

Out of the Closet of Feminist Orientalism:
Rethinking Feminism Across the Taiwan Strait

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What is Chinese feminism? What is feminism in the Chinese cultural realm? How does one define, outline, understand, develop, interpret, and represent women and feminism in the Chinese cultural realm? These questions are what scholars will always converse over in the spirit of intellectual dialogue.¹ However, the question of “which version of [feminist] history is going to be told to the next generation” in the Chinese cultural realm is what cannot wait for diverse scholars to finish arguing over?² How to teach younger generations about women and feminism in the Chinese cultural realm and how to define, categorize, summarize, or explain women and feminism in the Chinese cultural realm cannot wait for diverse scholars to articulate an answer that satisfies everyone. How women and feminists in the Chinese cultural realm, especially non-Mainland areas, should identify themselves cannot wait until this debate is over.

Because anthologies are generally intended for classroom use, I would like to analyze a number of feminist anthologies to illustrate the unbalanced representation of women and feminism in the Chinese cultural realm. In this conference paper, I will examine the following English-language feminist anthologies: *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Criticism and*

Theory; The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory, Western Feminisms: An Anthology of Western Literary Criticism and Theory; Re-Orienting Western Feminisms, Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings, Contemporary Feminist Theories; The Second Sex, A Room of One's Own, Chinese Feminism Faces Globalization; The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism, About Chinese Women, Chinese Women Organizing; Women in the Chinese Enlightenment, The Good Women of China; Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China; Engendering China; Women's Work in Rural China Women of China; Daughters of the Dragon; Women in Rural China; Personal Voices, Women, the Family and Peasant Revolution in China; Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan; Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China; Women in Chinese Society; Social and Political Philosophy: Classical Western Texts in Feminist and Multicultural Perspectives; Women's Rights, Human Rights: International Feminist Perspective; Beijing Women Organizing for Change; The Feminist Papers, Feminism in Our Time, Feminism Meets Queer Theory; Spaces of Their Own: Women's Public Sphere in Transnational China; and Feminist Studies/Critical Studies.

With regard to Chinese-language publications and academic theses, I will include *Zhongguo nüxing zhuyi (Feminism in China); Nüxing zhuyi wenhua chongtu yu shenfeng rentong (Feminist Cultural Conflicts and Identity); Zhongguo shehui xingbie de lishi wenhua xuancong (Selected Series on Chinese Gender History and Culture); Zhongguo nüxing de ganqing yu xing*

(*Love and Sexuality of Chinese Women*); *Jindai zhongguo funü yundong shi* (*A History of Women's Movements in Modern China*); *Taiwan xifuzai de shenghuo shijie* (*The Lives of Sim-pua: The Stories of Taiwanese Daughters-in-law*); “Yijiuwuling niandai Taiwan de ‘baohu yangnü yundong’” (The Movement to Protect Adopted Daughters in Taiwan of the 1950s); *Qingting tamen de shengyin* (*Listening to Their Voices*); *Ama de gushi* (*Stories of Grandmothers*); and, *Xiaoshi zhong de taiwan a ma* (*Taiwanese Grandmothers Who Are Disappearing*).

Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Criticism and Theory, one of the most well known feminist anthologies in US academia, focuses on Asian American feminists only and ignores Asian feminists.³ It is ironic for a feminist anthology, which does not clearly include Asian feminists, Asian literary criticism, and Asian women's studies, to be entitled *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Criticism and Theory*. It would be more convincing if this anthology were entitled *Western Feminisms: An Anthology of Western Literary Criticism and Theory*.⁴ For instance, James Sterba cautiously specifies that what his book includes is “Western” in the subtitle of *Social and Political Philosophy*. Chilla Bulbceck is also aware of the difference between “Western feminisms” and “feminisms” with the title of her book, *Re-Orienting Western Feminisms*. Of course, Robyn Warhol and Diane Herndl might not intentionally discriminate against certain feminists in the Chinese cultural realm. They might not intentionally exclude Chinese and Taiwanese feminism, but this anthology runs the risk of attempting to represent all

kinds of feminism in the Chinese cultural realm, such as PRC feminism and Taiwanese feminism, with Asian American feminism or Chinese American feminism.

The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory is as perplexing as *Feminisms* in terms of how it addresses feminists in the Chinese cultural realm. Why does the editor include only one Asian feminist scholar, who is from India, but so many Western feminist scholars?⁵ Does the editor mean to indicate that global feminist/gender scholars should ignore or exclude feminism in the Chinese cultural realm? Does the editor mean to imply that Asian feminists or non-Indian Asian feminists are insignificant for readers of this anthology? If this anthology is selected and taught as a textbook, does the editor want to imply to students that they should pay no attention to feminists in the Chinese cultural realm? Does the editor want to convey the message that the global feminism or feminist theories of the 1990s should continue to be so “West-orientated” or so “Euro-American-centered” since this anthology was published and released in 1997?

Some authors and editors of publications on Chinese feminism might notice the difference between Communist feminism and Taiwanese feminism. *Women in Chinese Society*, for instance, includes a chapter on women and childbearing in Hong Kong.⁶ Huang Lin includes at least one Taiwanese feminist scholar in her Chinese-language publication entitled *Zhongguo nüxing zhuyi* (*Feminism in China*). Chen San-ching takes feminism in both the PRC and Taiwan into consideration when editing *Jindai zhongguo funü yundong shi* (*A History of Women's Movements*

in Modern China). Gailo Hershatter, Emily Honig, Susan Mann, and Lisa Rofal have two chapters on Taiwanese feminism, two chapters on feminism in the PRC, and one chapter on Hong Kong feminism in *Guide to Women's Studies in China*. Margery Wolf has a book entitled *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan*; however, she does not specify the difference between PRC feminism and Taiwanese feminism within *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China*.

Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings and Contemporary Feminist Theories do not contain many Asian, Chinese, Hong Kong, or Taiwanese feminists' articles.⁷ At the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the twenty-first century, one out of every four people in this world speaks Mandarin Chinese. One out of every five people on the earth is Chinese. In other words, one out of every five women is likely to be a Chinese woman; one out of every four women may have Chinese cultural backgrounds. It is ironic that these two feminist anthologies claim to be either essential or contemporary feminist writings when they do not take into consideration a sufficient number of women's/gender problems in the Chinese cultural realm.

In addition, a number of publications on Chinese feminism share the same or similar oversight. For example, *Chinese Feminism Faces Globalization*; *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*; *About Chinese Women*; and *Chinese Women Organizing* include only PRC feminism.⁸

A number of Chinese-language publications on Chinese feminism often share the tendency to replace diverse sorts of Chinese feminism with PRC feminism. Li Xiaojiang, for instance, mainly focuses on women in the PRC in *Nüxing zhuyi wenhua chongtu yu shenfeng rentong* (*Feminist Cultural Conflicts and Identity*). The same is the case with Du Fangqin's *Zhongguo shehui xingbie de lishi wenhua xuancong* (*Selected Series on Chinese Gender History and Culture*).⁹

To follow are some of my own comparative analyses of PRC feminism and Taiwanese feminism in order to illustrate why and how the above-mentioned publications on Chinese feminism do not fully include all types of feminism in the Chinese cultural realm, such as Taiwanese feminism. Take the strongest shapers of feminism in the Chinese Mainland¹⁰—the May Fourth Movement (1919), the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC 1949-present), and the Fourth United Nations' World Women's Congress and NGO Forum (1995)—for example. They might not affect Taiwanese feminist developments as much as Taiwan's lifting of Martial Law (1987). While Taiwanese feminists paraded through the Kaidagelan Avenue in front of the Presidential Palace after the lifting of Martial Law, post-Maoist Communist leaders probably still did not believe feminist activists to have a genuine radical social movement, much like protests and petitions that May Fourth elites had, in front of the Tiananmen.

Since the CCP became the ruling party in Chinese Mainland, *fulian* has been serving as a women's organization for the CCP as well as the PRC only. Since 1949, almost every American feminist Asianist or every Mainland feminist has been mentioning *fulian*. The CCP does have its *fulian*; however, the Nationalist Party (KMT) has its own *fulian*;¹¹ and the Democratic Progress Party (DPP) has its own women members' organization that functions exactly the same as the CCP's and the KMT's *fulians*.¹² The CCP's *fulian* seems more monopolistic than both the KMT's *fulian* and the DPP's women's organization mainly because it has been the ruling party's women's organization¹³ for decades without any other women's organizations to compete with in the PRC.¹⁴ In fact, the CCP's *fulian* is not useful to most non-Mainland women, especially Taiwanese women. Authors and editors of publications, like *Chinese Women Faces Globalism*; *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*; *About Chinese Women*; and, *Chinese Women Organizing*, do not pay any attention to this fact. This is likely one of the reasons why many Taiwanese feminist readers might not feel that they are truly represented in these publications on Chinese feminism.

Even when editors of Western feminist anthologies do include Chinese feminism, the version they include tends to be PRC feminism, not any version of feminism in the non-Mainland Chinese cultural realm, such as Taiwanese feminism. For instance, in Julie Peters and Andrea Wolper's *Women's Rights, Human Rights: International Feminist Perspectives*, Zhu

Hong's research subject lies in women and women writers in the PRC—not including female Hong Kongers and Taiwanese.¹⁵ The “China” that Lin Chun, Liu Bohong, and Jin Yihong discuss is also only in the PRC in Alison M. Jaggar and Iris M. Young's *A Companion to Feminist Philosophy*.¹⁶ These are not the only two examples. Both Sharon K. Hom's “Female Infanticide in China” and Anna Han's “Holding Up More Than Half the Sky” in Adrien K. Wing's *Global Critical Race Feminism* are also good examples.¹⁷

If both the PRC and the West insist on the concept of “one China,” then why feminism in the Chinese cultural realm, such as Taiwanese feminism, is ignored is a mystery. Where these publications plan to locate their feminist readers in non-Mainland Chinese cultural realm, such as Taiwanese feminist readers, is also a mystery. If these publications do not mean to alienate their feminist readers in non-Mainland areas of the Chinese cultural realm, then these publications run the risk of equating all non-Mainland feminism in the Chinese cultural realm with PRC feminism. The more non-Mainland feminist readers in the Chinese cultural realm are excluded from these publications, the more they might wonder whether these books should have been entitled *Chinese Feminism Faces Globalization; About Chinese Women*; and, *Chinese Women Organizing*. For example, the title of Cecilia N. Milwertz's book, *Beijing Women Organizing for Change*, is free from the endless confusions among “China,” “the greater China,” and “the PRC.” Niamh Reilly's subtitle, “The Beijing Tribunal on Accountability for Women's

Human Rights,” also releases feminist readers in the non-Mainland areas of the Chinese cultural realm from the same mystery.

Feminist Orientalism

The Orient was Orientalized not only because it was discovered to be “Oriental” ... but also because it *could be*—that is, submitted to being—Oriental...Orientalism is ... a sign of European-Atlantic power over the Orient...
Edward W. Said

Orientalism

If PRC feminism is only a part of Chinese feminism, especially feminism in the whole Chinese cultural realm, and therefore should not be synonymous with Chinese feminism as a whole, then why does PRC feminism appear so synonymous with Chinese feminism when feminist scholars represent Chinese feminism in the above-mentioned anthologies and publications? If Asian American feminism or Chinese American feminism is, in fact, feminism in the American cultural realm, instead of feminism in the Chinese cultural realm, then why is Asian American feminism or Chinese American feminism “made Chinese,” “sinicized,” “Orientalized,” or mistaken as Chinese feminism when feminist scholars represent Chinese feminism in the above-mentioned anthologies and publications? I contend that editors of these Western feminist anthologies and authors of these publications take advantage of academic

power structures and their power positions, or what Edward W. Said calls “*positional* superiority,” to make PRC feminism seem to be synonymous with Chinese feminism.¹⁸

Edward W. Said takes Flaubert’s representation of an Egyptian courtesan, Kuchuk Hanem, as an example when explaining how the Orient is “Orientalized” or made Oriental. “[Flaubert] speak[s] for [this Egyptian courtesan] and tell[s] his readers in what way she was ‘typically Oriental.’”¹⁹ Flaubert’s representation of what is “typically Oriental” is not free from bias, misrepresentation, marginalization, or exclusion of what he misses. According to Said, even Flaubert’s interest in the Orient is actually “political”²⁰ and thus probably a sort of “hegemony of European ideas about the Orient...[or] European superiority over Oriental backwardness.”²¹ Said compares this kind of interest in the Orient to a type of heroism to “reconstruct the Orient’s...languages, mores, ... lexicography, grammar, translation, cultural decoding, ... philology, history, rhetoric, and doctrinal polemic.”²² Of course, Flaubert has the right to express what he wants to say about the Orient. It is not a problem for Flaubert to enjoy his freedom of speech. However, it is a problem that Flaubert is not aware of his positional superiority or hegemony when he lets only one Egyptian courtesan represent all the other women in the Orient and then serves as a mouthpiece for a silent exotic woman from the Orient.

Orientalist misconception, like Flaubert’s oversight, has not disappeared as time passes. For instance, the Japanese geisha who marries an American lieutenant in *Madame Butterfly* is

“made Oriental/Japanese/Asian/Asian American” and mis-represents all the Japanese, Asian, or Asian American women in the US.²³ In *M. Butterfly*, David Henry Hwang, an Asian American playwright, arranges the Chinese transvestite, Song Liling, to interrogate,

Consider it this way: what would you say if a blonde homecoming queen fell in love with a short Japanese businessman? He treats her cruelly, then goes home for three years, during which time she prays to his picture and turns down marriage from a young Kennedy. Then, when she learns he has remarried, she kills herself. Now, I believe you would consider this girl to be a deranged idiot, correct? But because it's an Oriental who kills herself for a Westerner—ah!—you find it beautiful.²⁴

Song Liling's statement illustrates how *Madame Butterfly* cannot represent all women in Japan, Japanese colonies, China, Asia, the Orient, or even Asian American communities. Rene Gallimard suffers because he is ignorant about different kinds of women in the Asian cultural realm. The same is the case with PRC feminism, Chinese American feminism, Asian American feminism, and Chinese feminism. PRC feminism is just one kind of feminism in the Chinese cultural realm. It cannot represent all varieties of feminism in the Chinese cultural realm. Neither is Chinese American feminism qualified to serve as an agent for all types of Chinese feminism. Nor should Asian American feminism represent all sorts of Asian feminism.

In addition to examples of how the Japanese geisha in *Madame Butterfly* and the Chinese transvestite in *M. Butterfly* are not synonymous with women in the Orient, some third-wave feminists' concerns about women of color and third-world women may also offer interesting

evidence. Women in the Chinese cultural realm may share similar problems with women of color and third-world women in the rest of the world, but they are not exactly the same as all women of color and third-world women. Some women of color in the third world may be poor, uneducated, and dependent. However, not all the women in the Chinese cultural realm share the same lack of financial support, the opportunity for education or the ability to be more successful than men. For instance, although a few Chinese American feminist scholars still consider China as a part of the third world, Taiwan of the early 2000s is already a developed area, no longer a developing country.

Like Flaubert, editors of these Western feminist anthologies and authors of these publications run the risk of speaking for women and feminists in the whole Chinese cultural realm and telling their Western readers and Mainland Chinese readers, who do not travel to or live in non-Mainland areas of the Chinese cultural realm, to what extent PRC feminism, Chinese American feminism, or Asian American feminism is labeled as “typically Chinese.” Editors of these Western feminist anthologies and authors of these publications are certainly entitled to freedom of speech, including speech and publications about what Chinese feminism is or is not. But they may academically endanger themselves if they are not made aware of the effects of the scholarly hegemony that results from their positions of authority within academic power structures.

If Orientalism includes biased, partial, or improper mis-representations of the reality in the Orient/East, then Asian American feminism's and Chinese American feminism's mis-representations of Chinese feminism might be a kind of feminist Orientalism. This phenomenon results from some Caucasian feminists' Euro-American-centered or "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."²⁵ This phenomenon suggests how "the West [constructs] the Orient" and how "the Occident... 'misrepresent[s]' the Orient"²⁶—for instance, how "Anglo-Saxon racism and Social Darwinism had planted in the collective mind of America a powerful mental map in which, predictably, the 'civilize' powers—the United States and Western Europe—controlled a descending array of underdeveloped, even 'primitive' Asians."²⁷

In the PRC, Chinese believers and revisers of Western Socialist and Communist philosophers, such as Marx, Stalin and Lenin, tend to replace feminism in the Chinese cultural realm with Chinese Socialist or PRC feminism. Just

as Said's model suggests, the 'pure Chinese' self-understanding... had already been historically 'contaminated' and even constructed by cultural and cross-cultural appropriations that belong to the whole of Chinese-Western relationships, relationships that to a marked degree have been determined—and overdetermined—by the way that the West has understood itself and China.²⁸

Just as Chen Xiaomei defines the central hegemony over "the 'national minorities' such as Tibetans, Uighurs, and Mongolians,...[as] *national-cultural-imerialism*," I regard PRC

feminism's mis-representation diverse kinds of Chinese feminism as a kind of PRC feminist Orientalism.²⁹

Because the publications that I survey and analyze seldom explain differences between PRC feminism and non-Mainland feminism in the Chinese cultural realm, and because the above-mentioned Western feminist anthologies seldom explore the feminist Orientalism in the cases of "third-world women of color," I feel it is necessary to stage a dialogue with scholars in the West and the PRC, though there certainly are better feminist anthologies³⁰ and publications³¹ that do not exclude women and feminism in non-Mainland areas of the Chinese cultural realm. To Western feminist scholars, I would like to clarify that Asian American feminism or Chinese American feminism is not the same as Chinese feminism, which global feminism claims to include. To Western Asianists and scholars in the PRC, I would like to stress that it is more useful if publications on PRC feminism do not try to imply that they represent feminism in the whole Chinese cultural realm. To both groups of scholars at the intersection of Asian studies, comparative literary studies, cultural studies, and women's studies, I would like to re-state what Chinese feminism is and what Chinese feminism is not, illuminate some Western feminist anthologies' ignorance and exclusion of Asian or Chinese women's studies, emphasize that neither Asian American feminism, Chinese American feminism, nor PRC feminism represent feminism in the whole Chinese cultural realm.

While Virginia Woolf, in *A Room of One's Own*, complains that academic gatekeepers block women entrance to libraries unless they have letters of recommendation from men, does she consider the fact that a considerable number of Asian, Chinese, Hong Kong, Macao, Tibetan, or Taiwanese women were illiterate even in the early twentieth century—not to mention that they might wish to be readers in any library? Illiterate women in the PRC, Taiwan, or any other areas of the Chinese cultural realm were not educated enough to have a dialogue with Virginia Woolf in the same way black feminists converse with first-wave white feminists. Virginia Woolf, in *A Room of One's Own*, does not imagine how ironic it is for a large number of Chinese baby girls to be denied even the opportunity to live because of female infanticide in the late twentieth century—not to mention the luxury for them to enter a library or request a “room of their own.”

When Simone de Beauvoir published her interrogation on why women have been relegated to the second(ary) sex, could she imagine how many Asian, Chinese, or Taiwanese baby girls were abused, abandoned, and sold like animals or even objects.³² They were not merely the second sex but secondary human beings at that time. Women treated even worse than inferior humankind in Asia, Mainland China, or Taiwan might feel excluded by Simone de Beauvoir. It is a pity that they have not shared the chance to publish their reading response to Simone de Beauvoir's bible-like volume in the field of women's studies in the same way feminists of color, third-world feminists, or third-wave feminists replied to second-wave feminists.

In this research project, the dialogue with scholars in the West and the PRC, to some extent, is my own dialogue with them. I am certainly not the first reader to demand the right to be recognized. For instance, black feminist readers and feminists of color have felt that mainstream feminism did not seem to fully include them.³³ “[L]esbians felt that they were marginalized...[because some second-wave feminists, such as Betty Friedan, tended to] distance [themselves] from lesbianism.”³⁴ Third-world feminists feel the same, too.³⁵ This is why the third wave of feminism works to emphasize its diversity and multiculturalism: its inclusion of African-American women, third-world women, non-heterosexual women, women with disabilities, and so on.

As a Taiwanese feminist reader, I cannot see where Virginia Woolf and Simone de Beauvoir might locate illiterate Chinese women and abused Taiwanese child-brides in their texts on different kinds of women’s problems. The same is probably the reason why Patricia Williams has to tell her grandmother’s story. She likely cannot locate her grandmother in pioneer Caucasian feminists’ discourses and has to talk about her grandmother, a black slave raped and mis-treated by her white master, in *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*. I have no idea where Taiwanese and other non-Mainland Chinese women would be placed within *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Criticism and Theory*; *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory*; *Chinese Women Organizing*; *About Chinese Women*; and, *Chinese Feminism Faces*

Globalization. Re-thinking exactly what Chinese feminism is and is not, I hope to find where “the room of [my] own”³⁶ is within the above-mentioned anthologies and publications by Western feminists, Western Asianists, and feminists in the PRC.

Feminist Occidentalism

Since both Orientalism and Occidentalism are “reciprocal relation[s]” or cultural conflicts between the East and the West, it is impossible to avoid feminist Occidentalism in discussions about feminist Orientalism and PRC feminist Orientalism.³⁷ While talking about Orientalism with an interviewer in 1987, Edward W. Said confessed that he “was attacking the notion of the Orient and, for that matter, the notion of the Occident.”³⁸ If Occidentalism is the East’s/Orient’s construction and notion of the Occident, then what is Chinese feminism’s construction, reception, and notion of the Occident?

In an analysis of the West’s cultural power over the East and the “Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient,”³⁹ Judith Snodgrass asserts that Western dominance is “embodied in the ‘unequal treaties’ that had been imposed upon it decades earlier by Western nations.”⁴⁰ Unequal treaties forced Qing China (1644-1911) to give way to the West. Because Western and Japanese imperialists jockeyed for the position of power, Chinese scholars and feminists were compelled to be educated in Western knowledge, such as aviation, engineering, chemistry, and Western feminist thoughts. Since China was defeated by Japan and

the West, almost everything, especially high-tech knowledge, scholarly endeavors, and academic degrees in Japan and the West have been viewed as superior to what China had before the Opium War (1839-1860), just as the Chinese saying goes: *dongyang du yin xiyang du jin* (“Everything from Japan is electroplated with a layer of silver; everything from the West is gilded”). The Qing government sent students to Japan and the West and had overseas Chinese students apply their Western knowledge to reform and strengthen China. For example, Yung Wing, the first Chinese overseas student, graduated from Yale University in 1854. From 1872 to 1875, the Chinese government had over one hundred overseas students in the US. Qiu Jin, as one of the earliest and most famous feminists in modern China, advocated Chinese women’s study abroad in Japan. Most Nationalist leaders in the Republican era, Communist doyens who established the PRC, and scholarly pioneers that achieve significant Chinese academic advancement have studied abroad in Japan, Russia, or advanced Euro-American countries in the West. So far, nearly all Chinese Nobel Prize winners have been educated or lived in the West.

China gave Hong Kong (1860-1997) to England and Taiwan (1895-1945) to Japan. Macao was colonized by Portugal from 1862 to 1999. Like all colonized people, Taiwanese, Hong Kongers, and people in Macao have been labeled as the “other,” the subaltern, the abject, the primitive, the less civilized, the less educated, the inferior, and the marginalized by their colonizers. In other words, colonialism, imperialism, post-colonialism, and post-imperialism

have already castrated their psychological confidence. For instance, almost all early feminists in Hong Kong were English-speaking women with high social status and good family background. A considerable number of Hong Kongers place a higher value on academic degrees from England, especially the University of Oxford and Cambridge University, than the equivalent diplomas in Hong Kong. Taiwan's post-colonial loss of self-confidence kept scholars enthralled by the latest research trends in Western academia. Taiwanese feminist scholars are no exception. They began to import feminist developments and theories from the advanced countries, such as Japan and the West, early in the Japanese colonial era.⁴¹ The era following the lifting of Martial Law (1987-present) is also a golden age for Taiwanese transfer of Western feminist theories.

Under the unbalanced power structures between the East and the West, it is unavoidable for Chinese scholars and feminists to transfer what they learn from the West to Chinese academia and the Chinese cultural realm. Some Chinese scholars and feminists cannot avoid the influence of Occidentalism, such as English language fever, dreams for studies abroad and emigration to Japan or the West, and international connections with Western researchers and feminists. However, most Chinese scholars and feminists are aware of how important it is not to lose their Chinese roots. In order to balance themselves between the Occident and the Orient, Chinese overseas students, who returned from either Japan or the West to serve for the Qing Dynasty and Republican China, began a scholarly etiquette, known as *zhongxue wei ti xixue wei yong*

(“Functional adaptation of Western sciences and knowledge but the maintainability of an inner Chinese substance”). Chinese feminists also strategize their own acculturation and critical reception of Western feminist theories and match them with local socio-cultural trends in the Chinese cultural realm. In the third chapter and fifth chapter, we witness how Taiwanese feminist scholars exert their cross-lingual and cross-cultural power to match the most fashionable Western feminist literary theories with local socio-cultural trends. In the fourth and sixth chapter, we see how feminist scholars in the PRC balance themselves between the Chinese Communist nation state’s political control over post-Maoist academic feminism after the Tiananmen Square Incident (June 4, 1989) and their transfer, acculturation, and practice of Western feminist theories.

In the late Qing Dynasty, seldom did Chinese women have original feminist theories of their own. Japan and the West enlightened Chinese overseas students on feminist activism and studies, such as Japanese socialist feminist movements and American feminists’ legalization of voting rights. However, I contend that feminist thoughts and activism did not move from the West to China only because Chinese feminists have been developing various kinds of feminism of China’s, Hong Kong’s, and Taiwan’s own based upon their own digests and revisions of the Western feminist thoughts that more appropriately fit into the Chinese cultural realm. I hope that the transfer of feminist theories can be two-way transfer between the Orient and the Occident.

[B]oth Orientalism and Occidentalism in whatever form never refer to a ‘thing-in-itself,’ but to a power relationship. Whether this projection into the Other is

positive or negative depends, of course, on the problematic and often paradoxical social, political, and economic conditions in the indigenous culture in question—and on one's own place in structures of power.”⁴²

More and more Western feminists and Western Asianists began their academic pursuits of different types of Chinese feminism and started to learn more about what Chinese feminism is and is not, especially after the PRC opened its door to the West. More and more Western feminists and Western Asianists published monographs and anthologies about multiple aspects of feminism in the Chinese cultural realm. As Tri Minh-Ha points out, “the West is ... made to realize the existence of a Third World in the First World.”⁴³ The Occident's power over the Orient may be more or less balanced by the two-way transfer of academic feminism between the East and the West. When non-Western feminists' theoretical feedback can influence Western feminists as much as the Occident's power over the Orient, this “two-way” transfer may form a sort of feedback loop between the East and the West, the First World and the Third World, the advanced countries and the developing countries. The “two-way” transfer of academic feminism is perhaps part of the “round-trip” of theories that travels when Lydia H. Liu mentions that James Clifford suggests, “theory nowadays takes the plane, sometimes with round-trip tickets.”⁴⁴

Notes

¹ For instance, both Nationalists and Communists in the Chinese cultural realm have been disputing Japan's claim that Japan simply “entered and left” China during World War II in high school textbooks and criticizing the fact that Japan's younger generations do not realize the version of history relating how Japan, in fact, invaded China and massacred Chinese people, especially Chinese people in Nanjing. For details about the Nanjing Massacre, consult Iris Chang's *The Rape of Nanking* and visit the website: www.njmassacre.org. This dispute over the

Japanese version of history and the Chinese version began in the twentieth century and continues in the early twenty-first century. In November 2004, the Taiwanese Ministry of Education's decision to separate Taiwanese history from Chinese history resulted in controversy. For details, consult *Lianhe bao* (*The United News*) and *Zhongguo ribao* (*China Daily*) dated November 10 and 11, 2004. Different scholars involve themselves in endless disputes over issues like these. However, how the issue of re-shaping younger generations' understanding of history cannot wait until every scholar weighs in. This also applies to how to construct and improve younger generations' comprehension of women's and feminists' history in the Chinese cultural realm.

² Gallop, Jane, Marianne Hirsch, and Evelyn Fox Keller. "Criticizing Feminist Criticism." *Conflicts in Feminism*. Marianne Hirsch and Fox Keller ed. New York: Routledge, 1990, p. 362. Also consult Devoney Looser's "This Feminism Which Is Not One." *The Minnesota Review: A Journal of Committed Writing*. 41-42 (1995): 108-117.

³ *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Criticism and Theory* and *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory* are by far not the only Western feminist anthologies that highlight Asian American feminism. For more examples, consult Amy Ling and Shirley Geok-Lin Lim's *Reading the Literatures in Asian America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992. Also see Mitsuye Yamada's "Asian Pacific American and Feminism." *Modern Feminisms*. Maggie Humm ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992, pp. 148-149; Amy Ling's "I'm Here: An Asian American Woman's Response." *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Criticism and Theory*. Robyn R. Warhol and Diane Price Herndl ed. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997; Marina Heung's "Representing Ourselves: Films and Videos by Asian American/Canadian Women." *Feminism, Multiculturalism, and the Media: Global Diversities*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995, pp. 82-104.

⁴ I am aware that there are countries and areas considered neither Eastern nor Western, such as Hawaii, Australia, New Zealand, Russia, and Turkey. But I still decide to use this word, "Western," because this word for my purposes means the "pure" West, especially what the upper-middle class and the white usually label as advanced countries and civilized areas.

⁵ Nicholson, Linda. *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory*. New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 1-6; 356-378.

⁶ Johnson, Elizabeth. "Women and Childbearing in Kwan Mun Hau Village: A Study of Social Change." *Women in Chinese Society*. Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975, pp. 213-241.

⁷ They are not the only Western feminist anthologies that do not clearly specify different kinds of feminism in the Chinese cultural realm or even in Asia. For more examples, see Alice S. Rossi's *The Feminist Papers*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1973; Miriam Schneir's *Feminism in Our Time*. New York: Vintage, 1994; Elizabeth Weed's *Feminism Meets Queer Theory*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997; Teresa De Lauretis's *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986; and Stevi Jackson and Jackie Jones's *Contemporary Feminist Theories*. New York: New York University Press, 1998, pp. 1-11.

⁸ *Chinese Feminism Faces Globalization* and *Chinese Women Organizing* are not the only two examples. Other examples are: *Women in the Chinese Enlightenment*; *The Good Women of China*; *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China*; *Engendering China*; *Women's Work in Rural China*, *Women of China*; *Daughters of the Dragon*; *Women in Rural China*; *Personal Voices*; *Women, the Family and Peasant Revolution in China*; etc. Also consult Sharon Wesoky's

Chinese Feminism Faces Globalization. New York: Routledge, 2002, pp. 239-247; Hsiung, Ping-chun and Maria Jashchok and Cecelia Milwertz and Red Chan. *Chinese Women Organizing*. New York: Berg Press, 2001, p. xxvi; Barlow, Tani E. *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004, pp. 37-63.

⁹ Li Xiaojiang's and Du Fangqin's works are not the only two examples. For other evidence, see Chinese-language publication like Li Yinhe's *Zhongguo nüxing de ganqing yu xing (Love and Sexuality of Chinese Women)*.

¹⁰ From the standpoint of some Nationalists, especially those who moved to Taiwan around 1949, the word, "Mainland," may indicate their past possession of the large territory of China before the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) established the People's Republic of China (PRC). It may also imply these Nationalists' strong wish to defeat Communists and re-possess the large territory of China. However, in this conclusion, I use the word, "Mainland," only to refer to the part of Chinese territory that does not include non-Mainland areas of the Chinese cultural realm, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, and so on. I do not share any indication or implication with Nationalists when I use the word, "Mainland," in this conclusion.

¹¹ Yu, Chien-ming. "Taiwan diqu de fuyun" (Women's Movements in Taiwanese Area). *Jindai zhongguo funü yundong shi (A History of Women's Movements in Modern China)*. Chen San-ching ed. Taipei: Jindai zhongguo, 2000, pp. 468-491; 433-453.

¹² Between Communist Chinese feminism and Taiwanese feminism, there would surely be more nuances. However, it is not possible for me to list everything here. For this reason, I list these to support my own argument.

¹³ The CCP's *fulian* is neither a formal department nor branch of the central government. However, its members' salary comes from the PRC government.

¹⁴ Before the lifting of Martial Law, the Nationalist Party's *fulian* had also no opposition women's organization to compete with. Led by the first lady, it was as monopolistic in Taiwan as the CCP's *fulian* in the PRC.

¹⁵ Zhu, Hong. "The Testimony of Women Writers: The Situation of Women in China Today." *Women's Rights, Human Rights: International Feminist Perspectives*. Julie S. Peters and Andrea Wolper ed. New York: Routledge, 1995, pp. 96-102.

¹⁶ Lin, Chun, Liu Bohong, and Jin Yihong. "China." *A Companion to Feminist Philosophy*. Alison M. Jaggar and Iris M. Young ed. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998, pp. 108-117.

¹⁷ Hom, Sharon K. "Female Infanticide in China: The Human Rights Specter and Thoughts toward (An)Other Vision." *Global Critical Race Feminism: An International Reader*. Adrien K. Wing ed. New York: New York University Press, 2000, pp. 251-259. Also see Anna M. Han's "Holding Up More Than Half the Sky: Marketization and the Status of Women in China." *Global Critical Race Feminism: An International Reader*. Adrien K. Wing ed. New York: New York University Press, 2000, pp. 392-408.

¹⁸ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979, p. 7.

¹⁹ See page 6 in Edward W. Said's *Orientalism*.

²⁰ See page 12 in Edward W. Said's *Orientalism*.

²¹ See page 7 in Edward W. Said's *Orientalism*.

²² See page 121 in Edward W. Said's *Orientalism*.

²³ Ma, Karen. *The Modern Madame Butterfly*. Tokyo: Tuttle, 1996, pp. 9-60.

²⁴ Hwang, David Henry. *M. Butterfly*. New York: Penguin, 1989, p. 17.

²⁵ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979, p. 3.

²⁶ Chen, Xiaomei. *Occidentliams: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 4; p. 48.

²⁷ Hunt, Michael H. *Ideology and U. S. Foreign Policy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, p. 79; p. 163; p. 77. Also consult Douglas Little's *American Orientalism*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002, p. 10.

²⁸ Chen, Xiaomei. *Occidentliams: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 4.

²⁹ Chen, Xiaomei. *Occidentliams: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 47.

³⁰ For instance, Carole R. McCann and Kim Seung-Kyung's *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives* includes not only chapters on Asian American women but also an article about Communist Chinese feminism in Beijing. For details, consult Mitsuye Yamada's "Invisibility Is an Unnatural Disaster: Reflections of an Asian American Woman." *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*. Carole R. McCann and Seung-Kyung Kim ed. New York: Routledge, 2002, pp. 174-178; Karin Aguilar-San Juan's "Going Home: Enacting Justice in Queer Asian America." *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*. Carole R. McCann and Seung-Kyung Kim ed. New York: Routledge, 2002, pp. 267-277; Mallika Dutt's "Some Reflections on US Women of Color and the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women and NGO Forum in Beijing, China." *Global Feminisms: A Survey of Issues and Controversies*. New York: Routledge, 2000. Reprinted in *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*. Carole R. McCann and Seung-Kyung Kim ed. New York: Routledge, 2002, pp. 197-205.

McCann and Kim do not seem to replace Chinese feminism with Asian American feminism in this feminist anthology. Bonnie Smith even makes an obvious distinction about Communist Chinese feminism, Vietnamese feminism, Korean feminism, and Japanese feminism in her anthology, *Global Feminisms: A Survey of Issues and Controversies*. For details, see Mallika Dutt's "Some Reflections on US Women of Color and the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women and NGO Forum in Beijing, China." *Global Feminisms: A Survey of Issues and Controversies*. New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 305-313; Mary Ann Tetreault's "Women and Revolution in Vietnam." *Global Feminisms: A Survey of Issues and Controversies*. New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 45-64; Miriam Ching Yoon Louie's "Minjung Feminism: Korean Women's Movement for Gender and Class Liberation." *Global Feminisms: A Survey of Issues and Controversies*. New York: Routledge, 2000; Vera Mackie's "Feminist Critiques of Modern Japanese Politics." *Global Feminisms: A Survey of Issues and Controversies*. New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 180-202.

Marianne Marchand also specifies Filipino, Hong Kong, and Japanese women's problems in *Gender and Global Restructuring*. For details, consult Kimberly A. Chang and L. H. M. Ling's "Globalization and Its Intimate Other: Filipino Domestic Workers in Hong Kong." *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites, and Resistances*. New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 27-43; Yumiko Mikanagi's "A Political Explanation of the Gendered Division of Labor in Japan." *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites, and Resistances*. New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 116-128.

Other examples are in the following: Alka Kurian's "Women and the Developing World." *The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Post-Feminism*. Sarah Gamble ed. New York: Routledge, 2002; pp. 66-79; Jeeyun Lee's "Beyond Bean Counting." *Women's Voices, Feminist*

Visions: Classic and Contemporary Readings. Columbus, OH: McGraw-Hill, 2001, pp. 36-39; Fiona Lee's "Militarism and Sexual Violence." *Women's Voices, Feminist Visions: Classic and Contemporary Readings*. Columbus, OH: McGraw-Hill, 2001; pp. 431-433; Nellie Wong's "When I Was Growing Up." *Women's Voices, Feminist Visions: Classic and Contemporary Readings*. Columbus, OH: McGraw-Hill, 2001, pp. 130-131; Gloria Yamada's "Something about the Subject Makes It Hard to Name." *Women's Voices, Feminist Visions: Classic and Contemporary Readings*. Columbus, OH: McGraw-Hill, 2001, pp. 86-88; Samnang Wu's "A Lucky Woman." *Women in Exile*. Mahnaz Afkhami ed. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994, pp. 162-190; and, Ge Yang's "A Woman in a Borrowed Country." *Women in Exile*. Mahnaz Afkhami ed. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994, pp. 64-77.

³¹ Mayfair Mei-hui Yang's *Spaces of Their Own: Women's Public Sphere in Transnational China* is probably one of the best examples. Besides Communist Chinese feminist scholars' articles, Yang includes chapters on Taiwanese and Hong Kong women, such as Lee Yuan-chen's "How the Feminist Movement Won Media Space in Taiwan." *Spaces of Their Own: Women's Public Sphere in Transnational China*. Mayfair Meihui Yang ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, pp. 95-115; Sang Tze-lan's "Feminism's Double Lesbian Activism in the Mediated Public Sphere of Taiwan." *Spaces of Their Own: Women's Public Sphere in Transnational China*. Mayfair Mei-hui Yang ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, pp. 132-161; and, Ho Yee Lim's "Women on the Edges of Hong Kong Modernity." *Spaces of Their Own: Women's Public Sphere in Transnational China*. Mayfair Mei-hui Yang ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, pp. 162-190. In this anthology, Shih Shu-mei even comparatively touches upon Communist China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. For details, consult Shih Shu-mei's "Gender and a Geopolitics of Desire: The Seduction of Mainland Women in Taiwan and Hong Kong Media." *Spaces of Their Own: Women's Public Sphere in Transnational China*. Mayfair Mei-hui Yang ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, pp. 278-307.

³² For details, see the following publications: Tseng, Chiu-mei's *Taiwan xifuzai de shenghuo shijie (The Lives of Sim-pua: The Stories of Taiwanese Daughters-in-law)*; Yu Chien-hui's "Yijiuwuling niandai Taiwan de 'baohu yangnü yundong'" (The Movement to Protect Adopted Daughters' in Taiwan of the 1950s); Yu Chien-ming's *Qingting tamen de shengyin (Listening to Their Voices)*; Chiang Wen-yu's *Ama de gushi (Stories of Grandmothers)*; and, Xiaoshi zhong de taiwan a ma (*Taiwanese Grandmothers Who Are Disappearing*).

³³ Roth, Benita. *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicano, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003, pp. 1-13. Also consult the following publications:

Walker, Alice. "National Black Feminist Organization Statement of Purpose." *Feminism in Our Time: The Essential Writings, World War II to the Present*. Miriam Schneir ed. New York: Vintage, 1994, pp. 171-174.

Hoeweler, Diane Long and Janet K. Boles. *Women of Color: Defining the Issues, Hearing the Voices*. London: Westport, 2001, pp. 1-20.

³⁴ Jagose, Annamarie. *Queer Theory: An Introduction*. New York: New York University Press, 1996, pp. 44-45.

³⁵ Narayan, Uma. *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions, and Third-World Feminism*. New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 1-40.

³⁶ Woolf, Virginia. "A Room of One's Own." *The Feminist Papers: From Adams to de Beauvoir*. Alice S. Rossi ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1973, pp. 627-652.

³⁷ Tavakoli-Targhi, Mohamad. *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Historiography*. New York: Palgrave, 2001, p. 23.

³⁸ Paul, James. "Orientalism Revisited: An Interview with Edward W. Said." *Interviews with Edward W. Said*. Amritjit Singh and Bruce G. Johnson ed. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004, p. 46.

³⁹ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979, p. 3; p. 40. Also consult Richmond Barbour's *Before Orientalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Snodgrass, Judith. *Presenting Japanese Buddhism to the West*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003, p. 16.

⁴¹ Yang, Tsui. *Riju shiqi Taiwan funü jiefang yundong (Movements of Taiwanese Women's Liberation in the Era of Japanese Colonization)*. Taipei: Shibao, 1993, pp. 226-252; 298-315; 449-454; 521-525; 586-589.

⁴² Chen, Xiaomei. *Occidentliams: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 48.

⁴³ Tri, Minh-Ha. *Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcolonialisty and Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989, p. 98.

⁴⁴ Clifford, James. "Notes on Travel and Theory." *Inscriptions* 5 (1989): 177-188, p. 158. Also consult Lydia H. Liu's *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995, p. 21.

An engaging illustrated history of feminism from antiquity through third-wave feminism, featuring Sappho, Mary Magdalene, Mary Wollstonecraft, Sojourner Truth, Simone de Beauvoir, and many others. The history of feminism? The right to vote, Susan B. Anthony, Gloria Steinem, white pantsuits? Oh, but there's so much more. Along the way, we learn about important figures: Olympe de Gouges, author of the "Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen" (guillotined by Robespierre); Flora Tristan, who linked the oppression of women and the oppression of the proletariat before Marx and Engels set pen to paper; and the poet Audre Lorde, who pointed to the racial obliviousness of mainstream feminism in the 1970s and 1980s. The Unhappy Marriage of Feminism and Marxism. Schools of Thought in Politics: Feminism. Susan Moller Okin and Jane Mansbridge ed. In the People's Republic of China, one of the front lines to embrace Western feminist theories was a group of scholars who were trained in foreign languages and literature, and interested in gender studies. These Chinese scholars' translation of feminist thoughts into Mandarin Chinese and their analyses and revisions of Western feminist theories were important vehicles that helped to bring feminist thoughts from the West into China. This front line was a key factor in terms of how Western feminist theories were transferred into China.