. *Family and marriage research.* This field probably accounts for the largest number of studies of women published in Taiwan. Major subfields are child rearing, parent-child relationships, family and education (e.g., the effects of family socioeconomic status and parents' education on children's education), adjustments made by dual-career women, juvenile delinquency, family structure, marriage customs and rituals. Topics like "little daughters-in-law" and "the single-parent family" also make up a small section of this field. By contrast with comparable studies in the United States, few focus on divorce. Those few works on divorce that are published examine issues of concern to social workers, such as the adjustment of divorced women or the effect of divorce on children.

4. *Research on sex roles and self-image.* Most of these studies are traditional psychological analyses of sex-role formation, self-concept, cognitive process, stereotypes, achievement motivation, and vocational interests of males and females. Another important research topic in this field is women's role in a "modern" society where traditional values still persist.

5. *Research on health care.* Most is carried out by researchers in medical science or public health. Common topics are maternity care, menstruation-related problems, mental health, and the relationship between nurses and patients. By contrast with the United

States, there are virtually no studies of physical fitness or weight consciousness.

Whereas research on some topics in some disciplines is abundant, other fields or subfields of research on women remain neglected. For example, in political science, research on women almost exclusively concerns women's political participation. In fact, women's political participation as a topic is often double-counted in Taiwan bibliographies of women's studies, being classified both as political science and as history. Studies of women in the field of history may also deal with issues such as the development of female education in China (in the Qing and Republican periods) and Taiwan (in the Japanese colonial era) and the first wave of the women's movement and its relationship to other national movements.

Literary studies of gender-related issues in Taiwan have developed in recent years, but the scale and quantity are far less than can be found in Western counterparts. These studies appear mainly in literary magazines such as *Zhongwai wenxue*, *Lianhe wenxue*, *Wenxing*, and *Dangdai* instead of academic journals.

### Individual Researchers

The authors listed here meet at least one of the following three criteria: (1) they have worked intensively on and produced a significant amount of information concerning a specific topic or field [Note: this does not mean that the author's work is well researched; it merely means that his or her work may prove basic as one becomes acquainted with a particular field]; (2) they have done excellent research on a topic, although the quantity of research may not be great (e.g., a scholar who has produced only one or two important articles); (3) they have done pioneering work in a less-developed field, so that neither the quality nor the quantity of the work can be judged at the present time.

- \* Qingxi Zhang (Ching-hsi Chang) and Yingchuan Liu (Yingchuan Liu) (economists): female labor force participation. Department of Economics, National Taiwan University.
- \* Tianwang Cao (Tian-wang Tsaur), Jingchang Lai (Ching-chong Lai), and Zhongzheng Lin (Chung-cheng Lin) (economists): wage inequality. Research Fellows, Sun Yat-sen Institute for Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academic Sinica.
- \* Yuxia Lü (Yu-Tsia Lu) (sociologist): women's informal employ-

- ment. Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.
- \* Liang Shuang-lian: political participation. Department of Political Science, Taiwan University.
  - \* Chen Whei-hsin: legal studies. School of Law, Cheng-chih University.
  - \* Shuling Cai (Shu-ling Tsai) (sociologist): sexual stratification and unequal opportunity determined by sex. Research Fellow, Sun Yat-sen Institute for Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academia Sinica.
  - \* Taili Hu (Tai-li Hu) (anthropologist): village women in Taiwan; marriage in the village; and veteran-mainlanders (a subgroup of mainlanders) in Taiwan, their marriage patterns and sexual relationships with other ethnic group members. Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnology, Academic Sinica.
  - \* Wenxing Wu (historian): education and the foot-unbinding movement in the Japanese colonial era.
  - \* Demographers
    - Dexiong Sun (fertility, family planning).
    - Shaoxing Chen (fertility).
    - Dongming Li (contraception, fertility, family planning, migration).
  - \* Public health
    - Qiandai Jiang (family planning).
    - Yuhui Hu (marital status and mortality).
    - Yumei Yu (health care).
  - \* Sociology of family
    - Shugui Gao: family structure and relationship, working women. Sociology Department, National Taiwan University.
    - Qingchun Yi (Ching-Chun Yi): working mothers, child rearing. Sun Yat-sen Institute for Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academia Sinica.
  - \* Bier Zhou (Bih-er Chou): women and development. Institute of Sociology and Anthropology, National Tsing Hua University.
  - \* Xiaoqin Xie (Hsiao-chin Hsieh): gender and education. General Education Center, National Tsing Hua University.
  - \* Fusan Huang: female factory workers. Department of History, National Taiwan University.
  - \* Meizhi Li (psychologist): sex roles.

- \* Rhoda Chen (Ruo-chang Chen): marital violence, wife beating in Taiwan. General Education, Tsing Hua University.
- \* Lanhong Jiang (Lan-hung Nora Chiang): urban migration. Department of Geography, National Taiwan University.
- \* Women studies/women's movement:
  - Yanling Zhou.
  - Yanling Gu (Yenlin Ku). General Education Center, National Jiao Tung University.
- \* Feminist theory/cultural criticism:
  - Yuxiu Huang (Yu-hsiou Huang). Department of Foreign Languages, National Tsing-hua University.
  - Xiaohong Zhang. Department of Foreign Languages and Literature, National Taiwan University.

## Bibliographic Guides

The limited bibliographic listings and indices in this guide are merely a starting point for more extensive searching in the rapidly expanding field of publications on women and gender in Chinese history and society. Recently published comprehensive bibliographies on Chinese women and women's history facilitate access to this growing body of literature. Readers should consult the following works.

*Haineiwai tushuguan shouzang youguan funü yanjiu Zhongwen qikan lianhe mulu* 海內外圖書館收藏有關婦女研究中文期刊聯合目錄 (International union list of Chinese journals relating to women). Taipei, Taiwan: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1995.

*Jindai Zhongguo funü shi Riwen ziliao mulu* 近代中國婦女史日文資料目錄 (Women in modern Chinese history: Publications in Japanese). Taipei, Taiwan: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1995.

*Jindai Zhongguo funü shi Zhongwen ziliao mulu* 近代中國婦女史中文資料目錄 (Women in modern Chinese history: Publications in Chinese). Taipei, Taiwan: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1995.

*Jinbainian Zhongguo funü lunzhu zongmu tiyao* 近百年中國婦女論著總目提要 (A bibliographical guide to essays and works on Chinese women in the twentieth century), comp. Zang Jian 臧健 and Dong Naiqiang 董乃強. Beijing: Beifang funü ertong chubanshe, 1996. Includes a table of contents in English.

*Zhonghua funü wenxian conglan* 中華婦女文獻叢藍 (Women's studies in China: A selected bibliography and resource guide, from ancient times to the present), comp. Qi Wenying 齊文穎 et al. Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1995.

In addition to these bibliographies, see the following for materials in English.

*Research on Women in Taiwan*, comp. Women's Research Program, Population Studies Center, National Taiwan University. Taipei, Taiwan: WRP, National Taiwan University, 1992.

*Women in China: Bibliography of Available English Language Materials*, comp. Lucie Cheng, Charlotte Furth, Hon-ming Yip, Hsien-huei Liao, Ya-mei Wang, and Andrew Morris. Taipei, Taiwan: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1996.

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# Topical Index

Note: Individual citations are keyed by record number. Hong Kong is HK.

## *ancient history*

Cao Dawei, 1997 #483; Gao Shiyu, 1997 #482; Li Youning, 1981, 1988 #371; Liu Weimin, 1975 #251; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #260; Zhou Xun, 1988 #102

## *arts*

Dai Jinhua, 1995 #442; Dai Zheng, 1992 #124; Du Fangqin, 1993 #373; Gao Shiyu, 1988 #109; Liu Fangru, 1988 #132; Liu Huating, 1984 #118; Xue Weiwei, 1988 #96; Yin Wei, 1991 #123; Zang Jian, 1992 #61

## *beauty*

Gao Lin, 1994 #381; Kang Zhengguo, 1988 #85; Liu Ming, 1990 #62; Liu Yongcong, 1990 #255; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #260; Liu Yongcong, 1992 #261; Xing Zhikang, 1996 #465.

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## *biography*

Cheng, 1976 #161; Cheng Shuqi, 1995 #361; Du Fangqin, 1993 #373; Guo Licheng, 1989 #128;

Hu Wenkai, 1985 (1957) #107; Huang Yuese, 1988 #222; Huang Yuese 1988 #223; Huang Yuese 1989 #224; Huang Yuese, 1989 #225; Huang Yanli, 1990 #229; Huang Yanli, 1991 #230; Jiang Hongbin, 1987 #111; Jiang Longzhao, 1989, 1992 #121; Liu Huating, 1984 #118; Liu Zhonglu, 1995 #419; Lu Xing'er, 1992 #370; Ma Zhaozheng, 1988 #140; Qi Wenying, 1995 #421; Su Ping, 1990 #137; Wei Guoying, 1995 #428; Wei Yuchuan, 1990 #135; Women's Federation, 1990 #142; Xie Wuliang, 1979 #125; Xue Weiwei, 1988 #96; Yang Buwei, 1967 #127; Yin Dengguo, 1990 #120; Yin Wei, 1991 #123

## *business management*

Chow, 1984 #178; Francesco, 1983 #190; Ho, 1976 #195; Ho, 1981 #196; Ho, 1983 #198; Liang Xiang, 1995 #363; Ting-Chau, 1980 #309; Yang Mianmian, 1995 #367; Zhu Meihua, 1995 #360

## *children*

Bu Chunlin, 1984 #70; Cao Dawei, 1997 #483; Chan, 1984 #156; Chung, 1972 #180; Devoy, 1972 #181; He Yongzhong and Wu Guoju, 1995 #439; Hong Kong, 1970 #179; Hong Kong,

1974 #208; Hong Kong, 1975 #295; Hong Kong, 1976 #294; Hong Kong, 1977 #188; Hong Kong, 1979 #215; Hong Kong, 1982 #212; Hong Kong, 1982 #216; Hong Kong, 1983 #154; Hung, 1985 #231; Keyes, 1979 #234; Keyes, 1983 #236; Lam, #344; Leung, 1979 #244; Leung, 1985 #243; Li Xiaojiang, 1988 #64; Liao Xiuzhen, 1988 #32; Lieh-Mak, 1986 #247; Ou Jiezheng, 1992 #280; Shek, 1987 #289; Tan, 1988 #302; Tang, 1987 #304; Tsoi, 1988 #313; Wang Yujian, 1985 #315; Wong, 1977 #318; Wong, 1981 #319; Wong, 1985 #320; Wong, 1987 #321; Wong, 1987 #322; Xianggang, 1984 #326; Xie Xiaojin (Hsieh Hsiao-chin), 1992 #16; Xiong Bingzhen (Hsiung Ping-chen), 1992 #372; Yang Liwen, 1995 #414; You Jianming, 1992 #53; You Jianming (Yu Chien-ming), 1988 #105; Zhang De, 1991 #59; Zhang Jue (Chang Chueh), 1991 #6; Zhang Qingxi (Chang Ch'ing-hsi), 1983 #5; Zhang Subi, 1988 #58; Zhou Wei, 1995 #402.

*clothing*

Dai Zheng, 1992 #124; Li Xiaojiang, 1988 #64; Liu Huating, 1984 #118; Zheng Yongfu, 1993 #82; Zhou Xun, 1988 #102

*colonialism*

Cheng, 1976 #161; Hoe, 1991 #204; Liang Huijin, 1988 #28; Liang Huijin, 1991 #30; Huang Qiaosheng, 1995 #446; Wu Wenxing, 1982 #50; Wu Wenxing, 1986 #51; You Jianming, 1992 #53; You Jianming (Yu Chien-ming), 1988 #105; Zhang Subi, 1988 #58

*community work*

Chan, 1984 #156; Cheung, 1979 #164; Cheung, 1987 #171; Cheung, 1989 #168; Chung, 1972 #180; Devoy, 1972 #181; Hodge, 1979 #203; Hong Kong, 1975 #295; Hong Kong, 1976 #294; Hong Kong, 1978 #284; Hong Kong, 1979 #215; Hong Xuelian, 1988 #213; Li Mingkun, 1987 #245; Ma, 1987 #267; Tan Shaowei, n.d. #300; Tao Chunfang, 1995 #350; Xianggang shehui funü lianhuì, 1987 #328; Xin funü xiejinhui, 1985 #330; Yau, 1992 #335; Ye Hanming (Yip Hon-ming), 1991 #336; Yuan Li Jiexin, 1988 #339; Zhang Zhiliang and Wei Hui-lan, 1995 #418.

*consciousness*

Cao Ailan, 1989 #3; Chan, 1985 #158; Cheung, 1979 #166; Cheung, 1982 #169; Gu Yanling (Ku Yenlin), 1989 #23; Huang Yanli, 1983 #228; Jiang Lanhong (Chiang Lan-huang [Nora Chiang]), 1986 #91; Jin Yihong, 1991 #65; Leung, 1985 #243; Li Xiaojiang, 1989 #76; Lu Xing'er, 1992 #370; Pan Suiming, 1988 #84; Shi Wenhong, 1989 #291; Wang Yujian, 1985 #315; Xianggang, 1986 #327; Yau, 1992 #335; Yuan Li Jiexin, 1988 #339

*domestic violence*

Chang, 1978 #159; Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1988 #10; Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1988 #11; Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1991 #12; Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1992 #13; Hong Kong, 1981 #189; Hong Kong, 1987 #207; Phillips, 1982 #283; Shi Huiling, 1986 #290; Wu Shimin and Chen Hong, 1995 #434

*drugs*

Ding, 1971 #182; Koo, 1988 #239;  
Lo, 1983 #266; So, 1990 #293

*ecology*

Ngan, 1988 #279; O'Hoy, 1985  
#281; Tang, 1985 #307; Tang,  
1989 #308; Tsoi, 1983 #312

*economic development*

Ao Hengyu, 1982 #150; Bracey,  
1979 #153; Cai Caixiu (Tsai  
Tsae-Show), 1992 #46; Chen  
Peiji, 1995 #357; Chen Shaojun,  
Li Yao, and Liu Xinying, 1995  
#435; Cheng Luxi (Lucie  
Cheng), 1993 #14; Cheung, 1979  
#166; Ding Juan, 1996 #462; Du  
Fangqin, 1993 #114; Guangxi  
Working Committee, 1996 #470;  
He Pikun, 1997 #480; He  
Zhonghua and Qiao Hengrui,  
1996 #478; Ho, 1984 #199; Hu  
Taili (Hu Tai-li), 1986 #19; Jin  
Yihong, 1991 #65; Li Benhua,  
1989 #119; Li Boxi, 1995 #362; Li  
Guoding, 1985 #129; Li Xiaoyun,  
1994 #382; Liu Danhua, 1995  
#352; Liu Xu, 1995 #355; Liu  
Ying, 1995 #356; Liu Yun, Xu  
Xia, and Tong Yufen, 1997 #481;  
Nongjianu Baishitong Press and  
Tianjin Normal University  
Women's Studies Center, 1995  
#395; Peng Yanru, 1995 #441;  
Quanguo fulian chengxiang  
gongzuobu, 1995 #457; Shi Jue-  
min, 1995 #354; Shi Zi, 1995  
#401; Tan Lin and Li Xinjian,  
1995 #403; Tao Chunfang, 1995  
#350; Tianjin Normal University  
Summer Seminar Anthology,  
1993 #374; Tsang, 1982 #311;  
Wang Fulin, Yang Houdi, and  
Yang Fan, 1995 #448; Wang Xin,  
1995 #365; Wang Yujian, 1985  
#315; Wu Junxiong, 1991 #323;  
Yang Shanhua, 1995 #459; Zang  
Jian, 1992 #61; Zhang Guihua  
and Luo Zhaohong, 1996 #469;

Zhao Yan, 1997 #484; Zheng  
Xiaoying, 1995 #429; Zhongguo  
shehui kexueyuan, 1995 #460.

*education*

An Shufen and Geng Shuzhen,  
1995 #451; Ao Hengyu, 1990  
#151; Cai Qinglong (Tsai  
Ching-lung), 1985 #45; Cai Shu-  
ling (Tsai Shu-ling), 1992 #44;  
Cao Dawei, 1997 #483; Cheung,  
1979 #165; Choi, 1993 #177;  
Chow, 1984 #178; He Yong-  
zhong and Wu Guoju, 1995  
#439; Hong Kong, 1975 #295;  
Hong Kong, 1976 #294; Hong  
Kong Observers, 1981 #211;  
Huang Weibo, 1983 #226; Hui  
Zhouhuai, 1990 #87; Jiang Yong-  
ping, 1995 #364; Keyes, 1979  
#234; Keyes, 1983 #236; Lam,  
#344; Leung, 1979 #244; Li Xiao-  
jiang, 1988 #64; Li Xiaojiang,  
1991 #66; Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #74;  
Liang Jun, 1991 #22; Liao  
Xiuzhen, 1988 #32; Liu Jucai,  
1989 #104; Liu Yongcong, 1988  
#253; Liu Yongcong, 1989 #254;  
Liu Yongcong, 1991 #256; Liu  
Yongcong, 1991 #258; Lu Hongji  
(Luk, 1991 #37; Ou Jiezheng, 1992  
#280; Qin Yan and Gao Xiao-  
xian, 1994 #379; Shi Jinbo, Bai  
Bin, and Zhao Liming, 1995  
#385; Sun Shiyue, 1995 #449;  
Tao Chunfang, 1991 #88; Tao  
Fengjuan, 1991 #43; Tsoi, 1983  
#312; Wang Youqin, 1988 #98;  
Wei Yu and Hao Keming, 1995  
#438; Women's Federation, 1992  
#90; Wu Wenxing, 1982 #50; Xie  
Xiaojin (Hsieh Hsiao-chin), 1992  
#16; Xie Zhimin, 1991 #77;  
Xiong Bingzhen (Hsiung Ping-  
chen), 1992 #372; Xiong Yumei,  
1992 #112; Yang Liwen, 1995  
#414; You Jianming, 1992 #53;  
You Jianming (Yu Chien-ming),  
1988 #105; You Li Liling, 1988

#338; Yu Qingtang, 1981 #55; Zhang De, 1991 #59; Zhang Subi, 1988 #58; Zhou Wei, 1995 #402.

*employment*

Ao Hengyu, 1982 #150; Bao Yushu, Zhou Shusen, and Zhao Shufen, 1995, #404; Cai Caixiu (Tsay Tsae-Show), 1992 #46; Cai Qinglong (Tsay Ching-lung), 1985 #45; Cao Qixiao, 1995 #359; Cashmore, 1989 #155; Chen Ciyu, 1991 #4; Chen Peiji, 1995 #357; Cheng Shuqi, 1995 #361; Cheung, 1981 #175; Chow, 1984 #178; Chu Gansheng, 1995 #410; Du Fangqin, 1993 #114; Francesco, 1983 #190; Funü laogong xiehui, 1990 #194; Ho, 1976 #195; Ho, 1981 #196; Ho, 1983 #198; Ho, 1984 #199; Ho, 1984 #200; Ho, 1985 #201; Hong Kong, 1979 #215; Hong Kong, 1981 #189; Hong Kong, 1982 #216; Hong Kong, 1984 #214; Hong Kong, 1992 #210; Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee, 1978 #205; Hong Kong Christian Service, 1982 #206; Hui Zhouhuai, 1990 #87; Jiang Lanhong (Chiang Lan-huang [Nora Chiang]), 1986 #91; Jiang Yongping, 1995 #364; Jin Yihong, 1995 #366; Li Boxi, 1995 #362; Li Jingzhi, 1992-93 #93; Li Xiaojiang, 1988 #64; Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #66; Liang Xiang, 1995 #363; Liu Danhua, 1995 #352; Liu Xu, 1995 #355; Liu Ying, 1995 #356; Liu Yingchuan, 1988 #35; Liu Yingchuan, 1989 #36; Lu Hongji (Luk, 1991 #37; Ng, 1983 #276; Pei Feng, 1987 #97; Quanguo fùlian chengxiang gongzuobu, 1995 #457; Shek, 1987 #289; Shi Juemin, 1995 #354; Tan, 1988 #301; Tan, 1988 #302; Tao Chunfang, 1991 #42;

Tao Chunfang, 1991 #88; Tao Fengjuan, 1991 #43; Tianjin Normal University Summer Seminar Anthology, 1993 #374; Ting-Chau, 1980 #309; Tsang, 1982 #311; Wang Sufang, 1995 #358; Women's Federation, 1992 #90; Wong, 1972 #317; Wong, 1977 #318; Wong, 1981 #319; Wong, 1985 #320; Wong, 1987 #321; Wong, 1987 #322; Wu Junxiong, 1991 #323; Wu Xikang, 1989 #325; Xiong Yumei, 1992 #112; You Lantian, 1995 #353; Zen Shumei, 1987 #57; Zhang Guihua and Luo Zhaohong, 1996 #469; Zhu Chuzhu, 1991 #86; Zhu Meihua, 1995 #360

*ethnic and subethnic minorities*

Bracey, 1979 #153; Hu Taili (Hu Tai-li), 1990 #20; Jiang Longzhao, 1989, 1992 #121; Jin Zhenhe, 1981 #21; Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #66; Li Youning, 1981, 1988 #371; Liu Binxiong, 1988 #34; Liu Weimin, 1968-69 #250; Liu Yun, Xu Xia, and Tong Yufen, 1997 #481; Qiao, 1992 #286; Ruan Changrui, 1989 #133; Sun Xiao, 1988 #100; Wang Fulin, Yang Houdi, and Yang Fan, 1995 #448; Wang Qingshu, 1995 #397; Wu Cunhao, 1986 #106; Zen Shumei, 1987 #57

*ethnicity*

Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #66; Ruan Changrui, 1989 #133; Wu Cunhao, 1986 #106; Zen Shumei, 1987 #57

*family structure*

Bracey, 1979 #153; Cai Caixiu (Tsay Tsae-Show), 1992 #46; Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1991 #12; Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1992 #13; Cheng Shuqi, 1995 #361; Chen Yiyun and Lu Shizhen, 1996 #467; Chinese Academy of Social Sci-

ences, 1992 #89; Chu Gansheng, 1995 #410; Devoy, 1972 #181; Du Fangqin, 1988 #99; Gao Xiaoxian, 1988 #67; Guo Licheng, 1989 #128; Ho, 1984 #199; Hodge, 1973 #202; Hong Kong, 1970 #179; Hong Kong, 1977 #188; Hong Kong, 1982 #216; Hong Kong, 1983 #154; Hu Taili (Hu Tai-li), 1986 #19; Huang Huiming, 1986 #221; Jiang Lanhong (Chiang Lan-huang [Nora Chiang]), 1986 #91; Jin Zhenhe, 1981 #21; Lam, #344; Leung, 1985 #243; Li Guoding, 1985 #129; Li Xiaojiang, 1988 #64; Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #66; Lieh-Mak, 1986 #247; Liu Ming, 1990 #75; Lu Xing'er, 1992 #370; Ma, 1987 #267; MacKay, 1982 #270; Mitchell, 1972 #272; Ng, 1976 #275; Ng, 1978 #274; Ngai, 1990 #277; Pegg, 1986 #282; Pei Feng, 1987 #97; Qiao Jian, 1991 #285; Sha Jicai, 1995 #388; Tao Chunfang, 1991 #88; Wang Jieqing, 1988 #131; Wang Shaoxi, 1995 #409; Women's Federation, 1992 #90; Wong, 1972 #317; Wong, 1977 #318; Wong, 1981 #319; Wong, 1985 #320; Wong, 1987 #321; Wong, 1987 #322; Wu Junxiong, 1991 #323; Xianggang, 1984 #326; Xianggang, 1991 #314; Xiong Bingzhen (Hsiung Ping-chen), 1992 #372; Xiong Yumei, 1992 #112; Yan Qiyun, 1985 #333; Yang Buwei, 1967 #127; Yang Shanhua, 1995 #459; Yuan Li, 1991 [1988] #56; Zhang Qingfu (Chang Ching-fu), 1992 #7; Zhang Qingxi (Chang Ch'ing-hsi), 1983 #5; Zheng Huisheng, 1988 #80; Zhang Yibin, Zheng Shaogang, and Zhao Yan, 1997 #485; Zhou Qing, Chen Jie, and Li Jun, n.d. #424.

### *feminism*

Bao Jialin (Pao Chia-lin), 1972 #38; Cai Lei, 1995 #384; Cao Ailan, 1989 #3; Chen Baoqiong, 1987 #160; Cheung, 1989 #168; Edwards, 1993 #15; Gao Lin, 1995 #423; Gu Yanling (Ku Yen-lin), 1990 #24; Hu Shufang, 1995 #425; Jin Yihong, 1989 #116; Kang Zhengguo, 1994 #378; Khor, 1985 #238; Lethbridge, 1980 #242; Li Jingzhi, 1992-93 #93; Li Xiaojiang, 1989 #68; Li Xiaojiang, 1989 #76; Li Xiaojiang, Zhu Hong, and Dong Xiuyu, 1994 #380; Li Xiaojiang, 1995 #456; Li Youning, 1981, 1988 #371; Liu Jucai, 1989 #104; Min Dongchao, 1991 #81; Shi Wenhong, 1989 #291; Wang Ermin, 1981 #47; Xianggang shehui funü lianhui, 1987 #328; Yang Yufeng, 1983 #334; Zhang Caiyun, 1992 #341; Zhang Jingyuan, 1995 #453; Zhang Zhiliang and Wei Huilan, 1995 #418; Zhong-Mei Funü Wenti Yantaohui, 1991 #138; Zhongguo funü yanjiusuo, 1995 #420.

### *feminist theory*

Chen Baoqiong, 1987 #160; Jin Yihong, 1989 #116; Jin Yihong, 1991 #65; Khor, 1985 #238; Li Xiaojiang, 1989 #63; Li Xiaojiang, 1989 #68; Li Xiaojiang, 1989 #76; Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #74; Luo Qiong, 1990 #141; Meng Yue, 1989 #83; Min Dongchao, 1991 #81; Pan Suiming, 1988 #84; Pei Feng, 1987 #97; Wang Youqin, 1988 #98; Xiong Yumei, 1992 #112; Zhang De, 1991 #59; Zhang Minjie, 1991 #60; Zhang Wei'an (Chang Wei-an), 1992 #8

### *footbinding*

Gao Hongxing, 1991 #369; Gao Hongxing, 1995 #411; Gao Mai, 1990 #368; Shi Xiuyun, 1982 #71;

Wang Ermin, 1981 #47; Wu Wenxing, 1986 #51; Zan Yaxian, 1987 #73; Zheng Yongfu, 1993 #82

*gender roles*

Cheung, 1979 #166; Cheung, 1991 #172; Chow, 1984 #178; Ho, 1983 #197; Hong Kong, 1979 #215; Hong Kong, 1982 #216; Hong Kong, 1983 #154; Jin Zhenhe, 1981 #21; Keyes, 1979 #234; Keyes, 1983 #236; Keyes, 1984 #237; Leung, 1979 #244; Lin Tianwei, 1976 #248; Liu Yongcong, 1990 #255; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #257; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #260; Liu Yongcong, 1992 #261; Liu Yongcong, 1993 #262; Min Jiayin, 1995 #450; Ou Jiezhen, 1992 #280; Qian Mingyi, Su Yanjie, and Li Hong, 1995 #426; Sha Lianxiang, 1995 #415; So, 1990 #292; Tan Shaowei (Tam Siu-Mi), 1992 #41; Tong Shaosu, 1995 #394; Wang Qingshu, 1995 #398; Xianggang, 1986 #327; Xianggang, 1991 #314; Xianggang shehui funü lianhui, 1987 #328; Xin funü xiejinhui, 1992 #332; You Li Liling, 1988 #338; Zhang De, 1991 #59; Zhang Jue (Chang Chueh), 1991 #6; Zhang Minjie, 1991 #60; Zhou Qing, Chen Jie, and Li Jun, n.d. #424.

*health*

Cheng, 1984 #162; Cheung, 1979 #165; Cheung, 1979 #164; Cheung, 1982 #169; Ding, 1971 #182; Du Fangqin, 1993 #114; Guo Jinghe, 1991 #143; Hong Kong, 1977 #188; Hong Kong, 1981 #184; Hong Kong, 1982 #186; Hung, 1985 #231; Koo, 1988 #239; Lee, 1976 #240; Li Guoding, 1985 #129; Li Xiaojiang, 1988 #64; Lo, 1983 #266; Ma, 1987 #267; MacKay, 1979

#268; MacKay, 1981 #269; MacKay, 1982 #270; Ngai, 1990 #277; Ngan, 1986 #278; Ngan, 1988 #279; O'Hoy, 1985 #281; Shek, 1987 #289; Tan, 1988 #301; Tan, 1988 #302; Tang, 1982 #305; Tang, 1985 #306; Tang, 1985 #307; Tang, 1989 #308; Tao Chunfang, 1991 #88; Tsoi, 1983 #312; Tsoi, 1988 #313; Whyte, 1988 #316; Wu Xikang, 1989 #325; Zang Jian, 1992 #61; Zhang Jue (Chang Chueh), 1991 #6

*historical materials*

Bao Jialin (Pao Chia-lin), 1991-93 #40; Cao Dawei, 1997 #483; Chen Jian and Zhang Shikun, 1995 #454; Chu Gansheng, 1995 #410; Du Fangqin, 1993 #373; Du Fangqin, 1996 #468; Gao Hongxing, 1995 #411; Gao Shiyu, 1997 #482; Hoe, 1991 #204; Hong Kong, 1978 #284; Hu Wenkai, 1985 (1957) #107; Li Hong, 1991 #69; Li Youning, 1981, 1988 #371; Liang Huijin, 1988 #28; Lin Tianwei, 1976 #248; Liu Yongcong, 1993 #262; Liu Yongcong, 1993 #263; Liu Yongcong, 1994 #265; Liu Zhonglu, 1995 #419; Luo Qiong, 1995 #406; Luo Suwen, 1996 #479; Ma Gengcun, 1995 #455; Qi Wenyong, 1995 #421; Sheng Ying, 1995 #396; Shi Xiuyun, 1982 #71; Sun Shiyue, 1995 #449; Ting, 1990 #310; Wang Shaoxi, 1995 #409; Wei Guoying, 1995 #428; Women's Federation, 1991 #136; Women's Federation, 1991 #147; Women's Federation, 1991 #148; Women's Federation, 1995 #348; Wu Junxiong, 1993 #324; Xia Xiaohong, 1995 #447; Xiong Bingzhen (Hsiung Ping-chen), 1992 #372; Xu Huiqi, 1991 #144; Xu Jun and Yang Hai, 1995

#408; Ye Hanming (Yip Hon-ming), 1991 #336; Zang Jian and Dong Naiqiang, 1996 #464; Zhang Yibin, Zheng Shaogang, and Zhao Yan, 1997 #485; Zhang Zhifang, 1985 #72.

*housework*

Gao Xiaoxian, 1988 #67; Hong Kong, 1984 #214; Li Xiaojiang, 1988 #64; Ngai, 1990 #277; Wong, 1972 #317; Wong, 1977 #318; Wong, 1981 #319; Xiang-gang, 1984 #326

*imperial household*

Gao Shiyu, 1988 #109; Huang Yue-se, 1988 #222; Huang Yue-se, 1988 #223; Huang Yue-se, 1989 #224; Huang Yue-se, 1989 #225; Jiang Longzhao, 1989, 1992 #121; Li Xueming, 1970 #246; Lin Tianwei, 1976 #248; Liu Liyan, 1980 #249; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #259; Zhang Yuejiao, 1988 #342

*indigenous people*

Liu Binxiang, 1988 #34; Ruan Changrui, 1989 #133; Zen Shumei, 1987 #57

*industrialization*

Ao Hengyu, 1982 #150; Cai Caixiu (Tsai Tsae-Show), 1992 #46; Cai Qinglong (Tsai Ching-lung), 1985 #45; Cao Qixiao, 1995 #359; Chen Ciyu, 1991 #4; Chen Peiji, 1995 #357; Cheng Luxi (Lucie Cheng), 1993 #14; Choi, 1975 #176; Hu Taili (Hu Tai-li), 1985 #18; Hu Taili (Hu Tai-li), 1986 #19; Jiang Lanhong (Chiang Lan-huang [Nora Chiang]), 1986 #91; Jiang Yong-ping, 1995 #364; Jin Yihong, 1995 #366; Li Boxi, 1995 #362; Liang Xiang, 1995 #363; Ng, 1983 #276; Wang Sufang, 1995 #358; Yang Mianmian, 1995 #367; You Lantian, 1995 #353; Zen Shumei, 1987 #57; Zhu

Meihua, 1995 #360

*inequality*

Ao Hengyu, 1990 #151; Cai Qinglong (Tsai Ching-lung), 1985 #45; Cashmore, 1989 #155; Francesco, 1983 #190; Gao Xiaoxian, 1988 #67; Ho, 1983 #198; Hong Kong, 1992 #210; Hu Taili (Hu Tai-li), 1985 #18; Liang Jun, 1991 #22; Liu Huiying, 1995 #391; Liu Yingchuan, 1989 #36; Tao Chunfang, 1991 #42; Tao Fengjuan, 1991 #43; Wang Qingshu, 1995 #398; Wong, 1977 #318; Wong, 1981 #319; Xie Xiaojin (Hsieh Hsiao-chin), 1992 #16; Xin Chunying, 1996 #473; Zhang De, 1991 #59; Zhang Minjie, 1991 #60; Zhang Wei'an (Chang Wei-an), 1992 #8

*intellectuals*

Ao Hengyu, 1990 #151; Bao Jialin (Pao Chia-lin), 1972 #38; Cheng Shuqi, 1995 #361; Gu Yanling (Ku Yenlin), 1989 #23; Hui Zhouhuai, 1990 #87; Li Benhua, 1989 #119; Li Meizhi, 1989 #27; Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #66; Liang Jun, 1991 #22; Liang Shuanglian, 1989 #29; Liu Zhonglu, 1995 #419; Lu Hongji (Luk, 1991 #37; Qin Yan and Gao Xiaoxian, 1994 #379; Sun Shiyue, 1995 #449; Wang You-qin, 1988 #98; Wei Guoying, 1995 #428; Wu Wenxing, 1982 #50; Xia Xiaohong, 1995 #447; Yin Ruiling, 1995 #437; You Jianming, 1992 #53; You Jianming (Yu Chien-ming), 1988 #105; Zhongguo shehui kexue-yuan, 1995 #460.

*Japanese occupation*

Bu Chunlin, 1984 #70; Liang Huijin, 1988 #28; Liang Huijin, 1991 #30; Wu Wenxing, 1982 #50; Wu Wenxing, 1986 #51; You Jianming, 1992 #53; You

Jianming (Yu Chien-ming), 1988 #105; Zhang Subi, 1988 #58

*law*

Chan, 1975 #157; Cheung, 1990 #173; Ding, 1971 #182; Du Fangqin, 1988 #99; Funü guanzhu xingqinfan lianweihui, 1991 #192; Hom and Xin, 1995 #431; Hong Kong, 1975 #295; Hong Kong, 1976 #294; Hong Kong, 1977 #188; Hong Kong, 1982 #212; Hong Kong, 1992 #210; Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee, 1978 #205; Hong Kong Christian Service, 1982 #206; Kani Hiroaki (trans. Sun Guoqun and Zhao Zongpo), 1990 #232; Lau, 1991 #345; Lethbridge, 1978 #241; Lethbridge, 1980 #242; Li Guoding, 1985 #129; Li Jingzhi, 1992-93 #93; Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #74; Li Xueming, 1970 #246; Liao Jiazhang, 1987 #31; Liu Junhai and Yu Xinnian, 1995 #433; Ng, 1983 #276; Pegg, 1986 #282; Phillips, 1982 #283; Shi Huiling, 1986 #290; Tang, 1987 #304; Tsang, 1982 #311; Wang Jieqing, 1988 #131; Xin Chunying, 1996 \$473; Xin funü xiejinhui, 1990 #331; Xiong Yumei, 1992 #112; Yuan Li, 1991 [1988] #56; Zang Jian, 1992 #61; Zhongguo nü jianchaguan xiehui, n.d. #432

*literary criticism*

Bao Jialin (Pao Chia-lin), 1972 #38; Chen Huifen, 1996 #476; Chen Shunxin, 1995 #390; Dai Jinhua, 1995 #442; Edwards, 1993 #15; Gao Lin, 1995 #423; Hu Wenkai, 1985 (1957) #107; Huang Weiying, 1976 #227; Huang Yanli, 1983 #228; Huang Yanli, 1991 #230; Kang Zhengguo, 1988 #85, 1994 #378; Li Xiaojiang, 1989 #63; Liu Huiying, 1995 #391; Meng Yue, 1989

#83; Ren Yiming, 1995 #407; Sheng Ying, 1995 #396; Tianjin, 1995 #347; Wei Yuzhuan, 1990 #135; Xu Yafang, 1995 #430; Yang Yufeng, 1983 #334; You Li Liling, 1988 #338; You Meihui, 1993 #54; Zhang Jingyuan, 1995 #453.

*love*

Du Fangqin, 1988 #99; Kang Zhengguo, 1988 #85

*marriage*

Cai Xianrong, 1979, 1992 [1934] #2; Chen Ciyu, 1991 #4; Chen Guyuan, 1937 #103; Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1988 #10; Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1988 #11; Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1991 #12; Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1992 #13; Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1992 #89; Du Fangqin, 1988 #99; Gao Hongxing, 1991 #369; Gao Mai, 1990 #368; Gao Shiyu, 1988 #109; Gao Xiaoxian, 1988 #67; Ho, 1984 #200; Hong Kong, 1981 #189; Hong Kong, 1982 #186; Hu Taili (Hu Tai-li), 1981 #17; Hu Taili (Hu Tai-li), 1990 #20; Hu Yongchao, 1961 #218; Hu Yongchao, 1966-67 #219; Hu Yongchao, 1968 #220; Jiang Lanhong (Chiang Lanhung [Nora Chiang]), 1986 #91; Koo, 1988 #239; Li Shutong, 1988 #26; Li Xiaojiang, 1988 #64; Li Xueming, 1970 #246; Liao Jiazhang, 1987 #31; Lieh-Mak, 1986 #247; Liu Binxiang, 1988 #34; Liu Ming, 1990 #75; Liu Weimin, 1968-69 #250; Liu Yingchuan, 1988 #35; Mitchell, 1972 #272; Pei Feng, 1987 #97; Ruan Changrui, 1989 #133; Shanghai minjian wenyijia xiehui, 1989 #288; Shi Fengyi, 1987 #110; Shi Xiuyun, 1982 #71; Sun Xiao, 1988 #100; Tam, 1981 #296;

Tan Daxian, 1990 #297; Tang, 1982 #305; Tao Chunfang, 1991 #88; Wang Jieqing, 1988 #131; Wang Shounan, 1988 #49; Women's Federation, 1992 #90; Wong, 1977 #318; Wong, 1981 #319; Wu Cunhao, 1986 #106; Xianggang, 1991 #314; Xie Jichang, 1988 #52; Xie Zhimin, 1991 #77; Xiong Yumei, 1992 #112; Yan Qiyun, 1985 #333; Yang Buwei, 1967 #127; Zheng Huisheng, 1988 #80; Zheng Yongfu, 1993 #82

*media*

Ford Foundation, 1995 #349; Funü guanzhu seqing ji baoli chuanmei lianhe weiyuanhui, 1986 #191; Ho, 1983 #197; Ho, 1985 #201; Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #74; Liang Huijin, 1988 #28; Shi Wenhong, 1989 #291; So, 1990 #292; So, 1990 #293; Xin funü xiejinhui, 1992 #332; You Meihui, 1993 #54

*mental health/illness*

Cheng, 1984 #162; Cheung, 1982 #169; Lee, 1976 #240; Ma, 1987 #267; MacKay, 1979 #268; Ngai, 1990 #277; Shek, 1987 #289; Tang, 1982 #305; Tang, 1985 #306; Tang, 1985 #307; Tang, 1989 #308; Tsoi, 1983 #312; Tsoi, 1988 #313; Whyte, 1988 #316

*migration*

Kani Hiroaki (trans. Sun Guoqun and Zhao Zongpo), 1990 #232; Li Jingzhi, 1992-93 #93; Liao Jiazhang, 1987 #31; Tao Chunfang, 1991 #88

*morality*

Chu Gansheng, 1995 #410; Guo Licheng, 1989 #128; Hong Kong, 1978 #284; Lethbridge, 1978 #241; Liu Yongcong, 1988 #253; Liu Yongcong, 1989 #254; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #258; Pei Feng, 1987 #97; Qiu Renzong, 1996

#475; Shi Yun, 1988 #101; Sun Xiao, 1988 #100; Xu Jun and Yang Hai, 1995 #408; Ye Hanming (Yip Hon-ming), 1991 #336

*notable women*

Cheng, 1976 #161; Du Fangqin, 1993 #373; Gao Shiyu, 1988 #109; Hu Wenkai, 1985 (1957) #107; Huang Yuese, 1988 #222; Huang Yuese, 1988 #223; Huang Yuese, 1989 #224; Huang Yanli, 1990 #229; Huang Yuese, 1989 #225; Huang Yanli, 1991 #230; Jiang Hongbin, 1987 #111; Jiang Longzhao, 1989, 1992 #121; Li Jingzhi, 1992-93 #93; Liu Huating, 1984 #118; Liu Ming, 1990 #62; Ma Zhaozheng, 1988 #140; Su Ping, 1990 #137; Tao Jie, 1995 #399; Wei Guoying, 1995 #428; Wei Yuzhuan, 1990 #135; Women's Federation, 1990 #142; Xie Wuliang, 1979 #125; Xue Weiwei, 1988 #96; Yin Dengguo, 1990 #120; Yin Wei, 1991 #123; Zhou Ce, 1987 #126

*political movements*

Bao Jialin (Pao Chia-lin), 1981 #39; Bu Chunlin, 1984 #70; Du Zhengchun, 1995 #458; Gu Yanling (Ku Yenlin), 1990 #24; Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #74; Li Youning, 1981, 1988 #371; Lin Weihong, 1981 #33; Liu Jucui, 1989 #104; Liu Yongcong, 1990 #255; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #257; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #259; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #260; Liu Yongcong, 1992 #261; Mai Meisheng, 1933 #271; Shi Xiuyun, 1982 #71; Wang Jiajian, 1988 #48; Women's Federation, 1990 #142; Wu Wenxing, 1986 #51; Xiong Yumei, 1992 #112; Xu Huiqi, 1991 #144; Xue Weiwei, 1988 #96; Zan Yaxian, 1987 #73; Zhang Mingyun and Wei Shuyi, 1995 #436

*political participation*

Bu Chunlin, 1984 #70; He Zhonghua and Qiao Hengrui, 1996 #478; Hu Luxi, 1991 #217; Liang Shuanglian, 1989 #29; Lin Weihong, 1981 #33; Shi Xiuyun, 1982 #71; Shi Zi, 1995 #401; Tan Shaowei, n.d. #300; Wang Jiajian, 1988 #48; Wang Xin, 1995 #365; Wang Xingjuan, 1995 #389; Xin funü xiejinhui, 1985 #330; Zan Yaxian, 1987 #73

*population*

Cai Qinglong (Tsay Ching-lung), 1985 #45; Chen Ruozhang (Chen Rhoda), 1988 #10; Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1988 #11; Hu Taili (Hu Tai-li), 1985 #18; Jiang Lanhong (Chiang Lan-hung [Nora Chiang]), 1986 #91; Li Guoding, 1985 #129; So, 1990 #293; Zheng Xiaoying, 1995 #429; Zhu Chuzhu, 1991 #86

*pornography*

Blowers, 1990 #152; Cheung, 1989 #163; Funü guanzhu seqing ji baoli chuanmei lianhe weiyuanhui, 1986 #191; You Meihui, 1993 #54

*pre-Qing*

Du Fangqin, 1988 #99; Gao Shiyu, 1988 #109; Guo Licheng, 1989 #128; Hu Wenkai, 1985 (1957) #107; Hu Yongchao, 1961 #218; Hu Yongchao, 1966–67 #219; Hu Yongchao, 1968 #220; Huang Yuese, 1988 #222; Huang Yuese, 1988 #223; Huang Yuese, 1989 #224; Huang Yanli, 1990 #229; Huang Yuese, 1989 #225; Huang Yanli, 1991 #230; Kang Zhengguo, 1988 #85; Li Shutong, 1988 #26; Li Xueming, 1970 #246; Li Yonghu, #346; Li Youning, 1981, 1988 #371; Lin Tianwei, 1976 #248; Liu Huating, 1984 #118; Liu Liyan, 1980 #249; Liu Weimin, 1975 #251;

Liu Yongcong, 1990 #255; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #256; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #257; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #259; Liu Yongcong, 1992 #261; Liu Yongcong, 1993 #262; Liu Yongcong, 1993 #263; Ma Zhaozheng, 1988 #140; Shi Yun, 1988 #101; Wang Jieqing, 1988 #131; Wang Shounan, 1988 #49; Yin Dengguo, 1990 #120; Yin Wei, 1991 #123; Yuan Li, 1991 [1988] #56; Zhang Yuejiao, 1988 #342; Zheng Huisheng, 1988 #80; Zhou Xun, 1988 #102]

*prostitution*

Anonymous, 1970 #149; Chan, 1975 #157; Cheung, 1989 #163; Gao Hongxing, 1991 #369; Gao Mai, 1990 #368; Hodge, 1979 #203; Hong Kong, 1974 #208; Hong Kong, 1978 #284; Kani Hiroaki (trans. Sun Guoqun and Zhao Zongpo), 1990 #232; Lethbridge, 1978 #241; Liao Jia-zhang, 1987 #31; Tang, 1986 #303; Tang, 1987 #304; Ting, 1990 #310; Wang Shaoxi, 1995 #409; Xu Jun and Yang Hai, 1995 #408; Zen Shumei, 1987 #57

*psychology*

Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1988 #10; Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1988 #11; Chen Ruozhang (Rhoda Chen), 1991 #12; Cheng, 1984 #162; Cheung, 1979 #165; Cheung, 1979 #166; Cheung, 1979 #164; Cheung, 1982 #169; Cheung, 1987 #171; Cheung, 1989 #168; Choi, 1975 #176; Chung, 1972 #180; Francesco, 1983 #190; Gao Xiaoxian, 1988 #67; Hong Kong, 1978 #209; Huang Yanli, 1983 #228; Jin Yihong, 1991 #65; Keyes, 1979 #234; Keyes, 1984 #237; Khor, 1985 #238; Lau, 1991 #345;

- Lee, 1976 #240; Lethbridge, 1980 #242; Leung, 1979 #244; Liu Huating, 1984 #118; Liu Ming, 1990 #75; Lu Xing'er, 1992 #370; Ma, 1987 #267; MacKay, 1979 #268; Meng Yue, 1989 #83; Ngai, 1990 #277; Ngan, 1986 #278; Qian Mingyi, Su Yanjie, and Li Hong, 1995 #426; Shek, 1987 #289; Tang, 1985 #306; Tang, 1985 #307; Tang, 1989 #308; Tsoi, 1988 #313; Wang Youqin, 1988 #98; Wang Yujian, 1985 #315; Whyte, 1988 #316; Yang Buwei, 1967 #127; Yau, 1992 #335; Zhang De, 1991 #59; Zhang Jue (Chang Chueh), 1991 #6
- Qing*  
 Bao Jialin (Pao Chia-lin), 1972 #38; Bao Jialin (Pao Chia-lin), 1981 #39; Chen Ciyu, 1991 #4; Chen Zhengyu, 1971 #9; Du Fangqin, 1988 #99; Edwards, 1993 #15; Gao Shiyu, 1988 #109; Gu Yanling (Ku Yenlin), 1990 #24; Guo Licheng, 1989 #128; Hu Wenkai, 1985 (1957) #107; Hu Yongchao, 1961 #218; Hu Yongchao, 1966–67 #219; Hu Yongchao, 1968 #220; Huang Yanli, 1990 #229; Huang Yanli, 1991 #230; Jiang Hongbin, 1987 #111; Jiang Longzhao, 1989, 1992 #121; Jin Zhenhe, 1981 #21; Kang Zhengguo, 1988 #85; Li Yonghu, #346; Li Youning, 1981, 1988 #371; Liao Xiuzhen, 1988 #32; Lin Weihong, 1981 #33; Liu Huating, 1984 #118; Liu Jucai, 1989 #104; Liu Weimin, 1975 #251; Liu Yongcong, 1986–8 #252; Liu Yongcong, 1988 #253; Liu Yongcong, 1989 #254; Liu Yongcong, 1990 #255; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #256; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #257; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #258; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #259; Liu Yongcong, 1992 #261; Liu Yongcong, 1993 #262; Liu Yongcong, 1993 #263; Ma Zhaozheng, 1988 #140; Shi Yun, 1988 #101; Wang Ermin, 1981 #47; Wang Jieqing, 1988 #131; Xia Xiaohong, 1995 #447; Xiong Bingzhen (Hsiung Ping-chen), 1992 #372; Xu Huiqi, 1991 #144; Yan Qiyun, 1985 #333; Yin Dengguo, 1990 #120; Yin Wei, 1991 #123; Yu Yanyi, 1991 #113; Zhang Qingxi (Chang Ch'ing-hsi), 1983 #5; Zhou Ce, 1987 #126; Zhou Xun, 1988 #102
- rape*  
 Cheng, 1984 #162; Cheung, 1979 #165; Cheung, 1979 #164; Cheung, 1982 #169; Cheung, 1988 #167; Cheung, 1990 #173; Funü guanzhu xingqinfan lianweihui, 1991 #192; Hong Kong, 1978 #209; Hong Kong Observers, 1981 #211; Lau, 1991 #345; Lethbridge, 1980 #242; Whyte, 1988 #316; Wu Shimin and Chen Hong, 1995 #434
- regional identities*  
 Gao Xiaoxian, 1991 #92; He Yongzhong and Wu Guoju, 1995 #439; He Zhonghua and Qiao Hengrui, 1995 #461; He Zhonghua and Qiao Hengrui, 1996 #478; Liu Ming, 1990 #62; Liu Ming, 1990 #75; Liu Weimin, 1968–69 #250; Liu Yun, Xu Xia, and Tong Yufen, 1997 #481; Peng Yanru, 1995 #441; Qiao, 1992 #286; Ruan Changrui, 1989 #133; Women's Federation of Xinjiang Autonomous Region, 1995 #440; Wu Cunhao, 1986 #106; Xie Zhimin, 1991 #77; Yang Liwen, 1995 #414; Zhou Wei, 1995 #402

*religion*

Du Fangqin, 1988 #99; Gao Shiyu, 1988 #109; Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #66; Pan Suiming, 1988 #84; Shi Yun, 1988 #101; Zeng Zhaoxuan, 1991 #340; Zheng Yongfu, 1993 #82

*reproduction*

Chen Jian and Zhang Shikun, 1995 #454; Choi, 1975 #176; Hong Kong, 1970 #179; Hong Kong, 1977 #183; Hong Kong, 1977 #188; Hong Kong, 1981 #189; Hong Kong, 1981 #184; Hong Kong, 1982 #185; Hong Kong, 1982 #186; Hong Kong, 1983 #154; Hong Kong, 1989 #187; Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee, 1978 #205; Hong Kong Christian Service, 1982 #206; Hung, 1985 #231; Leung, 1985 #243; Li Guoding, 1985 #129; Lieh-Mak, 1986 #247; Ma, 1987 #267; MacKay, 1982 #270; Mitchell, 1972 #272; Ng, 1976 #275; Ng, 1978 #274; Ngan, 1986 #278; Ngan, 1988 #279; O'Hoy, 1985 #281; Pei Feng, 1987 #97; Qiu Renzong, 1996 #475; Shek, 1987 #289; Tam, 1981 #296; Tan, 1988 #301; Tan, 1988 #302; Tang, 1982 #305; Tang, 1985 #306; Tang, 1985 #307; Tang, 1989 #308; Tao Chunfang, 1991 #88; Ting, 1990 #310; Tsoi, 1983 #312; Tsoi, 1988 #313; Wang Shaoxian and Li Zhen, 19?? #383; Wang Yujian, 1985 #315; Wong, 1977 #318; Wong, 1981 #319; Wong, 1985 #320; Wong, 1987 #321; Wong, 1987 #322; Zang Jian, 1992 #61; Zhao Jie, Zhang Kaining, Wen Yiqun, and Yang Guocai, 1995 #417; Zhu Chuzhu, 1991 #86

*Republican period*

Bao Jialin (Pao Chia-lin), 1981 #39; Bu Chunlin, 1984 #70; Chen

Ciyu, 1991 #4; Jiang Hongbin, 1987 #111; Li Youning, 1981, 1988 #371; Liang Huijin, 1991 #30; Lin Weihong, 1981 #33; Shi Xiuyun, 1982 #71; Wang Jiajian, 1988 #48; Wei Yuzhuan, 1990 #135; Women's Federation, 1991 #136; Women's Federation, 1991 #147; Women's Federation, 1991 #148; Women's Federation, n.d. #146; Xu Huiqi, 1991 #144; Yan Qiyun, 1985 #333; Yang Buwei, 1967 #127; Yang Yufeng, 1983 #334; Zhang Zhifang, 1985 #72

*rural life*

Gao Xiaoxian, 1991 #92; He Pikun, 1997 #480; He Zhonghua and Qiao Hengrui, 1995 #461; Hu Taili (Hu Tai-li), 1981 #17; Hu Taili (Hu Tai-li), 1985 #18; Jin Yihong, 1995 #366; Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #66; Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #74; Li Xiaoyun, 1994 #382; Liang Jun, 1991 #22; Liao Jia-zhang, 1987 #31; Liu Danhua, 1995 #352; Nongjianü Baishitong Press and Tianjin Normal University Women's Studies Center, 1995 #395; Quanguo fūlian chengxiang gongzuobu, 1995 #457; Tao Chunfang, 1995 #350; Wang Shaoxian and Li Zhen, n.d. #383; Wu Shimin and Chen Hong, 1995 #434; Yang Shanhua, 1995 #459; Zheng Yongfu, 1993 #82

*sexual harassment*

Choi, 1993 #177; Funü guanzhu xingqinfan lianweihui, 1992 #193; Hong Kong, 1978 #209

*sexuality*

Gao Hongxing, 1991 #369; Gao Mai, 1990 #368; Gao Xiaoxian, 1988 #67; Kang Zhengguo, 1988 #85; Li Xiaojiang, 1988 #64; Liu Dalin, 1992 #108; Liu Huating, 1984 #118; Liu Yongcong, 1990 #255; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #257;

Liu Yongcong, 1991 #259; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #260; Liu Yongcong, 1992 #261; Ngan, 1986 #278; Ngan, 1988 #279; O'Hoy, 1985 #281; Pan Suiming, 1988 #84; Shi Yun, 1988 #101; Wang Shaoxi, 1995 #409; Xu Jun and Yang Hai, 1995 #408; You Meihui, 1993 #54

*slavery*

Chu Gansheng, 1995 #410; Kani Hiroaki (trans. Sun Guoqun and Zhao Zongpo), 1990 #232; Liu Weimin, 1975 #251; Mai Meisheng, 1933 #271; Ting, 1990 #310

*social life*

Chan, 1984 #156; Chung, 1972 #180; Devoy, 1972 #181; Hodge, 1979 #203; Hong Kong, 1975 #295; Hong Kong, 1976 #294; Hong Kong, 1978 #284; Li Mingkun, 1987 #245; Ma, 1987 #267; Shi Jinbo, Bai Bin, and Zhao Liming, 1995 #385; Tang, 1987 #304; Wong, 1981 #319; Ye Hanming (Yip Hon-ming), 1991 #336

*socioeconomic status*

Cheung, 1987 #171; Du Fangqin, 1988 #99; Du Fangqin, 1993 #114; Gao Shiyu, 1988 #109; He Pikun, 1997 #480; Hu Taili (Hu Tai-li), 1986 #19; Lam, #344; Lee, 1976 #240; Li Guoding, 1985 #129; Li Meizhi, 1989 #27; Liao Jiazhang, 1987 #31; Liu Weimin, 1975 #251; Mai Meisheng, 1933 #271; Sha Jicai, 1995 #388; Tan Shaowei (Tam Siu-Mi), 1992 #41; Tao Chunfang, 1993 #115; Tianjin Normal University Summer Seminar Anthology, 1993 #374; Tong Shaosu, 1995 #394; Wong, 1972 #317; Wong, 1985 #320; Wong, 1987 #321; Wong, 1987 #322; Wu Wenxing, 1982 #50; Xianggang shehui funü lianhui, 1987 #328; Xin funü

xiejinhui, 1990 #331; Yan Qiyun, 1985 #333; Zhang Ping, 1995 #387; Zhang Qingfu (Chang Ching-fu), 1992 #7; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, 1995 #460

*songs and legends*

Bu Chunlin, 1984 #70; Li Xiaojiang, 1989 #63; Liu Weimin, 1968-69 #250; Pan Suiming, 1988 #84; Shanghai minjian wenyijia xiehui, 1988 #287; Shanghai minjian wenyijia xiehui, 1989 #288; Tan Daxian, 1988 #298; Tan Daxian, 1990 #297; Tan Daxian, 1992 #299; Ting, 1990 #310; Zeng Zhaoxuan, 1991 #340; Zhang Zhengping, 1969 #343

*talent*

Liu Yongcong, 1986-8 #252; Liu Yongcong, 1988 #253; Liu Yongcong, 1989 #254; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #256; Liu Yongcong, 1991 #258; Yin Wei, 1991 #123; Yu Yanyi, 1991 #113

*urbanization*

Jiang Lanhong (Chiang Lanhung [Nora Chiang]), 1986 #91; Li Xiaojiang, 1991 #66; Mitchell, 1972 #272; Zheng Yongfu, 1993 #82

*Western feminism*

Bao Xiaolan, 1995 #392; Cai Lei, 1995 #384; Chen Baoqiong, 1987 #160; Edwards, 1993 #15; Gao Lin, 1995 #423; Hoe, 1991 #204; Huang Qiaosheng, 1995 #446; Khor, 1985 #238; Li Jingzhi, 1992-93 #93; Li Xiaojiang, 1989 #68; Min Dongchao, 1991 #81; Tao Jie, 1995 #399; Zhong-Mei Funü Wenti Yantaohui, 1991 #138; Zhongguo funü yanjiusuo, 1995 #420.

*Women's Federation*

Bu Chunlin, 1984 #70; Gao Xiaoxian, 1991 #92; Su Ping, 1990 #137; Tao Chunfang, 1991 #42;

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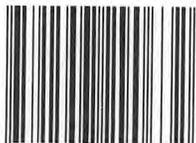
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