ABSTRACT

Title of Document: GLOBAL ASSIMILATION AND GLOBAL ALIENATION: LIVES OF PROFESSIONAL WOMEN IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

Jing Song
Doctor of Philosophy, 2012

Directed By: Seung-Kyung Kim
Professor, Department of Women's Studies

This dissertation examines the careers and family lives of "professional, white-collar women" in contemporary China in order to understand the ways in which labor markets, state policies, and gender expectations affect these women's lives in an era of rapid globalization. Drawing on multidisciplinary methods including in-depth interviews with twenty women, content analyses of the biweekly, pop-culture magazine *Zhiyin,* and the literary analyses of two feminist novels, Wei Hui's *Shanghai Baby* (2001), and Mian Mian's *Candy* (2003), I discuss how professional women articulate the meaning of their careers and their family lives, and make sense of their experiences as part of China's path to globalization.

Analyzing the ways that professional women construct themselves as "women,"—complying with traditional ideologies of womanhood that historically devalued their achievements in the workplace—I interrogate a category of identity,

"professional white-collar women." Thus, I present how these "professional white-collar" women's experiences in their multinational workplaces show that their lives are intricately intertwined with the simultaneous process of being assimilated and alienated as a result of the globalization of China. By arguing that, for these women, instead of increasing their personal agency as independent individuals, their careers serve to develop their desire for materialism and capitalist modernity, I present the irony of China's participation in globalization.

GLOBAL ASSIMILATION AND GLOBAL ALIENATION: LIVES OF PROFESSIONAL WOMEN IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

By

Jing Song

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2012

Advisory Committee:
Professor Seung-Kyung Kim, Chair
Professor Deborah Rosenfelt
Professor Claire Moses
Professor Bonnie Thornton Dill
Professor Jianmei Liu
Professor James Gao

© Copyright by
Jing Song
2012

Dedication

For my mother, An Yuanxiu

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to many people who have been standing with me on my way toward becoming a feminist scholar. The faculty members of the Department of Women's Studies, my friends and co-workers, and my family have been with me closely and given me endless encouragement. They are the source of power that keeps me on the academic track. Without their general support, this dissertation would not have been completed.

The faculty members of the Department of Women's Studies have provided me with the sources of knowledge and inspiration needed to mature as a scholar. Their intellectual rigor and rich knowledge have nourished me in academia, and their friendship, kindness, and warmth have helped me to go through cultural and language struggles in the alien academic setting. I cannot fully express my deepest thanks to Claire Moses, who assisted with my smooth transition from China to studying in the United States. Her rigorous academic style and willingness to help opened up my mind to view this world positively. Deborah Rosenfelt was my first teacher of feminist theory in the United States. Her wisdom and intellectual excellence has provided me with a model for being a good teacher; Katie King changed my views on this world. Not only did her outstanding feminist pedagogy guide me to discover new ways of thinking, but also her understanding of my situation as an international student helped me feel like I belonged here. Also, thanks to Elsa Barkley Brown who guided me to think innovatively to bring various methods together in conducting

feminist research. Her encouragement of my teaching brought me tremendous courage to teach in the United States.

I am particularly grateful to Bonnie Thornton Dill; her encouragement and guidance has solidified my confidence to express my opinions in the classroom. Her support expressed through her eyes and smiles made me feel that I was welcome, and my opinions were invaluable. Lynn Bolles has been an excellent mentor in developing my research skills, and Jianmei Liu has been a great source of support since the first year I met her. I value her encouragement and support whenever I am in need of her help. James Gao, on several occasions, offered me excellent ideas and strategies to keep on the right track in the academy. There are no words that I can find to present my gratitude to my academic advisor, Seung-Kyung Kim. Since 2003, she has been outstandingly generous with her time and intellectual guidance. Her general support helped me through the most difficult time in my life. Without her consistent help, her kindness, academic wisdom, and gentle criticism of my academic performance, I would not have progressed so smoothly.

The life of an international graduate student is not easy. However, Annie Carter, Cliffornia Howard, and Laura Nichols have made my life run smoothly and easily. Annie Clark has helped me out of many difficult situations. Cliffornia Howard has helped me a lot in adapting to university life and informed me of school policies which helped me survive graduate school. Laura Nichols has been a great helper and counselor, who assisted me to successfully navigate the academic system. Their smiles, kindness, and warmth have always bestowed on me the sense of belonging to a family—the Department of Women's Studies.

I am also thankful to my colleagues and friends Barbara Boswell, Angel Miles, Rajani Bhatia, Yuzhen Liu, Denise Shupiko, and Jeannette Soon-Ludes. Their intellectual suggestions, friendships, and love all endowed me with the energy to continue my work. I am especially thankful to Barbara Boswell, who spent considerable time helping me edit my work, and whose critical suggestions helped me to refine the dissertation. I have sincere appreciation of my friends and co-workers. Their willingness to share life and academic experiences has helped me to develop my positive attitude in facing the difficulties encountered.

Specifically, I am thankful for the support gained from my family. My son, Anton Chen, consistently brings me happiness, joy, and grace and makes my work more meaningful. My husband, Hong Chen, spent a lot of time with our son, Anton and his care of our son provided me with the chance to complete this dissertation. To my mother, An Yuanxiu: I still believe you are with me though you passed away in November 2005. The hardship you went through has taught me how to become strong. I have always carried with me your saying to be independent and to be the master of my own life. Your love and dedication have always been the driving force of my life, which I have used as contribute to my family and to society.

Finally, this work would not have been possible without the generosity of the women professionals I interviewed, to whom I gave pseudonyms in this dissertation. Their sharing and trust in me made this research process run smoothly. I am grateful for their allowing me to access their personal lives and for sharing their experiences with people who care about the situation of women.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

Walking down the streets of Beijing during the late 2000s, one observes luxury vehicles such as Mercedes Benzs, BMWs, and Porsche Cayennes. On Chang An Street, the nouveau-riche are dressed in fashionable suits, the new skyline boasts immaculate modern buildings, and international commercial centers and foreign restaurants are everywhere. During the evening, neon lights brighten up the night sky, as if to announce the prosperity of the city and its similarity with other urban landscapes such as London, New York City, or Paris. The same prosperous scenes are on show in Shanghai, the largest city in China. On Nanjing Road, known as "The First Commercial Street" in China,[1] a prosperous picture unfolds, similar to sights on Fifth Avenue in New York, The Champs-Elysees in Paris, and Ginza Center in Tokyo. Alongside Huahai Road, another main commercial street, "mushrooming skyscrapers have reshaped the city's skyline" (Wu, 2000, p. 1360). Making up part of this urban landscape, Western products such as Coca-Cola, ™ Pepsi, ™ 7-Up, ™ McDonalds, ™ Louis Vuitton, ™ and L'Oreal™ have been integrated into people's lives as dominant symbols of globalized Shanghai.

These prosperous scenes in Beijing and Shanghai constitute ideal sites for investigating how the globalization process has influenced the particular gendered experiences of professional women.[2] Behind the ostentation lies a complicated history of evolution from traditional cities to global capitalist centers. Alongside the

[1] http://baike.baidu.com/view/173764.htm

[2] In this dissertation, Beijing and Shanghai serve as two locations where I conducted my research—interviews in Beijing and literature analysis in the context of Shanghai. In Chapter Three and Chapter Four, I discussed the importance of the two cities in economy, politics, and culture, as background to understand professional women's activities.

historical transformation from feudal and socialist urban areas to international metropolises, Beijing and Shanghai have experienced profound and radical alterations in physical features and social structures. These crucial changes, in turn, have created a new urban pattern that shapes the perspectives of Chinese professional women and how they evaluate their lives at home and in the workplace. In this sense, Beijing and Shanghai constitute a transnational space in which women professionals are entrenched within the multiple forces of global capital, politics, and culture, as well as traditional Chinese culture and active socialist politics.

Walking down a Beijing street in Spring 2009 for the first time in years, I began to rethink what cities mean to the people who live in them. Having been away from Beijing for over three years (2005 to 2009), I felt both familiar and unfamiliar with the city. The changes I observed raised an important question for me: Is the metropolis the place where globalization has made its biggest impact on people's everyday lives? This question led me to rethink who I am and why I should conduct this research.

After several years of study in the United States, I visited Beijing as a feminist researcher to investigate the experiences of professional women in China. I decided to examine feminist work on globalization, debates on work and family, and the issues that Chinese professional women face in the broader discourse on women and globalization. My investigation is not the act of a neutral observer with a disinterested curiosity in the effects of China's economic reform on women workers. Rather, I position myself within a tradition of feminism that considers how the interrelationship of male-dominance replicates itself in family structures, oppresses and constrains

women, and reduces its social and cultural representations of women to political subjects. Grounded by this commitment, I examine whether the gendered process of globalization perpetuates patriarchal control over households and professional workplaces.

There are two trajectories to this dissertation. The first is to map the working and living conditions of contemporary Chinese professional (salaried or white-collar) women so as to identify their ideological understandings of social relations and their roles, commitments, and identities. Drawing on interviews I conducted with twenty women in 2009, I examine the political, material, and gendered conditions that shaped their self-identification. I then analyze the interactions between these women and the multiple, formidable forces of Chinese cultural tradition, global capitalism, and Western cultural and social values.

The second trajectory is to conceptualize and then manifest the way in which professional women interact with the process of globalization. Using a nationally famous magazine *Zhiyin*, I explore the meanings produced from social orders and structures that create the gendered knowledge and subjectivity that guide the day-to-day activities of women. Additionally, through close readings of two novels, *Shanghai Baby*, by Wei Hui (2000), and *Candy*, by Mian Mian (2003), I identify professional women as participating agents in constructing their lives. I analyze how the daily experiences of professional women have reinforced or shaken the boundaries between gender, class, nation, and women. Through content and literature analyses, this dissertation theorizes the conditions through which professional women's self-identifications have impacted on their actions as agents to challenge,

co-operate, or negotiate with local and global power.

Literature Review: Women in Global Economy and Chinese Women Studies

This dissertation draws principally on two distinct literatures of women in the global economy and Chinese women's studies to investigate the ways in which Chinese professional women construct their ideas of professionalism and of womanhood in an increasingly globalized China. In contrast to the existing literature on worker experiences in the industrial and service industries (Seager, 2003; Parrenas, 2001; Ong, 1999; Acker, 2004), this dissertation focuses exclusively on women professionals to map out how their work contributes to the accumulation of global capitalist power.

I start by reviewing some theoretical perspectives on globalization, including cultural explanations, power analyses, and feminist critiques. In evaluating these theoretical and empirical frameworks, I claim globalization to be a conceptual framework for understanding how professional women's labor is situated within global power structures. Then, I move to review Chinese women's situation within the global economy, as well as women's issues in China, with a focus on discussion of debates on women professionals in contemporary China.

Gendered Globalization

In everyday life, globalization has been defined as a force that affects the organization of individuals and institutions. Since the1970s, many studies, from various perspectives, have conceptualized globalization as shifting forms and

reviewed its transformative interactions within societies, economies, culture and political systems (Harvey, 1989; Held & McGrew, 2000; Castells, 1996; Appadurai, 2001; Sassen, 1998; Ong, 1999; Ohmae ,1990). Economists David Held and Kenichi Ohmae define contemporary globalization as a new epoch of human history marked by the transnational integration of economic, political, cultural, and social life. From an economic perspective, globalization is primarily a result of technological breakthroughs and the expansion of transnational economic activities (Held & McGrew, 2000; Ohmae, 1990).

However, from a cultural perspective, globalization does not simply mean exchanges of goods and services. Rather, the term signifies a universal and uneven flow of social value and culture between nations. Arjun Appadurai views globalization not only as a transformation of materials, but transformation of ideas and ideologies, people and goods, images and messages, and technologies and techniques, which mobilize at differential speeds and directions (Appadurai, 2001). However, Appadurai's cultural analyses of globalization leave a void in the examination of regimes of power. His approach, which attempts to universalize characteristics of globalization, fails to identify and explain structural power as it is embedded in global flows. In addition, Appadurai also does not fully address the mechanisms that enable the global mobility of materials, technologies, and cultures. Nevertheless, his imperfect explanation of globalization has created room for intensive studies of power embedded in such global flows of materials and information.

Some scholarly work focuses on investigating power relationships embedded in global flows of capital and suggest that such flows are not power-free and value-neutral; rather, they produce the conditions that shape new relations of global inequalities (Ong, 1999; Sassen, 1998; Rai, 2002; Naples & Desai, 2002). For instance, Aihwa Ong's study of state and citizenship regimes in Asia probes the cultural dynamics that shape people and political responses to the economic relationships deriving from globalization (Ong, 1999). Saskia Sassen's work on formatting legal regimes between nations indicates that globalization is increasing the levels of concentrated wealth, poverty, and inequality worldwide (Sassen, 1998). In emphasizing analyses of the embeddedness of power in global economic and cultural flows, both Aihwa Ong and Saskia Sassen attempt to explain how particular global forces, such as culture and economy, transform patterns of power in gender relations, nations, and states.

Sassen's research on globalization and its complicated results directs people's attention to the existence of the embeddedness of power within global flows of capital. Sassen argues that economic globalization, dominated by global markets and transnational firms, is becoming a dynamic for generating a new political operation, thus contributing to a new international economic order (Sassen, 1998). This new generation of power elites has particular effects in economic zones where a free space emerges and state sovereignty has to give way to international laws protecting foreign corporations. As a result, a new democratic force from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other civil society entities are active participants in the negotiations of power between nation-states and firms, and this participation plays a

significant role in influencing the reconstruction of the new world order. Sassen's intellectual insights on the relationship between globalization and the new social order inspires theoretical concerns regarding the roles Chinese professional women play in the transformation of goods and culture, and whether their participation could generate alternative social orders for themselves—and other women.

Compared to Sassen's views, Ong's research offers an opposing view. Ong suggests that the old power patterns between states, individuals, and genders, have not changed in the globalization processes. Rather, Ong argues, globalization provides the dynamic that informs, restructures, and adjusts human relationships. By his thinking, some forms of power, such as nation-states, have not been compromised or weakened as many expected. Instead, rather then giving up its power, when a state is involved in global economic and cultural flows, it responds to the challenges by strategically adjusting itself to maintain its power. Thus, state regimes, supported by global capital, construct new global inequalities (Ong, 1999).

Ong's critique of power reveals the political nature of capital and cultural flows of globalization, and this politicization prompts my investigation as to whether the growth of corporate wealth varies directly with a corresponding increase in disadvantages for professional women in China. Together, these research studies provide a broad theoretical framework with which feminist scholars have developed critiques of gender relationships within globalization.

Feminist scholars trace globalization as a gendered process that disadvantages women by situating them at the bottom of hierarchical global structures (Parrenas, 2001; Rai, 2002; Altman, 2001; Farr, 2004; Acker, 2004; Seager, 2003; Moghadam,

2005; Pupp, 1997; Petchesky, 2003; Peterson & Runyan, 1999). Further, feminist scholars locate women and gender at the center of their discussions to elucidate the varied and different meanings globalization has for men as opposed to women. Among these scholars, some explain how economic systems cause gender inequalities within globalization (Seager, 2003, Ruether, 2004). Some emphasize a sex-gendered grid as a way to recognize and track the global process (Altman, 2001; Rai, 2002; Fernández-Kelly, 1983; Ong, 1987; Parrenas 2001); and some propose the gendered division of labor as a way to explore male-dominance in labor markets (Kim, 1997; Parrena, 2001; Ong, 1987; Fernández-Kelly, 1983).

The feminist economic line of inquiry examines how global capital flows produce gender inequalities (Seager, 2003, Ruether, 2004; Cavanagh, 2000). From this perspective, Anderson and Cavanagh's research indicates that global inequality is produced and sustained by the world's wealthy elites who create the rules that make the world run as they wish, and steer the agendas of governments and social institutions at every level (Anderson & Cavanagh, 2000). Similarly, Joni Seager's research indicates that globalization is essentially a socially-constructed process in which economic systems determine other aspects of social lives. Seager argues that this male-dominated economic system sets pre-conditions that worsen the overall situations of women, and that many women around the world earn the lowest incomes and experience an absolute decline in the quality of their lives (Seager, 2003). Similarly, Kathryn Farr's research on the sex industry brings attention to the gender gap in the labor market. She states that women have faced growing gender gaps in terms of payment, working conditions, and employment opportunities, and lose the

basic human right to control their own bodies (Farr, 2004). These studies draw attention to connections between economic development and the overall decline of women's economic status and basic human rights. They also provide a basis for further exploration of gender inequality mechanisms.

Rosemary Ruether goes further in exploring the economic mechanisms that generate gender inequality. In seeking an alternative global society to displace current centralized and top-down globalization, Ruether analyzes and criticizes mechanisms of global power and argues that an existing partnership of investment capital and global political institutions maintain and reinforce world wide power. By defining this partnership as corporate globalization, Ruether points to an intimate connection between the current dominant system of economic power and politics to the legacies of colonialism and neocolonialism. For Ruether, this establishes a complex hierarchy of power relations in global activities. For example, global political institutions support economic expansion through the support of political institutions such as the World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO), and the U. S. military. These institutional powers constitute and reinforce the systematic foundations that maintain the normal operations of the global economy and enlarge the gap between rich and poor (Ruether, 2004). Ruether's analysis has prompted feminist scholars to think about how international institutions and capitalism constitute the systems that determine women's everyday activities. Ruether's theoretical orientation provides an approach to examine gendered globalization through the analysis of macro-social phenomena such as economic markets and the functions of national and international institutions.

A feminist economic perspective allows us to investigate women's disadvantages as entrenched within intersecting systems of local and international power, capital, and patriarchy. However, this perspective alone is insufficient in understanding the whole picture of gendered globalization because it explains relatively little about how women's interactions with social systems complicate their overall situations. Therefore, taking a close look at feminist critiques of the gendered division of labor throws light on the gendered process of globalization.

A feminist critique of the gendered division of labor suggests that the category of gender serves as a site to examine the nature of globalization. Through analyzing the interconnections between the reproduction of gendered power, social inequality, and larger changes in the world, several feminist anthropological studies have investigated the gendered nature of globalization, including Fernández-Kelly's study of Maquila women in the garment and electronic industries in Mexico (Fernández-Kelly, 1983); Ong's study of women electronic workers in Malaysia (Ong, 1987); Kim's study of women electronic workers in South Korea (Kim, 1997); and Parrenas's study of migrant Filipina domestic workers (Parrenas, 2001). These studies indicate that factory work provides women, especially rural women, opportunities to obtain economic independence and challenge patriarchal relations within the family and community. However, gendered hierarchies of power in factories usually put women workers under male control, which decreases the potential for women's empowerment through labor market participation. These studies, deal with the consequences of women's participation in male-dominated labor markets, and stirred my interest to explore whether women professionals may experience similar

opportunities or different situations. Such scholarly work on gendered globalization has contributed to important theoretical frameworks within which a broad range of women's issues has been investigated. As part of this work, feminist researchers investigate issues of women in the labor force and in the family to examine how social, economic, gender, national, and cultural systems entrench women's subordination locally and globally. Using work and family as frameworks, feminist scholars relate women's experiences to local and global economies and culture. By postulating this relationship, researchers have developed a critique that connects corporate wealth and power accumulation with corresponding disadvantages for women. In the following section, I review empirical studies on women in the workplace and in the family to understand whether, as Joan Acker argues, women's labor functions as a source for the global accumulation of capital and power and whether women's labor has strengthened traditional gender, race, and class hierarchies (Acker, 2004).

Women in the Global Economy

Feminist studies on women's work experiences indicate that their participation in the global labor force produce complicated consequences in their family lives. Much scholarly work has defined the global labor marked as a segregated, racialized, unequal, and tenuous place where gender inequality is perpetuated (Bakker, 1994; Eisenstein, 1979; Mies, 1986; Hartmann, 1986; Hossfled,1990; Ng, 2000; Li, 2003; Segura, 2004; Lim, 1983; Peterson & Runyan, 1993; Higginbotham, 1994; Yuval-Davis & Anthias, 1990). From a socialist feminist

perspective, Heidi Hartmann, Zillah Eisenstein, and Maria Mies view the labor market as a place where the intersection of patriarchy and capitalism constructs an inferior position for women in the workforce and turns their labor into a resource for capitalist accumulations (Eisenstein, 1979; Hartmann, 1986; Mies, 1986). Focusing on the interplay between the sexual division of labor and the international division of labor, Mies argues that, historically, patriarchy and capitalism constitute the sexual division of labor in which women are considered non-paid workers responsible for subsistence production and domestic work while men are wage earners in agriculture and industries (Mies, 1986). Mies's thoughts about capitalist patriarchy are similar to Eisenstein and Hartmann's critique on the mutual dependence of the two systems—capitalism and patriarchy. According to Eisenstein and Hartmann, although patriarchy and capitalism have different historical and social origins, both are pliable enough to fit into each other's needs even though tensions have always existed between them (Eisenstein, 1979; Hartmann, 1986). Mies further argues that within the capitalist and patriarchal system, the asymmetric division of labor is based on men's violence against women and maintained through patriarchal institutions such as the family, state, legal system, religion, and medical discourses (Mies, 1986). The feminist critiques about the sex division of labor draws my attention to examine whether the gendered nature of labor market may affect professional women's lives in contemporary China.

In addition to the divisions that generally disadvantage women in the labor market, race and ethnicity are also factors. Many scholars such as Denise Sequra and Elizabeth Higginbotham have applied the lens of ethnicity to examine workplace

issues. For example, through the analysis of Chicana and Mexican immigrant women's work experiences, Segura notes that occupational segregation based on race, ethnicity, and gender only constrain opportunities for mobility (Segura, 2004). Segura's research brings my attention to view the labor market not as a whole with the same characteristics, but as a place marked by local power forces—tradition, culture, and politics. Similar to Segura, Elizabeth Higginbotham's study on occupations of Black women in the United States shows that gender and racial discrimination continue to play a key role in determining the occupational limitations of Black women both in private and public sectors (Higginbotham, 1994). According to Higginbotham, a Black woman is continuously expected to take traditional female occupations and discouraged from taking innovative jobs. These studies indicate that Black women, women of color, and women in developing countries suffer double discrimination due to their gender and racial identities in the labor market. The work also has drawn scholarly attention to ethnicity as a category to delineate differences among women based on their language, religion, and other economic and cultural factors.

The feminist studies suggest that the current labor market is a complicated place where inequalities of race, class, and gender are generated and perpetuated. In industrialized countries, women are pushed out of well-paid, secure jobs with social benefits into low-paid, part-time, and contract work. In underdeveloped countries, women, especially young single women, experience multiple exploitation and oppression from the intersection of capitalism, imperialism, and patriarchy. As Linda Lim points out in her research on women in multi-national factories, imperialism

produces the difference in wages paid to workers in developed and developing countries for the same work and output; patriarchy produces the differences in wages paid to male and female workers for similar work and output; together, imperialism and patriarchy reinforce their exploitation from capitalist production (Lim, 1983). In addition to being factory workers, third world women are integrated into the global economy as unpaid family workers, sex workers for international sexual tourism, and cheap domestic workers in western countries (Mies, 1986; Peterson & Runyan, 1993). Thus, for women in both industrialized and developing regions, this gendered, racialized, patriarchal global market cheapens their labor and turn them into a source for the accumulation of capital power.

The literature suggests that an increase in women's participation in global employment markets does not necessarily alter the women's disadvantage in the workplace; rather, women are marginalized and disadvantaged in the labor market and have few opportunities to control their own lives. Moreover, much research has documented that though the dynamics of labor markets facilitate opportunities for s paid work, participating in these markets has limited the potential to help women achieve independence and equality in the family (Finch, 2006a; Menjwar, 2003; Hirsch, 2007; Chant, 2007; Dill, 2006; Holden & Smock, 1991).

Naomi Finch's research on women workers in Europe indicates that instead of being free from providing domestic services, women are significantly burdened by their paid work and non-paid housework. According to Finch, this burden reveals that the domestic code, which defines men as the breadwinners, is still upheld and serves as a gender ideology affecting attitudes toward the labor of women (Finch, 2006b).

Under this influential patriarchal ideology, most women do not describe this burden as unfair. Ceilia Menjwar's research on Guatemalan informants shows that many women workers do not view work as a way to achieve autonomy; rather, they consider work only as a means of survival for their families. Once their economic situations improve, women wish to withdraw from the labor market (Menjwar, 2003). These research studies support the view that women's responses to their work indicate that the household division of labor still serves to define essential gender roles for men and women, by making women believe that they should stay at home and remain responsible for the housework.

Also, under this gender ideology, men still maintain masculine authority in the family. This has been observed among migrant families. For example, Ceilia Menjwar's research indicates that women's entry into paid work in the United States does not change men's authority; rather, women's access to regular employment may have an opposite effect. If a man feels threatened because he cannot fulfill the socially ascribed role of the breadwinner, he often responds with domestic violence that serves to ensure his masculine authority. Also, some men are strongly opposed to their wives working outside the home because it has the potential to diminish household services and serves as a reminder that the husband cannot be the sole provider (Menjwar, 2003). Similarly, Jennifer Hirsch's study among Mexican immigrant women reveals that men are still publicly evaluated by their ability to provide and women are still judged by how well they do housework (Hirsch, 2007). Both Menjwar and Hirsch's work suggest that traditional gender expectations about women are still present and the domestic code plays a key role in placing women, especially immigrant women,

into a vulnerable position in the family.

These experiences imply that women are devoting substantial time to paid employment and nonpaid housework while submitting to a gender ideology that defines them as domestic servers in the family. In this sense, women's employment does not automatically improve their status in the family (Standing, 1989, 1999; Brooks, 2006). Rather, despite increased employment, women remain bound to domestic work, which places them in a more difficult situation: through their unpaid free domestic services, women are providing substantial materials that assist men in consolidating their economic status. Both Julie Brines and Barbara Bergmann have criticized the political nature of women's domestic services in the family—women's domestic services benefit men while depriving women's own interests (Brines, 1994; Bergman, 1992). According to Bergmann's research on housewives, compared to paid jobs, housework cannot be automatically transformed into or contribute to a woman's employment in the labor market (Bergman, 1992). In addition, a wife's housework cannot be included as a part of the gross national product, which devalues her ability and reinforces the common sense notion that housework fits the woman's essential ability. The political nature of women's cheap and free labor in the home provides convenient opportunities for men to advance and enhance their success in the labor market and thus reinforce their masculine authority in the family.

The literature on women's experiences in the labor force and in the family indicates that gender inequalities have been reconfigured and reinforced by the globalizing process. Though women workers share lots of common experiences, Chinese women work within a context quite different from women in the global

economy studies. Women in the global economy studies are, for the most part, from Third World countries, often former colonies, whose economies are dependent on wealthy North American or European counties. Also, the women in these global economies are, typically, new to the work force. Moreover, research on women in the global economy focuses on the conditions of poverty and exploitation where these women work, whereas my work focuses on women's experiences in the professional workplace and the family in contemporary China.

Unlike other former colonial nations that declared independence from European and American domination, China has a unique history. It evolved into a global capitalist system after a thousand-year feudalist period, a hundred years of a semi-colonial era, and a half-century of socialism. This project provides a perspective on the nature of globalization and the resulting complexities of power relations as structured by traditional Asian cultures, colonial history, nationalism, and global capital. It also contributes to an Asian view to understanding how globalization, as a trend, works differently in various locations.

Chinese Women Studies: Women in the Pre-revolutionary China (1900–1949)

For most of the twentieth century, the imperatives of nationalism and socialism directed Chinese women's employment. The degree to which women were encouraged or discouraged to work was linked to nationalist goals or various socialist projects. In other words, women's employment did not challenge patriarchal relationships in the family. Rather, patriarchy was extended to the workplace where women's labor participation was adjusted for political and socialist purposes.

During the early twentieth century, women's work served nationalist goals for anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism to develop a "united, strong, and free China" (Honig & Hershatter, 1988, p. 2). The first objective of the nationalist movement was to overthrow the Qing dynasty, which, in the eyes of the nationalists, was responsible for the series of unequal or unilateral treaties between the Qing dynasty and imperialist Western countries. China wasreduced to a semi-colonial, semi-feudalist state (Hookham, 1972). As a result, several parts of China, including Hong Kong and Taiwan, were separated from China's territory and became the colonies of the imperialist countries; and imperialist authorities divided almost the whole territory of China into several privileged concessions by the imperialist authorities. Within this political context, women's issues were associated with nationalist and socialist projects.

In fighting for the feudal Qing government and colonial power, nationalists introduced Western notions of liberty and democracy into China and viewed women's issues as equated with the nation's fate. As Honig and Hershatter indicate, during the May Fourth Movement of 1919, intellectuals criticized the oppression of women as a major obstacle to the independence of the nation and the major reason for China's inability to defend itself against Western attack (Honig & Hershatter, 1988). Thus, improving the situation of women was good for the nation and state. For instance, foot binding was considered oppressive and a reason for weakness, which led to the national weakness of China. In order to rescue the nation, nationalists was then interpreted as leading for women's bodies to be liberated to improve the physical and mental strength of the nation-state in resisting the imperialist invasions (Kazuko,

1989). Foot binding liberation indicates that it was widely advocated that helping women obtain freedom in marriage, employment, and of the body would serve as a way to change the country's domination by feudalism and imperialism. As a result, women were inspired to go outside their families and widely participate in public activities, as was considered important for national development.

The mobilization of women in public activities continued during the first half of the twentieth century when their was first emphasized as a key to liberation. During this period, China was a battle ground on which the Kuo Min Dang (KMD) and China's Communist Party (CCP) fought a civil war for dominance while also fighting to prevent colonialists from establishing a unified, autonomous nation-state. (Purcell, 1962). Finally, CCP's land reform movement, which mobilized peasants to overthrow powerful landlords, contributed to its victory in the civil war against KMD and established the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. During this period, a new ideology of womanhood was developed. For the first time, work became one of categories that re-defined the meanings of proper women. In other words, work brought women into a new space—the workplace—and changed the idea of what was perceived as the proper woman.

Chinese Women in the Maoist Period (1949–1978)

The established relationships between women, work, and the state obtained a new meaning during the Maoist socialist period from 1949 to 1978. During this period, the socialists devoted their efforts of nationalist development to strengthen the fruits of the revolution (Hilda, 1972). In doing so, the idea of a modern China was

central to the development of the nation, and this idea became a force that changed and shaped women's lives. Toward this political goal, women were encouraged to become, on the one hand, educated in new technologies to support the modernization of China. They were also encouraged to be independent and rely less on the patriarchal family for benefits and services. Women's economic independence and their advancement through knowledge acquisition were taken for granted as forces that would enhance their status at home (Wang, 2000).

During this period, although party ideology encouraged women to work as part of the paid labor force, in practice, women's experience was far more complicated. Honig and Hershatter's research indicates that in the late 1940s, when a large demand for labor occurred, women were invited to the workplace to support the socialist revolution (Honig & Hershatter, 1988; Wang, 2000). However, according to Woo's research on Chinese women workers' issues, in the 1950s when there was a surplus employment of workers, the Chinese government instituted the Five Goods Campaign which encouraged women to stay at home as socialist housewives to serve their working husbands. During the Cultural Revolution (from the late 1960s to the late 1970s), when there was a labor shortage, women were called back into the paid work force and urged to enter into agriculture, commerce, and industry under the socialist slogan "Women hold up half of the heavens." Under this slogan, female labor heroines and models were honored and entitled to a high social reputation to guide women workers' behaviors (Woo, 1994). These historical trends in women's situation indicate that by the first half of the twentieth century, women had been

purposely and constantly recruited into or expelled from the workplace, for the purposes of achieving particular nationalist or socialist goals.

Chinese Women in the Post-Maoist Period (1978 to the Present)

When it came to late 1970s, women's issues existed in different formats from previous periods. Since 1978, new economic policies have been implemented to assist China catch up with the pace of global economic expansion and adapt to global capitalist systems. New policies deriving from the economic reforms in 1978 have generated profound and multi-faceted consequences for women. Positively, through these polices, more working opportunities have become available for women, which may provide them with certain freedoms to choose a relatively preferred life-style and to reduce patriarchal relationships in the family, such as arranged marriages and bride sale (Kerr & Delahanty, 1996; Honig & Hershater, 1988; Sun, 2008; Lin, 1995; Hershatter, 2007). For instance, Jing Lin's research on contemporary Chinese women's development indicates that economic freedom provides women the choice to remain single and to make essential decisions in their marital lives (Lin, 1995). However, for the majority of Chinese women these policies have brought relatively few chances to fully enjoy economic freedom and family life. In fact, following global trends, many women workers are facing increased pressure within the workplace and family. In the workplace, Chinese women suffer frequent unemployment, sex discrimination and segregations, and less job mobility. In the family, patriarchal oppression by husbands persists and is reinforced by global economic changes. In what follow, I reviews these problems surrounding Chinese

women workers, as a context to understand contemporary professional women's situations.

Being Laid Off—Women's Unemployment [3]

Being laid off, which is associated with capitalism, has become a very serious problem for women workers since 1980s. Prior to the move toward a capitalist system, state-controlled industry ensured a level of egalitarianism in the workplace between women and men. However, in the context of globalization where industries are diversifying to meet market demands, the ever-growing pool of women entering the workforce is increasingly channeled into low-paid wage employment, such as in the service and manufacturing industries. As what Gale Summerfield suggests from her research on Chinese economic reform and women's employment, these economic reforms have moved women into the ever-growing pool of low-paid wage employment (Summerfield, 1994). As a result, the absolute numbers of women employed as clerks, secretaries, and sales people, have increased (Hershatter, 2007). However, simultaneously, unemployment has become a major problem for women. Women workers are often the last to be hired and the first to be laid off (Woo, 1994). Many industrial enterprises promptly decided that they would prefer to hire men rather than women, who were considered unreliable workers because of their responsibilities in the home (Honig & Hershatter, 1998). For example, Hershatter's research on Chinese women in the twentieth Century indicates that from 1990 to 1995 there was a 7 percent decline in paid labor among urban women (Hershatter, 2007).

[3] Although "being laid off" has the same meaning as "unemployed," unemployment is considered an evil of capitalism and cannot exist in socialist China; thus the substitute phrase, "being laid off " is the official governmental term to describe unemployment phenomenon.

By 1996, two-hundred- thousand workers in state enterprises in Kaifeng city had been laid off; 70 percent of those were middle-aged women (Evans, 2002). Among the women who were laid off, the most vulnerable were those who were married, older, and pregnant women, and women with young children (Kerr & Delahanty, 1996). Gender, age, and pregnancy mark women as "dispensable and less cost-efficient workers," who are thus the first choice to be laid off (Croll, 1995, p. 120).

Being laid off worsens women's lives dramatically. First, it goes strongly against women's will to work. According to a study of women and Chinese contemporary economy by Loanna Kerr and Julie Delahanty, most women would like to work even when their families are rich. Some women even believe that work is more important than family (Kerr & Delahanty, 1996). Women's attitudes to work imply that work has become a way for them to obtain high self-esteem and social status. Second, being laid off causes increasing stress for women, especially middle-aged and older women who have been labeled as the most superfluous of all workers. For instance, Harriet Evan's research on changes of women's image in China indicates that unemployed women experience depression, low self-esteem, and frustration at the loss of their social status and recognition. Third, these women have to accept the unpleasant result of losing jobs: they either reluctantly stay at home or accept downward mobilizing into more traditional areas that have the lowest wages (Evans, 2002). Layoffs of women obtain support from a national policy called, Women Back to Home (Evans, 2002, p. 354). This policy aimed at accelerating economic globalization through increased productivity serves to legitimize the lay-offs of women who are deemed less productive due to their domestic responsibilities.

Many feminist scholars criticize this policy in that such practices maintain and confirm the subordination of Chinese women while privileging Chinese men in the workplace. For instance, both Ioanna Kerry and Xuewen Shen's research on Chinese women workers and economic development indicate that under Women Back Home policy, women workers are persuaded to give their working positions to men no matter whether women are not ready to give up their jobs to men and stay at home. Accordingly, the gender ideology that men's appropriate role is outside the home, while women's responsibilities are inside the home, is reinforced (Kerr & Delahanty, 1996; Shen, 1992). Li Xiaojiang goes further and points out that in encouraging women to give up their working positions, the policy sacrifices women's individual will in exchange for men's realization of their perceived greater social value. In so doing, the reinforced gender ideology, in fact, symbolizes a return to traditional roles for contemporary women workers (Li, 1994). The research on women unemployment indicates that though economic reforms may provide women more divers opportunities in the market place, the male-dominated labor market still offer men, instead of women, privilege in obtaining working positions. These studies also bring my attention to examine whether women professionals, as a group with technological knowledge and higher education distinct from many other women workers in factory and service sectors, may share similar experiences to unemployment.

Discrimination in the Workplace

In addition to unemployment issues, other challenges facing women in the workplace come from the discriminatory practices of occupational segregation and discrimination in mobility within a company, such as same work—different pay. For instance, Kerr's research indicates that compared to men, most women receive lower wages and fewer benefits. According to Kerr, women's working positions and opportunities are considerably lower than men's. Men have access to more senior administrative jobs, while female workers are concentrated in labor-intensive, "gender-specific activities" such as sewing, knitting, and handicrafts (Kerr & Delahanty, 1996, p. 40). Both Li Xiaojiang and Hershatter show that incidences of same work—different pay and unequal promotions for men and women—have increased. For instance, women's income compared to those of men demonstrated an overall decrease from 55 percent in 1988 to 42 percent in mid-1990s (Li, 1994; Hershatter, 2007). In this process, women's work is devalued and reduces their promotion opportunities, women's age, pregnancy, or childbirth all become disadvantages that threaten women's employment (Li, 1994; Hershkovitz, 1995; Hershatter, 2007). For example, both Hershkovitz and Hershatter's research indicates that women are persuaded to retire at the age of 45, although the legal retirement age is 55 for women and 60 for men (Hershkovitz, 1995; Hershatter, 2007). Also, pregnant women are encouraged to take extended maternity leave so that employers may spend less to cover their benefits (Hershkovitz, 1995).

All of the discriminatory practices and policies that are against women's will and interests to work imply that contemporary economic reforms of China fail to take

women's interest and benefit; rather, women and women's labor are used as a tool to accelerate speedy development of national economy. In this process, women's disadvantages and men's advantages in the workplace obtain powerful support from gender ideology that emphasizes women's responsibilities at home. Under this ideology, as what Li Xiaojiang suggests, the discrimination and problems that Chinese women deal with are not interpreted as societal issues but as the result of conscious choices by women (Li, 1994). In what follow, I review Chinese women's liberation from the 1900s to present so as to make visible a historical continuity of gender inequality that takes various formats with diverse opportunities offered to women in different historical period.

Women's Liberation in China

A brief examination of women's liberatory ideology is useful explaining the continuing inequality of Chinese women in the workplace. As discussed in above, Chinese women's wide social and increased economic participation have tremendously contributed to developments of the nation in economics, politics, and culture. However, their prominent achievements have had a relatively small impact on gender equality in the workplace and in the family. Throughout the twentieth century, though nationalist and socialist projects emphasized such concepts as "liberation" and "freedom," which had brought considerably positive effects on women's daily lives, their essentially male-led and male-centered nature kept them away from taking women's issues and interests seriously. As a result, when women were mobilized to participate in public activities through calls for national progress,

the patriarchal structure and male-centered consciousness of the nationalist agenda was not challenged. Instead, women's service roles to their husbands and to the state acquired overall support from nationalist and socialist discourses.

During the revolutionary period from 1900 to 1978, nationalist projects aimed at changing the fate of the nation was controlled at various stages by imperialist countries and the feudal orders. The movements' discourses of women as having the rights of human beings, and being entitled to equality and independence, represented nationalists' endeavors to pursue social advancement. Generally, these movements challenged the dichotomy between the private and the public sphere and created a new subjectivity for women, which allowed women to understand their own and others' lives. More important, such discourses of freedom, rights, and equality have been incorporated in the modern history of China, with a tremendous impact on contemporary Chinese women in the global economic period. Specifically, these nationalist movements have produced several significantly positive impacts on women's lives.

First, the nationalist movements inspired women to go out and work beyond their homes and families and participate in public activities, as these movements provided public spaces for Chinese women who had been confined to their families during the long feudal period. Second, the concept "work" was introduced into the construction of the category "women," and became one of the most important components to redefine the meaning of womanhood. Thus, conceptually, the notion that women belonged to men and were their husbands' dependents was changed. Third, in the nationalist projects toward progress and modernization in 1900s, the

public discussions about nation, women, equality, and individual freedom provided a political and intellectual setting for the emergence of the new women. The new women were defined as educated human beings with a new consciousness of participating in public activities for social, cultural, and political changes. Specifically, a new woman should have such characteristics as “independent personhood, financial-self reliance and autonomy in decisions concerning marriage, career, and so on; a capacity to participate in public life; and a concern for other oppressed women” (Wang, 1999, p. 16). The meaning of "new women" inspired women to widely participate in public activities, an idea that ran counter to traditional Confucian definitions of women, which were associated with filial piety, daughterhood, being virtuous wives, and moral mothers.

However, the male-centered nature of nationalist movements meant that these movements didn’t challenge the patriarchal structure of the whole state and the male-centered dominant consciousness. Therefore, although women were encouraged to participate in public activities they were still expected to remain committed to their responsibilities within the private sphere. Meanwhile, the ideologies of nationalism that framed women’s aspirations as patriots retained men as the leaders who structured public life. Accordingly, in the public sphere, men still maintained the power to design public activities. Even though women were involved in nationalist movements and women’s issues were placed as central in relation to building the nation, women were still invisible and marginalized in the discourse of nationalism, and women’s interests were not considered seriously. For instance, during the first nationalist movement, foot binding was considered oppressive and a cause of

women's weakness, thus leading to the national weakness of China. In order to rescue the nation, nationalists called for women's liberation from this practice. However, liberation for women didn't aim at liberating women from the family, but at improving the physical and mental strength of the nation-state in resisting the imperialist invasions.

Similarly, socialist discourses also emphasized women's servant roles to their husbands. During the Maoist period (1949–1978), a woman's essential role was still assigned to be a good wife whose basic responsibility was to support her husband (Hershatter, 2007). Also, since 1949, dominant socialist discourses have suggested that a woman should be committed to both serving her husband and children and to working for the state simultaneously (Evans, 2002). Therefore, throughout the twentieth century, women became an important component of industrial development of China (Hershatter, 2007). However, women's subordinations to their husbands, to the state, and to the Communist Party had been maintained or even reinforced by numerous nationalist movements and socialist projects. During this period, gender construction appeared a complex and subtle process in which women's multiple oppressions were addressed by nationalist or socialist slogans and propagandas under the name of women's liberation.

This post-Maoist construction has continued into the present but has become more difficult to identify when nationalism, cultures, and socialism encounter global capitalism. Women's contribution to economic progress has not been matched with increased gender equality in the family. Instead, the disadvantages faced by women in the workplace have reconfirmed the traditional gender ideology that the proper place

of men is in the outer world of labor and public affairs, while the suitable place of women is in the inner dominion of the family and the household (Hershatter, 2007). This gender ideology, in turn, normalizes and legitimizes gender inequalities in the workplace (Woo, 1994). It supports the idea that men and women are supposed to have unequal and different positions in the workplace.

This gender ideology obtains subtle support from national and social discourses. Numerous articles in popular magazines, academic publications, and even some women's studies journals have created an image of the ideal woman as conforming to this gender ideology. According to Gail Hershatter's study on Chinese women since the 1900s, these discourses have constituted an ideal woman image in the new era who should be "'obedient' to her husband, considerate of his needs, and 'gentle and soft' in her approach" (Hershatter, 2007, p. 47). Harriet Evans's study on shifting images of ideal women indicates that women's image during the post-Maoist period highlights the supposed gentle and feminine nature of women and emphasizes their domestic roles in supporting, caring, sacrificing, and serving (Evans, 2002).

According to Evan and Hershatter, this discourse on women's nature as "soft" and "gentle," as well as the significance of women's traditional roles, was circulated in the early twentieth century and has reconfigured masculine authority, which legitimizes men's privileges in the workplace (Evans, 2002, p. 340; Hershatter 2007, p. 48). To some extent, this discourse serves as a political strategy to maximize corporate profits, which, as Li Xiaojiang suggests, is to be achieved through removing "excess" from labor force, such as women and aged people from the workplace to increase worker productivity (Li 1994, p. 363). Supplementing these

practices, a reconfirmed gender ideology obscures the systemic nature of the problems facing women by characterizing them as personal shortcomings. Making political issues appear to be personal legitimizes gender inequalities in the workplace and reinforces women's subordinate position in the family. These processes are gendered political issues that remain unacknowledged by the state and Chinese society at large.

These historical trends signify that as an important component of industrial development, the economic contributions of Chinese women had relatively little effect on their subordinate relationships to their husbands, to the state, and to the Communist Party. Instead, these patriarchal relationships were reinforced by numerous political movements that purposely and constantly recruited women into or expelled them from the workplace to achieve particular political goals. The disparity between Chinese women's social and economic participation and lack of serious care of their interests indicates that women's labor has been co-opted into nationalist and socialist projects, as well as global capitalism, serving the goals of elitist national and socialist development rather than women's own interests. This co-option has shaped women's views on their relations to their family, to work, the state, and to the world. A particular review of professional women's issues may shed light on configurations of power that develops women's interactions to nationalist, socialist, and capitalist forces within the global context.

Women Professionals in Contemporary China

Professional Women in Global Economy

The literature on women's experiences in the workplace and the family illustrate that gender inequalities have been both reconfigured and reinforced in the globalization process. This illustration provides the background from which to examine how global transformations work for specific groups of women, such as professional women, to identify with the way in which the dynamic power of globalization has been generated from utilizing different women's labor. Contrary to the growing literature on women's experiences in service and manufacturing industries, there are limited studies on one specific group of women—professional women. Such questions as how professional women have been involved in globalization and what social consequences globalization has produced for them, have been absent from large empirical research studies.

The reasons that professional women have been absent from empirical research are very complex. It might be due to the fact that professional women have been portrayed as a unique group with exceptionally high levels of access to education and employment and the privilege to control their own lives (Honig & Hershatter, 1988; Bianchi, 1995, 2000, 2006; Lin, 1995; Hershatter, 2007; Sun, 2008; Evans, 2002; Wei, 2001). The literature on professional women suggests that their problems and concerns are often regarded casually and with skepticism. Their concerns include growing stress and sexual discrimination in the workplace, and conflicting problems in the family.

Recent studies suggest the problems that professional women are subject to include chronic stress, unequal pay, and impediments to promotion (Nelson & Quick, 1985; Haynes & Feinleib, 1980). On the one hand, professional women are supposed to share common demands with their male counterparts to cope with societal values about what is required of "competent professionals" (Cooper & Davidson, 1982; Puff & Moeckel, 1979; Elman & Gilbert, 1984). On the other hand, professional women face problems and burdens with which men do not have to cope, such as gender segregation and discrimination (Cooper & Davidson, 1982; Puff & Moeckel, 1979). For instance, Barr and Boyle's research indicates that in some developed countries, such as Britain, professional women receive substantially lower pay for the work they do as compared to men while are faced with many obstacles to their advancement (Barr & Boyle, 2001; Nelson & Quick, 1985).

In addition to working pressure and unequal opportunities in salary and promotion, professional women also face stereotypes and myths about their identity as women professionals. These myths and stereotypes include ideas that professional women may be too emotional, they are not equipped to be bosses, men would not be able to work for them, they may lose their femininity when entering the workplace in leadership roles, they use unethical tactics to get ahead, and their careers or home lives will suffer if they work in professional roles (Nelson & Quick, 1985). These stereotypes devalue women's ability to maintain families and independent professional careers at the same time and discourage women from moving into predominately male occupations. By doing so, the traditional ideology about

women's roles is reinforced, which makes it difficult for professional women to be widely accepted (Elman & Gilbert, 1984; Nelson & Quick, 1985).

The perception that the term "professional" does not fit women's nature results in growing problems and conflicts surrounding professional women regarding their family lives, such as low marriage rates and high rates of divorce, and conflicts of time distribution between the workplace and the family (Rofel, 1999). A number of studies comparing men and women in elite professions and management positions have implied that women experience lower marriage and higher divorce rates. This may be related to a common sense notion that men may find high achieving women threatening or less desirable as marriage partners (Statham & Vaughan, 1987; Carter & Glick, 1970; Moore & Sawhill, 1978; Nelson & Quick, 1985). Statham's research on professional women indicates that compared with other women workers, professional women are more likely to divorce than women in more traditional positions in that professional women's employment in a nontraditional position may violate gender role expectations, threaten gender identities, and cause status competition between her and her husband (Statham & Vaughan 1987; Safa, 1995). Statham further points out that having a wife with a higher status not only has implications for the fulfillment of the traditional wife role but also for the traditional role of the husband—for example, primary breadwinner (Statham & Vaughan, 1987). In this sense, professional women are facing a dilemma in their families: on the one hand, their incomes may become the main source for supporting their families. On the other hand, their economic ability brings lots of conflicts in that their roles as professionals may challenge and violate commonly-held ideas about women, work,

and family. This is especially evident from married professional women's experiences.

For married professional women, family functions to prevent them from full professional involvement (Elman & Gilbert, 1984; Statham & Vaughan, 1987; Nelson & Quick, 1985). Elman and Gilbert's research on married professional women indicates that educated women who are married and have young children are neither pressured nor expected by society to pursue their professional interests full-time (Elman & Gilbert, 1984). Married academic women with children more often interrupt their careers, change jobs more frequently, and ultimately find themselves in less prestigious academic positions than their husbands, in spite of comparable levels of productivity (Statham & Vaughan, 1987). Child-care is also a problem for married professional women. Although fathers may be cooperative and willing to help, childcare still remains the mother's responsibility—professional women with young children are expected to have a desire and an obligation to fulfill many aspects of the parental role rather than delegating these responsibilities (Elman & Gilbert, 1984; Nelson & Quick, 1985). Neglecting parental roles may make women feel guilt.

The workplace and family problems discussed above indicate that multiple conflicts surround a professional woman: She struggles to fit within the multiple roles of good woman, good wife, and professional that are required by social expectations and internalized belief. Her abilities are devalued due to the social misperceptions about professionals, and she experiences gender segregation and discrimination that cheapens her labor and prevents her promotion in the workplace. Contrary to these growing problems, however, there is little research to deeply probe these issues.

Current literature about professional women explain very little about the perceived incompatible relationships between being a good professional, being a good mother, and being a good wife, and explore nothing about the mechanisms that generate these contradictory beliefs and conflicts.

In addition, the dimensions of race, class, and nationality have received very little attention in the literature on professional women's experiences within the context of globalization. Yet these bodies of literature are critical for an accurate assessment of the overall understanding of the meanings of gender within systems of globalization. In this sense, it becomes imperative to investigate the lives of professional women in China, as such an investigation will shed light on the overall picture of professional women's experiences, and reveal the mechanisms that generate the problems/conflicts surrounding their lives.

Professional Women in China

As a category of identity, the term "professional" did not appeared in the history of China until the 1970s.[4] Accompanied by China's economic expansion and its market reform under globalization, women professionals grew speedily in numbers. Information from the second national survey, of the social status of Chinese women, shows that women in professional fields increased almost 23 percent within the ten years from 1990 to 2000. According to Clodagh Wylie's study on women in Chinese private sectors, in 1997 there were 20 million private entrepreneurs in China, 25 percent of whom were women; and in 1998 more than 18 million women were

[4] For the purposes of this study, the term "professional women" refers to salaried, white-collar Chinese women who have college, university, or post-graduate educations and are employed in stable jobs that require specific skills and knowledge, and who earn salaries ranging from US$ 500 to US$ 5000 per month.

registered as private enterprise owners, making up just over forty percent of the total number of entrepreneurs (Wylie, 2004). This increasing number of professional women included entrepreneurs, and office workers, academics, technicians, managers, and lawyers.

Professional women in China are portrayed as a privileged group who have access to more opportunities and have the freedom to choose between types of work and family life, as well as the ability to be successful in both the public and private realms (Honig & Hershatter, 1988; Lin, 1995; Hershatter, 2007; Sun, 2008; Evans, 2002; Wei, 2001). More important, they are considered representative of Chinese modernity, able to redefine traditional notions of femininity and change female stereotypes in their work and domestic lives (Wylie, 2004). Such positive images of professional women have their political roots in a series of national policies produced from the struggles of the state for a position in the global capitalist economy and polity. Moving the Chinese social formation into a dominant position within the global capitalist system, national policies in Deng Xiaoping's time during the 1980s encouraged people to do whatever was consistent with the socialist economy. The stimulation of technological modernization was considered an instrument to accelerate national economic development. This trend was continued during Jian Zemin's time in the 1990s, and arguably even more so, during the 2000s under the regime of Hu Jintao. During the time, the CCP started to be modernized and transformed from a working class into a more bourgeois party That is, the notion of the party as representing working-class people was altered in favor of the notion of the party as representative of the more technologically advanced professional class

(Gabriel, 2006). This transformation was enhanced during the 2000s under the regime of Hu Jintao, when advancement and modernity were connected to the goal of building a harmonious Chinese society where equality, peace, love, and justice constituted the main components of a modern China.

The transformation of the party that represented the interests of the working-class into an organization that represented the ideologically mainstream middle-class signifies a swift transformation of social role models for women from Iron Girl to professional women. Since the economic reforms of the 1980s, economic development has become the first priority of the government under the national policy, Four Modernizations of China, which aimed to turn China into a leading modern sate in agriculture, industry, science and technology, and defense. Toward this goal, ordinary people were expected to acquire new skills and techniques and to raise their educational levels so as to become modern. Simultaneously, the government encouraged foreign investments into China to accelerate China's economic development (Honig & Hershatter, 1988). As a result, foreign experts, business people, journalists, and diplomats become common in China with the consequence that Western fashions, social values, and life-styles deeply penetrated into Chinese people's day-to-day lives. Therefore, the social push toward modernity, reviving national economy, and the newly-introduced Western cultural influence provided people with a new source for ideological representations of womanhood, and constructed professional as a new model of womanhood in China.

Under the influence of this newly-constructed, professional role model, women were encouraged to acquire education and skills to maximize their economic

participation. Their lives were constructed as rich, free, easy, and modern. Such images of women as modern and free have been shown in numerous mass media, such as magazines and series of television shows, in order to open up for view professional women's distinctive lives. It is thought that most other women will aspire to the elements of these women's professional lives: their own luxury apartments, nice cars, work in modern offices, and dress in high fashion.[5] However, some significant issues such as pressures, conflicts, and gender discrimination from professional women's daily lives have been vastly absent from these constructed images. With the concerns to make visible these significant issues in professional women's day-to-day lives, this dissertation aims at exploring forces that construct Chinese professional women's lives.

Research Objectives and Questions

To date, present discussions surrounding globalization, work, and family have largely focused on women's experiences in manufacturing and service industries to make sense of the meanings of globalization within these women's lives (Anderson, 2005; Moghadam, 2005; Rupp, 1997; Petchesky, 2003; Peterson, 1999; Davin, 1996; Kim, 1997; Kung, 1983; Lee, 1998; Ong, 1987; Pun, 2005a; Wolf, 1992). However, these studies reveal little about the process and impact of globalization as it is experienced by Chinese professional women. This has lead to an gap in academic literature about the full extent of the gender dimensions of professional women's experiences.

[5] In chapter two, I provide the evidences to demonstrate the way in which the constructed images of women have shaped women's views on how to act their female roles.

The absence of public discussion about professional women's experiences has resulted in a gap between knowledge about the growing problems of professional women (e.g., mental health problems, domestic violence, unequal pay, impediments to promotion, and conflicting demands of family and work) and their tremendous contributions to national and global economic prosperity. This research project seeks to address this gap, with the aim of illustrating the way in which professional women have been partaking in globalization, and have developed strategies in response to the complex social consequences that have entrenched Chinese women's expressions of their labor and power.

The research questions include:

1. How do Chinese professional women understand, experience, and respond to globalization?
2. How does this group of women define the meaning of work and evaluate their family lives?

In answering these questions, this dissertation considers the term "professional women" as a category of identity and a system that represents the complicated interrelationships between men and women, the state and individuals, and the local and global, within processes of globalization. In utilizing multi-disciplinary methods of in-depth interviews, participant observation, content analysis, and literature analysis, this study explores the conditions under which professional women experience and respond to globalization, their perceptions of their work and family lives, the ways that they make sense of relationships with others, and their strategies to resist the imposition of multiple forms of power exerted upon them.

Organization of Chapters

Each chapter in this dissertation is devoted to understanding the complexities of professional women's lives since China's entry into the globalized capitalist economy since the 1970s. In this chapter (chapter 1), drawing on the literature on women in the global economy and women's studies in China, I review the way in which global capitalism and traditional Chinese culture act as major forces affecting Chinese professional women politically. This literature review serves as a foundation from which to explore professional women's experiences under economic globalization.

In chapter two, through the analyses of the magazine *Zhiyin,* I offer a historical perspective on the changing issues professional women have experienced between the 1980s and the 2000s. I argue that mass media represents an important source for professional women to understand the erected political and cultural structures of gender where they are situated. Focusing on discussions of the stories and editors' comments of the magazine, I contend that social discourse has constructed feminine imagery of professional women that guide professional women's daily activities in fulfill their constituted commitments and identifications as women and women workers.

Chapter three considers the conditions under which contemporary professional women experience and respond to globalization in the workplace and in the family. Through professional women's experiences in multinational corporations in Beijing, I chart the way in which the professional workplace is gendered and women

professionals are mobilized into global labor markets and are subject to such complicated situations as overwhelming workloads, unequal promotion opportunities, dehumanizing criticism, and such unpleasant feelings as insecurity and anxiety. The women's unsatisfactory experiences offer readers a new way of understanding the nature of professional women's labor as resources for development of global enterprise, instead of a bargaining tool for women to negotiate power in the workplace and to be free from providing domestic services in the family.

Women's experiences through women's own perspectives are examined in Chapter Four, which utilizes two novels, *Shanghai Baby* and *Candy,* to makes visible the nature of professional women's interaction with social structures within the context of transformation driven by traditional culture and globalized capitalism. I argue that the intersecting forces have produced multi-faceted and tension-filled situations within which Chinese professional women struggle with the tensions generated from their desire to be part of the mainstream culture while being discontent with the current male-dominated social order.

Chapter five concludes with theorizing the lives of Chinese professional women within the simultaneous process of global assimilation and global alienation. In summarizing the dilemmas that Chinese professional women are experiencing, I conceptualize the ways in which the shifting macro-process of globalization and state politics define the meaning of power that shapes Chinese professional women's views about gender, class, and empowerment. I argue that the entangled forces of global capitalist culture and traditional Confucian femininity, and longing for a modern lifestyle have effectively disciplined professional women to the changing political and

cultural circumstances. As a result they have assimilated into globalized capitalist culture, but at the same time being alienated from their material interests. Thus, while globalization may seem to work in their interests, it actually becomes a source of power against them. I further state that Chinese professional women's experiences can be regarded as a significant theoretical empirical resource, and thus contribute to future research about women's issues in Asian countries, while offering a theoretical lens for understanding critical dimensions of the gendered meaning of globalization.

Chapter 2: Constructing Professional Women: Stories of Feminine Imagery

> *…devoted to her duty as a worker; honor, family oriented…hard working and diligent, skilled, place her work in an important place…. (Zhiyin 1988/8, 4–5)*

> *How to reconcile the relationships between a husband and a wife? Men and women are different: Husbands should be work-oriented and build their social networks. Wives should not intervene their husbands' public activities and force their husband to develop family oriented relationships. Men's rudeness was connected to their nature of masculinity. When men are getting angry, women should be tolerant. Men should be the master of a family to decide big family issues. Men certainly should focuse their minds on their work. Women should be considerate. Women should cooperate closely with men and make men feel the happiness and joy of every day (Zhiyin* 1988/8, 13).[6]

These are quotes drawn from a nation-wide popular magazine *Zhiyin*. Articles from this magazine may or may not be realistic portrayals of women's lives, however, they are powerful in delivering messages about what the good woman and the good wives should be. In this sense, the representations of women in *Zhiyin* work as a context to produce political meanings and create realities that guide women's daily activities. In this research project, the magazine *Zhiyin* is a resource I use to glean information about professional how professional, white-collar, salaried, executive women as they have been perceived within ideological contexts. If interviews with women provide an opportunity to examine how women view, interpret, experience, and response to gendered globalization, their interpretations and actions must take into account a political context, where, as Elisabeth Croll suggests, many Chinese women are still strongly bound by traditional Chinese and Western definitions of

[6] I translated this quote from Chinese into English. For all the quotes drawn from *Zhiyin*, I translated myself.

womanhood (Croll, 1995). Feminist research always emphasizes critiques of the social and cultural context as a way to decode political meanings created from popular cultures (Beail & Goren, 2010; Hollows, 2000; Heide, 1995), According to Beail and Goren, the way in which women's lives are depicted from television, film, magazines, and literature legitimizes women's political activities (Beail & Goren, 2010). Therefore, taking critical engagement with critiques of popular culture works as a key for political struggle. Deriving from this feminist cultural critique, the study of *Zhiyin* is to understand the ideological context in which Chinese women learn to be women.

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine and analyze a popular magazine, *Zhiyin* (*Bosom Friend*), for historical perspectives on the changing issues that professional women have experienced between the 1980s and the 2000s. In particular, my use of this magazine is aimed at illustrating the construction of feminine imagery and the social status of professional women from the 1980s to the present, and at drawing attention to the gap between the imagery and the daily lives of the women who read it. In analyses of articles and discourse from *Zhiyin*, this dissertation makes clear some questions as: who are the makers of mainstream gender ideology and practices? Which sources provide knowledge through which professional women mediate the constructed political and cultural structures of gender, class, and nationality within which they are situated? These are questions to comprehend the ways in which professional women insert themselves into certain webs of interaction between the

workplace and family, and to illustrate what is needed to reconfigure local and global power. To answer these questions, I would like to briefly introduce the magazine, *Zhiyin*.

Zhiyin initially was published monthly, but since 2000, has been published biweekly. The magazine is sponsored and supervised by the local Chinese Women's Federal Association, in Hubei Province, and its mission is to ameliorate the situation of China's women. First published in January 1985, *Zhiyin* immediately became popular. It drew the attention of many readers, especially young women, because it provided suggestions and guidance not available in other media. As an influential, magazine with a substantial national circulation, *Zhiyin* is China's second-largest comprehensive periodical, with total assets worth almost one billion in U. S. dollars and a net profit of sixty-two million U. S. dollars annually. Its circulation exceeds seven million copies per month, with sales worth more than one million U. S. dollars.[7] The content of *Zhiyin* includes stories, editorials, and comments and suggestions. Its reporting covers a broad range of topics, everything from love and romance, marriage, divorce, and personal experiences, to how to make friends, apply makeup, or shop for designer jeans, perfume, or appliances.

Personal problems and family issues, however, constitute the main themes covered in *Zhiyin*. Most issues are addressed by way of telling stories—which *Zhiyin* claims are true. In this way, *Zhiyin* offers a crucial supplement to traditional, official and semiofficial media, which does not say much about its readers' private issues, and does not provide readers with so-called correct solutions to the growing personal

[7] http://www.zhongman.com/zgmh/mhcb/chubanshe/20060226/17551815421.html

dilemmas encountered in the transition from socialism to capitalism. During this transition—the end of the 1970s—the personal voice that was invisible from public discussion during the socialist period has emerged more strongly in public and is increasingly permitted in public discussion (Honig & Hershatter, 1988). Accordingly, issues such as anxiety, frustration, and anguish have appeared in public discourses alongside more typical discussions of China's economic reforms, its attendant economic growth, and the increased influence of Western politics, fashions, family arrangements and sexual morality. Within the tremendous changes in politics, economy, and culture, there is significant confusion about how to act properly and what actions are socially acceptable, and the stories and commentary in *Zhiyin* provide examples that shape women's perspectives on how to deal with relationships in different settings, teach them how to act appropriately, and provide guidance on how to solve their personal troubles. All these are my essential reasons for choosing *Zihyin* for conducting content analysis. It has a large circulation which reaches a large number of professional women, encourages women to reflect on their personal lives and relationships, and offers advice on etiquette in the workplace, as well as how to deal with interpersonal relationships and problems.

In my content analysis, I trace the reflections of social ideology and stereotypes about women in the stories and opinion pieces conceived of and reconfigured during and after the 1980s. These journalistic pieces reflect an ideal of womanhood against which professional women construct their own identities and realities. *Zhiyin* editorials and commentary, also reveal the differences between the social construction of womanhood and their actual, lived experiences—while

identifying the gendered meanings the category, "professional women," produces in the dominant discourse of transitional Chinese society. In guiding the behavior of women, the social discourse from mass media creates an image of professional women that emphasizes traditional femininity in the home and the subordination of women to male supervisors at work. Ultimately, the pervasiveness of this discourse marks a professional woman's understanding of her role as a Chinese woman and as a worker.

Before I describe my content analysis in more detail, it is necessary to disclose my motivations for choosing content analysis as a supplemental approach to the interviews I conducted in chapter three. I draw heavily on engaged, interactive, and semistructured interviews to articulate the testimonies of these women in their own voices, even though studies that rely on interview analyses are criticized as too subjective. On the one hand, Donna Haraway suggests that knowledge itself is circumscribed by time and space that have situated researchers' relations as structured by their gender, race, class, and nationality, which shapes the knowledge for the thing that they observe and understand (Haraway, 2004). Haraway believes that knowledge itself is subjective because it always depends on how people view things from their own perspectives, and in doing so constantly coexist and coevolve with the challenge of its facility. This situated nature of knowledge makes it vulnerable to challenges of objectivity. On the other hand, answers subjects give may be influenced by what the researchers want to hear. More important, an interviewee may be reluctant to talk about sensitive issues such as public policies or religion, which is particularly relevant in a country such as the transformational China, where politics are still rarely

discussed in public. These two problems manifest an epistemological debate on whether it is possible to break the important duality between objective and subjective research methodology in social sciences.[8] Content analysis is a way to avoid these problems because it addresses the critique of subjectivity by providing an alternative lens that substantiates a researcher's understanding of the interviews. Therefore, and in order to provide a relatively complete picture to understand professional women's lives in contemporary China, in this chapter I utilize content analysis as an additional perspective to denaturalize assumptions about femininity. I do this by examining and explaining the ways in which traditional Chinese ideologies of womanhood have been socially constructed through mass media. In this sense, content analysis benefits my overall research process and provides a chance to fully understand my research subjects.

The research of Howard Harris suggests that not only does content analysis allow an assessment of the validity and reliability of the qualitative research, but it also helps the researcher arrive at more extensive conclusions than the interviews support, such as ideologies at work that inform people's everyday actions (Harris, 2001). More important, content analysis stems from my deep concern for employing feminist interdisciplinary methods for a more complete picture of contemporary professional women in China. As a feminist scholar, not only should I place women's issues at the center of my investigation and treat them as witnesses to social, historical, and political events, I also should explore the meanings social orders and structures that play roles in creating the gendered knowledge and subjectivity that

[8] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre_Bourdieu

guides their everyday performances. Content analysis decodes complex social orders and connections among various forms of human interaction and identifies the structural barriers existing among people. This exploration may provide a clue to understanding the social structures and institutions that are beneath the mainstream vision. Therefore, in this research project, *Zhiyin* is utilized to extract and isolate the messages professional women perceive in the text through reflections on how the authors and editors of *Zhiyin* view a woman's social worlds. In doing so, the historical construction of feminine imagery is visible alongside the discrepancies between ideologies of womanhood and the reality of a woman's day-to-day experiences. Toward this purpose, I follow the basic procedures that Ian Weber suggests for conducting content analysis—but with the knowledge that there is no universal way to do content analysis (Weber, 1990). My research includes such basic stages as:

- Identifying research questions.
- Deciding the text sample size.
- Determining the units or categories to be used.
- Selecting and deciding themes.

The identified research questions include:

- How does the social discourse constructed by the magazine provide knowledge for women to understand and practice the expected political and cultural structures of gender which they are placed in relation to?

- How does media, as the source of mainstream opinion makers, reconfigure and reinforce the gender ideology that shape women's views about themselves and others?
- How does the magazine's gender code construct Chinese women's day-to-day experiences and their commitments and identifications as women workers?

Guided by these questions, I randomly selected two to three volumes of *Zhiyin* each year, starting from its initial publication year of 1985 and ending in 2009. In order to get these magazines, I traveled to Beijing University library where all the volumes of *Zhiyin*, from 1985 to the present, are available. I randomly selected two or three volumes from each year. In this way, I selected a total of fifty volumes for content analysis. For the selected issues, I made photocopies of the entire magazine, including the entire contents page, advertisements, as well as the front and back covers. I brought all the copied magazines back to the United State for the third stage of analysis, determining the categories of analysis. I reviewed all fifty photocopies year-by-year to get a sense of what themes or topics were repeated more frequently. I read each selected issue twice: once to get a general idea of content; and the second time, to collect stories and opinion pieces with similar topics and themes. I chose the topics and concepts that were most frequently written about in the magazine. Some family issues such as parenting or relationships with siblings, were excluded because they did not directly answer the research questions.

Four categories consistent with the research questions were classified as:

1) Differences between men and women.

2) Family.
3) Social issues.
4) Women's work.

These categories appeared in every volume of the fifty selected from *Zhiyin*, and from these categories, I generated four main themes:

1) Femininity as a reasserted theme with a historical trace that legitimates woman's commitment to defer to men's masculinity.
2) Physical differences between men and women function as a gender hierarchy that constitutes a double standard that disciplines women more than men.
3) Family as a mediating institution that links individuals to society and provides a sanctioned location that is central to the gendered ordering of society.
4) Women as professionals reinforce patriarchal relationships in the gendered labor force through their daily performances in the workplace and the family.

To explore and develop these themes, I investigated various topics and discourses about women and women's issues from *Zhiyin*. For each selected theme, I picked out stories and quotes related to my research questions. During this process, I always considered whether or not the stories were pertinent to my research and pertinent to the original objective of the study.[9] My analysis ends with a discussion on

[9] All quotations from *Zhiyin* are my translations.

what has changed and what has remained the same, and reveals the consequences of gendered institutions, China's social structures, and their interactions with women's experiences.

Findings

Reasserting Femininity

Since the1980s, traditional femininity has been re-emphasized as an essential component that constitutes an ideal woman committed to supporting her husband's work; to developing good understandings of a man's physical and psychological needs; educated in the arts and sciences; willing to assume responsibility for housework; and be good at cooking. Re-emphasis means that the post-Maoist image of woman is not utterly new, but a reintroduction of the traditional definitions of womanhood, early twentieth- century definitions that highlight feminine characteristics such as being soft, gentle, and obedient to their husbands.

This definition of womanhood was changed during the Cultural Revolution period in the 1960s to 1970s, with the pursuit of a socialist, androgynous definition of gender sameness, one predominantly based on male-standards. In the transitional period from Maoist socialism to the reform era, the reassertion of femininity once again gained currency and associated women with their domestic roles of caring, sacrificing, and supporting their family and husband. However, during the transitional period, there were few models from official media that guided people on how to enact their gender roles properly. Thus, many nonofficial media worked to re-establish women's femininity through editors' opinion pieces and stories that were

claimed to be true. The voice of *Zhiyin* appreciates and praises women who are willing to play their expected domestic roles. If unwilling, women are blamed for the failure. Many editors suggest and establish examples to teach women how to perform their gender roles appropriately. In this sense, the magazine works as a political tool to guide women's daily performances.

> A good wife should be tolerant of her husband's paramours and love affairs and should stand with her husband to rescue him when catastrophe occurs. When her husband is successful, the woman should keep silent and stay behind her husband and remain invisible from public attention. (*Zhiyin,* 2002)

The editorial comments indicate that behaviors such as unconditional tolerance, support, and invisibility are virtues for a woman. The magazine's discourse requires that the ideal woman understand her husband's faults and support his aspirations while she stays in the background, invisible or obscure. Violations of these virtues are criticized as the woman's failure to conduct their appreciated gender roles:

> Some women always blame men's carelessness and inconsiderate natures. This is not fair to men. Sometimes, women should criticize themselves if they really care about their husbands with the consciousness of their husbands' needs. In most situations, young mothers would like to pay more attention to their children than to their husbands…They like to compare their husbands' shortage with others men's fortes. (*Zhiyin (2)*1992, p. 32)

This comment suggests that women should accept a the dominant position in their daily lives. In denouncing a woman's critical attitude towards her husband, this commentary supports the ideology that the biological differences between men and women determine their binary gender roles. It is said that men are naturally strong and , active, a spontaneous force with a kind of excited urge that is easily aroused (Evans, 1997). By contrast, women are deemed to be relatively weak. Their ability toward intimacy and tenderness makes them wives and mothers and essentially contingent and dependent on the autonomous power of male urges. These differences

in biology place women in a subordinate situation in response to powerful male demands. They have to be considerate and sensitive to male needs (Evans, 1997). In doing so, women are asked to "be tolerant and keep quiet when men are angry… men should be the masters of the family" (*Zhiyin (8)*1988, p. 13). Thus, the physical differences become the basis that codes male privileges and reconfigures masculine authority. Based on this code, women are advised to develop strict self-discipline and self-respect to manifest their soft, gentle, tolerant, and submissive nature. Either excessive or inefficient performance of femininity may cause problems in the relationship that are assumed to be the women's fault. The magazine's treatment of the topic of premarital sex is a good example of this trend, and demonstrates how *Zhiyin* develops the connection between social problems and a woman's representation of femininity. This is easily seen from the many comments and stories in the editorial comments below, headlined as "How to deal with boyfriends' love impulse":

> a boyfriend's physiological impulse is very common. Girls don't have to fuss. Men's impulse cannot be finished without women's cooperation. This needs women to be calm, to take precautions and to keep distance from men. If a man wants to kiss you, don't let him kiss long and don't allow him to kiss the sensitive places…if a woman cannot control herself, it is not impossible to get in trouble **(***Zhiyin(1)*1987/1, p. 30).

From these messages, it is apparent that the impulses of men are the results of the overly sexualized dress and actions of women, characterized as excessive performances of femininity. This is taken for granted as the key to male behaviors or attitudes toward premarital sex. Male sexual behaviors are excused on the basis of their biological nature, but women are blamed for lacking self-discipline. In addition, a woman's proper performance of femininity is considered important, not only for the

sake of the family, but also for the sake of the society. That is, undisciplined femininity causes serious social problems—rape, love affairs, adultery, and divorce. To avoid problems associated with excessive femininity, women are. The following advises women to act properly so as to avoid unwanted outcomes associated with extramarital sex:

> A good girl is not equal to a pretty girl. A good girl should have the ability to handle her feelings, but a pretty girl is often emotionally bothered from being chased by married men. Women should avoid extravagant dress, and imitating the west as this will lead to male attention. (*Zhiyin (2)*1988, p. 29)

These suggestions reinforce the gender ideology that women are emotional and men are reasonable, and put more constraints on women than men. Not only does *Zhiyin* suggest women develop discipline in their daily behaviors for the sake of reducing social problems, but her appearance reflects on a man's social status and power.

Zhiyin also affirms the patriarchal order of the family by employing women's performances as patriarchal subjects to reflect and record the hierarchical relationships between women and men.

> Women are men's mirrors. From the female partners by whom men are accompanied, you can tell men's taste. That is, if the woman is only pretty without knowledge, it means that the man is very superficial. If the woman is beautiful and knowledgeable, it means the man has good taste with strength and power. Meanwhile, women, including female partners and wives, should pay much attention to men's tastes and strengths, not just their (women's) appearances. (*Zhiyin (1)*1996, p. 41)

In Chinese culture, a mirror always symbolizes a kind of intimate relationship between friends, lovers, or colleagues. For example, if one person is considered as another person's mirror, from the person's dressing, words, and behavior, you can deduce from one person a picture of the other's situation and status, such as education, occupation, and income. Thus, through the analogy of the mirror, this statement makes visible two underlying facts. First, as a reflection of men's social status,

women are expected to adhere to an ideal that is inscribed with both traditional and modern virtues. Through the imagery of the mirror, the heterosexual male subject can view his own image and social location through the status of his female companion, and confirm his desirability and authority. Second, the statement suggests a switch in the notion that a woman's appearance, beauty, and age constitute significantly determinative elements of value. It advises women to become educated and knowledgeable in supporting the national discourse that calls for women to develop self-improvement in promoting the strengthening of the principles of women's self-respect, self-confidence, self-reliance and self-improvement' ("Women of China," January, 1989). Official propaganda has created many role models to support these discourses. Among role models, Zhang Haidi is a woman with a disability who accomplished many achievements in learning and working and in her ability to fully support herself, become the most influential role model in contemporary China.

Zhang Haidi was born in a small town in Shandong Province. At the age of five, she developed a vascular tumor close to her spinal cord and was paralyzed from the chest down. Though she had to face considerable difficulties as a disabled woman, Zhang managed to teach herself wireless technology, music, painting and several foreign languages, including English, Japanese, and German, and to take college and graduate courses with support from her family. She became the first person in a wheelchair in China with a Master's degree in Philosophy. She translated several foreign language books and wrote several Chinese ones, most of which are her autobiographies (Zhang, 1997, 1999, 2002). Zhang worked towards equitable healthcare for bedridden patients and on repairing telecommunications equipment.

She currently is a member of the National Political Consultative Convention, and serves as a vice chairman of the Writers' Association in Shandong Province.

As a woman with a disability, Zhang's capacity to educate herself and ability to work and support herself made her achievements unusual and made her a legendary person. Since the 1980s, Zhang's achievements in education and work have appeared in many official publications and made her into a famous nationwide political model. In the 1980s, Zhang's life stories and achievements were widely described in many official newspapers, such *as Renmin Daily, Gongren Daily, Dazhong Daily, Xinhua Press,* and *Chinese Women's Newspaper*. Public representations about Haidi Zhang and her stories first appeared in *Renmin Daily* in December 29, 1981. The *Renmin Daily* was the most important official newspaper, which not only had the authority to report political policy and news, but also played a role in dominating the national media as to what kind of news and stories could be publicly reported. In 1983, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League named Zhang an Outstanding Youth League Member, due to her hard work, pursuit of knowledge, and her responsibility towards Chinese socialist enterprise. In the same year, she received an Excellent Woman award from the Chinese Women's Federation. In 1989, she was named Excellent Young Thinker by the Central Propaganda Department; in 1990, she was named Outstanding Youth by the Shandong government. These official articles, awards, reports, and comments have coalesced into a significant public discourse that is supposed to lead all women in China to self-improvement and self-sufficiency for the state. These official discourses about women's self-confidence and self-improvement have constrained the way in

which mass media present women's images. In this sense, the official government propaganda and *Zhiyin* are actually complementing each other. However, the entertainment nature of *Zhiyin* and its purpose of making a profit mean that the stories about women should be much more interesting and sensational to attract more readers. Thus, art and artwork have become an important index to evaluate the modern level of a woman. Besides knowledge in technology, women are also expected to develop the ability of appreciating artwork, as this is considered as a way to keep up with the times. The comment below provides an example on how to encourage women to develop their educational levels in art.

> Modern women should increase their appreciation ability, skills, and taste. Appreciation is defined as the ability to know what are good tastes and styles from the market. To increase this ability, women should develop a higher aesthetic ability through appreciating some top-level artistic works, such as concerts, art exhibitions, and world-famous distinguished art works, as this will bring women an aesthetic consciousness (*Zhiyin (8)*1988, p. 43).

The ability to appreciate and appraise artwork not only symbolizes the level of modernity of a woman in a society, it also serves as the conservative repository of men that manifests their social status no matter how a woman may view herself. On the one hand, the appreciation of art presupposes not only dispositions associated with the long establishment of taste, but also economic means (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 75). It is a fact that not every woman in China has enough income and spare time to be able to enjoy learning about and appreciating artworks. In this sense, middle class women's trends in their consumption of artwork distinguish them from most other women as their artistic preferences strongly tie in with their social position. Their appreciation of art is thus an indicator of their class level that seemingly correlates with their standing in society. On the other hand, it makes clear that modernity, as constructed for women, is based on a fundamental gender binary with the celebration

of gender difference that treats women as the record for gender performance in daily life. In uncritically accepting the imperative to develop proper aesthetic judgment, women may unwittingly become complicit in a gendered order that produces female subjects as merely reflections of men's social status and power.

In sum, during the post-Maoist era, gender is being reasserted as part of nature. This has led to a pursuit of gender differences with the attention drawn to women's attributes of gentleness, modesty, refinement, and shyness. Beneath this constructed gender difference lies a gender code that guides women to appear as feminine, but not androgynous or overly-feminine, and to respect men's masculinity and authority in the family.

The Construction of Gender Difference

The re-emphasis of traditional femininity based upon the biological differences between men and women has constituted a gender foundation upon which the reassertion of the gender hierarchy is based. This new, transitional gender hierarchy demands that women overcome previous gender socialization, made current during the socialist era. Messages from *Zhiyin* lead women to develop a family orientation to support this reconstruction of their gender identity. Commentary such as the following frequently appear in *Zhiyin*.

> Men and women are fundamentally different. For example, men should be work-oriented and focus on building their social networks. Wives should not intervene with their husbands' public activities or force their husband to become family oriented. Men's rudeness comes from the nature of masculinity. When men are angry, women should be tolerant and be quiet. Men should be the masters of the family, who decide big family issues. Men certainly should devote their state of mind to their work. Women should be considerate and be supportive of their husbands' work. Women should cooperate closely with men and make men feel happiness and joyful from their everyday life. (*Zhiyin (8)* 1988, p. 13)

> Women should show their charm, and should have the sense of being a woman and knowing how to protect themselves. Women should be good at listening to men's feelings. Men need intimate partners who are easy to talk to without harsh criticism (*Zhiyin (8)*1988, p. 35)

> These messages inspire women to take their duty of doing housework seriously and develop such pleasing and obedient attitudes to men, in accordance with the constructed biological difference between men and women. In doing so, women are advised to be obedient instead of attempting to be against or change men's actions, in that "there is not a man perfect… a woman trying to change a man is like trying to carry coal to Newcastle" (*Zhiyin (8)*1988, p. 35)

These messages advocate women's cooperation with male domination, which perpetuates male dominance and demands that the dominated consider their position as proper. The constructed characteristics of men and women are not merely a method of differentiating gender roles in the family, but also devalue women's labor in the paid workforce, as women are labeled as unreliable workers with weaknesses, having strong dependence on men, being less confident, less competitive, and having less capability. Editorials from *Zhiyin* present the physical appearance and adornment of women and associate them with such characteristics as weakness and less competitiveness to legitimate the hypothesis that the workplace is a male domain where women do not fit.

> Women are beautiful, but most of time they are weak. Sometimes a very small change in life can make them lose all confidence and strength for living… Women find it easy to forgive themselves, despise themselves, and dote on themselves. In work competition, men and women should be equal. This is not to say women don't have capacity, it is because women are used to giving up their right to compete. When the sky falls, men are taller, and they can hold the sky. Therefore it does not matter for women: they should let men take care of them. Women's attitudes are therefore the barrier to success. So, many talented women's brilliance is often ploughed under. This is sad. We cannot complain that society provides men and women with different conditions for improvement. We should examine ourselves: why we cannot achieve in competition. Why do we hesitate to move forward when we encounter opportunities? It is a fact that women don't believe they have capacity. Thus women do not trust themselves, thus they defeat themselves. Women should be strong… knowing that everyone has the same chance of suffering, they may stop grumbling that fate is unfair. You will have more confidence to start your own enterprise. Women should be strong. You should have a goal and work toward this goal. With self-doubt, women will not arrive at the peak of gloriousness. On the way to being successful, women should surmount themselves (*Zhiyin (2)*1988, p. 23).

This statement does not directly suggest women give up their positions, nor does it ask women to accept inequality in the workplace; rather, it conveys the messages that femininity is an essential component of women's nature that may affect the quality of their work. From this statement, such characteristics as beautiful, weak, easy to forgive, and lack of competition and motivation are connected with femininity and are considered as essential components of femininity. However, these characteristics are assumed not to be compatible with the qualifications needed for professional jobs. Thus, in conflating femininity and incompetence in the workplace, women are labeled as unreliable workers and natural housewives. The power of this articulation hampers women who are unequal in the workplace by discouraging them from seeking to change their situations as workers and caregivers. Definitions of women's roles in the family further constrain women's choices, as examined below.

Women As Family Caregivers

The gendered differences embedded in Chinese society commit women to being caregivers with the duty to provide harmonious family lives. Below I use the stories from *Zhiyin* as an important source illuminating the significant differences in the gendered expectations of women and men in relationship to family, with women being held to playing the roles of family caregivers. This is achieved through messages that advise women to marry for love, remain committed to supporting their husbands, and match their husbands in education and tastes.

Stories about family relations and issues rank high in *Zhiyin*. According to

these stories, a happy family needs a woman to devote herself to matching her husband in education and aesthetic taste, and needs a woman to provide for her family members romance, peace, warmth, support, respect, and love. A marriage with "endless tender feeling" (*Zhinyin (1)*1995, p. 11) constitutes the basis upon which a woman is required to match her husband in terms of education, taste, and family background. Marriage without love is considered a punishment for women who married men purposely not for love. The story headlined as "The Painful Experiences of a Poor College Girl's Marriage to a Rich Man" below exemplifies how a woman without a proper attitude toward marriage could be punished.

> A poor college student decided to marry a rich businessman to become a rich wife. After her graduation from college, she worked as a middle school teacher. The level of salary for a teacher could not provide her a decent income and get her out of poverty. She chose to marry a middle-aged man. The marriage with the divorced rich man provided her with ten times a teacher's income—enough economic wealth for a luxurious lifestyle. The girl did not have to have to work anymore and just stayed at home to enjoy shopping, playing, and entertaining. In order to maintain this luxurious level of living, she tried to find a way to tie her husband to her and keep him devoted to spending money on her. So, she decided to give birth and she had a son.[10] However, she found the opposite result to what she wished: she was abandoned since her husband loved her young body that didn't experience pregnancy and giving birth. Her husband started to date other women and didn't come back home any more. He was coerced into staying with his wife. This situation tortured her and she wanted to leave. But her husband's wealth made her dependent on him. As she says, "I cannot have a self-respecting life as Jane Eyre had. I have to live with the man who only loves money and have nothing left to continue my rich wife life. (*Zhiyin (1)*2002, p. 11)

A sharp contrast to this criticism of the college girl's alienated marriage is praise voiced toward the women who act with love, understanding, thoughtfulness, and support of their husbands. The summarized story below works to establish a model to teach women how to act as good wives.

> A newly married woman imagined having a romantic family life as shown on film and T.V. screens. That is, her day-to-day life should be decorated with flowers, wine, fashionable clothing, romantic feelings, and decent dinners…. However, her day-to-

[10] In Chinese culture, a giving birth to a son is a strong tie for the husband to his wife.

> day life seems very different from the descriptions of the media—it is very boring instead. Most of the time, she does routine work and her husband devotes himself to work and spends less time with her. Life is full of household chores without romance. Gradually, the woman accepted the lifestyle and became used to her husband's attitude towards her and towards work. She finally accepted the idea that men should have work as their first concern and see little of his family and wife. She believes that men should be that way. (*Zhinyin (1)*1995/ pp. 1, 13)

This story conveys a process in which a woman has learned how to treat her husband as the master of a family. In so doing, this story creates an ideal image of women, so as to educate women on how to experience the transition from girl to wife, and how to develop good understandings of supporting her husband. In accepting her husband's authority in her family, a woman should voluntarily sacrifice her own life yearning and her pursuit of a career to fully support her husband's work and always place her husband as the central concern of her family life. However, support itself is not enough to maintain a happy family life. For a woman, not only does she need to develop a docile attitude, but also is anticipated to match her husband in his higher education levels and good taste. A big gap between a husband and a wife in knowledge and taste is deemed a barrier against a perfect family life. However, there are significant differences between the acceptable response of women and men to their less educated spouses. For example, it is acceptable for men to divorce their illiterate wives who don't have comparable education and aesthetic taste. Many stories support this trend. For instance, the empathetic voice from one story about a remarried senior professor's life gives a sense of who has the power to choose divorce. This professor, a therapist, fell in love with a patient, a young college student he was treating for mental illness. Finally, the professor decided to divorce his illiterate wife, who was married to him for several years, and marry the younger woman (*Zhiyin (1)*1995, p. 12). The entire narrative is full of understanding and compassion for the

professor and supportive of his decision divorce his older wife and marry his young patient. However, the editorial voice of *Zhiyin* would have been critical if the older wife had a higher level of education, or a better job, or a more refined and sophisticated aesthetic taste than the professor. A wife with a higher status would be advised to develop a positive understanding of her husband's situation and develop a humble attitude, not only to obey him, but to fulfill his gendered role expectations without threatening his masculinity. She is expected to develop her talents to fulfill her traditional role as a wife without violating the traditional role of her husband—as the master of the family.

There are many commentaries and stories from *Zhiyin* that ask women with a higher status than their husbands to not become strong and powerful; women who, through a man's eye, would be fierce and malicious, arbitrary, autocratic, and harbor contempt for their husbands (*Zhiyin (4)*2002, pp. 26–28). The following story, titled "A Female Manger's Painful Choice," establishes a model that teaches women to develop their willingness to respect a man's masculinity and submit to his authority in the family.

> This story is about how an urban female intellectual finally rebuilds her "happy" family life through her endeavor to fulfill her traditional commonly-held idea about women's roles in supporting her family and respecting her husband's masculinity. The woman married an illiterate peasant whom she didn't love. The woman's marriage with the man was her choice for survival when she was forced to work in the countryside during the Cultural Revolution period. After the 1978 economic reforms, she returned to the city and became a manager in a state-owned enterprise. She is very successful at work. But the gap between her and her husband's social position is widening, and it annoys her in that her illiterate rural husband fails to act in a proper urban style and makes her lose face. However, she does not choose to divorce her husband, though tortured due to the marriage without love. The consciousness of being a perfect woman and an understanding wife and loving mother finally overcome her desire to divorce her husband and she strived to continue her duty of being a wife. (*Zhiyin (1)*1987, pp. 5–7)

> This woman's choice is highly praised—especially because she is successful at work. For those who do not follow this path, *Zhiyin* developed a discourse that devalues the

> woman and portrays her as failing to properly perform their gender roles as women. In this sense, divorce is a penalty for women with ambition, power, and economic independence. Many stories have sounded the alarm bell for women who might violate or break the code of male dominance—man as master of the family.
> For instance, a story about young woman's misfortune because of her choice to divorce. The story suggests that it is better for a women to keep a tranquil mind and friendly attitude about husbands who come from a lower social position. In this story, the woman had a seemingly perfect family—a sweet daughter and a considerate husband. However, family life didn't satisfy her and she wanted to something more. To fulfill a dream, she decided to move to the South of China. She opened up her own business and was very successful. Her success, however, distanced her from her husband in terms of income and aesthetic interests, and gulf of status widened. They divorced, and the woman lost her family and her daughter (*Zhiyin (8)*1999, p. 44)

Another story conveys a similar message, suggesting that women should be extremely patient and kind towards their husbands. The story purports to be about a marriage crushed by infidelity but the interesting point is the editorial commentary: Although the husband's long-term affair was not proper, it was not the key to the marriage's failure. Rather, it was the wife's fault. She violated gendered codes of behavior and should take responsibility for the unpleasant results. When the wife decided not to have children in order to maintain some freedom, she discarded her expected role of being a good mother. On the other hand, the woman had a very strong will and a feminist consciousness, which made her the head of her family—she designed the family life that she preferred. Her nonchalance at masculine authority damaged her husband's self-esteem—which made him fall in love with his student and helped him recover his lost confidence and authority. The commentary ends with a celebration of masculinity, and blaming the woman for violating gender codes. This story is a morality tale that warns women not to challenge male authority and not to evade her proscribed roles as wife and mother because this may shake or eradicate a family's foundations.

For women who would challenge a husband's masculinity and refuse to do housework, losing a family may not be the worst price to pay. Sometimes, they pay with their lives. The following story sounds an alarm for women who are not willing to perform their duties.

> A brilliant married man encountered a pretty girl congenial to his interests. He fell in love with her and decided to divorce his wife and remarry the young girl. However, the remarriage did not satisfy him. The second wife refused to perform her duties of housework, taking care of a child, and supporting her husband's work. This caused conflict between the couple and the husband asked for a divorce three times. Hating the feelings arising from her husband's insistence on a divorce, the wife killed her husband and she was sentenced to die. (*Zhiyin (1)*2001, p. 30)

This editorial comment points out that the tragedy was rooted in the woman's unwillingness to take her duty to provide family care seriously. In doing so, she challenged her husband's authority and offended her husband's masculinity, which resulted in their family problems. To maintain a happy family, not only should a woman discipline herself in playing her female role—she also needs to develop her loyalty and remain steadfast to her family even if there is no love between her and her husband. Editorials and stories from *Zhiyin* persuade women to adjust their attitudes when considering divorce, and continue their marriages. The statement below for a woman who wishes to divorce her husband whom she does not love manifests the tendency that women should keep their loyalty toward their husbands for the sake of social stability. In response to the woman's question on how to deal with her problem that after years of marriage, she encounters her first lover and falls back in love with him. She decides to end her current

> marriage is a historical witness of a certain time. Marriage is also a fact. For the sake of social stability and morality, as well as your child's happiness, you cannot divorce your husband. As for old love with your first lover, please let it go. You have a family, which requires you to cut the ties with your old lover. Moreover, you are not allowed to divorce your husband because the love between you and your husband is not broken. According to our marriage law provisions, broken love is the condition

> for divorce. The love between you and your husband is still there, which does not allow you to divorce your husband. From the purpose of family and social stability, you should avoid doing something emotionally. (*Zhiyin (1)*1987, p. 34)

This commentary establishes a connection between a woman's individual choice to marry with national issues of social stability, which in turn cautions them to scrupulously abide by expected gender ideology. It asks them to perform femininity properly—to please but not allure men. Social issues such as adultery and infidelity are blamed on women and identify a lack of strict discipline as the source of the problem.

In post-Maoist China, there has been an upsurge in incidences of extramarital affairs, and public discourse defines it as a serious social problem threatening the stability of family life, and therefore threatening national security and stability. China's official mass media has led large-scale discussions on how to avoid such problems and extramarital affairs occupy over 30 percent of all the topics on marriage. According to *Zhiyin*, extramarital love is an extremely dangerous game that threatens normal family life and exacts a heavy price on women. For those who dare to enter the forbidden field, the price includes loss of family, jobs, friends, and even lives. The three stories below exemplify the unpleasant results from a love affair.

> Story one is about an extramarital affair of a man, Hulin, and woman, Ruo Bing Both of them worked as high school principals. Both of them had a "perfect family." They have lovely children, supportive spouses, and respected social statuses. They worked diligently and had earned numerous awards in the education field. But they fell in love with each other and decided to give up everything and run away from their families and give up their work positions. One day, they eloped and only left a letter to their family and co-workers: "When you read this letter, we will be far away and on the way toward darkness and nowhere. Both of us have been tortured mentally and physically. We are faceless to our family. We fall short of our government, leaders, and comrades' trust and love. (*Zhiyin (8)*1988, p. 7)

> A middle aged married woman re-married a married man whom she had loved for twenty-two years. Within the twenty-two years, the woman struggled to divorce her husband and brought tremendous pain to the man's wife. Two families were broken.

> However, the re-marriage was less than satisfactory. They could not stay in the same places where they lived for years to avoid blame from neighbors and family members. In the meantime, conflicts emerged between them. Finally, they were forced to move to a new place to continue their unhappiness. (*Zhiyin (8)*1988, p. 13)

> A rural woman married a man she didn't love. Soon, she came to work in a provincial capital city and fell in love with her husband's friend, Mr. B. With knowledge of the love affair, her husband took a series of measures for revenge. The woman lost her job and Mr. B abandoned her. After years of endeavor to return to her work position, the woman finally regained her job and came back to the city again. When Mr. B knew she had returned, he expressed his wish to restore their love. But the woman refused because she didn't trust him anymore. (*Zhiyin (1)*1987, p. 28)

These three stories intend to instruct a women to avoid the unpleasant results of their failure to self-discipline themselves. The narrative technique criticizes women for forbidden behavior and blames them for the results and problems. Under this presumption, *Zhiyin* advises women to be more disciplined than men. Furthermore, as the following commentary warns, young women should avoid love relations with married men.

> Please do not eat the forbidden fruit that does not belong to you. It is lamentable to fall in love with a married man, an unhappy love. This love is not perfect due to the hurt wife involved. A clandestine love affair with a married man will have bitter rather than sweet results. Though love is emotional, it should be restricted by rationality to avoid losing yourself into passion. (*Zhiyin (1)*1987, p. 11)

Apparently, extramarital love affairs are essentially associated with women's improper performance of femininity and lack of self-discipline, and this is thought to have caused serious social problems that destroy harmonious family and social relations. Underlying the connection of social problems to women's feminine performance is the common-sense notion that women are unreliable workers because feminine characteristics such as their emotional nature and responsibilities at home. These characteristics are viewed as a crucial barrier to their achievement in the workplace. In this sense, the stories and editors' opinion pieces function to legitimate

the logic that reasserts that the traditional hierarchy in the family should be extended to the workplace.

Though seemingly the logic conveys a conflicting message that women are to cultivate their natural roles as obedient wives and good mothers, their feminine natures are also the sources that are assumed to bring about social problems and thus women should discipline their female natures. This logic is essentially in accordance with the national policies that guide employers to promptly decide that they would prefer to hire men rather than women. Thus, women are legally and morally placed in confined situations through the categories produced by the gendered structures of increased patriarchy in the family and the gendered stratification of the labor market.

Women as Professionals

As a group of workers, professional women in contemporary China also experience the process of being constructed as family caregivers and being expected to present their femininity. However, their higher education levels and better income have endowed them with particular experiences differentiating them from most other women workers. Since the 1980s, women professionals have been deemed as those who are good wives and mothers, with strong economic independence and the ability to control themselves in different settings. In addition, as educated women, they are expected to be more reasonable and calm and have more strict self-discipline in making proper choices in work and family life than most other women, such as housewives and women workers in factories. From the fifty volumes of *Zhiyin* I selected, there is no clear definition of how a professional woman should look since

professional is a term that rarely appears to describe them. In this research, professionals are considered groups of women who are located within hierarchal systems of occupations, with differing levels of formal knowledge in certain fields that are widely constructed as male territory. Specifically, the term, "Chinese professional women" refers to those women who have college educations, stable jobs that require specific skills and knowledge, and higher salaries ranging from US$ 500 to US$ 5000 monthly.[11] Based on this definition, there are many stories about women workers in such professional fields as management and accounting. These stories have created models that convey the meanings of work and family life for professional women to evaluate their performance in different social settings. The stories below show how professional women are constructed by the magazine, and how readers should aspire to become professional women.

> the position of senior leader does not hinder her in being a virtuous housewife…she is a leader, but first of all she is a gentle and virtuous woman… If a man has a more promising future in their work, then why shouldn't his wife support him and provide him with what he needs after finishing her own work? (*Zhiyin (2)*1987, p. 13)

> Xu Changlian, an auditor is a role model for professional women: as a woman, she is family oriented; as a worker, she is honorable, hard working, diligent, skilled, and professional and always has her work as the first priority. She devotes herself to her duty as a worker and often cuts loose from family ties and does not permit the use of bribes or other means of gaining advantage. She always puts her work as the first priority. (*Zhiyin (8)*1988, pp. 4–5)

Apparently, the femininity that emphasizes women's nurturing roles is considered an essential characteristic for professional women. This message has presented professional women with a dilemma. Women are expected to fully engage and fulfill their duties as professionals while at the same time the pursuit of success is

[11] In China, it is common that professionals working for the government and universities have lower salaries ranging from US$ 500 to US$ 1000, than those in multi-national companies, who have incomes over US$ 2000 every month.

the antithesis of a good wife and mother even though her income helps to maintain a decent lifestyle. Situated between these conflicts, are women who fail to meet a family's needs are demeaned for their professional success and their decisions to prioritize their job ahead of their family.

The following story highlights the guilty feelings of a female factory manager who has little time to take care of her family and child:

> she felt very guilty in that she never cooked one meal for her child and spent less time in the company of her son. She could not even have leave to take care of him when he was sick. She said to her son with a cry, "…please forgive your mom…she loves you but she cannot leave the factory. (*Zhiyin (7)*1990, p. 16)

Female gender roles are perceived as preventing professional women from full involvement in their work. Class-specific gender expectations of professional women reflect the notion that they have the ability to use their education and intellect to mitigate the stress from conflicting demands of work and family. These expectations are more rigid—than those for workers and housewives—and lead to depression and guilt. Public discourse underscores the expectation that professional women have the ability to deal with these problems themselves. Public discourse always describes divorce as the inevitable and unpleasant result of nonconformity to gendered social values and morals. Additionally, public discourse proscribes punishment in terms of enormous emotional pain for these women in spite of the assumption that professional women are strong enough to bear all hardships and still show a radiant side, a fortitude that distinguishes them from most other women. The following message exemplifies how a professional woman should look and carry herself while going through difficult times:

> After divorce, I should be more beautiful. I dressed up, as well as my daughter. I never allowed myself to look miserable, or let the tears course down my cheeks. I did not allow myself to indulge in cigarettes and alcohol. I know that for a divorced

> woman, not only should she be neat, but also pure inside because I have nothing left but myself. (*Zhiyin (1)* 2002, p. 43)

The statement demonstrates that professional women should at all time be reasonable and calm—qualities that will enable them to navigate out of hard times and emotional entanglements. Many stories talk about how professional women use their reason and calm to overcome emotional trouble with married men. These stories persuade the women who are struggling with love affairs to end their troublesome relationships with married men and assist them in getting back with their wives (*Zhiyin (8)*1988). The messages about professional women are inscribed with multiple meanings: the messages reinforce the misperception that professional women work in a particularly masculine space that is not suited to their female nature (and that such work is against general social acceptance (Rofel, 1999). It also reinforces the common perception that professional women should be committed to upholding social stability, should respect their husbands' masculinity, and meet their family needs. As a distinguished group occupying a good social position, the group professional women is deployed as subjects that reinforce patriarchal relationship in the gendered labor market of China within which women's paid work in the workplace and nonpaid housework contribute to the accumulation of power by the state and global capitalism.

Discussion

Zhiyin provides a lens of historical perspective on the changing issues and attitudes towards women in post-Maoist China since the 1980s. Within the transitional decade, from socialism to capitalism, some themes in the national

discourse on gendered femininity changed while some remained stable. For example, as attitudes to gender ideology worked to restore the traditional social values that privileged men over women, *Zhiyin* reinforce these discourses in its commentary and narratives. Attitudes toward professional women are narrated in a way that disciplines women to perform their femininity in a way that pleases without seducing. This has laid the foundation for inequality in the social positions of men and women. The similarity in content, narrative, and attitudes to femininity in the decades between 1980 to 2009 reflects the way mass media shapes people's understandings and responses to the changing political ideological parameters delineated from national policy and official statements. In the meantime, there are some changes over time in the view of women in the discussions of women's issues from the magazine. "Extramarital love" is one prominent example of a story that shows the shifting social attitudes from critical voice to sympathy to the people involved since the1990s. However, the tolerant attitude and commiseration are reserved for men rather than women. The story below may be the best example of the hidden meaning of this trend. In the story, a girl named C has a very rich male friend with a PhD, valuable property, and the experiences of having studied overseas. This man is married and has a lovely son and a daughter. But he has many lovers and keeps changing his lovers. All his lovers are pretty, highly-educated, young women. However, the man doesn't intend to divorce his wife to marry any of his lovers (*Zhiyin (8)*1999, p. 51). Through C's eyes, the love affair between the married man and his young lovers is beautiful and romantic, despite being a little bit bitter.

> The man's extramarital affairs make C believe that women should be classified as those with low or high status. Only the ones with high status and femininity can match rich men. She says, "in light of rich men's countenance, women should be

> smart and quiet with high status. Not only should a perfect woman be pretty and talented, but also quiet and patient. She should be willing to stay at home to wait on her husband. However, this is a kind of happiness that comes by chance, not by diligently looking for it. (*Zhiyin (8)* 1999, p. 51)

Beneath C's narrative lies the acceptance of the exchange of women's bodies for the material benefits of male power and economic means. It also exposes the way capitalism intervenes in family relationships and commodifies female bodies as subjects to enhance men's economic power in society.

The changing and unchanging themes in *Zhiyin*'s content convey colorful, vivid, and succinct messages that have constituted problematic standards of expectations for men and women. They define womanhood and masculinity as radically different from the generalized androgynous definition of gender sameness put forward during the Cultural Revolution, and which was, predominantly, based on standards of masculinity. Based on this, men and women are judged by different standards for similar behaviors within performances of gendered social rand cultural roles. The result is the legitimacy of male authority and female subordination—of inequality and inferiority. All *Zhiyin* messages function to reinforce the dominant gender male paradigms and discourse delineated by national policy. That is, through the storytellers' perspective, the discourses constructed around gender reflect and capture the definitions of both contemporary and traditional womanhood, and reinforce Chinese and Western concepts of femininity and of male dominance. They are directions and guides to help women make sense of their lives and in this sense, the discourse derived from the creation, interpretation of, and comments to the stories of *Zhiyin* constitutes the knowledge needed for women to perform the daily actions and activities of gendered roles in a socially accepted way.

The stories, editors' comments, and narrative strategies in *Zhiyin* disclose a gendered mechanism: women as social agents navigate social structures that are imbued with gendered meaning. Thus, the participation of women within these structures incorporates them into the constituting process of making meaning of their identifies as women and women workers. As Glodagh Wylie suggests, this constructed mechanism is especially powerful in that some important issues are missing from *Zhiyin*, issues such as discrimination in the workplace, and the conflicting demands of family and work (Wylie, 2004, p. 43), obstacles in women's advancement, and lack of strong professional identity. Research has documented these issues as important ones surrounding contemporary Chinese women workers (Honig & Hershater, 1988; Lin, 1995; Hershatter, 2007; Sun, 2008; Entwisle & Henderson, 2000). These omissions demonstrate the apolitical, gendered, entertaining nature of *Zhiyin*, and do nothing to improve women's situation in any substantial way. In the following chapter, I discuss the interaction and tensions that percolate between professional women and prevailing social structures. The discussion takes into account the transformations that have occurred within Chinese society in its move from national socialism to global capitalism, and shield light on how mass media, as represented by *Zhiyin* propagandizes the lives of professional women.

Chapter 3: Regimes of Employment: Assimilation/Alienation of Professional Women

> *In my ten years of professional experience, I have always tried to devote myself to work while doing my best to take care of my family. But I know that I am woman, and women are always burdened by their family. But also, women have their own problems, for example, we are not very active and don't have passion to work. Before the birth of my daughter, I worked in a position with strong responsibility and less passion. This was not the problem of my company, but from me and from my personality. Now, I frequently feel stressed and anxious due to the workload and high competition in my field. I am working for my family. But I am a woman, I cannot complain to anyone because I have to take the responsibility of taking care of my family. The current environment completely makes me whom I am.* —Liu

Liu's reflection on her professional experience reveals common conditions that face professional women in the workplace and maintaining their socially acceptable roles as feminine women. The current political, economic, and cultural situation in China has shaped women's views on how to perform their expected female role as a perfect image of womanhood, to cooperate with male-dominant mainstream culture, and negotiate day-to-day difficulties. In this sense, their labor is alienated from their interests and stands as a force working against them. This chapter examines the ways in which professional women cooperate in the social systems that utilize their labor. And they do this without having any power themselves.

Drawing on analyses of the interviews I conducted in Beijing, this chapter maps the ways in which participants identify themselves as laborers and as women and become the reproducers of social relations in their own lives and work. Focusing on my analyses of their responses, and their attitudes on workplace practices, this chapter uncovers the political nature of the workplace, because in the workplace, patriarchy enforces and reinforces traditional female roles in the family. The

workplace also serves as a stage that legitimizes the performance of gender inequality and re-enforces traditional gender ideology. Finally, I argue that, as with other women workers, the labor of professional women is commercialized, and contributes to the accelerated economic development of China. The labor of professional women is a source for the accumulation of global capital and power.

Research methods—Interviews

I chose the interview as the essential method used to conduct this research into the experiences of Chinese professional women. As a qualitative approach, the interview format provides an important resource in knowledge production, as it aids in identifying the multiplicity of women's experiences and perspectives (Fonow & Cook, 1991; Mies, 1986; Harding, 1987). For the purposes of this research project, the interview format offers a seamless way to obtain specificities of experiences from the perspectives of these women and allows the researcher to assess the particular "dynamic and fluid nature of gender reconfiguration" within a global context (Menjwar, 2003, p. 103).

To establish a dynamic understanding of the interrelationship between globalization and gender identity, all participants are subjects who engage in, experience, narrate, negotiate, and resist the gendered process of globalization. They are not mere objects reacting to multiple forces of nationalism, socialism, and capitalism. With all of this in mind, I designed questions that focus on family life and work experiences to investigate individual and collective visions about identity, consciousness, self-representation, and self-determination.

The interview is structured into five segments of between six to eighteen questions. The first section is about demographic and household information, including the basic information of age, marital status, level of education, and income. The second part probes the woman's experiences at home and at work and collects data about her understanding of her job positions and the meaning of work and family. The third part explores social mobility, and how education, family background, and social supports impact a woman's entry into the middle class. In part four, I collect information on the woman's views on intimacy, femininity, and love. Part five investigates her understanding of and attitudes around social policies in employment, health insurance, and social welfare (see Appendix A: Interview Guide). Questions about the index of assets, including property, cars, and stock, is used to identify their economic status. Indexes of food, clothing, entertainment, domestic and international travel, leisure, sport activity, and shopping identify differences in their life-styles.

The interviews were conducted in Beijing, China's second largest city. As the political and economic center of China, Beijing attracts the majority of foreign capital in China and has become an international city with many multinational corporations. This makes it most attractive for professional women—and the ideal place for me to carry out interviews. During the process of setting up interviews, recruiting participants and winning their cooperation was a big concern for me, and so I used snowball sampling—a recruitment method that accesses participants' social networks to access specific populations—to generate the interview subjects (Neuman, 2003). Snowball sampling, which is particularly recommended when a population is hard to

identify, involves asking initial respondents to name others who could also be interviewed (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Due to my long-time absence from China, my connections to friends back home are weakening, and most of them are women professionals. This is a primary reason for me to use snowball sampling as a way to recruit participants. To schedule interviews, I asked friends and professors in Beijing to introduce me to their coworkers and friends. In turn, I asked these new contacts to put me in touch with more potential interviewees. I began my inquiries before I came back to Beijing, in February 2009; when I arrived in Beijing, I asked other friends, as well as relatives to introduce me to prospective participants. As soon as I got obtained contact information for an interview participant candidate, I emailed the woman to introduce myself and explain the goal of the research project. If they agreed to be interviewed, I would gather more information, and schedule meeting times and locations. Among the women I contacted, four women refused face-to-face interviews. even though I assured them that all the interview information would be confidential. I interviewed these women via email. One quarter of the twenty women I interviewed (five participants) were recruited from referrals.

The women I interviewed were twenty professionals working at multinational corporations in Beijing, including IBM, Apple, Nest, and Johnson & Johnson. The ages of the participants ranged from twenty-seven to forty-two, with the greatest concentration in the thirty to thirty-eight age bracket. Two out of twenty were younger than thirty-years-old and two out of twenty were older than forty-years-old. The women earned an average 8000RMB per month. Some of them had higher incomes, up to RMB24000 monthly, but these women were senior managers. Married

women constituted the majority of research participants. Among the twenty women, twelve were married and eight were single. All of the single women had boyfriends. Among the married women, nine of them had children—each family had one child. The education of the twenty women was mostly college level: nine of the women held master's degrees; among them, five obtained these degrees from colleges in the United States or Japan. Eleven out of the twenty women have bachelor's degrees. None of the eleven women had experiences of working or studying overseas. As for job positions, eleven women were mid-level managers and two worked as senior manager. Two others were researchers, four women worked as manager assistants, and one worked as an associate director. With regards to housing, all twelve married participants owned their own apartments. Five out of eight single women lived with their parents, one of them lived with her boyfriend and one lived alone in a rental room.

Each woman was interviewed in Mandarin once. Each interview lasted between sixty and ninety minutes. Within the semi-structured and in-depth interviews, I asked to audio record each respondent, and prepared a small digital recorder to ask for participants' permission to record. However, only nine out of the twenty women allowed me to record our conversations. I made very detailed notes for all other interviews without audio record. All the interviews occurred on weekdays. Sixteen of the interviews were conducted during lunch-time and four were conducted after work hours. The interview locations varied from company cafeterias to Starbucks coffee shops near their companies, and participant's homes. The locations were chosen for participants' convenience.

Reflexivity is an important component of this research project, and as a principle of feminist research, reflexivity requires the researcher to be attentive to the reflection of self, process, and representation in the research processes, so as to minimize the unequal power relationship between researcher and researched (Farhana Sultana, 2002).[12] In order to practice reflexivity, I kept a research journal in which, after each interview, I made detailed notes of my thoughts about the interview. I recorded my reflections on whether or not I gave the participant enough time to speak; whether I created a relaxing environment and built a friendly, equal relationship between the participant and me. I also noted whether some questions embarrassed participants; whether I asked the right questions, and whether I dominated the interview and controlled our conversations. I kept the journal in order to be aware of my interview technique and improve on it as the research progressed.

Taking the concern of reflexivity very seriously, I attempted to create a flexible and relaxing interview environment. In so doing, I designed a question sequence, where easier, less personal questions, such as their preferred entertainment or what kinds of food they like, were asked first. After they felt comfortable and I felt they were beginning to trust me, I started to ask questions about their income, property, attitudes towards work and family, and conflicts they encountered in the workplace. Easy questions at the beginning helped the woman to relax, let down their guard, and complete all the questions smoothly. All of the women I interviewed treated me in a friendly and welcoming manner. Some even invited me to visit their homes. I also realized that interviewing these women was inter-subjective, a

[12] http://www.acme-journal.org/vol6/FS.pdf

reciprocal process whereby the participants and I shared knowledge and experiences that resonated in our lives. The easy-going exchange helped me obtain significant information, such as social values, tensions, and the more subtle difficulties under the surface of a professional woman's life circumstances. Perceptions of the specificities and characteristics of the Chinese professional woman's experiences contributes to assessing the particular "dynamic and fluid nature of gender reconfiguration" (Menjwar, 2003, p. 103).

Beijing, A Hyper-global City

To understand the experiences of Chinese professional women in the global economy, it is also necessary to understand Beijing, which is a global metropolis and a political and cultural center of China. As a hyper-global city, Beijing provides an immediate sense of the enormous changes, generated by globalization, that has reshaped life for millions of Chinese women professionals. Not only do the insights generated from Beijing make evident how global power integrates and governs local relations through a structured regional division of labor within and across the national boundaries, Beijing also provides a context for understanding how local and global power has been historically generated and changed over time in China as well as how the complicated macro-process of globalization embedded in power carries, defines, and creates gender meanings that guide professional women's everyday lives.

Integrated into global economic systems since 1978, Beijing is a global city where specialized services and finance are leading economic growth sectors. Consisting of a number of networks of financial and service markets, similar to New

York, London, Tokyo, and Paris, Beijing displays many of the characteristics of these global cities, including being a gateway to world markets, a center for global service and finance economies, and the site of emerging political identities as a product of global economic activities (Sassen, 2000). However, Beijing is notably different from the majority of global cities that have long histories as banking and trading centers because its feudal roots stretch back millennium. Founded more than three thousand years ago, Beijing has served as the national capital of China for at least eight centuries, the last five hundred as feudal dynasties: Liao, Jin, Yuan, Ming, and Qing. During the long period of feudal empires, government and bureaucracy were the main foundations, and "tended to be overrun by royalty, ministers, generals, or government officials, but its population of merchants was relatively small compared with Shanghai and Tianjin**"** (Zhou, 1998, pp. 430–431). Beijing also differs in that it was part of a socialist economic and political system for the latter half of the twentieth century—and during that time the government focused on economic development. From the 1940s to the 1970s, under Maoist socialism, Beijing was the epicenter of a centrally planned socialist economy.

Beijing's key attributes—feudalism and socialism—raise two immediate questions: How has Beijing, carrying feudal and socialist traditions, been able to fit into a global economic system characterized by capitalism (as is evidenced by the model provided by other global cities)? and: How did Beijing experience and negotiate the transition from socialism to capitalism service and finance industry, which left it poised to become a major participant in the global economy? A brief review of the changing physical structures of Beijing from 1949 to the present helps

answer these questions, as well as disclose the operational infrastructure of global processes. Answering these questions also reveals the processes by which professional women in China comply with, co-operate with, and resist the shifting social transitions through their activities in the workplace and the family.

Beijing in Socialist Context

Built as the capital of China in 1949, Beijing was designed as an industrial, political, and administrative center with a political goal: to build an industrialized socialist state[13]. To achieve this goal, the economic role of Beijing was highlighted through the establishment of a wide range of industries in the city. The changes were significant: Beijing reported "boosting industrial gross output 1.6 times from 1953 to 1957; a total of 50 big factories were built with a total floor space of 1.87 million sqm and 96 large new chemical industry area was added to the south-eastern suburb; and two smaller industrial zones in Fengtai and Qinghe" (Sit, 1995, p. 97). To accelerate the industrialization process, Soviet modernization policies were introduced in the 1960s and profoundly changed Beijing. Under the influence of Soviet political and economic policies, hundreds of factory yards were built and many workers' satellite towns were developed around Beijing (Zha, 1994).

Industrial development in Beijing during the twenty years between the 1950s and the 1970s marked a shift from a political capital of China to its economic center, as industry became a mainstay of Beijing economy. For instance, industry accounted for over 50 percent of the GNP in the 1960s and over 60 percent in the 1970s (Sit,

[13] According to Yu Zhou, "since 3,000 years ago, Beijing has served as the national capital of China for at least eight centuries-during the last five feudal dynasties (Liao, Jin, Yuan, Ming, Qing) and, since 1949, for the People's Republic of China" (Zhou 1998, 429).

1999).[14] This changing economic structure in Beijing was accompanied by an altered physical landscape. Previous urban structures divided Beijing into the Forbidden City, the inner city, and outer city. During the 1960s and 1970s, Beijing was reconfigured and divided into three functional areas for government offices, industry, and education. Spatially, large governmental buildings and offices were constructed primarily in the west of the imperial palace complex. Heavy industries were concentrated east and south of the central city, in other words, Shijingshan (mainly iron and steel and other metallurgy industries), Fengtai (mainly automobiles, textiles and construction materials) and Changxiangdian (mainly machinery) (Sit, 1999). In the northwestern area, such as the Haidian District, higher education and research grew dramatically, with the establishment of universities and the national research center, in other words, Qinghua and Beijing University (Gaubatz, 1995, 1999).

The changes in geographic structures not only reflected power shifts between the supreme emperor and socialist totalitarianism, they were also a manifestation of the socialist economic development agenda in Beijing and provided a basis for China's rapid economic growth in the era of globalization, which is attributed to the market reforms of 1978. These reforms include agricultural de-collectivization, fiscal decentralizations, industrial restructuring, and opening up to foreign trade and foreign investment (Naughton, 1995). Under these reforms, Beijing had been reconfigured to "catch up with global economic progress and to reach the highest global level" (Cook, 2006, p. 65), to coincide with international political and economic transformations furthering global capitalism. As a result of the reforms, tremendous changes occurred

[14] In fact, the economic role of Beijing was criticized in the 1970s due to the serious natural resource environmental problems from industrial development. Instead, the political and cultural roles were re-promoted.

in Beijing, including the growth of specialized services, an increase in commercial activities, and the emergence of multinational corporations. These crucial changes indicate Beijing's transformation from an undifferentiated socialist city to an increasingly diverse metropolis, marked by industrial specialization and privatization. In addition, these changes reflect Beijing's efforts to fit into the models of global cities.

Beijing in Global Context

In the competitive global economy, China's rapid development has been a remarkable phenomenon. During the past three decades, China's Gross Domestic Production (GDP) has grown at an average annual rate of 9.7 percent (Hu, 2008). Rapid economic expansion has been accompanied by dramatically increased commercial activities and the establishment of industrial-development zones in China's big cities. In Beijing, the changes have been twofold: commercial activities were extended from the center of the city to suburban areas, and old commercial areas were reconstructed on a large scale. For instance, during the 1980s, three main downtown commercial areas, Wangfujing, Qianmen, and Xidan, located at the centre of the city, were restored to reflect much of their past distinctive character. "Wangfujing caters to the foreign community; Qianmen serves local markets and Chinese tourism; and Xidan appeals to residents of the western part of Beijing" (Gaubatz, 1995, p. 90). In addition, new private shopping centers were quickly appearing throughout the city: five primary shopping areas are located on the eastern, southern, western,

northwestern, and northern sides of the city; and thirty secondary shopping areas are scattered throughout the city (Duan, 1989).

Along with the development of commercial activities, thirty industrial development zones were developed around Beijing, for example, Haidian, Shangdi, and Fengtai Park industrial-development zones. Meanwhile, new industrial concentrations were established in southern and southeastern Beijing, such as the Yizhuang industrial zone, one of seven development zones along the Beijing-Tianjin expressway. These zones emerged and were classified based on their functions in high-technology activities, manufacturing, and research. They characterize the trend of fast-growing industry that extends from the central city to outlying areas.

The increased commercial and industrial activities accompanied a flood of multinational corporations in Beijing that made significant economic contribution to the national economy.[15] Foreign investment provided funds and technology for China's industrial expansion. By the end of the twentieth century, China was the largest Asian economy absorbing foreign investment and had become a world factory in the new international division of labor (Fröbel, Heinrichs & Kreye, 1980; Shenkar, 2005). However, the distribution of foreign investment in China has been uneven. Investment is mostly concentrated in metropolis, the open coastal cities, and special economic zones located in the southern and eastern regions of China, which usually have convenient transportation and a solid industrial base.

[15] Foreign investment and foreign trade accounted for approximately 7 per cent of the GDP growth in 1978; by the early 1990s foreign investment and foreign trade has increased to 40 per cent of GDP growth (Harvey 2005, 135).

As the capital of China, Beijing has priority access to foreign investment. According to Lin, from 1989 to 1995, enterprises based on foreign capital or joint ventures grew almost tenfold in Beijing, from 1,217 to 11,202 companies (Lin, 1995). Among them, 23 of the top 100 Global Fortune 500 companies established first-level subsidiary offices in Beijing. By the mid-2000s, 44 percent of multinational corporations in China were established in Beijing, and 57 percent of them had regional headquarters in Beijing (Cook, 2006). In 2002, the total foreign direct investment in Beijing was over 5 billion U. S. dollars. On a global scale, the concentration of foreign companies and capital has positioned Beijing as twenty-second on bank network connectivity and helped rank the city first as a top-level gateway to emerging markets (Cook, 2006).

The emergence of multinational corporations also provided the foundation for a booming service and information industry in Beijing. Examples of such industries include the higher-level service sectors of life insurance, real estate, financing, marketing, as well as the construction of luxury hotels and apartment buildings. As Yu Zhou stated, "Beijing seemed to become a service giant and international business center within one night" (Zhou, 1998, p. 431). The emergence of the high-rise internationally oriented Central Business District (CBD) testifies to this process. The CBD is the most visible landmark for global cities with clusters of high-level business services such as finance, advertising, and government. In Beijing, most commercial activities are gathered in the CBD that is located between the Second and Third Ring Roads, close to the Forbidden City, in the heart of Beijing. The key location of the

CBD symbolizes a shift in the status of Beijing as a socialist capital to an international city (Zhou, 1998).

Within the CBD, Jianguomen is the preferred district of foreign companies due to its well-established communications network, Western-hotels, shopping, and entertainment facilities (Gaubatz, 1995). In this area, the shopping mall at the World Trade Center offers an American-style shopping environment; the nearby Friendship Store allows foreign fast-food franchises along with ninety percent of foreign products.

The Lufthansa Center provides European-style shopping, and the Landmark Towers feature a shopping mall and the Beijing Hard Rock Cafe. In addition, Oriental Plaza is the largest shopping centre in Asia. It contains eight world class Grade A Office Towers and a Five-Star Grand Hyatt Hotel (Cook, 2006). Also, some joint-venture outlets such as Pizza Hut and *Vie de France* are scattered throughout the city (Gaubatz, 1995).

The well-established CBD divides Beijing into two marked spatial areas that are symmetrically located on two sides of the old city: the eastern center for international business and the western center for government and domestic firms (Zhou, 1998). Foreign firms are concentrated on the eastern side of Beijing; Chinese domestic firms, particularly those from other regions, and private firms are concentrated in western Beijing, where government organizations are located. This spatial division manifests the complicated relationship between state bureaucracy and market forces and expresses the institutional strategies in specialization and privatization in China's transitional economy. During the transitional period, domestic firms were vulnerable

to national policies. Thus, they preferred proximity to state policymakers, ministries, departments, and financial institutions in order to have the newest information about policies and to get better service from government and financial institutions (Zhou, 1998).

To summarize, during the transition process from a socialist economy to capitalist privatization, Beijing experienced profound changes manifested in the extension of its central business district, the development of the industrial development zones, and the emergence of multinational corporations and service economy. These changes in the structure and landscape of Beijing make it fundamentally different today from the pre-1949 and socialist city. Beijing is now characterized by market-driven development with socialist and traditional Chinese urban morphology, and it displays an increased similarity to other global cities around the world, both in form and function. The increased concentration of economic, political, and technical forces in Beijing has contributed to the rapid increase of a sophisticated Chinese middle class labor force.

Women Professionals in Beijing

Given Beijing's privileged political and economic position, it has attracted professionals in a variety of fields, such as science, education, and business. Considering the significant and unique position of Beijing within China, professional women's experiences of Beijing serve as a window to see how Chinese professional women make sense on what is good, or valuable, or what ought to be done, or what they endorse or oppose in the globalized China society (Benhibib, 1999).

Understanding the views of Chinese professional women in Beijing contributes to understanding the political and cultural code of the global world that draws the boundaries between nations, genders, class, and race.

Before analyzing the interviews with twenty professional women in Beijing, I would like to review the evolution of the term, "professional" in China, as a context to make sense of contemporary professional women's experiences in Beijing. As discussed in chapter one, the emergence and development of a cohort of female professionals results from China's processes of globalizing its economy. Starting with the reforms of 1978, the first year of the post-Maoist period, China actively devoted itself to the practice of economic globalization and struggled for a dominant position in the global economy and political order. With a focus on the introduction of capitalism as an essential economic principle, reforms engendered tremendous consequences in every aspect of social life, including political and economic decentralizations, agricultural de-collectivization, industrial restructuring, and international policies for openness to foreign trade and overseas investment (Zhao & West, 2002). On the one hand, these remarkable changes in politics, economy, and social ideology reflect the strategic adjustments of the state to follow the rhythm of globalization and international norms. On the other hand, they resulted in many complicated consequences for women. These consequences include: increasing levels of domestic and sexual violence against women, the enforced return home of women laid off by their employers (Evans, 2002), young girls being forced to discontinue their education, the reappearance of prostitution and concubines (Li, 1994), the

abduction and sale of women into marriage and prostitution, sexual discrimination, and restrictive notions of womanly virtue (Hershatter, 2007).

These consequences signify the increasing influence of western capital and culture, as well as national and socialist projects, that have long been imposed on women and continue to affect contemporary Chinese women's lives within the global context. Alongside the invasion of capitalist power, past power continues to influence current forces that systematically exclude contemporary women from power. The complicated connection of present and past indicates that contemporary women's issues are not seemingly a reenactment of the past but a kind of rejuvenation of the past, driven by the pursuit of globalized modernization in China.

Under the impact of chasing globalized modernization, professionals emerged during the reform period and are growing rapidly as a mainstream group whose activities reflect the immense change in China's industrial and economic structures. As a category of identity to indicate people's working position, the concept of professionals only appeared in the 1970s. Prior to this and throughout the long history of China, work had always been associated with the household: the household was the basic unit of production and work was constructed as a collective, not individual, activity (Mann, 2000). This traditional notion of work also included a systematical duality where those above, the brainworkers, labored with their minds and those below, manual workers, labored with their hands (Mann, 2000). During socialist period, this collectivist notion of work was boosted under Chinese Marxism, which associated people's labor with the political goals of party, class, and nation (Woo, 1994; Li, 1994). The traditional and socialist notions of work changed in the era of

globalization as the emergence of professionals created an occupational hierarchy that disrupted the feudal system of duality and socialist collectivism in the workplace. In the new occupational hierarchy, people are positioned based on their occupational training and personalities, which are fundamentally different from traditional and socialist collectivist concepts of work that separated people's labor from their personalities. In this new occupational hierarchy, professionals are situated in a privileged position, since the new skills, knowledge, and techniques they process are highly valued nationwide. The emergence of the concept of a professional in China implies that work has become an identity that reflects people's own images of themselves, generated from their specialized processes and their different personalities (Kumpusalo, 1994).

The important roles that Chinese professional women play make them agents through which we can understand the impact of larger global economic, political, and cultural systems on women. As a group of people, professionals are generally described as workers whose training in the systematic application of knowledge make them suitable for contributing to the urban global exchange (Statham &Vaughan, 1987; Moore & Sawhill, 1978; Nelson & Quick, 1985). In particular, Chinese professional women have been portrayed as a privileged group with institutional achievement as a common source of identity (i.e., titles, degrees, and organizational positions) and similar lifestyles. They are perceived as having prestige and formal knowledge (Barr & Boyle, 2001; Freidson, 1986), and as having the power to promote change in prescribed gender roles, and to create change in their own lives. In addition, some people believe that Chinese professional women have the capacity to

redefine traditional notions of femininity and play an important role in successfully negotiating workplace relationships. More importantly, they respond to the pressures of female stereotypes in their professional and domestic lives, and express agency through their interpretation of and resistance to mass-media models of femininity (Wylie, 2004).

Scholarly work demonstrates that professional women's day-to-day experiences indicate an obvious rift between the socially-portrayed image of professional women and their daily experiences (Edwards, 2000; Ono, 1989; Summerfield, 1994; Tao, 2004; Kerr & Delahanty, 1996; Wang, 1999; West, 1999). Scholars have documented some of the problems facing professional women, such as discriminatory practices in professional settings, struggles between balancing the demands of family and work, and lack of strong professional identity. For instance, entrepreneurial women in the private sector have less access to capital, less security of their investment and lack access to the well-established male dominated business networks in the professional settings (Wylie, 2004). This is because the identity of professional is widely constructed as male territory, which is deemed, according to Lisa Rofel, as "not suitable for women, who by their very nature, are seen to lack the necessary qualities to succeed" (Rofel, 1999, p. 233). Within this the masculine, constructed space of the professionals (Rofel, 1999, pp. 96–103), it is very difficult for professional women to reach the same positions of seniority that men do. In addition, compared with male professionals, they earn lower incomes and do a greater share of housework (Wylie, 2004).

In contrast to the professional world, housework is still considered a women's essential task and therefore doubly burdens professional women. Even in the reform era, when women took on new roles outside the home, the political nature of housework did not change and women workers were expected to perform domestic jobs at home (Entwisle & Henderson, 2000). Furthermore, Chinese professional women experience a lack of strong professional identity and lack "a single rhetoric defining proper female needs and interests appropriate to modern women" (Croll, 1995, p. 171). Unlike professional women in Western countries who may have stable lifestyles, mainstream values, and active political participation, Chinese professional women "live on unstable sources of income, have not yet developed a middle-class identity or value system, and lack political motivations to fight for the birth of a civil society" (Bian, 2002, pp. 7–98). These research indicates that that Chinese professional women are still in the process of looking for the direction, role models, and guidance necessary to make sense of their own lives and seeking a way for self-expression in cosmopolitan China (Croll, 1995).

These problems are invisible from professional women's daily activities in that their economic advantages in materials terms may draw people's attention: many of them own cars and apartments, sometimes even maintaining more than one apartment. Many of their offices are located in the CBD area and are equipped with secure entrances, private working rooms, big conference rooms, kitchens with free coffee and tea, and equipment such as refrigerators and microwaves. Behind the material items lies a matter of a professional woman's routine: wake around 8:00 AM; have a quick breakfast with eggs, bread, milk, and sometimes a cup of coffee;

take a metro and arrive at the company around 9 or 9:30 AM; check and reply to emails from overseas headquarters; prepare documents; meet with supervisors or colleagues; have lunch, which was cooked the prior evening; attend another meeting in the afternoon; then continue work at least 6:00 PM, with the workday occasionally extending to 10:00 PM or later. Professional women with children usually arrive home around 6:00 PM, where they continue to work after dinner until midnight. Usually, these professional women don't have time to cook for themselves or their family, with either their parents or parents-in-law taking care of housework and childcare.

Within this seemingly simple routine, some complicated conflicts and struggles are concealed in the visible advantages that professional women have, such as better salaries, decent social status, middle class lifestyles, and comfortable living and working environments. These material goods function to strengthen professional women's self-esteem and sense of privileged status. Additionally, access to these items symbolizes a process by which the women experience global assimilation in terms of the way they work and the lifestyles they are able to lead. However, beneath the surface of a comfortable material life lie the conflicts and struggles generated from their compliance or resistance to the global economy, socialist nationalism, and Chinese culture that shape their lives. These synchronously developed conflicts take these women's material interests out of their labor, which contributes to accumulations of gendered capital power.

My research has found that beneath professional women's privilege such as high income and social statuses lies overwhelming workloads, high pressure,

frustrations, and conflicts that constitute the main themes of their daily lives. The unpleasant components of the women's lives may explain the unexpected difficulties that I encountered while conducting this project. Before talking about the difficulties and analyzing professional women's experiences, I would like to briefly talk about the unexpected difficulties that I encountered during this research.

Though I attempted to create a friendly interview environment, I conducted this research much harder than I expected due to some presumptions. First, my experiences with my professional friends misled me into thinking the whole group of professional women would be willing to fully participate in my research. I have many friends in professional fields. As friends, they are always available to have a talk with me when there is a need. The friendly availability produced the inaccurate assumption that professional women, as a whole, would be available for my research and would be open to the interview questions. Furthermore, I entered the field carrying socially constructed ideas about professional women and assumed them to be those who: 1) care about their working situations and have political sensitiveness, which would make them interested in my research; 2) have much flexibility in the workplace, making it possible to have a one or two-hour interview; 3) are open-minded in agreeing to recording conversations. However, the reality was different. Only a few women agreed to voluntarily participate in this research project, and even fewer agreed to record our conversations. The women's unwillingness to participate in this study may be associated with the sudden outbreak of the Western economic crisis that started at the end of 2008. During the spring of 2009, the global economic crisis was expanding around the globe, and was peaking. Some multinational corporations in

China started to lay off their employees or close their offices in China. The economic situation generated very strong feelings of anxiety in many professional women.

Interview Analyses: The Gendered Politics of the Contemporary Professional Workplace

Within the background of the global economic crisis in 2009, enormous workload fully occupied professional women's lives, which seemed not to allow them much spare time to share with others. Thus they responded conservatively toward my research. This complicated situation resulted in most of my interviews being conducted during lunch or dinnertime, and, sometimes, during the late evening. "I don't have much time to have a conversation over one hour, I also cannot make it during weekends because I have to work on Saturday and stay with my family on Sunday…," became an often-cited reason some women gave for refusing to participate in this research. Put aside the discussion of the women's economic concerns, the busy working schedules that constitute the women's typical life style may serve as a key to understanding their attitudes to the interviews. Li's story may make sense of the busy situation they are experiencing.

> Usually, I get up at 7:00 am and go to our company immediately. I work at the marketing department. Though I don't have to arrive at our company until 9:00 am, it makes me very uncomfortable to see my boss there already. You know, our crazy bosses always arrive very much earlier than we do. They arrive around 8:00 am! Everyday, I work very late, sometime till 11:00 pm. I am lucky today because this is the first time that I am off at 7:00 pm in two years. I have been extremely busy over the past two years in our company. Most likely, I work till 10:00pm. And sometimes, I've worked until 12:00 am. Very, very tired. You know, my workload needs three people to handle. But we don't have extra payment for the extra work!

This is not an unusual case. Most of the women interviewed expressed similar feelings regarding work: busy, no fixed time, dehumanization, and extremely intense. For the women, overtime and overload work have become routine in their daily

working life. They didn't not see their busy situation as abnormal. Rather, most of the women conflated their busy situations with their identity as professional women. In other words, working busily was not only expected of them, but also thought to be one of the benefits of work which provided them the sense of satisfaction in economic and social status. For instance, the better income provides the women economic security in maintaining a certain level of consuming. Insurance and all other employment benefits associated with professional work have made available the women the distinct privileges that are largely absent from all other workers in factory and service sectors.

More importantly, social discourse has created the myth of work from the notion of modernization in contemporary Chinese society. Under this myth, work was constituted as people's main purpose and the workaholic lifestyle represents a way of life for those who have higher aspirations and aspire to become advanced, modern citizens. This notion of work has generated a belief that work improves their family lives and makes them modern. This is evident from the interviews. For instance, Liu said: "Work is a true passion and hobby for me. I believe through career and personal development I will be able to mature and improve myself, and eventually win some social respect from this society." This quote indicates the underlying notion that through work and modernity, women can anticipate becoming people who have managerial, productive, and technical skills that can be devoted to modern production. This route is taken for granted as a way to improve their social status and family lives. However, a close examination of their working situation reveals the nature of their work: not only were the women far away from freedom from

patriarchal subjugation from the family, they were also oppressed by their male leaders in the workplace where the women were not provided as free and flexible a work environment as socially imagined:

> You know, we have little space to work freely. We are under stringent supervision. Our bosses have much higher educational levels and they are very fastidious and are good at monitoring us. My boss came from Hong Kong and he is very young. We all feel afraid of him. My previous colleague cried many times due to his ruthless criticism. All of our bosses are very critical and they make you feel you are nothing in front of them. Very sharp and ruthless and tough. So, the pressure is very big, and there is no way to avoid the intolerant criticism. (Li)

Li's story is not rare; rather, it is experienced by most of the interviewees, yet is rarely portrayed in mass media that represent the women as those who have been given enough autonomy to fulfill their professional needs. The discrepancy between women's daily working experiences and such media misrepresentations divulges a dilemma confronting the women. On the one hand, the brunt of the labor required to meet corporate goals is passed on to women in the hierarchal employment system. In such circumstances the women were given additional work without any economic compensation. This has produced in them feelings of being exploited. Using the women's own words, they were being treated like men to fulfill organizational goals. Furthermore, when there is a conflict or discrepancy between the women's performance and the corporate goals, the needs of the company dictate the resolution of the conflict. Compliance with corporate goals and subjection to dehumanizing critiques severely limits the space for women's self-expression and autonomy.

On the other hand, the women's jobs provide decent incomes that fulfill the needs of their middle class lifestyle. Their income is almost ten times more than that of most women workers in China, including those who work for the government. In addition, professional women's working environments are very comfortable and

convenient, providing advanced equipment and perks such as free food and drinks. Some companies, like IBM, have their own cafeteria to provide food services. Office environments with these sorts of amenities are not common in China. They are associated with the modern lifestyle and distinguish professional women from other women workers in China.

Situated in this dilemma, the women are pushed to work hard and long hours in order to maintain a preferred working and living standard. Meanwhile, the sense of insecurity increases, along with the trend of addiction to work. That is, when work provides the women material base that maintains their middle class lifestyles, their material satisfaction produces dependency upon their jobs. With this increased dependence on their work, the women become more integrated into the employment system, as a result that work becomes less subject to their personal control.

> I always worry about my future. Feel very insecure about my survival. I don't believe that I can support myself, but I always do so. I don't know why I always have the feeling of insecurity. I must work hard to maintain the job and then look for a better one. I have to support myself. (Wu)

Wu's expression of personal insecurity is very common among the women. It implies that modern work conditions have generated a strong sense of alienation among the women—a sense that work becomes so demanding and yet so meaningless in terms of achieving their personal goals, except for survival. In the process of work, the women's labor does not only create goods, it also produces women's labor as a commodity that detaches from their interests. In other worlds, women's labor exists independently and stands in opposition to women themselves, has autonomous power, and is an alien and hostile force.

However, the women have accepted the reality of their diminished personal authority and the uncertainty of employment, and have developed some strategies to release high pressures and to develop coping strategies instead of challenging these conditions. Li's black humor at her own expense is an example of ways to handle high stress from work. "I am now used to my workload and my boss's demands and criticism and have become cheeky enough because I want to stay here. I treat the dehumanizing criticism as a way of being praised. Otherwise, I would die." Li's reaction to dehumanizing criticism can be understood as a means for her to maintain a sense of self-worth in a work environment where she feels that there are few alternatives. Placed in the modern work setting, the women have become accustomed to this situation and have treated it as a business culture that is part of current employment systems. Within this system, the women attempt to restrictively follow, instead of controlling, violating, and changing the established rules so as to maintain their job positions, with the result that their actions are against their interests and weaken their power.

Compliance with organizational rules is rooted in the gender ideology of the professional domain, where it is taken for granted that men are reasonable and women emotional. This has been observed from conversations with the interviewees. For instance, most of the women believe that men and women are different physically and mentally. For them, men are more reasonable and logical and women are more perceptual and sensitive. This gender ideology allows women to be treated as having insufficient reason, and lacking logic and direction. As has been practiced in the

professional workplace, this is especially evident when considering the unequal promotion rate of professional men as opposed to women.

> It is hard to get promoted. Usually, it takes longer to have women promoted. The problem is unfair. But I don't have any way to deal with it even though I work very diligently. You know, this is a male world. We have to use our femininity to get popular and also keep our profession. The people who can easily be promoted are those who work outstandingly. However, this does not mean that you can get promoted due to your excellent performance. You have to let people know your work, especially your boss. In other words, if you want to be promoted, you shall not keep silent. At least, you should let your boss know your achievement. Actually, men have more opportunities to get promoted, and are good at showing their achievement. Women always have family as their first concern. When women put more energy into their family, they have less energy for work. This is obvious. (Kang)

From Kang's conversation, it is evident that Kang realized the existence of an unequal situation for men and women workers in the professional workplace. However, their consciousness of women's duty in the family has limited their further exploration of the reason for their unequal treatments in work. The woman's understanding of her working situation indicates that in the professional workplace, gender works as a key component of the employment hierarchy that legitimizes women's diminished chances of being promoted. Whether or not the women consciously acknowledge the dominant gender categories of such gender practices, their continued belief that women's primary responsibilities lie within the family—both consciously and unconsciously—reproduces these practices, since women themselves conform with expected gender roles. This participation in expected gender roles has constructed the broad parameters within which women and men become gendered subjects. Gender ideology, in turn, has been reinforced. That is, the sense of being a woman or man is formed within the context of dominant discourses and categorizations, regardless of how individual women and men consciously articulate

their responses to them. As a result, femininity is emphasized as a distinguishing characteristic of women in the professional workplace. This sense of femininity serves the ideological purpose of informing women's views of proper behavior in the workplace and is reflected in their responses:

> A woman should be very gentle. She may not be pretty, but she must be very neat. If she can be fashionable, that will be better. Besides, if she could be very humorous and show generosity, she will be perfect. (Lin)
>
> I think that I am very feminine. Sometimes, women may use their femininity to please bosses. (Wen)
>
> Women should be like water. In the workplace, women should use their femininity to build a good work relationship with their male colleagues. But femininity makes women less professional. Understanding that I'm a professional woman and I'm doing everything I can to love and help them. (Fei)

The understandings these women have of womanhood, characterized as gentle and neat, implies that the idea of femininity has a wide and profound influence within the professional sphere. On the one hand, the socially and officially admitted belief that modern women should have skills, scientific and technical knowledge, profitability, and economic incentives to work has inspirited women's commitment to work. On the other hand, womanhood serves as a valuable ideology that orients women's paid work to their domestic responsibilities and guides the women to consciously articulate their responses to female roles. Lin and Wen's responses on how to act out femininity in the workplace indicate that they realize the essential characteristics that a professional woman should carry in the professional workplace so as to be accepted. For them, "water" and "gentle" suggest that women should be indecisive and to be obedient to, instead of withstanding, male-dominated authority in the workplace. Simultaneously, these characteristics are considered as incompatible with professional requirements to be decisive and assertive.

Framed within this conception of womanhood, the women shaped their views on how to act as female professionals. For them, a good female professional should be:

1. Good at cooking and managing a family.
2. Deeply in love with her husband and caring towards her children.
3. Well-educated, with the ability to care for their families and handle all the housework.
4. Wise, and a good role model for their children.
5. Able to balance their time in the workplace with family time.
6. Successful in their professional careers.

The definitions emphasize more about women's responsibilities in their family than their roles in the formal workplace. In this sense, there are no evident differences between women professionals and women workers in industrial and service sections with regard to social expectations about essential relationships to their family and work lives. These definitions, in actuality, might explain why women professionals attempt to cooperate with, instead of challenging patriarchal authority even though they have greater education and financial success. These definitions guide the women to adjust their actions in their daily activities so that they act as good mothers, good wives, and good workers. It is not easy for them to fulfill all these roles.

> A good wife should be able to cook well. Before my marriage, I didn't know how to cook. But after marriage, I had to learn how to cook for my husband. I bought lots of books and asked my mom how to cook deliciously. We have to maintain our marriage. We have been married for seven years and we all feel good and satisfied in our marriage. I have tried my best to love my husband in a way that can move him.
>
> I do most of the housework. Although my husband does not have as good an income as I have, he refuses to do housework.

> If my family needs me, I can give up my work and keep my family. Although I can devote myself in work, I still believe that family is my first concern. I want to have a happy and peaceful life in my family. I also want to have warmth from my family.

These conversations disclose that work itself cannot make the women satisfied; rather, being a good wife and mother are even more important than being a good worker. The Modern American Family becomes the socially preferred model that guides the women's attitudes toward their work and family.[16] For the women, marriage is still a universal goal and no one intends to be single. Also, they are most afraid of being labeled as a strong woman, because being a strong woman is not entirely pleasing. Such a woman may lose her femininity and have a miserable family life. The women's understanding is that womanhood is taken for granted as coming from nature and instinct, instead of from social expectations.

This internalized notion of womanhood emphasizes women's duty in family care functions and excuse the gendered inequalities that occur in the workplace. Such problems as too high a workload, high pressure, and discrimination in promotion, have been personalized and associated with women's gender identity as women. That is, high pressure and excessive workload may be taken for granted as women's dereliction of duty because of their dedication of most of their energy to family activities.

> I think the big problems of my work come from my personality. I am an introvert and lack passion and responsibility. You know, this is also due to my female nature. This is my problem. But now, my problem is that I want to go home to stay with my son. I cannot fully devote myself to work. I am engaging in raising my son. This is a natural process. (Xie)

[16] According to Bonnie Dill, "Modern American Family" defines men and women's roles in the family where " men's activities became increasingly focused upon the un-industrial competitive sphere of work, women's activities were increasingly confined to the care of children, the nurturing of the husband, and the physical maintenance of the home." (Dill 2006, pp. 266–268)

Legitimizing the gendered inequities in the workplace through their female identity indicates that given gender parameters are reasserted as a legitimate division that has been embedded and internalized by women and used to shape their daily activities and self-concept. Although women are obviously engaged in paid work, their reconstructed notion of womanhood emphasizes their home-based activities and female identity rather than their success at work, and guides them to act like servants who serve organizational goals and their family members. Within the dichotomy of inside and outside spheres for the women, they are expected to fulfill two social roles as female professionals: workers at paid productive labor in the workplace and workers at unpaid labor in the family. However, women workers' understanding of their roles as wives and mothers suggests a serious anxiety about their ability to fulfill and satisfy their duties as workers and family caregivers.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed such questions as how professional women are involved in globalization, what kinds of problems and conflicts professional Chinese women face, and how they develop strategies to deal with these problems. Professional women's experiences indicate that the professional workplace is a gendered place where women professionals are mobilized into global labor markets and encounter such complicated situations as overwhelming workloads, unequal promotion opportunities, dehumanizing criticism, as well as such unpleasant feelings as insecurity and internal conflicts. Women's unsatisfactory experiences reveal that professional work itself does not change their status, despite the appearance of greater confidence and

success. That is, work itself does not suggest much about the changing status of the women, though seemingly their scope of self-expression and individuality are increased. Instead, the patriarchal relationship is extended to the workplace where the women are positioned as the agents and recipients of choices and decisions from their male supervisors. In other words, women's understanding of their expected female roles as wives and mothers has served as the foundation upon which patriarchal relationships are extended into the professional workplace. Therefore, what looked like increased scope for self-expression and individuality in women's lives may merely represent a new standard of conformity, one geared to realize gendered global enterprise.

The gendered nature of professional women's labor challenges the social assumption that professional women have privilege in the labor market due to their higher education and better job positions and that such women's economic participation provides them with a bargaining tool for negotiating power and gaining control over resources in the workplace. This assumption, in turn, is incorrectly believed to be the basis of personal liberty and more egalitarian relationships within the home (Benería & Roldán, 1987**;** Safa, 1995). In reality, instead of being free from providing domestic services, professional women's experiences indicate that they are significantly burdened by both their paid work and unpaid housework. Their double burden implies that the domestic code that defines men as the breadwinners and women as homemakers is being upheld by female professionals. This finding implies that there is not a necessary connection between women's higher educational levels

and decent working positions and their challenge to traditional ideology about women.

In addition, the emphasis on science and modernity at the center of recent Chinese economic reforms has been extended to women's roles as arbiters of family relations; and women are anticipated to become modern, scientifically-minded, virtuous wives and good mothers, as well as good workers. Within the gendered environment supported by economic and political practice, social discourses, and a culture that sustains women's roles inside the private sphere, women workers associate their roles with the traditional value of womanhood that inspires them to act as virtuous wives and mothers, and to take their responsibility within the home seriously. The naturalization of women's roles under the ideology of womanhood is used to rationalize gender inequality in the workplace by legitimatizing workplace inequality under the rubric of women's lack of commitment to their professional careers. Therefore, it is important to see how professional women explicitly intend to redefine traditional notions of femininity and change female stereotypes in the workplace and domestic lives. Rather, the women identified themselves as both producers and family caregivers and placed as central their responsibilities of the inner sphere of married and family life.

The gender practices that characterize professional women's workplaces and their family lives verify Eileen Otis's (2008) thought that gender is a central axis of the new inequalities emerging in post-socialist societies (Otis, 2008). In contemporary China, national policies act as "a structural variable to bring out and reinforce the gendered market, in which disparities between women and men are inevitably

enlarged, and stratification between women is also generated" (Huang Xinyi, 1999, p. 90). In the gendered labor market, the gender binary of inside/outside is still a constant, as it legitimizes male-dominant positions in the workplace and at home while placing women's primary positions at home, whether or not they have full time paid jobs in the labor market.

Thus, Chinese women workers as a whole are expected to act as wives and mothers, to support their husbands, in-laws, and parents, and care for their children. These roles are considered essential components of women workers' identities, and such responsibilities as housework are taken for granted as justification for gender inequality in the workplace. These gendered practices suggest that women's roles as wives and mothers are actually at odds with their success in the workplace as workers, and imply that women's economic participation in China is impeded, instead of facilitating gender equality and their independence in the family. This gendered nature of the workplace has systematically excluded female workers, including women professionals, from power in the political and economic arena of Chinese society in the global context, as it legitimizes masculine authority as nature and guides women workers' evaluation of the meanings of work and their family lives.

Chapter 4: De-constructing Professional Women: Feminine Imagery in Feminist Novels

In chapter two, close readings and analyses of articles from the magazine, *Zhiyin,* reveal how the dominant discourse of transitional, post-Maoist, Chinese society reconstructs and reasserts the traditional gendered meanings of femininity, and how professional woman perform femininity as they navigate gendered social structures of work and family. While *Zhiyin* produces a discourse of femininity that professional women could appropriate, China's official media often censor sensitive topics of personal struggle and frustration, suppressing challenges to the contradictions and inequalities women face at work and at home. Stories that challenge the system would politicize personal experience and deviate from officially approved social performances of gender, but these stories are largely absent from officially authorized media such as *Zhiyin*.

To shine a light on the political issues surrounding the lives of these women, this chapter employs the analyses of two feminist novels as a platform from which professional women make sense of their lives. I use these novels to decode officially sanctioned commentary about the nature of the interactions, social relations, and self-identifications that professional women appropriate.

Reading novels as political texts invites readers to connect what matters to them on a personal level to the larger events unfolding around them in contemporary China. Because of the political nature of these novels they serve as vehicles to understand, allow, and provoke readers to explore their experiences, and the politics

of novels provide women with an opportunity to reflect upon their interactions with others—it connects them to a larger, *imagined community* (Anderson, 2006).

Due to China's rigorous political censorship system, officially approved messages, editorials, and commentary regulate what constitutes socially acceptable activities. Commentaries that deviate from the norm are prohibited, but nonofficial media—novels and the internet—articulate and disseminate censored information, opinions, and commentaries regarding issues affecting women's lives. Thus, novels serve as sources, as points of reference, that shed light on issues invisible in the public media. Novels are productive sites of the analysis of feminine ideas of self-worth and professionalization. In order to tease out these ideas, I analyze two feminist novels: *Shanghai Baby*, by Wei Hui, and *Candy*, by Mian Mian. I claim these books as feminist novels, not because both authors are women, but for two, separate and crucial reasons.

First, both feminist novels are semiautobiographical and illuminate the protagonists as individuals rather than as parts in a social collective. These narrative mechanisms allow the authors, Wei Hui and Mian Mian, to express personal feelings and emotions through their characters, Coco, and Hong. In China, the narrative mechanism of divulging, or revealing a personal female experience, indicates an emerging female awareness through which they become more and more politically conscious of their experiences as gendered. The very act of negotiating these narrative spaces—between state-sanctioned discourses of gender ideology and their own interpretations and representations of gender ideology—is where and how they make sense of their own lives.

A second reason for considering these works as feminist is that both novels focus on the forbidden issues of sexuality, drugs and alcohol, violence, and prostitution. In countering mainstream or state-sanctioned media images of women, *Shanghai Baby*, and *Candy*, explore these very complex social issues that are marginalized and considered taboo. *Shanghai Baby*, and *Candy*, were officially deemed distasteful, immoral, and harmful, and, for a while, were banned. But official prohibitions could not dampen the interest sparked across the country and pirated versions and unauthorized copies of both novels appeared on the street. Sales flourished throughout China. In April, 2000, the government officially banned *Candy*, but hundreds of thousands of pirated copies had already been circulated through small private bookstores and street vendors.[17] Soon afterwards, *Shanghai Baby*, and *Candy*, were translated into English, French, and German, generating a range of controversies with international and domestic influence.

In exposing socially ignored problems, *Shanghai Baby*, and *Candy*, challenge the fixed meanings of state-approved social realities that reinforce political authority and limit the knowledge and skills women need to take action and make change.

The feminist narratives of *Shanghai Baby*, and *Candy*, with their presentations of ignored political and social realities, offer immensely rich sources of material for understanding the experiences of professional women from their own perspectives as participating agents. Moreover, both novels challenge the marginalization of professional women from the authority and power of elite Chinese men, who remain complicit with a capitalist system that maintains the growing economic disparity in China between rich and poor. Interestingly enough, *Shanghai Baby*, and *Candy*,

[17] http://www.modernsky.com/bands/mianmian/mm_file.htm

simultaneously valorize the new consumer culture of China and identify material possessions as marks of social distinction, but consumerism also resonates with feminists because it challenges the silences imposed on women.

Through analyses of sexuality and material consumption within *Shanghai Baby* and *Candy*, I focus on the intricate construction of the professional and domestic lives of professional women in Shanghai, where intersecting ideologies of what it means to be a woman have produced multi-faceted and tension-filled social locations within which Chinese professional women are situated. I introduce the city of Shanghai as the background against which professional women make and remake themselves and the social relationships that integrate them into the globalized capital system.

Shanghai

Located at the outlet of the Youngtze (Yangtze) Delta Region, Shanghai is the largest urban area in China, and one of its three municipal cities. Consisting of 17 urban districts and three suburban counties (Yusuf & Wu, 2002), Shanghai is the largest urban region in the Jiannan region of China. Its population has reached 13 million, including eight million people from the central urban area and five million inhabitants from rural and suburban areas outlying but still part of Shanghai (Cooney & Di, 1999, 743). Significantly, the city's economic status entitles Shanghai to its pivotal and important position in China. If Beijing is China's political and cultural center, Shanghai is the heart of its growing economy, with commerce and finance booming. It is the largest city in China, yet, "Shanghai is heaven for the rich, hell for

the poor," and a quick glimpse of scenes in the landscape of Shanghai demonstrates what this means.[18]

Walking through the Bund, a trendy waterfront area of Shanghai with beautiful historical architecture, you see Western styles and the new skyline of commercial buildings, including the World Financial Center. people are well-dressed, and imported luxury vehicles such as Mercedes Benz, BMW, and Land Rover are numerous. The urban landscape has incorporated signs of Western consumerism through the advertising and sale of products such as Coca-Cola™ and Louis Vuitton.™ The economic prosperity of Shanghai brings people a sense that the city is worthy of being named the most influential economic, financial, and international trade center in China.[19] However, florescent Shanghai was not always a bustling, global city.

Originally a small backwater town, Shanghai's unique geographic location and semi-colonial history positioned it to become a sophisticated metropolis where Western economics and culture, and Chinese politics and tradition have combined to fuel its world- class economic stature. The following is a historical review of how Shanghai evolved.

Similar to other backwater towns in the Jiannan area, Shanghai was initially "cultivated plains, lakes, and water ways" (Guan, 1996, p. 7). Qing Guan's description of the geographic characteristics of Shanghai offers a picture of Shanghai as a village thousands of years ago.

> Shanghai is located at about the mid-point of the Chinese east coastline. Lying some twelve miles up the Huangpu River, Shanghai controls the outlet of the Yangtze

[18] http://wikitravel.org/en/Shanghai#b
[19] http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shanghai.htm

> River—the greatest inland water highway of China. As a distributing center for the rich Yangtze Delta region of some 750,000 square miles of good cultivated agricultural land, the city occupies two shores of the Huangpu River, the lower course of which is wide and deep, and admits ships of over 10,000 d.w.t. The Su-chow Creek, known also as Wu-song River, drains through the city from Tai Hu-Grand Lake—in the west and joins the Huangpu River. (Guan, 1996) Within the city, five-water-ways connect to Su-chow Creek and Huangpu River. The 7000 bridges in total built in the city, with some as pedestrian only, some others served for vehicles and bicycles, also indicates the dense water networks within the city. This characteristics inherited in its natural geography would inevitably influence the civic structure and urban planning of the city. (Guan, 1996, pp. 6–7)

Benefitting from its distinctive geography, Shanghai matured into a large town during the time of the Tan and Song dynasties (7–8 AD).[20] According to Guan, during this period the population increased and the town area was expanded, together with commercial and agricultural development in the Yangtze Delta area. Guan states that during the thirteenth century, Shanghai as a Zhen (small town) replaced the Qing-Long Zhen, the first Zhen (town) formed in the fifth year of the Tian Bao era of the Tang Dynasty in AD 746. Since that time, Shanghai became a major port town in the Jiannan region. Later, in the 29th year of the Yuan dynasty (AD 1292), Shanghai Xian was established. It covered the present central area of Shanghai (Guan, 1996).

During the reign of the Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279 AD), Shanghai Town was officially established.[21] Accompanied by this expansion, its population increased to about three-hundred thousand, with a large number of people engaged in shipping activities. Shanghai prospered, and by the time of the Yuan dynasty, the city had developed "a system of commerce and trade [and] had gained its position as the leading port and economic center in the Yangtze Delta region" (Guan, 1996, p. 10).

---

[20] Shanghai belongs to subtropical marine monsoon climate. The main climatic characteristize as warm spring, hot summer, cool autumn and cold winter, and moderate annual rainfall. Overall, its seasonal distribution is relatively uniform, and mild and humid with four distinct seasons. (translated from http://www.dreams-travel.com/shanghai/Climate.htm)

[21] http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shanghai/history.htm

Commerce and trade in Shanghai continued to develop during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), and according to *China Travel Guide*, "by the time of the Ming Dynasty, Shanghai had already grown into the largest cotton spinning base in China and its textiles were popular at home and abroad.[22] Its shipping industry, including freshwater carriage and domestic and international shipping, also continued to develop, and a number of shops and restaurants marked Shanghai's economic prosperity. By the era of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), Shanghai gained its position as an important economic power, a water transport center and an international trading port in China.[23] In 1842, commerce and trade in Shanghai were very active and prosperous, and continued to develop at a good pace. According to Guan, Shanghai's population increased to 550,000 and it became the commercial center of China. The urban area extended over an area of forty-three acres along the Huangpu River and demarcated by Su-chow Creek. This meant that Shanghai grew outward towards the west, south, and north, enhancing its capacity for metropolitan industrial development." (Guan, 1996, p. 11)

The Opium War (1839–1841) plunged Shanghai into a semi-colonial period (1842–1849), and during this time, eight nations—Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Japan, the United States, and the United Kingdom—entered Shanghai and opened it as a treaty port.[24] Colonists vied to win control of the city and its wealth (Hong, 1986) while Shanghai gradually developed as a financial center while continuing major industrial development in trade and shipping (Guan, 1996;

[22] http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shanghai/history.htm
[23] http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shanghai/history.htm
[24] http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shanghai.htm.

Honig, 1986; Yan, 1984). According to Yan, since the 1850s, "a number of foreign countries opened a total of 68 banks in Shanghai during that time. Later on, local banks with bureaucrat-capitalist and national-capitalist origins were also established and most of these had their main offices in Shanghai" (Yan, 1984, p. 102). During the 1920s, Shanghai had a population of over two million (Yusuf & Wu, 2002). The flourishing economy ranked Shanghai among the top ten commercial ports in the world. It conducted the largest share of China's domestic and international commerce and trade during the early twentieth century (Guan, 1996; Lai, 2001).

Shanghai's prosperity was a result of the Western invasion of foreign capitalists which shaped the embryonic format of modern Shanghai and gave "Foreign Shanghai" the traditions and heritage reflected in its architecture and urban planning. According to Guan, "Shanghai was divided into three different zones politically during the colonial period—the International Settlement, the French Concession, and the Chinese Old Town each with its own government and independent administration, and each applied separate strategies in city planning" (Guan, 1996, pp. 17, 22; Honig, 1986). The colonial city was physically altered to become the urban landscape of contemporary Shanghai.

> During the period, The Bund, with its grand foreign-styled architecture, became a symbol or landmark of the city (Guan 1996, 19)…the major roads like Nanjing Road, Sichuan Road and Jingling Road were mostly occupied by important foreign or national financial agencies, offices, large shops and restaurants. Entertainment such as theaters, clubs and parks were also mixed in. Other smaller roads were also abundant with small businesses which were essentially home-based. Shanghai's prosperity was best expressed by its vast array of assorted shops and wide variety of recreation, no matter large or small or owned by Chinese or foreigners. The city was renowned for its "ten miles of commercial street." It got a nick named as the "Paris of the East. (Guan, 1996, p. 23)

To a certain extent, the phrase, "ten miles of commercial street" symbolizes the prosperous level of Shanghai and its pivotal position in China during the twentieth century. Within one hundred years, Shanghai had become the biggest modern city in China. According to Honig and Wu, by the 1930s, Shanghai was the largest city in all of China, the sixth-largest city in the world, and the financial and cultural center of the Orient. No other Asian city from that period could match its cosmopolitan sophistication (Honig, 1986; Yusuf & Wu, 2002).

On October 1, 1949, Shanghai became a municipality directly under communist Chinese control. Since that time, "industries, trade companies, and banks originally owned by foreign and Chinese capitalists were gradually taken over by the Chinese government. Their offices along the Bund became headquarters for the new Shanghai municipal government, the Federation of Labor, and the Women's Federation" (Honig, 1986, p. 39). Even though many business people fled to Hong Kong and Taiwan during the socialist period (1949–1978), Shanghai maintained its position as the commercial, industrial and economic center of China and further developed into the leading science and technology center of China.[25] Under communism, Shanghai's economic situation could not match the prosperity and opulence of the 1930s, but, "Shanghai's days of glory were—temporarily as it turned out— over" (Honig, 1986).

The impact of globalization on the reconstruction of Shanghai's economic glory is tremendous and pervasive. Since the reform and restructuring of China's economic system in 1978, Shanghai's economy has been revived and revalued. In the

[25] http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shanghai/history.htm

late 1980s, the Chinese government assigned and supported Shanghai as essential in driving the growth of the Yangtze delta region, as well as in energizing national economic progress. Toward this purpose, the Chinese government offered Shanghai the benefit of more autonomy "in tax collection, budget allocation, infrastructure provision and planning" (Yusuf & Wu, 2002, p. 1216). In addition, under China's open-door policies, the Shanghai government launched a series of new strategies to attract foreign investment (Yusuf & Wu, 2002). Under these influential policies, large-scale foreign capital, new technologies, and management methods have been introduced, and this has sped up Shanghai's indigenous economic development.

As a result, the growth of foreign investment in Shanghai has been tremendous since 1991. In 1985, "Shanghai attracted only US$ 759 million of foreign investment measured in contract value. In 1996, the contract value of investment increased to US$ 15.14 billion with 2709 contracts signed. Up to 1996, a total of US$ 15.96 billion was invested in Shanghai as foreign direct investment" (Wu, 2000, p. 1361). According to Zhang, "during 1990–2000, a total of US$ 50.8 billion of inward foreign investment was utilized by Shanghai, of which US $31.2 billion was in direct foreign investment" (Zhang, 2003, p. 1557). In the interim, foreign insurers have been allowed to operate in Shanghai and foreign banks have been established to deal in the domestic currency (Yusuf & Wu, 2002). Currently, "Shanghai has the highest concentration of foreign banks in China and a range of equities and commodities markets, including the largest stock exchange in China, commodities exchanges in gold and metals, a futures exchange and the China Foreign Exchange Centre" (Yusuf & Wu, 2002, p. 1227).

National policies, governmental support, and foreign investments have reconstructed the economic glory of Shanghai. Nowadays Shanghai positions itself as a significant international metropolis with influential economic power in the world, and the economic, financial, trade, cultural, science and technology center of China.[26] Its important economic situation could be caught from a glance of its increasing capital income. For instance, in 1985, Shanghai's per capital income was valued at RMB 3,384.00—five times the national average. Also, its per capital consumption value was RMB 961.00, which is almost 2.5 times that of the country as a whole (Cooney & Di 1999). Entering the twenty-first century, Shanghai's economy continued to be strengthened with a high capacity to compete with other centers such as Hong Kong and Beijing. According to Yusuf and Wu, in industry, Shanghai is a highly diversified industrial base responsible for 4.9 percent of national industrial output; in service, Shanghai has developed an expanding services sector offering agglomeration economies (Yusuf & Wu, 2002). With a GDP of US$ 55 billion, Yusuf continues, Shanghai's share of the nation's GDP is almost twice that of Beijing and its growth (averaging 9.5 percent in 1999/2000) is the highest of any city in China (Yusuf & Wu, 2002). Such competitive economic capacity entitles Shanghai as the Shopping Paradise and Oriental Paris. A quick look at the shopping areas in Shanghai may get sense of the advanced commercial activities of Shanghai.

> Shopping areas in Shanghai are clearly divided into "Four Streets and Four Cities". Nanjing Road (including East Nanjing Road and West Nanjing Road), one of the four streets, enjoys the reputation as the number one Commercial Street in China. Developed from the beginning of the 20th century, Nanjing Road has clusters of a wide variety of shops, ranging from those that are centuries old, to special ones and modern malls. In these modern times, Nanjing Road is not outdone by its numerous competitors but becomes more and more prosperous. Huaihai Road, no less famous than Nanjing Road, is celebrated for its elegance. It features top-end designer brands

[26] http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shanghai/history.htm

> from all over the world. North Sichuan Road offers good inexpensive merchandise and is always the first choice of ordinary people. Food and tourism are well provided for on Middle Tibet Road, one of the Four Streets. Parkson Shopping Center on the Huaihai Road is worth visiting. Here you will find reasonable prices and many special offers in the form of discounts and other promotions. Even the brand-name clothing is reasonably priced here. Maison Mode, located at No.1312, Huaihai Road, claims to be the aristocrat on this street. You will find the leading designer brands such as Gucci, Ferragamo, Hugo Boss, Bally, Kenzo, etc. here. It is no exaggeration to say that the reputation of Huaihai Road is enhanced by the presence of Maison Mode.Yuyuan Shopping City, Xujiahui Shopping City, New Shanghai Shopping City and Jiali Sleepless City are the bustling "Four Cities" in Shanghai. Yuyuan Shopping City is the venue for specialist Chinese goods ranging from small articles, local crafts and the like to antiques, jade wares and gold and silver jewelry. The newly-established shopping and entertainment plaza, Xujiahui consists of large stores where you can obtain both costly and middle-range priced goods in abundance.[27]

From the prosperous business picture painted above, we get a sense of the variety of business activities in Shanghai—a manifestation of its economic strength in financial and business services. This picture also provides a context for understanding Shanghai as a transnational space in which professional women are situated. Behind the business prosperity, there are traces of Shanghai's rich history, as seen in the Tang Jing Zhong which was built during the Tang Dynasty (859), and from the Western style buildings at the Bund.[28] Through thousands of years of evolution, Shanghai has experienced profound and radical alternations in physical features and social structures, and has become a global city. These crucial changes in the urban landscape and in the structures of politics, economics, and culture have had an impacted everyday lives of professional women and constitute their particular experiences as part of the globalization process.

About the Books

Before I summarize the two novels, it is necessary to do a basic introduction

[27] http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shanghai/shopping.htm
[28] http://baike.baidu.com/view/415578.htm

of the two writers' backgrounds as a bridge to connect fictional themes with the writers' experiences. As female writers, Wei Hui and Mian Mian share more common than in differences. For instance, both were born within intellectual Shanghai families in the early 1970s, both focus on the instability of women's lives, and both rely heavily on their own personal experiences to constitute the essential materials of their novels. More important, both authors present nonconventional life styles that challenge social norms, and shake and disrupt traditional images of women as good mothers and good wives. Their ages, family background, and experiences have striking similarities in the settings, narratives, and themes of the two novels. For instance, both the writers use bars, nightclubs, shops, cafés, and streets as backdrops to their stories. Both grapple with language to convey the private impressions, moods, sensations, and feelings. But the differences in their levels of education background their atypical choices in careers and varied life stories. For example, Wei Hui has a bachelor's degree in Chinese from Fudan University and seemingly smooth experiences in education and her work as an editor, journalist, waitress, and clerk. Mian Mian has a certificate in secondary high school education and brings colorful but difficult experiences to her narrative drawn from her biography:

> Mian Mian was born in 1970 in Shanghai. She began writing at the age of sixteen. In 1987, she left school without finishing her secondary education; and in 1989, went alone to a small city in southern China. Mian Mian then spent five years there; however she never talks about that period of her life to anyone. Mian Mian returned to Shanghai in 1994. There she entered a drug rehabilitation center for the last time, and again took up writing after her discharge from the center. In 1996 Mian Mian acted as a DJ at Shanghai's Cotton Club, and in the following year, she began to publish some of her short stories and novelettes in Xiao Shuo Jie and several other widely distributed Chinese literary magazines…In January 2000, she published Tang (*Candy*), her first novel in Mainland China. (http://www.modernsky.com/bands/mianmian/mm_file.htm)

This simple biographical portrait of Main Mian's colorful life was fictionalized

in her novel *Candy* in a way which fully reveals her complicated experiences of frustration, despair, and alienation.[29] Similarly, *Shanghai Baby* demonstrates the protagonist's complicated personality, beset by contradictions of class, gender dynamics, and nationality. In incorporating their lived experiences into love stories, the two writers use novels as a tool for presenting their desire to change and refashion the social relations in which they are located. The contexts of the novels provide clues to understand how the authors, as professional women, understand, experience, and respond to globalization and how they define and derive meaning from its impact on their work and family life.

Synopses of the Books

Wei Hui's *Shanghai baby* (*Shanghai baobei*) was published in 1999. Love, sex, and a transnational economy occupy the center of the novel. It's the story of Ni Ke (Coco), the novel's protagonist, a college-educated young woman born in Shanghai. After graduation, she is expected to follow the traditional, expected trajectory of becoming a good Chinese woman with a stable family life. However, Coco abandons her position as an editor and journalist to become a waitress in a café where she meets and falls in love with Tian Tian, an impotent artist. Heavily dependent on his mother, who lives overseas, Tian Tian is a drug addict.

Most of the themes in this book unfold through Coco's complex love story with Tian Tian. However, Tian Tian is sexually inadequate, and this serves as an excuse for Coco's love affair with Mark, a married man who is the chief

[29] Both *Candy* and *Shanghai Baby* are semi-autobiographical novels that to some extent reflect the authors' personal experiences.

representative, in Shanghai, of a German company. Mark has strong sexual needs, and his seeming thoughtfulness seduces CoCo into an erotic relation with him. The novel ends with Tian Tian's death from a drug overdose and the breakup of Coco's relationship with Mark when he returns to his family in Germany.

Candy is about a young Shanghai woman's love stories, and it deconstructs the image of a bad girl through the sympathetic portrayal of a woman's involvement in socially forbidden areas, such as violence, drug abuse, disease, and licentiousness. *Candy* evokes a sense of vibrancy as well as feelings of deep discomfort. The female protagonist, Hong, is a young woman with a non-traditional life story: she drops out of high school at the age of 17 and moves to the city of Shenzhen (one of the freewheeling Special Economic Zones) where she dives into a world full of confusion, passion, sex, drugs, and Western music. As Hong navigates the temptations of the city, she quickly falls in love with a young musician named Saining, the spoiled son of rich parents who live abroad. Saining regularly receives money from his mother—his main source of income.

Hong is hopelessly in love with Saining and their relationship is very conflicted. Hong continually fights for their relationship because she is constantly kept at arm's length. As their love story progresses, Saining persistently looks for a way to escape from reality. He eventually becomes addicted to heroin and alcohol and leaves Hong to rescue himself. Saining's departure fills Hong with despair and she turns to drugs and addiction. Eventually she comes back to Shanghai, enrolls in a drug rehabilitation program with the help of her father, and eventually comes to make sense of the world. The novel ends with Hong's awareness of the meaning of life and

the insight that people have no way to choose the life they want to live.

Debates about the Books

The deceivingly simple plots of *Shanghai Baby*, and *Candy*, represent Wei Hui and Mian Mian's interpretations of Shanghai and their lives there, and whether or not Wei Hui and Mian Mian anticipated the immense and heated debates about themselves and their novels, they landed in the teeth of controversy. The following description demonstrates China's explosive reactions and responses to the publication of the novels.

> Various newspapers certainly published opinions from the experts—writers, professors, researchers, and critics of literature and culture—on this battle around plagiarism… The whole nation was scrutinizing and talking about her (Wei Hui), ranging from various mainstream nationwide-circulating newspapers like *China Youth Daily*, *People's Daily*, *Guangming Daily*, and *Liberation Daily*, to some local media like *Beijing Youth Daily*, *Qilu Evening*, and from influential journals like *Literary Review*, *Theoretical Studies in Literature and Art*, and *Social Science* to journals on university campuses, even online journal. (Zhu, 2005, p. 115)

Critical voices dominate these debates. Not only do they express sharp critical opinions of the books, but also they attack the two authors as *female* writers. The novels were considered as artificial, superficial, and trashy, with vacuous content. They were also considered superficial and prurient in their candid descriptions of the female body, sex, and drug abuse (Liu, 2000; He, 2000; Lu, 2010, Liu, 2000).[30] For instance, one prominent reviewer, He Zhenbang writes:

> it is usual for young people to enjoy the limelight. But as for Wei Hui's novel, it is very thin in terms of both art value and creativity. Whether one considers the art form or the ideas of the work, it did not become a new breakthrough. Her work by itself could not hold people's attention. So they have to do something's outside of work to create a selling point."[31]

[30] Zhu 2205, 125

[31] From *Guangzhou Evening News* http://edu.sina.com.cn 2000/04/23 from http://edu.sina.com.cn/critique/2000-04-23/2192.shtml

Another reviewer, Lu Xingren holds the same opinion. He says that the major achievement of Mian Mian and Wei Hui lies in the controversy surrounding their novels, which sparked a wave of "personal writing" and "body writing."[32] Lu continues to argue that Wei Hui's and Mian Mian's graphic descriptions of female sexual experiences essentially commercialize the female body, desire, and sex. He believes the novels lack depth in the questioning of the meanings of women's lives, making the female body a format for desire, sex, flesh, and pleasure. The novels manifest the characters' renunciations of the belief that women should be self-disciplined.[33] Both He and Liu insist that Wei Hui's and Mian Mian's poverty of thought, meaning, and spirit devalue the novels, and that this could be the reason why the novels have never been accepted by critics.

In addition to the criticism leveled at their novels and the personal criticism hurled at them as female writers, Wei Hui and Mian Mian have been placed on the cusp of different styles of writing. On the one hand, being named as part of the "Beauty Writers," the "Post-1970s Generation," or Xin Xin Ren Lei (New New Generation Wei Hui and Mian Mian are judged for co-operating with and catering to mainstream commercial culture (Liu, 2000; Lu, 2010; Ma, 2000).[34] According to these critics, in commercializing women's bodies and divulging women's privacy and secrets, Wei Hui and Mian Mian intend to draw people's attention and to stir people's desire to read their books. For instance, Liu Jianwei insists that as New Beauty

[32] Hubei University Journal, 2010, the second issue.
http://www.literature.org.cn/Article.aspx?id=64574
[33] From *Life Daily* http://edu.sina.com.cn 2000/05/04 http://edu.sina.com.cn/wander/2000-05-04/2581.shtml

[34]Zhu 2005, 125

Writers, Wei Hui and Mian Mian have been under the influence of the commercial civilization much deeper than other generations. As unconventional writers, their writings could be characterized as "braveness plus shamelessness."[35] Liu calls for the authors to be very careful in their writings and suggests that readers remain skeptical before giving these writers' works high evaluations.[36]

On the other hand, Wei Hui and Mian Mian's work is also interpreted as anti-feminist. Some scholars argue that Wei Hui's and Mian Mian's writings lack any consciousness of gender equality and their descriptions of women have a negative impact, rendering women as commodified products (Zhu, 2005, Chen Chen, 2007). According to the critics, Wei Hui lacks "critical awareness of the unequal power relations between different nationalist masculinities thrown together by the global culture, and her ambivalence toward both feminism and urban popular culture takes away some subversive power from the female body" (Zhu, 2005, p. 119). Moreover, the critic, Chen Chen, argues—from a cultural perspective—that *Shanghai Baby* represents an elite, mainstream culture, and Wei Hui strives to ingratiate herself to the commercial market. Chen also suggests that in, *Shanghai Baby,* women's bodies and appearances are the most important aspects of their portrayal—nothing else matters. More important, Chen claims that *Shanghai baby* establishes a female model that conforms to mass-media produced, highly sexualized images of womanhood and does this deliberately and in order to be socially acceptable and popular in the commercial market.

---

[35] From *Life Daily* http://edu.sina.com.cn 2000/05/04 http://edu.sina.com.cn/wander/2000-05-04/2581.shtml

[36] From *Life Daily* http://edu.sina.com.cn 2000/05/04 http://edu.sina.com.cn/wander/2000-05-04/2581.shtml

In spite of this deluge of critical voices and the unease caused by their writing, Wei Hui and Mian Mian still won acclaim. Not only are *Shanghai Baby* and *Candy* considered powerful cultural instruments with which to shake conditional patriarchal systems in daily life and in literature, Wei Hui and Mian Mian were praised as emerging Chinese writers with great potential (Chan, 2007).[37] Both of them contribute to a new phenomenon and new consciousness, one that inspires people to re-evaluate the value of literature and re-think gender relationships (Zhu, 2005; Chen, 2007, Ma, 2000; Lu, 2010).

The critic Zhu believes that Wei Hui's *Shanghai Baby* has produced "a phenomenon, a literary concept and a cultural sign in contemporary China at the turn of the millennium" (Zhu, 2005, p. 115). According to Zhu, Wei Hui represent a new generation of writers whose products function to challenge the male-dominated literature domain (Zhu, 2005). Zhu's thoughts of *Shanghai Baby* garnered Lu's support and commendation. Lu reputes that both novels manifest a re-construction of the power of discourse, including literary discourse and social discourse.[38] From Liu's perspective, these novels work to rectify attitudes from mainstream male-dominate literary critics and require readers to re-read and re-evaluate female texts that focus on the trivia of daily life. In addition to their literary contribution, the novels of Wei Hui and Mian Mian are appreciated because of the new images of women that they have created. Using Zhu's word, the writers endeavor to create a "channel of rebellion against the suppression of an authoritative tradition, represented particularly by parents, older generations and the State" (Zhu, 2005, p. 125).

[37] http://transtexts.revues.org/136

[38] http://www.literature.org.cn/Article.aspx?id=64574

Introducing drugs and bars into the settings of their stories, Wei Hui and Mian Mian pursue nontraditional lives, different ways to love and be in relationships between men and women. In doing so, Wei Hui and Mian Mian essentially explore new social positions open to women that are full of controversy, trepidation, and confusion but nevertheless have assisted them in obtaining a certain degree of acceptance and admission.

Throughout the critical commentary directed at the two writers and their novels, it is evident that it is often difficult to separate the writers from the protagonists created by them. Not only are their novels semi-autobiographical, but the two writers have also admitted that they created protagonists as they are and they want to be. Hence, it is no surprise that the two writers make connections between themselves and the protagonists they created and defined in public. For instance, in her interview with the *Huaxi Urban News*, Wei Hui says she didn't intend "to attract readers attention by pretty photos and descriptions of sex… catch the anxiety that contemporary women experience… Coco's Shanghai life is authentic… she is looking for the secret of life in the city. I cannot make it clear which is Wei Hui and which is Coco. I have lots of similarities with Coco, such as being full of desire for life and love, we all like clothes, food, reading, listen to CDs, and making friends."[39] Similarly, Mian Mian says she was "trying to make my writing a way to prove my ability… I don't have to prove anything through writing, because there is nothing that can be proved.[40] In another interview, Mian Mian says that "the sweet passages of

[39] http://wccdaily.scol.com.cn/0004/01/xyl04a.html
[40] http://60.216.51.149/ziminglm/xiaofengzbs/jiemuwengao/mianmian.html

Candy are all fabricated; its dark moments are all real" (Mian Mian, 2007).[41] "My life directly stimulates my writings" she admits, and asks "what [did] the three-year drug life gave to me? Nothing. Authentic writers should be always able to face themselves… I only write the life that I have experienced… my writings analyze the danger of youth… as is always related to my experiences… I want to express.[42] It is not difficult to see that both writers concede that their content derives from their personal experiences, and the protagonists portrayed shadow and map-out their own lives. In connecting their protagonists to themselves, Wei Hui and Mian Mian construct their protagonists as the women they already are and the women they aspire to be.

As professional writers, Wei Hui and Mian Mian present their personal interpretations through images they create, as they characterize and expose some invisible but emerging features of professional women's lives in contemporary China. The emergence of their writings indicates professional women's effort to examine the meanings of lives and social relationships, and to examine and re-evaluate their own experiences. Through expressions of their experiences, feelings, and responses to the pressures and desires encompassing them, they demonstrate their courage and passion to construct an image of the new female. However, in the stagnant male-dominated environment of China, public critiques and personal pressure have created obstacles that shake their beliefs. This is demonstrated in Wu's saying, "while Coco/Wei Hui contemplates the making of a new woman writer, she is already being written about

[41] http://book.douban.com/review/3135076/
[42] http://www.bookcool.com/book/online/xiandai/576/0/43.htm

in the news and gossip columns of the media."[43] Also, their class identities—middle-class professionals—have limited further exploration and actions, making their rebellions problematic and incomplete.

The intricate connection of Wei Hui and Mian Mian as writers and Coco from *Shanghai Baby* and Hong from *Candy* as protagonists is one of the essential reasons I chose them as the subjects with which to identify professional women's experiences through the writers' literary productions. Through examination of the protagonists' attitudes to their bodies, to sexuality, to gender relationships, and to materialism, I attempt to make visible professional women's experiences as participating agents of capitalist globalization so as to make sense of complicated social and political issues that are largely devalued or ignored by the mass media.

Analyses of the Books

As mentioned, the plots of the two books are apparently uncomplicated, but the seemingly simple plots are infused with layers of complex relationships that convey subtle messages about how contemporary Chinese women are confronting a rapidly changing social topography. Deviating from their routine lives, Coco and Hong present the full spectrum of turbulent urban lifestyles, and disclose the very troubling side of contemporary society, such as drug and alcohol abuse, casual sex, extramarital sex, violence, and prostitution. The experiences of Coco and Hong, suggest some of the profound changes in Chinese culture and society, and these changes are manifest as the protagonists struggle in their pursuit of personal space, dreams, and different

[43] Wu, Zilin. "Literary Criticism in the Context of Mass Culture," in *Theoretical Studies* (Mar. 2001).

opportunities in their male-dominated society.

Presenting Sexuality: Challenging the Silence about Female Desire

Both *Shanghai Baby* and *Candy* touch on female subjectivity and sensuality through explicit descriptions of sexuality. For Wei Hui and Mian Mian, sexuality is the conduit through which they understand and experience the conflicting tensions between women embedded in societal roles and women as individuals with agency. Either women are subservient to men's decisions and demands, or, as individuals with agency, women realize their own needs and challenge their relationships with men through introspection. They especially question the imposed silencing of female desire. Wei Hui's and Mian Mian's provocative expressions of female experience manifest an emerging trend among Chinese women who are looking for new role models. For instance, Coco's assessment of her sexual experiences with Tian Tian and Mark underscores her changing female consciousness:

> Tian Tian just couldn't handle sex. I am not sure if it was related to the tragedy that had caused his mental problems, but I remember the first time I held him in bed. When I discovered he was impotent, I was devastated, so much so that I didn't know if I could stay with him (Wei Hui, 2001, p. 5).

Coco's unmasked disappointment with Tian Tian's sexual impotence indicates that sex is an essential need in her life:

> Even since college I had seen sex as a basic necessity (although I've since changed my mind about this)… In the male world, being able to perform sex normally is as important as life itself, and any shortcoming causes unbearable pain. He cried, and so did I (Wei, 2001, p. 5).

In articulating the importance of her sexuality, Coco reevaluates her relationships to men, as well as the complex consequences produced by those relationships. She changes her attitude toward men and adjusts the way she communicates with them.

Coco's consciousness about her own sexual desire articulates and makes visible her dissatisfaction with Tian Tian's impotence. It makes her aware of her disappointment and therefore she looks to other sexual partners—even though she loves him very much.

Articulating sexual desire sex through a woman's voice was very rare in the 1990s, and sexuality was still a forbidden topic in Chinese society. This rare expression of female desire clearly indicates the emergence of a female perspective that stimulates women to think about the meaning of sex as well as their personal needs as independent individuals. This emerging representation of women as sexual subjects challenges patriarchal concepts of female desire, which emphasize men as protectors and sexual partners but ignore questions of female sexual pleasure. In this configuration, men are expected to serve as both physical guardians of their partners and social guarantors of the family. Women, in turn, accept such protection and defer to men in matters of sexual desire. In her representation of Coco as a sexual subject, Wei Hui challenges this configuration. She names physical pleasure as an important element in her relationship with Tian Tian and Mark: "The body I loved could give me neither sexual fulfillment nor a sense of security. He [Tian Tian] takes drugs and is apathetic… the other man [Mark] gives me repeated sexual satisfaction but can do nothing to overcome my sense of insecurity" (Wei, 2001, p.99). Here, Coco unsurprisingly wants her partner to provide social and economic security. But, beyond that, Wei Hui is challenging the silence surrounding female desire, framing Coco's sexual longing as a constituent part of her relationships with both Tian Tian and Mark. Yet, the status of Coco as a sexual subject remains constrained within

disparate relations marked by gender, class, and national difference. While Coco expresses a sense of insecurity with both men, her underlying reasons are very different. With Tian Tian, Coco feels vulnerable to his lack of sexual prowess and ongoing drug use. In contrast, Mark has physical stature, but is unwilling to marry Coco and offer her social and economic stability—reinforcing the inequalities between them. A handsome, educated, and wealthy German, Mark dictates the terms of their relationship. Coco expresses this inequality with feelings of confusion and powerlessness but she also realizes she still has herself: "I hadn't dedicated all my light and passion to him," she says. "Life's like that."

> I realized that I still didn't know what I meant to him. But it didn't matter; he wouldn't divorce or go broke for me, and I hadn't dedicated all my light and passion to him. Life's like that. Days and years are idled away in releasing our libido and shifting the balance of power between men and women. (Wei, 2001, p. 9)

Coco's realization of her own sexual desire in relationship to her powerlessness in relation to Mark is the catalyst that drives her to accept the fact that Mark does not promise her anything except sex. And she uses the language of sexual desire and carelessness to resist coming to terms with her inferiority in this relationship. Thus, the naming of female desire, and the assertion of women as sexual subjects, function as challenges to traditional norms of silence around female sexuality. Coco's language of desire also functions as a mechanism to defer addressing the inequality in her relationship with Mark. In dealing with physically satisfying sexual pleasure, Coco uses nonchalance and bravado to resist her inferior situation while at the same time acknowledging the existing gaps between Mark's Western European acculturation and her own Chinese culture. The important point here is not Coco's consciousness about the inequality embedded in her postcolonial relationship with

Mark, but that she verbalizes her frustration and helplessness in not obtaining what she needs from men.

The expression of women's disappointment with men also can be observed in *Candy*. For instance, in the following two excerpts, Hong's self-criticism points to the core of the male-dominant culture—that men treat women as dependent accessories:

> I'm such a stupid girl! Out of all the years, and all the nights we spent together, why was it that he couldn't manage to give me just one orgasm on just one of those nights? Why didn't you care? You were so full of yourself that you didn't even think of me as a human being. Had you talked yourself into believing that you could make me come if you'd wanted to? …Why am I so stupid? I wonder how many people are as dumb as I am. I am ashamed of it, and sometimes it just makes me want to die. (Mian Mian 2003, 263)

> Because you're an idiot. You've got a beautiful cock, but you're a piece of shit who doesn't know the first thing about love. You're still a sexy, crazy, poetic, selfish musician, but the girl who lost her head over that guy doesn't exist anymore. My world and my body always belonged to Saining (Mian Mian, 2003, p. 263)

Hong's anger at Saining's careless attitude toward her manifests her realization of the nature of their relationship. For her, the man she loves cannot provide anything but ambivalence, and she is besieged by a sense of meaninglessness, nothingness, and powerlessness. Voicing frustration about her relationship represents a tension between her views of herself as an individual social being, who is conscious of her own perspective, and as a woman, compelled to follow gendered social norms. As an individual, Hong challenges male-dominated power that requires women to passively accept and follow men's needs and always keep silent. As a socialized woman, she is supposed to conform to socially accepted norms of what it means to be a Chinese woman, derived from thousands of years of Chinese history and culture.

Expressing dissatisfaction towards men's behaviors shows that traditional gender roles are being challenged and these challenges are subtext in both *Shanghai Baby*, and *Candy* but is especially apparent in *Shanghai Baby*. Not only does Wei

Hui speak up, but she also creates a model for women that subverts traditional constructions of women as timid and conservative. Through surprisingly bold behavior of women in public, Wei Hui constructs subversive gender images through women's performance. The description of Coco's performance in front of Tian Tian exemplifies a sharp but gradual shift of gender images through women's daily activities.

> Just then a handsome, dark-skinned man walked over, with his arm around the waist of a white woman with glasses. "Hello there," I greeted him in English. "Hand-painted underwear on the cheap." With someone as shy as Tian Tian next to me, I had to be bold and confident, even though when I was little, just going to the bakery to buy bread for my mother would make me so nervous my hand would sweat as it held the money. (Wei, 2001, 46)

This scene provides a sharp, contrasting gendered picture within which the man is described as shy but the woman is portrayed as bold. During the 1990s, it was very rare for people to talk about something like underwear in public, let alone a woman speaking about it in front of her boyfriend. Coco's speaking about underwear in public not only draws people's attention to her performance, but also challenges meanings of traditional womanhood. Coco subverts traditional gender images by becoming an active agent in bringing her marginal, female position front and center. In this sense, Coco resists public subordination by asserting dominance through public discussion of topics typically avoided by women. Coco's behavior provides a model for crossing gender boundaries, locating female subjects on center stage and challenging patriarchal social order. In spite of remaining confined within a male-dominated social order Coco presents femininity as a core part of womanhood in the emerging capitalist society.

Since the 1980s, national discourse has been critical of socialist politics of

gender sameness and increasingly called for women to cultivate a traditional femininity that emphasizes gentleness, softness, shyness, and deference. These images of femininity are based on presumed biological differences between women and men, and provide a standard of that compels women to perform gender in stereotypical ways. Yet, unlike the socialist period, these authors present female protagonists that navigate a more traditional femininity even as they seek to escape its confines. In other words, the developing female perspective is not free but rooted within the dominant male culture that essentializes femininity and treats women as objects of desire. According to Honig and Hershatter, femininity as a historically conditioned phenomenon, has been taken for granted as an essential women's characteristic throughout Chinese history.

During the socialist period from the 1960s to the 1970s, femininity was displaced by a gender-free policy towards femaleness, which emphasized the sameness of gender. This gender sameness has been widely criticized since the reform period, and starting in the 1980s, femininity has been reintroduced into national discourse, accompanied by a nation-wide call for women to build their femininity. Since the 1980s, such female qualities as softness and shyness, et cetera, have become essential female components of femininity, based precisely on the assumed biological differences between men and women (Honig & Hershatter, 1988). This given standard of female qualities leads to women acting and reproducing gender in stereotypical ways, based on their understanding of how to act in typically feminine ways.

The desire to present femininity in contrast to gender sameness can be observed in *Shanghai Baby*, and *Candy*, for example, both Coco and Hong define themselves as women with strong feminine characteristics. They relay men's comments and compliments in order to confirm their identities as feminine women. In *Candy*, Mian Mian says:

> Apple always said that I was beautiful, and having a beautiful man praise me as beautiful invariably gave my spirits a lift. He fed my narcissism, gave me a new persona. It was a wonderful feeling, like being on stage. I thought that the force of this dream could put me on playbills all over Shanghai. (Mian Mian, 2003,186)

For Hong, the man's comments satisfy her desire to present her femininity and confirm her female identity. But even though performing her femininity provides her with a sense that she is accepted by society, it manifests the limitation of women's resistance to patriarchy instead of separating from the system that is rooted into. The complex expression of how women perform and represent their femininity is contradictory: professional women can be against, but also partake of men's power and control within the current male-dominated social order. On the one hand, women's provocative expression of sexual experiences indicates a realization of the complicity of the nature embedded in their communications with men. Such questions as: "if men can do so, why not women? (Wei, 2001, p. 226); and "men treated me like shit; I couldn't think of myself as a piece of shit, though" (Mian Mian, 2003, p. 188) indicate the attempt to query their relationships with men and gender boundaries. On the other hand, the subversion of the traditional image of women as passive and dependent objects still hinges on men's confirmation of their femininity, sexuality, and female identification. Situated in the conflicting presentation of femininity,

professional women are seeking a new way for women while being accepted by mainstream society.

Beneath the women's sense of being socially accepted lies an effort to make the quality of their lives modern, and satisfy a growing yearning among professional women for all the material luxuries of capitalist modernity.

Constructing Otherness—Materialism

The subjective structure of consumerism is a very significant theme in both novels. Settings as parties, bars, nightclubs, fancy restaurants, and all kinds of entertainment places, as well as consumer goods as scotch and Western brand cigarettes, provide a picture of materialism imbued with urban modernity and romance. Focusing on an analysis of the materialism manifest in the daily activities of Chinese women, in this subsection I discuss the representations of professional women as complicit with an economic system that accelerates the widening inequality between rich and poor in China. Before I begin the main discussion in this section, however, I briefly review the emergence and expansion of consumer culture in Chinese society as a background to make sense of how powerful postcolonial materialism has influenced professional women's daily lives.

Materialism emerged as a response to the 1978 economic reforms. Since that time, the mass media in China has generated a consumer culture that influences the constructs of individual subjectivities through imagery of a modern, capitalist, global, lifestyle.[44] This materialism penetrated deep into urban lives, modeling ways for

[44] Throughout the chapters, I consider "modern" as a concept associated with the values of Western

people to style their daily activities. Moreover, the 1978 economic reforms generated a tremendous economic and political base that supports this emerging and already pervasive consumer culture, providing individuals with great variety of consumer products to choose from as well as the resources to pay for them. For example, between 1978 and 2002, urban incomes rose by an astounding average of 14 percent a year (Xu, 2007, p. 366), providing the expendable income to purchase from a range of choices available within the consumer market.

Accompanying the increased supply of material goods is the Open-door Policy that has encouraged foreign investments in China since 1978. Consequently, foreign experts, business people, journalists, and diplomats have become increasingly common in China, as well as public controversy over changes brought with Western technology, managerial skills, social values, fashions, and family arrangements. This increase in urban income, the wide variety of products, and Westernized culture has integrated China into globalization, and shapes the patterns of capitalist consumerism in contemporary China.

Shanghai, has been at the forefront of the country's globalized capitalism and is a site for manifesting growing urban consumerism. As discussed in the section about Shanghai, Shanghai has been China's largest and most economically advanced city since the nineteenth century (Gu & Tang, 2002).

Since the 1980s, Shanghai has internationalized and modernized itself and is expected to continue to play a leading role as a center of Chinese economic development (Gu & Tang 2002). The effort has rapidly transformed Shanghai from a socialist city into a lively metropolis where foreign investment, especially direct

---

society since the 18th century.

foreign investment, has risen rapidly since 1978 (Gu & Tang, 2002).

These great changes have accelerated the economic and political transformation of the city and reshaped the populations sense of the city as bustling, full of mystery, desire, risk, material seduction, and a celebration of fashion. As a cultural force it attracts people to follow its rhythm toward modernity. The passage below reveals Coco's understandings of the city:

> This is the city at rush hour: all sorts of vehicles and pedestrians, all their invisible desires and countless secrets, merge with the flow like rapids plunging through a deep gorge. …the pretty details of daily life are like dust suspended in the air. They are a monotonous theme of our materialistic age. (Wei, 2001, p. 7)

Through Coco's eyes, the city is materialized, showing off its prosperity and material attractions, as it creates a desirable and mysterious breath to guide people's daily activities. But beneath the material attractions of Shanghai, lies a sense of powerlessness. Coco is conscious of the separation of the power embedded in the material and people's materials interests. That is, people never get a sense of satisfaction no matter how many products they have, because the social system has created a mechanism to stimulate the desire for material goods no matter how much they already own. Coco expresses this tension:

> Standing on the roof, we looked at the silhouettes of the buildings lit up by the streetlights on both sides of the Huangpu River, specially the Oriental Pearl TV Tower, Asia's tallest. Its long, long steel column pierces the sky, proof of the city's phallic worship. The ferries, the waves, the night-dark grass, the dazzling neon lights, and incredible structures—all these signs of material prosperity are aphrodisiacs the city uses to intoxicate itself. They have nothing to do with us, the people who live among them. (Wei, 2001, pp. 14–15)

Coco's understanding of the city discloses her alienation from it, expressing the tension between her realization of powerlessness in the midst of prosperity. Yet, even with this sense of alienation, women are forced to participate, to become

modern; the allure of capitalism is impossible to escape and dictates how to dress and act in a way that matches the materialistic, urban style of capitalism.

> At dusk I took off my uniform miniskirt and short Chinese silk jacket and changed into a tight-fitting shirt and pants. Clutching my handbag, I walked light-footed out of the shop while the fluorescent lights shimmered like shards of gold. I walked along the street, blending with the thousands of people and vehicles shuttling back and forth, like the Milky Way blazing right here on earth. The most exciting moment of the city's day had arrived. (Wei, 2001, 9)

Coco dresses herself in ways that present a desire to assimilate to the constituted urban life that celebrates Western fashion and sexual fantasy. Within this construction of the city, beautiful clothes, expensive perfume, Western music, movies, cigarettes, and even drugs are all the material signifiers of a cool, romanticized image of Western fantasy life in the city, easily observed in descriptions of the character's lifestyle:

> I bought a CD player and had Sainig get me some Western rock and roll CDs when he went to visit Hong Kong…. Saining brought me some marijuana, and I felt as though I were experiencing a mysterious freedom. It was the symbol of another kind of life, and I loved lying in bed with Saining, smoking grass and listening to music. The music in his room has a purity … it was good for me. Little by little, the huge stones blocking my ears were moved away. I felt really lucky. I listened to rock and roll and smoked marijuana, all in the company of this temperamental, beautiful boy. Wasn't this what I'd always wanted? (Mian Mian, 2003, p. 25)

This description conveys the idea that such behavior gives Coco the sense that she is experiencing something different, a lifestyle different from most of other Chinese people.[45] The desire for Western products and Western sayings, lyrics, poems and philosophical ponderings have become an important component in what shapes their views on who they are. The use of Western words is especially prolific in *Shanghai Baby.* Wei Hui cites the words and wisdom of famous Western authors, stars, celebrities, and thinkers.

[45] By 2008, majority Chinese population still came from rural area during the first ten years of 2000. http://www.cssn.cn/news/138692.htm

Access to Western merchandise serves as a marker of growing class division and fulfills the desire to render their upward mobility visible in the social hierarchy that has emerged in China's global capitalist system. In representing Western merchandise as a primary marker of social status, Wei Hui and Mian Mian have constructed an otherness that is ostensibly on display through the different, and therefore sophisticated material possessions of their characters. In so doing, they build a middle-class identification through the connection of their characters to modernized, different and cool merchandise. The consumption of cool things indicates a woman's social and distinguishes them from the masses. In representing Western products, both Wei Hui and Mian Mian construct a connection between modern womanhood, consumption, and class. In modernizing their lifestyles, the access to Western products, language, and relationships with foreigners, indicate their active participation in the process of creating the logic of social distinction and class recognition within their newly globalized world. The class-stratified world they create is derived from their fantasies about the West. It shapes their feminine subjectivity while guiding their attitudes toward men.

> I don't quite remember why I fell for him. Perhaps it was his erudition or his ability to recite famous Shakespearean works in Oxford English. Or when he sat with me behind Mao's statue on the lawn, right in the middle of Fudan University, going on for three days without stopping about Jesus Christ's birth in a stable and how it signified truth (Wei, 2001, p. 32).

Western cultural currency such as Shakespearean words and discussions of Jesus Christ's birth symbolizes a fantasy about the Western world as refined and intellectually superior to Chinese culture. The use of English implies her longing for the concept of Western culture and the social value attached to it: Coco can obtain a

little bit of this culture by buying and consuming the fashion brands and other consumer products that are deemed Western. Coco also indicates that the desire for a man who speaks English and is conversant in Western culture is inflected by her yearning for Western culture. This manifests in the ways consumerism has penetrated women's lives and guides them in choosing products and relationships. This postcolonial yearning for Western products is especially apparent in Wei Hui's creation of the sharp images between a foreign man's and Chinese man's sexual performance.

> Whenever I see him (Mark), I wish to die for him, his body odor makes me gasp in admiration… laying on his shoulder, smell the light fragrance and body odor, the foreign sexy odor may be the thing that touched me most. (Wei, 1999, p. 4)

> Maybe I'd had too much to drink. I leaned my head against Mark's shoulder and smelled both a musky fragrance and a hint of body odor from the vast lands of northern Europe. The exotic scents of his body were perhaps the most moving thing about him. (Wei, 2001, p. 99)

These thoughts indicate that Coco's relationship with Mark presents her as a sought-after woman.[46] It also constructs the otherness of Chinese people. While Coco's sexual relationship with Mark conveys a longing for Western style and Western values, beneath the desire is a consciousness that is deeply embedded in the contrasts portrayed between the foreigner, Mark, and her Chinese boyfriend Tian Tian. Throughout *Shanghai Baby*, Mark is described as hyper-masculine, strong, sensual with the capacity to satisfy Coco's bodily needs. In contrast, Tian Tian is portrayed as effeminate, sensitive, soft, melancholic, and impotent. This contrast affirms the masculine power of the Western male and feminizes Chinese males. However, for Mark, Coco is only the Eastern other of desire; only because she is

[46] This is illustrated by a mainland adage from the 1990s: Top beauties date Yanks, middle beauties date overseas Chinese, and the third class beauties date rich Chinese businessmen (Shen, 2001, p. 97).

Chinese, Coco secures Mark's favor. Tian Tian functions as the opposite referent of Mark's strength and power.

The conceit of Western superiority is repeated again and again in *Shanghai Baby*. Western behaviors and materialism are privileged again and again. In the following excerpt, Coco admits her feelings towards a Western woman who asks Coco and her friends to move their party away from her house because they are too noisy. Instead of commenting on whether or not the Westerner's behavior was unreasonable, Coco is fascinated with the woman's clothing, and her elegant, arrogant manner: "I noticed she (a foreign woman whose husband is a president of multi-national bank) was wearing a very expensive coat with an hourglass silhouette. Standing tall and straight, she looked like a model on a poster for the Paris Printemps department store" (Wei, 2001, p. 60).

In presenting the Westerner's haughty behavior, Wei Hui's Coco indicates her willing surrender to the libidinal power of the Western world and her acceptance of the colonial logic that the white race is superior to other races. Wei Hui's understandings of Coco's relationships with Chinese men and women, as well as with Westerners, reveals that Chinese professional women are displaying their social positions, as embedded in hierarchies of social class. That is, in the commercialized society, the increase of materialism has created social positions that are located at the intersection of capitalism and Western values. The intersection of these different social forces creates knowledge and a location from which middle-class Chinese women shape their understandings of their self-identification as a group of women

with economic privilege, alongside higher social status. The women's confirmation of their identities has become part of the increasing division of rich and poor in China.

Self-identification: Marginalized Mainstream

Increasingly complex social activities shape the understandings women have of their multiple roles as women, daughters, and workers. In other words, economic and social status shape their ambivalent self-identification of who they are. As professionals, women resist marginalization but remain complicit in an unequal economic system. Both *Shanghai Baby,* and *Candy* realize the multiple roles women play in different social settings, and both Coco and Hong make sense of who they are based on the views of others. For example, Coco realizes that to her parents, she is a heartless villain; to her teachers and former superiors and colleagues, she is an inscrutable and intelligent woman—good at her job, volatile, and deeply insightful; and to men generally, she is a charming and delightful woman—a sort of Chinese Coco Chanel, hence her namesake:

> To my mother and father, I am an evil little thing devoid of conscience. To my teacher or ex-boss and colleagues at the magazine, I am smart but hardheaded, a skilled professional with an unpredictable temperament who can guess how any film or a story will end from the way it begins. To most men, I qualify as a little beauty, as pleasing as spring light on a lake's rippling surface, with a pair of oversize eyes right out of a Japanese cartoon and a long Coco Chanel neck. But in my own eyes, I am just an ordinary woman, even if I become famous one of these days. (Wei, 2001, p. 18).

Coco's declaration of who she is indicates a traditional image of a good woman derived from scrupulously abiding by the traditional rules. The statement rejects her parents' ideas of womanhood and critically challenges their traditional interpretation

of womanhood. According to Coco's parents, a good woman should have a good education, a matched love, and a happy marriage. To authorize this message, Coco's parents have always used her cousin, who is good looking, has a good education, a good job, and a seemingly perfect family, as an example of the woman they expect Coco to become. Coco says:

> When I was small, my parents were forever encouraging me to be like Zhu Sha: a class leader's stripes on her sleeve, the top exam results in the entire school, and talented at singing and dancing and reciting…Her husband had been chairman of the department's student council. Large, tall, fair-skinned, and wearing a pair of silver-rimmed glasses, he served briefly as a translator at the German Consulate. (Wei, 2001, pp. 49–50).

Through Coco's parents' eyes, Zhu Sha experiences an ideal woman's journey toward anticipated happiness due to her good education, excellence in study and work, and the perfect match in a husband. However, such an idealized image of womanhood is frequently questioned and challenged in *Shanghai Baby* and *Candy*. The protagonists question traditional notions on how to perform ideal womanhood as well as what the nature of a happy marriage is. For instance, through the lens of Zhu Sha's broken marriage—which at first seems perfect—Wei attempts to bring women's attention to question the nature and meaning of marriage—what is the purpose of a woman marrying a man? Does a woman's marriage serve as a way for her to obtain social acceptance and admission? To most, Zhu Sha and her husband are seemingly like-minded people who share lots of common interests and their marriage, therefore, fits the model of a happy family life:

> They share a social circle of similar professionals, they traveled, holidayed, chatted, dined, went to plays together, and generally complemented one another. She and her husband both liked athletic activities like tennis and swimming and enjoyed the same operas and books. It was an uneventful life, leisurely yet not boring, with an adequate but not enormous income. (Wei, 2001, p. 50)

However, the flowery and perfect harmony of their interests and their perfectly fashioned middle-class life style lasts only for five years. The couple divorces because they rarely have sex, and the husband starts to suspect that Zhu Sha is unfaithful, even though she is not. Through Coco's questioning of the perfect couple's broken marriage, Wei Hui presents a female voice which invites women to think about their roles in marriages: What does marriage mean for a woman? This literary point functions to deconstruct the social common sense about women, about marriage, and about the relationships between men and women.

> Why is it that when a woman wants to leave a man, he assumes it must be because she's having an affair? Can't a woman make that choice based just on her own feelings? Do they actually believe that a woman cannot exist without them, asked Zhu emphatically (Wei, 2001, p. 53).

These questions give voice to critical thinking about women's roles, always expected to act on behalf of men as their husbands or lovers. In raising these questions, women attempt to criticize social common sense about marriage and about women's roles in marriage. This interrogation of essential roles in marriage map attempts at searching for a new image of women that challenges these roles. However, in the transitional period, there are few models of new women that guide women to deal with complicated relationships in the family. Lack of role models of new women and guidance from social discourse has caused a sense of bewilderment and confusion besieging women:

> I sat on the sofa, my hand cradling my head, asking myself if I really understood myself as a woman. Was I really attractive? Wasn't I a bit hypocritical, snobbish, and fuzzy minded, too? The problems of my life stacked up one on another, and it would take an entire lifetime just to overcome them. (Wei, 2001, p. 105).

The questions above imply the confusion and bewilderment in seeking a new

woman's image that challenge traditional patterns of power in the family. When they question their femininity, their role as women, and their relationships to men, women encounter a dilemma: on the one hand, there is no social discourse or role models to support the new image and the lack of social support has brought them the sense of powerlessness, confusion, and frustration. On the other hand, such questioning about who they are manifests a note of women's searching for a self that is essentially based on individualism instead of the image of female self-sacrifice prevalent in the Mao period. This individualism allows women to think about things surrounding them and to deconstruct the traditional meaning of womanhood in a non-male dominated way. In searching for the meanings of womanhood, they develop the capacity to evaluate men's behaviors, and divulge their attitudes toward men. For instance, Hong says:

> Ninety-nine percent of the men I know are boring, and of the one percent who aren't boring, 99 percent of them have girlfriends. A lot of men want to fool around with me, but they all have girlfriends. That kind of arrangement isn't acceptable to me. I cannot believe that accepting that kind of offer could make me happy. (Mian Mian, 2003, p. 210).

This critical attitude towards men's behavior of choosing more than one girlfriend challenges the nature of gendered relationships. The character's attitude to men's relationships with more than one woman manifests professional women's exploration of the social construction of gender divisions that is framed within the dichotomy that femininity belongs to women, and masculinity to men. This exploration challenges men's authority to use masculinity to demand women's faithfulness, while not adhering to such expectations for men. The women characters' responses to the gender practices demonstrate that Chinese professional women are

on a journey of self-discovery toward redefining and reconstructing womanhood for themselves.

However, in making an effort to explore the unseen gendered structures beneath physical gender practices, both writers grapple with the existence of social obstacles that exist for women who challenge the traditional images of women. This has resulted in conflicts, as is manifested in women's experiences as confusion, anxiety, aimlessness, and the sense of loss and powerlessness:

> My life plays at several speeds. The mortal guitar goes on weakly, trying to express everything with some sort of tonality, trying to use one thing to stand for all things. No matter how hard I try, there's no way I can become that plaintive guitar. No matter how hard I try to make up for my mistakes, the sky will not give me back the voice that I once offered it. I've been defeated, so writing is all I have. (Mian Mian, 2003, p. 270).

> Heroin was a pretty thief, stealing everything there was to steal until I found myself with an absolute lack, a lack I had never before experienced. This emptiness gave me a sense of balance. The only meaning in my life was that my life was meaningless. I had never been free before, because until now I hadn't genuinely understood myself, my life, my body, my loves. Heroin and its frigid world had become the only freedom I could have. (Mian Mian, 2003, p. 97)

> Blindness guides our blood, from the beginning to the end. Losing control is like a series of conflagrations. The only thing I understand is that I do not understand why our lives are destined to slip out of control. (Mian Mian, 2003, p. 99)

Words and phrases such as "lack," "out of control," "there is no way," and "meaningless," disclose the realization of their marginal social positions within the mainstream society. That is, as female professionals, though their professional skills afford them a middle-class standard of living, as a group of women, they experience powerlessness in negotiating with the overlapping forces of traditional male-dominated ideology and emerging gendered global capitalism.

In other words, they experience a dilemma: as one group which participates in the creation of mainstream culture, they are still, however, marginalized by their efforts to challenge the old and new forms of women's images in a male-dominated world. As a group of professionals, they attempt to integrate into mainstream cultures and locate themselves within a certain social position with class privilege. This desire has led women to create new images of womanhood that are strongly tied to their own social positions. Thus, the writers' social status has resulted in a new image of womanhood which entails the continuous transformation of meanings and reinvention of old images and traditions about women in China.

Attempts to maintain their class status makes them seek mainstream approval through subtleties, such as taste in art and good education. For instance, in Wei Hui's novel, though Coco does not agree with her parents' basic opinions on how to act as a woman, she does point out that education is a distinctly essential component for a woman, not only for the purpose of obtaining a good marriage, but also as a key to maintaining a middle-class social position.

Therefore, through seemingly unintentionally relaying Coco's educational background, Wei Hui imperceptibly discloses a kind of superiority which showcases Coco's superior education and distinguished tastes, which are all indicators of her class position. For her, education confers cultural capital, which also allows her the money to consume such Western brands as Ferragamo,™ Portished,™ Barneys,™ Marc Jacobs,™ and Puma,™ Bowery Bar,™ CafeCarlyle,™ and EIJI,™ all symbols of fashion and popularity.

Coco's desire to consume these Western products reveals a pursuit of fantasy

resulting from the struggle to find herself in a world where previous forms and norms of social habits are being displaced by a new capitalist format. In doing so, Wei attempts to represent Coco's self-identification as distinct from other classes. In this sense, the writers' practices in developing a specifically middle-class taste, activities, and philosophies symbolizes a sort of social orientation based on which women from middle-class locations can strive to develop their own sense of place in the social hierarchy. This is ultimately related to post-Maoist women's gender ideological paradigm shift in China that emphasizes the importance of issues of class and other related social and gender relations.

Conclusion

Throughout the two novels, the feminist writers make efforts to construct a new imaginary of women's individuality. In this process, they experience challenges in being complicit with male power in presenting new images of women. Also, as the participants in the consumer culture of China, the postcolonial consciousness they carry creates barriers between those with social privileges, high income, and class status; and others, the majority of working-class Chinese women. However, as women with professional skills, they realize their complex identities are also marginalized by the mainstream cultures, and struggle with the tensions created by their desire to be part of the mainstream culture while being discontent with the current male-dominated social order. Their writings challenge the socialist collectivism that exists to produce different sexes without bodies, classes without

people, and desire without objects. In other words, the authors are working to describe social reality in ways that challenge the abstractions of socialist discourse.

In presenting women in an unconventional sense, they draw attention to women's issues that are influenced by multiple-determined forces and sites of power in which ideologies about womanhood are produced. They also challenge traditional understandings of appropriate feminine roles and behaviors, creating situations in which female protagonists do not sacrifice or diminish their individuality and femininity to serve the nation or party. In this sense, the narratives of the novels challenge the predominance of patriarchal images of womanhood, using women's voices to claim the knowledge and power to represent and challenge traditional assumptions about womanhood. In so doing, they construct and reconstruct women's images and claim knowledge for women that has never before been portrayed. More importantly, the narratives of the novels offer a glimpse into the social, cultural and psychic domains of contemporary urban China.

However, the writers' class status result in writing that does not overtly challenge conventional definitions of feminine modes, nor does their work break down the subject/object dualism, the binary between men and women. Rather, they create further class boundaries which situate people either on the inside or outside of dominant culture, based on their income, education, and locations. Therefore, their depictions of women seemingly in pursuit of freedom is marked by the desire toward material consumption as a recuperation of privilege through claiming upward class mobility, the imprint of global capitalism, socialism, and traditional Chinese cultures.

Chapter 5: Local within Global: Whose City is It?

In the preceding chapters, this research project has presented professional women's daily activities as they accommodate and resist globalized Chinese society through analyses of interviews, popular culture, and literature. Situated within this hierarchical society, professional women work to make sense of ideological discourses about femininity produced through the transformation of capital, messages, technology, ideas, and values in the face of globalization. These discourses have shaped professional women's dispositions as they put into practice their ideas about gender within a globalized city. In so doing, professional women's participation in the economic, political, and cultural process of globalization has generated various and complicated conflicts that may be hidden from the surface of their lives of economic prosperity, but which nevertheless manifest within rapidly materialized urban life: high-rise buildings, international clubs and hotels, new constructions, newly updated transportation, luxury cars, and dressed up people in a hurry that could be seen everywhere on the streets. This seemingly thriving economic picture has drawn people's attention to the economic activities of women in their daily lives, such as dressing and ways of living, instead of focusing on the underlying conflicts generated from women's multiple interactions with social institutions, men, and other women. Conceptualizing some of these conflicts comprises the central discussions of this chapter.

In theorizing the conflicts surrounding professional women's performance of gender relations, and the social constructions of women's images, this chapter integrates different methods of interview, content analysis, and literary analysis together to capture the dynamic nature of power reconfiguration underneath the conflicts. I propose that globalization has generated significant complications for women professionals in China. Besieged by conflicts in their double duties of a professional job and household work, professional women in China respond to the challenges, but in doing so they reinforce existing inequality. This complicity prevents any challenge to global capitalism through which inequalities of gender, class, and nation are embedded. In this sense, Chinese professional women serve as boundary makers of elite Chinese society in terms of class, gender, and nationality. As boundary makers, the women's performances consolidate the power of global capitalism even as they seek to, at times, challenge the inequalities they experience as subjects of male dominance. This finding contributes to feminist critiques and theoretical and empirical discussions on the dynamic interrelationships between gender, work, family, and nation within the global context.

This chapter is divided into four sections, and drawing on field notes from participant observation and data from interviews, first, I theorize how professional women adapt to and resist power imposed upon them and discuss the way in which institutionalization of forms of gender knowledge work to produce the power relationships between professional women, the sate, the nation, and capitalism. Second, I discuss the consolidated class boundaries among women in China. Third, I analyze consolidated gender boundaries between working class workers and

professional elites and professional women as boundary markers of the nation; and fourth, I discuss the conflicts of empowerment for Chinese professional women.

Theorizing Global Assimilation and Global Alienation

This section examines the women's perceptions of the impacts of the synchronously-developed duality of alienation and assimilation on their lives. In so doing, I first clarify the meanings of alienation and assimilation within this global context. Then, I illuminate the ways that Chinese professional women make sense of their relationships with work, 125in relation to the state, and with those around them. Finally, I reveal how Chinese professional women develop their identities and document the various problems they face.

Meanings of Alienation and Assimilation in a Global Context

Since the 1970s, the concepts of alienation and assimilation have received wide critical attention from scholars of political science, sociology, anthropology, and other social sciences (Mezaros, 1972; Blauner, 1967; Finifter, 1972; Stearns, 1981; Schmitt, 1981; Archibald, 1981, 2009; Kohn, 1976). This scholarship has produced an immense body of knowledge on the alienating and assimilating effects on workers, in terms of theoretical understanding and empirical research. Feminist scholars have focused on women's lives in manufacturing and service industries and revealed their alienating working situations. These alienating circumstances include being the lowest paid workers, working under the male gaze and despotic management, de-humanized working environments, and routinized work (Fernández-Kelly, 1983;

Ong, 1987; Kim, 1997; Pun, 2005). In contrast to the growing literature on alienation on women workers, few studies have drawn attention to the impact of alienation as it is experienced by professional women.

The gap in academic literature, about the full extent of professional women's alienating experiences, is related to two assumptions. The first assumptions is that societal development in technology is most consistent with increased worker autonomy and democratization, and may decrease alienation in the workplace (Hirschhorn, 1984, Piore & Sable, 1984, Zuboff, 1988). This assumption is derived from the theory of technological determinism, which emphasizes the importance of technology in advancing social development and increasing worker autonomy and democratization. However, this theory has been widely criticized by many anthropologists and sociologists, such as Lisa Rofel, Aihwa Ong, and Saskia Sassen, for failing to explain the multi-faced social results of technological development, such as depression, frustration, and polarization between the rich and the poor. Moreover, the advancement in technology has created a new form of disciplinary power, which as Lisa Rofel suggests, functions by creating the belief among professionals that advanced education and specialized knowledge free the individual from control of others in their workplace (Rofel, 2004).

The second assumption is that people in professional fields should be much less, rather than much more, alienated than those in factories, because people with a great deal of education, knowledge, skill, and supervisory responsibility should have more power to control their lives (Archibald, 2009). Some research has partially supported these assumptions. For instance, Hughes's study on information

technologies and labor market in Canada indicates that professionals who make frequent use of computers at work usually feel that they are given more freedom (Hughes & Lowe, 2000). Also, Moore's research on professionals indicates that women working in high-tech service and knowledge industries are distinctively characterized with a commitment to work. In other words, the women treat their occupation and all of its requirements as a calling, a need, and expectation, rather than as a tool to fulfill basic needs (Moore, 1970). That is, it is assumed that with professional women's commitment to their jobs, they are able to exercise a higher degree of discretion in their work and, consequently, develop a sense of self-satisfaction and achieve their professional aspirations.

However, a closer examination of professional women's experiences challenges the assumptions that these women are not alienated in their careers. Much research has documented the growing problems and conflicts surrounding professional women. According to the research, the perception that professional does not fit women's nature has resulted in gender discrimination in the workplace and conflicts of time distribution between the workplace and the family. In their daily lives, the women's decent income and higher social status are always accompanied by unsatisfied components of their lives, such as high-pressure working environments, unstable incomes, and frustrations from increased consumerism. The rift between the assumptions and professional women's daily experiences indicates that in professional work settings, alienation exists in a less visible way, that is often regarded casually and with skepticism due to the socially portrayed images of professional women as a unique group with exceptionally high levels of access to

education, employment, and power to control their own lives (Honig & Hershatter, 1988; Hershatter, 2007; Lin, 1995; Sun, 2008; Evans, 2002; Wei, 2001).

My study supports the research above. My findings indicate that the socially constructed images of professional women make it difficult to connect the women's lives to alienation, which is more easily measurable in work conditions such as those prevalent in factories. In fact, the problems surrounding professional women indicate a kind of powerlessness; alienation that is characterized by subjective feelings such as stress, frustrations, insecurity, and unhappiness embedded in the social relationships of the women to their family, to their work, to the state, to themselves, and to others. However, even though women can express feelings of frustration, they do not connect their experiences as a form of alienation or a social problem; rather, they treat them as personal and as women's problems.

My study is rooted in a Marxist critique on alienation, linking women's subjective feelings to the structure and ideologies of the professional workplace. According to Marx, alienation is the expression of a sense of powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and self-estrangement, which originates from the capitalist relationships between workers and the social settings of employment (Finifter, 1972; Blauner, 1967). In these relations, "the factory belonged to the entrepreneur who had the legal and social power to hire labor, to sell the products and personally to possess its profits." On the other hand, "the workers didn't have property and had nothing to sell but their labor, and they had no legal claim to the products and the profits of their work" (Blauner, 1967, p. 3). This systematic employment relationship makes labor abstract and external to workers' interests and

functions as capitalist power that is independent and stands opposed to workers (Lystad, 1971). This capitalist relationship is maintained through the instrumental control over the product of workers' labor and over the work process. Under these conditions, labor is no longer a way of personal self-expression. Workers are not fulfilled through work, but deny themselves due to the split between personal interests and production targets (Kohn, 1979). The concept of alienation obtains new meanings in the global context.

Rapid social change has given new meanings to alienation in the workplace. In the global context, high pressure, work intensification, competition, frustration, unhappiness, and insecurity have constituted essential ingredients of alienation. Some research has documented the alienating effects that occur in western professionals. From this research, it becomes clear that competition and the changes in the social organization of the workplace have often threatened managers and workers (Betcherman, 1994). Professionals complain about the stresses of overwork and many feel that they have more work than they could handle (Archibald, 2009; Godard & Delaney 2000; Smith, 1997). For women professionals, in addition to these general problems, they are also subject to chronic stress, unequal pay, and impediments to promotion (Nelson & Quick, 1985; Haynes & Feinleib, 1980; Elman & Gilbert, 1984). On the one hand, they are supposed to share common demands with their male counterparts to cope with societal values of what is required of "competent professionals" (Cooper & Davidson, 1982; Puff & Moeckel, 1979; Elman & Gilbert, 1984). On the other hand, they are burdened with gender segregation and discrimination that men don't experience (Cooper & Davidson, 1982; Puff &

Moeckel, 1979). For instance, in some developed countries, such as Britain, professional women receive substantially lower pay for the work they do as compared to men (Barr & Boyle, 2001). Also, they are faced with many obstacles in their advancement, which becomes a key source of stress (Nelson & Quick, 1985).

If professional women's alienation can be generally observed for all women workers in the professional workplace, it may be particularly fruitful to observe women's experiences of being assimilated in developing countries, such as China. Chinese professional women's participation in globalization is bound up with aspirations toward Western modernity, with the price of entry being the commodification of their labor and adherence to Western culture. This is a phenomenon that has been largely absent from current literatures on discussions of the concept of assimilation. Though assimilation has obtained its meanings from a broad range of knowledge in many different disciplines, such as politics and sociology, most of the work focuses on exploration of the assimilative processes among immigrants on how to adapt mainstream-society culture and to be incorporated into the host society (Alba, 1995; Nathan, 1993; Rumbaut, 1997).

The existing literature on assimilation that occurs in different places supports my research that assimilation occurs in a transnational and global space that operates to produce alienation synchronously. In this dissertation, I use the concept of assimilation as an analytical tool to understand the inherent tensions of doing work that feels unstable, partial, and tensions that arise from the adjustment of women who imitate modern Western values in order to cope with the changing circumstances of Chinese society within the global context. I view assimilation as a process that is

embedded in the global flows of technology, cultural, capital, political, and power. Ian Weber's research on television research of China indicates that with the increase in interconnectedness generated from global flows, capitalist values and ideas have spread throughout the world, mostly from the center of the developed countries to the marginal developing countries (Weber, 2003). According to Web, such messages, images, and symbols have created and reinforce a kind of social relations that links individuals to the "imagined worlds" (Weber, 2003, p. 276) where Western tastes in food, music, language, art and lifestyle function as agents of capitalist regimes of modernity in developing countries. Therefore, as a force, assimilation evokes ways of adapting to new environments. With convenient access to objects, messages, and knowledge from the Western world, Chinese professional women may be assimilating to a kind of imported Western culture and consciousness without visible modifications that might occur if they were physically immigrating to a Western location. Their attitudes and day-to-day activities demonstrate to other women workers a model of Westernized values, culture, and life-style, and facilitate the accommodation of post-colonial, hybrid identities in globalized China. In what follow, I discuss in detail the way in which Chinese professional women experience the simultaneous development of alienation and assimilation.

Chinese Professional Women in the Dilemma of Alienation and Assimilation

This research indicates that professional women in China face the synchronically-developed duality of alienation and assimilation that results from multiple, transnational flows of technology, cultures, and politics. These international

transformations have increased the interconnectedness between east and west, which facilitates the assimilation of Asian nations and corporate cultures to a dominant Western ideal. However, the interconnectedness between nations does not take place on an equitable footing: rather, as what Weber suggests, it is Western centered phenomenon that mostly is centered from and driven by the West to push and minimize the power impact of other nations (Weber, 2003). Within this west-centered global world, women in Asia have been assimilated into an environment where their value is determined by western standards. They are also controlled, through commerce, by these western nations. This, in turn, gives rise to what Appadurai suggests is "a global culture that generates a passivity and a bottomless appetite in the Asian world for things Western" (Appadurai, 2001, p. 255). The process of fitting in with and accommodating western culture has produced inherent tensions in mimicry of western styles and in carrying on Chinese traditions.

Positioned within the duality of assimilation and alienation, Chinese professional women have developed their identity and range of personal responses to the phenomenon. Different from those in Western countries in terms of stable lifestyles, mainstream values, and active political participation, Chinese professional women are still looking for the direction, role models, and guidance in making sense of their own lives and seeking a way for self-expression. The lack of strong identity lies in the fact that the category of the professional is a relatively new phenomenon in China, which has not appeared in the country's long history until the Open Door policy was introduced in 1978. However, the concept of the professional rapidly grew as a mainstream identity with the expansion of the state economy. Four

Modernizations, a significant nationalist project in China's bid for modernity, served as an immediate catalyst for the dramatic growth in professionals. Four Modernizations was first articulated in the 1970s and was written into the party constitution (Eleventh Congress, August 18, 1977) and the state constitution at the Fifth National People's Congress on March 5, 1978 (Hsü, 1999). Its goal was to modernize China by building a socialist state that could take the lead in global enterprises of agriculture, industry, science and technology, and defense (Hsü, 1999; Baum, 1980; Purcell, 1962). To achieve this goal, new skills, knowledge, and techniques became highly valued nationwide, with the aim of stimulating the rapid growth of a large number of professionals. Under the influence of this project, women were encouraged to acquire education and skills and to make a greater and more skilled contribution to Chinese modernity (Croll, 1995).

As a result, women professionals grew speedily in numbers. Information from the second national survey of Chinese women's social status shows that women in professional fields increased almost twenty-three percent within the ten years from 1990 to 2000. According to Clodagh Wylie's study, in 1997 there were 20 million private entrepreneurs in China, 25 percent of whom were women; and in 1998 more than 18 million women were registered as private enterprise owners, making up just over 40 percent of the total number of entrepreneurs (Wylie, 2004). This increasing number of professional women included entrepreneurs and office workers, academics, technicians, managers, and lawyers.

In spite of the increasing number of women professionals, the concept of the professional woman is widely constructed as male territory, which as Rofel and

Wylie suggest, is deemed "not suitable for women, who by their very nature, are seen to lack the necessary qualities to succeed" (Rofel, 1999, p. 233; Wylie, 1995, p. 61). In the particularly competitive masculine space of the professional, Chinese women professionals share a general situation: gender discrimination makes it more difficult for them to reach positions of seniority than men, and compared with male professionals, they earn lower incomes and do a greater share of domestic work in their homes (Wylie, 2004). These problems have been documented in a very general way and explain very little about the perceived incompatible relationships between being a good professional, being a good mother, and being a good wife. The existing studies do not explore the mechanisms that generate these contradictory beliefs and conflicts.

Interestingly, my study of the experiences of twenty women worked in multi-national corporations in Beijing contradicts existing scholarship in the field. My findings suggest that professional women do not consider the abovementioned challenges as social problems in their daily experiences. The conditions facing women in professional setting are thus taken for granted as normal events that are beyond these women's personal control. Wu, a senior manager in the marketing department at one of world's top 500 companies expressed her feeling on these issues:[47]

> I seldom think about these problems because I personally cannot control them. Our company is a big company. We have a very stable and mature hierarchy system. No one can change it. Men may have better salaries, but this is because they work harder than women do. For promotion, I have to say, time, time is the key. You have to wait. If you are willing to wait for five to ten years, you may have the chance to get promoted. Honestly, I think men are more qualified to get promoted because they are much more ambitious. They don't have to think more about their children,

[47] To follow the confidential agreement with the interviewees, I have changed their names and withheld the names of the companies with which they worked to preserve their anonymity.

> housework, parents, etc. But women have to. Women have to take care of two families—her own and her husband's. Compared to men, women have to be willing to taking care of children. Sometimes, I was very frustrated and felt guilty when I didn't have time to take care of my son. But I also know that I have to work hard to keep my current living standard. It is hard to say if I like the work. But I must work. We have no way to change macro situations.

This is not an exceptional story. Many women shared similar experiences: they were normally overwhelmed by workloads that occupied them from 9:00 AM to midnight during weekdays and weekends. However, their hard work does not bring the same salaries and equal opportunities for promotion as their male colleagues. Although the women were very frustrated with the high pressure and acrimony in the workplace, they feel helpless to change the situation. Their internalized sexism, including the belief that men are responsible for public activities and women should be confined to the private sphere, guides the women to accept the conditions with which they are burdened. Thus they do not intentionally link their subjective experiences of discrimination to the gendered and hierarchal structure of the professional workplace. In other words, when Chinese women speak about their experiences in the workplace and family, they identify feelings of frustration but are unable to link such experiences to the structured workplace. Their failure to identify their problems as social problems implies an internalized belief rooted in the culture of corporate stress, traditional Chinese femininity, and aspirations to capitalist modernity that intertwine to provide women the normalizing discourse for them to explain their frustrating experiences in the workplace and the family. In this section, I focus on the discussion of women's responses to the problems that face them.

Internalized conflicts resulting from their workload, discrimination, and frustrating feelings indicate that women have less power to control the process of work and their own means of production. In the workplace, pressures of time, long

work hours, and insecurity of employment constitute the women's essential occupational situations, which have conspired to generate increased feelings of frustration and guilt due to the conflicting demand of the workplace and the family. For them, work serves as an instrumental approach to survival and a means to a better material lifestyle, with big apartments, cars, and appliances. However, higher incomes do not provide them with a sense of satisfaction. Once they have these professional positions, women become much more concerned with leisure and consumption. Moreover, spending less time with children and family members makes them feel very guilty and self-critical.

However, none of the interviewed women thought their work situations were abnormal, and are lacked the motivation to change them. This absence of motivation to change the circumstances of their lives which place heavy burdens on them reveals a fact: professional women lack the autonomy they had hoped to gain upon entrance into the complex and hierarchical employment systems of the global economy. It also indicates a kind of powerlessness that the women may not fully recognize they are experiencing. Data shows that though the women attempted to articulate the sense of powerlessness, they failed to attribute the frustrations to the gendered hierarchy systems of the society. Rather, they believe that the problems that they are experiencing are normal for women who pursue a professional job position. Their belief in the nature of the professional arena as a male place limits the women's to ability to identify problems as social problems inhibits their longing to change their working circumstances and to pursue less stressful and more rewarding situations. Their powerlessness may confine their motivation to make some changes.

The invisibility of professional women's problems implies that the women are strongly bound to inherited definitions of what it means to be a woman, derived from Chinese culture and public discourse, driven by the global market. Within this global context, official government social policies create circumstances to link professional women with traditional Chinese culture and fit them into the global economy. Confucianism plays a large part in this discourse, with emphasis placed on defining women in terms of their obligations to their husbands as wives, and to their children as mothers. According to Confucianism, women are perceived as the weaker sex, meriting special protection, and viewed primarily as members of a family and of a community, not as autonomous, independent individuals (Woo, 1994). This traditional vision of women has developed a collectivist identity with emphasis on the need for a harmonic social order that requires women to abide by their obligations in relation to men and to the state. This collectivist tradition is boosted by Chinese Marxism, which subordinates women's personal interests to the political goals of party, class, and nation (Woo, 1994; Li, 1994). In the post-Maoist era, women's collective roles in nurturing and care-giving have been re-emphasized to restore to men their natural family authority of patriarchy that gave way to socialist policies and projects (Verdery, 1996).

In the present moment, Confucianism functions to adjust women's activities to meet the needs of the global capitalist economy. Public polices and discourse place a renewed emphasis on Confucian femininity and shapes the prevailing ideas about what it means to be a good woman, encouraging women to present, maintain, and protect their feminine qualities. From this discourse, an ideal woman is one who is

beautiful, tall, healthy, soft, kind, well-mannered, loyal, virtuous and skilled in domestic crafts (e.g. sewing and cooking) and childcare. Young women are advised to be beautiful and vulnerable, and are supposed to show proper female characteristics, such as sexual attractiveness (Croll, 1995). This discourse constitutes a problematic environment for professional women: on the one hand, they are expected to fulfill the qualification requirements and codes of conduct in the professional workplace, regardless of whether they voluntarily comply with these expectations; on the other hand, women have internalized public discourses that emphasize femininity through fulfilling the roles of a good mother and wife, thereby perpetuating the perception that professional does not fit women's nature and discouraging women from moving into the predominately male occupations.

The inherent belief on how to act as a woman and a professional is reinforced within a global market that puts women in general in a disadvantaged situation. Feminist scholars have analyzed the gendered nature of the global market and defined it as a segregated, racialized, unequal, and tenuous place (Bakker, 1994; Eisenstein, 1979; Mies, 1986; Hartmann, 1986; Hossfled, 1990; Ng, 2000; Li, 2003; Segura, 2004; Lim, 1983; Peterson & Runyan, 1993; Higginbotham, 1994; Yuval-Davis, 1990). This gendered global market provides a context within which the underlying sources of their problems in the workplace are invisible to Chinese professional women. From the interviews, most women do not describe problems surrounding them as unfair; rather, they draw from essentialized ideas of Chinese femininity to explain what they perceive to be individual, gendered shortcomings. For them, the problems from the workplace come from women's nature and lack of ambition and

passion for work. From the interviewed women's point of view, women should have family as their first concern, and work is only a way to meet the survival requirements of their families or to maintain a stable middle-class life style, not for the purpose of achieving freedom or autonomy. Li's story demonstrates women's response to the problems in the workplace:

> I must work. I must work hard for a better job position in the future. I have scheduled my future: work several years in this company, and get a better position in another company that can provide me with a better salary. I need money to support my family. Sometimes, I have to get used to unacceptable blame from my boss. He is crazy. Sometimes, I felt I had nothing in front of him. But I must get used to this. The world is like this. You know, women are different from men. Men naturally have the ambition to work. Women have to have family as their priority. I need the job. You cannot image how expensive it is to raise a child now: milk, diapers, clothes, school, art classes, etc. All need money. We cannot get support from parents. We have to depend on us (her and her husband).

Li's case indicates that professional women's entry into the workplace comes from their sense of crisis of increasing levels of consumption and desire for a better life. Since 1970s, economic reforms have created a pervading consumer environment where materialism has penetrated urban lives and constructed professional women's subjectivities as advanced citizens by connecting their high consumption level with their privileged social status. Situated in the urban background, professional women's understandings of the connection of access to expensive merchandise and their class locations have stimulated their desire and effort to match the materialized urban life-style.

Driven by the desire for a middle-class life style, women's achievements in the workplace have greatly increased family income. However, women's economic contribution does not automatically change their women's roles and men's authority in the family: men still maintain the authority to decide family issues. This has been

observed among the women. For example, Wang, a senior manager at an international hotel also said:

> My husband didn't earn as much as I do. I have double the income that he has. But this does not mean he does not have the ability as I have; rather, I believe that he is very smart because he provided me lots of suggestions on how to deal with problems in my work. He also makes my family very romantic. For example, he makes candle dinners sometimes during the weekend and plays classical music at home. I always follow his suggestions for every big decision, such as the purchase of cars, or apartments. He is very good at making a correct decision because he has lots of knowledge on it. You know, I am not good at cooking and cleaning my home. These are something very feminine that I need to learn in the future. But fortunately, my husband is very tolerant with these problems.

Both Li and Wang's cases suggest that though the dynamics of gendered labor market have facilitated opportunities for their paid work, traditional gender expectations about women, such as "men should lead, women should follow," and "women are inferior to men" (Qi, 1999, p. 33), are still present. These roles continue to define the women's crucial roles in the workplace and in the family. Under this globalized labor system, the women believe that problems in the workplace result from their nature as women. This internalized belief places them in a problematic situation. That is, in the workplace, their abilities are devalued due to the social misperceptions about professionals—it is taken for granted as a masculine field that does not fit women's nature. In the family, despite increased workload, the women remain bound to domestic work and to spending extra time doing housework in order to fulfill their wifely duties. This dilemma reveals that the gender ideology which defines men as the bread winners is also being upheld within the group of Chinese professionals. This ideology serves to affect the women's attitude toward their work, normalizing problems surrounding their gender and guiding their actions to fit within the multiple roles of good woman, good wife, and professional as required by social

expectations.

This constructed image of Chinese professional women has been reinforced by the intervention of Western culture into China since 1978 when the Open Door Policy encouraged foreign investment in China. Under this policy, the state started to adjust itself to fit in the westernized social and cultural standard both in ideology and national policy. As a result, Western technology, with its managerial skills, social values, fashions, and the family arrangement, started to serve as the preferred model to influence women's performance in the workplace and in the family. For instance, the images of the patriotic worker in a Mao suit for socialism in 1970s has been displaced by images of a Western style with cell phones, new cars, and big apartments. The new image sends the message that people with western style are "modern cultured" citizens who are successful in capitalist labor markets (Gabriel, 2006, p. 58). How quickly and how much one can adopt Western culture symbolizes the degree of modernity that one picks up.

This performance of Chinese professional women as a unique group with high social status, capable of representing China's modernity, has become a hallmark that distinguishes professional women from men and women workers factory workers. The material items acquired through professional status, therefore, serve as a necessary external agent consolidating their social identity as middle-class professional women. Within the group, the women share similar ideas, experiences, and interests as the mark of the context-specific conditions that brought the group into being. However, beneath the surface of a comfortable material life lies the sharp conflict and struggles that manifest the synchronous developed dualities of modern/

tradition, global/ local, compliance/ resistance in China that operate simultaneously within the global context.

These tensions indicate that professional women in China do not explicitly challenge the problems that they have, and they are far from obtaining individual freedom. Instead, their identities are configured by and within regimes of power (Rofle, 2004). From the stories that the women tell about themselves and about their troubles, it is evident that women's labor is incorporated into global flows of goods, values, cultures, technology, and capital[48]; and is often accompanied by alienating consequences for them, such as feelings of "powerlessness, and meaninglessness" (Lystad, 1971, p. 91). These disadvantages in the workplace, as Gail suggests, in turn, have reconfirmed the traditional gender ideology that the proper place of men is in the "outer" world of labor and public affairs, while the suitable place of women is in the "inner" dominion of the family and household (Gail, 2007, p. 51). This gender ideology in turn normalizes and legitimizes gender inequalities in the workplace (Woo, 1994). Therefore, the disadvantages that professional women experienced imply the reinforced gender ideology that results in normalizing gender inequality in the professional workplace.

Therefore, the entangled forces of the corporate stress culture, traditional Confucian femininity, and aspirations to a modern lifestyle provide a legitimating language through which professional women effectively discipline themselves to an unjust corporate culture. This power has resulted in assimilating professional women in global culture and alienating their labor from their interests. Power works through

[48] In this project, *assimilation* implies a trend toward centralization aroused by globalization, which is a process, as Saskia Sassen says, that "increases levels of concentrated wealth, poverty, and inequality worldwide" (Sassen1998, xxviii).

the product of women's actions in the workplace and in the family—two major and intertwined institutional arenas where gender meanings have been constructed and contested. This finding shows that globalization has now become a meta-narrative of contemporary China within which Chinese professional women experience the complexity of living in the midst of global transformations in capital, cultural, technology, and social values. The multiplicity of women's activities and interactions with the nation, corporations, and individuals has confirmed and reinforced emerging boundaries of class and gender in professional women's daily lives.

The complicated consequences of professional women's experiences have demonstrated that at a local level, not only has globalization constituted power boundaries in and between nations and states, it also builds powerful boundaries between men and women, as well as among women in a locality. In this process, professional women, whether they realize it or not, serve as boundary makers who have developed their attitudes and daily performances from inhabiting the intersections of economic, political, and cultural systems of local and global. They confirm, reinforce, or shake the boundaries between these systems. In the paragraphs below, I discuss how professional women's daily activities may confirm the boundaries of class and gender.

Consolidated Class Boundaries Among Women in China

Class stratification emerged in 1980s. According to Bian's research on contemporary class stratification of China, Chinese class stratification has changed from a rigid status hierarchy under Mao to an open, evolving class system that is tied with the

economic reforms made in 1978 to further economic development and to pursue modernization (Bian, 2002). With a focus on the introduction of capitalism as an essential economic principle, the reforms have engendered tremendous consequences in every aspect of social life, including political and economic decentralizations, agricultural de-collectivization, industrial restructuring, and international policies which opened local markets to foreign trade and overseas investment (Zhao & West, 2002). This economic activity has caused serious income disparity because of the uneven distribution of social and capital resources in China (Bian, 2002; Démurger et al., 2002; Li, 2003; Woo, 1994). Geographically, Bian's study shows that much of the economic growth was generated in coastal areas, where a reoriented central policy to attract inflows of domestic and foreign investments to prioritize regional development between coastal and inner land areas of China (Bian, 2002). Démurger's research on geographic policy and regional development indicates that, most foreign investment was initially concentrated in the open coastal cities and special economic zones located in the southern and eastern regions of China. As a result, these places have experienced rapid urbanization and become leading economic zones in China. In contrast, the western and central areas of China have become forgotten and therefore have lagged behind. Traditional agriculture and natural resource exploitation continue to constitute the main economy in these areas. Inconvenient geographic settings and under-developed infrastructure block the industrial development of these areas (Démurger et al., 2002). From the research, the uneven geographic distribution of investment and sources between eastern and western areas of China has led regional income inequality.

Accompanied by the regional income disparity, the long-standing income inequality between rural and urban residents is rising. According to Bian, while rural family incomes increased at the beginning of the agricultural reform, they soon stagnated because of labor redundancy and price decreases for agricultural products. Meanwhile, the average urban family income keeps growing steadily (Bian, 2002). This has caused the disparities between rural and urban areas to widen. The widening income gap between regions and between rural and urban residents act as a strong pull-and-push factor for inter-provincial and rural-to-urban migration (Li, 2003). As a result of the uneven economic development between regions, migrant workers have grown steadily in numbers since the early 1980s. Among them, female immigrant workers have comprised the majority of the labor force in factories located in the special Economic Zones (Woo, 1994). For instance, in south China, they make up three-quarters or more of the total migrant population (Tan, 2004). By 1997, about 200 million rural women had left the land and most of them had become waged laborers hired in various industries and sectors (Zhao & West, 2002). Despite high demand for workers in the labor market, the primary jobs available to rural women are limited to processing and manufacturing industries, service sectors, retail stores, domestic work, and prostitution (Hershatter, 2007; Tan, 2004).

Working in these fields, this group—women workers from rural areas—experiences multiple disadvantages, such as low pay, poor working conditions, long hours, heavy workloads, and discrimination. Not only is a migrant woman worker subjected to low pay and a poor work environment, she is also not guaranteed basic citizenship benefits and primary protections (Woo, 1994). Moreover, compared with

other women workers, such as professional women, immigrant women workers have limited opportunities to be transferred to the skilled labor market and to be promoted due to their relative lack of education. That is, they are only expected to take the jobs that are regarded as dirty, tiring, and low paying—jobs that urban women feel are beneath their dignity. Currently, these migrant, low-skilled women also constitute the majority of prostitutes who provide cheap sex services. In addition, migrant women of various ages are becoming the majority of domestic workers in urban areas, providing cheap domestic services such as childcare, cooking, and cleaning (Hershatter, 2007). In providing domestic services, migrant women sacrifice their own motherhood in exchange for urban women workers' chance to maintain their careers and working positions (Sun, 2008).

The experiences of Chinese migrant women indicate that they are experiencing multiple disadvantages that have placed them at the bottom of the hierarchy of occupations in China.[49] Within this system, the women, categorized as an under-privileged class, take work that pays the least but exploits their labor to the greatest degree to contribute to the high-speed economic progress of the nation. The lack of basic benefits and labor protections as well as their job positions in the occupational hierarchy allows employers to take the maximum advantage of Chinese migrant women's labor, and makes these women the most vulnerable in the capitalist market economy to exploitation, poor compensation, and being dispensable (Zhao & West, 2002).

[49] Within the hierarchal chain of labor force, people are classified based on the categories of jobs in the service sectors, blue collar jobs in the global capitalist sweatshops, migrant jobs as housekeepers or nannies, urban professional jobs in foreign companies, and business class jobs (Sun, 2008).

In contrast to the destitute situation that Chinese migrant women face, professional women have relatively more advantages in income, social benefits, and working conditions. As women with professional skills and college education, Chinese professional women are able to obtain stable jobs with higher salaries starting at USD800 monthly, which is over ten times the average income of migrant women at minimum. Meanwhile, health insurance and maternity leave have been written into law as national policy to ensure such benefits to professional women. In addition, professional women work in a fully equipped working environment with advanced equipment and physical security.

The evident differences between professional and immigrant women indicate that a rapidly deepening class boundary exists among women in contemporary China. This phenomenon has drawn many scholars' attention (Rofel, 1999; Hart-Landsberg & Burkett, 2005). However, a question that is absent from theses studies is whether professional women realize that class works as a significant prestige component of their identity, with the ability to reinforce or break the class boundary. This study shows that the class boundary between women is being confirmed and consolidated through professional women's daily performances. The interviews demonstrate that professional women's higher incomes and fully equipped working environments provide them with the necessary conditions for performing their class status in everyday lives. In dressing fashionably and enjoying luxurious entertainment such as overseas travel and golf, the women present their class prestige in ways that distinguish them from other women workers in factory and service industries. The

interviews of twenty professional women also indicate that most of the women pay great attention to their appearance and dressing up in the workplace.

The way that professional women pursue fashionable life-styles and the acquisition of expensive merchandise is in accordance with the discourse generated by *Zhiyin*. In advising women on how to choose fashion styles, *Zhiyin* provides knowledge of dress, fashion, cosmetics, and cooking, housing, and furnishing in Western styles. This life-style is considered as the way toward modern family life. In conveying such messages of Western modernity, *Zhiyin* has constituted such dualities as proper/ improper and modern/ pre-modern, which frame the practices that make up professional women's class recognition. It also points to the ways in which they should aspire to fit in with the discourse of modernity. In presenting their dress, food, housing, and vehicles in line with discourses of capitalism and modernity, professional women endeavor to build the connection between the materials they own and their privileged class status, which generates a disposition compatible with their class status.

The desire to link material accumulation with class status is especially evident in the novels *Shanghai Baby* and *Candy*. For instance, in representing women's access to foreign languages, love affairs with foreigners, and the use of Western products, the authors Mian Mian and Wei Hui demonstrate the privileged position of dominance that their characters occupy. For them, Western merchandise and relationships with foreigners work to connect the women in their novels to a more advanced part of the world, that is, the West. In consciously performing the arrangements of social class, professional women's participation in the labor market

has resulted in the increase of class division and boundaries amongst women. As a result, professional women, whether they wish it or not, may serve as a boundary markers between the powerful and powerless. Their position as boundary markers may reinforce the formation of current power patterns in local China within the global capitalist world.

Consolidated Gender Boundaries

Alongside the class hierarchy among women, the gender boundary between men and women is also being reinforced, manifesting as an increase in gender inequality in the work place and at home. The study of professional women's experiences from interviews, magazine analysis, and novels has indicated that the gender gap in the professional workplace and in the family has not disappeared as assumed under modernity and Westernization; rather, it is still being maintained through women's everyday activities and their performance of gender. In the workplace, professional women are facing the dilemma of meeting professional demands without losing their femininity. In addition, they experience the discriminatory practices of differentiated income, occupational segregation, and less professional mobility than their male colleagues. The interviews I conducted indicate that most women receive lower salaries and have fewer opportunities to be promoted than their male colleagues, though they may be assigned the same tasks. In addition, compared with male professionals, professional women also take on a greater share of non-paid work—housework. Failure to take on the demands of housework and to take care of their families provides them with a feeling of failure and that they are not

being good women. However, these professional women do not consider the situation as unfair: rather, my interviews indicate that they regard the inequalities of employment and the double burden of housework as their personal problems. Their logic is that as women, they should always place family as a central concern. This centralization of family in women's lives may influence professional women's performance in the workplace. Under the notion of centralization of family, the women accept the male-dominate politics of the professional workplace.

The belief that the family and the domestic realm is solely women's concern obtains support from national mass media that purposely ignore gender issues in the labor market. Rather, the media propagates the legitimacy of the gendered nature of the workplace, including the professional sphere. For instance, in *Zhiyin*, the traditional view of women putting family first is highly praised and encouraged. Particularly, the image of professional women is constructed as a distinct group of women workers who not only should have professional knowledge and skills, but also are anticipated to have strong abilities to discipline themselves in order to deal with the pressures of work and family. They are also expected to be in control of their personal emotions at all times. In this sense, not only does *Zhiyin* support the gender politics of the professional workplace and legitimize the gendered nature of the labor market; it also constitutes the difference between professional women and all other women workers, and reinforces class consciousness among women.

In constructing the image of women according to traditional gender ideology, *Zhiyin* works as a social source to provide women with culture to develop their sense of weakness, dependence, and obedience to men. Though the interviewed women

may not directly obtain the knowledge, the messages from *Zhiyin* has legitimized the discourses of correct and incorrect gender behavior that becomes part of mainstream culture, and becomes part of the cultural climate which guides professional women to act "correctly" and to be socially acceptable. From this study, although there is no apparent connection between professional women's activities and messages conveyed from *Zhiyin*, the interviewed professional women's performances accord with the messages that *Zhiyin* propagates.[50] That is, despite the fact that few interviewed women said that they had time to read the magazine, and some of them said that they did not like the magazine at all, their belief about how to play their roles as women and professionals matched the images of a good woman constructed by *Zhiyin.* In this sense, the constructed image of women has reinforced the sexual division of labor—women staying at home watching over the house and children while men go out to seek subsistence—as natural and necessary. This reinforced gender ideology makes professional women want to maintain their roles as docile wives, valuable mothers, and guardians in order to be publicly acceptable. It also functions to legitimize gender inequalities in the workplace.

Therefore, the interviews I conducted and my content analysis of Z*hiyin,* work as mutually supportive evidence that professional women's experiences in the workplace are highly influenced by gender wherein patriarchy operates as a social ideology that supports the inferiority of femininity to masculinity. It legitimates men's supremacy in controlling women and makes women internalize their inferiority. This evidence challenges the social myth that professional women's

[50] Most of the interviewed women said that they knew *Zhiyin*, but they didn't have time to read it. Some of the interviewed women said that they even ever read *Zhiyin*.

employment functions as a source of empowerment for women, enabling them to bargain with power and exert control over resources, which, in turn, serves as the basis for women's liberty and more egalitarian relationships within the home (Beneria & Roldan, 1987; Safa, 1995). According to this assumption, greater gender equality is demonstrated by an increase in men's contributions to housework and narrowing gender differentials in the household. For instance, Suzan Bianchi's research on gender division of labor in the United States shows that a father's time with housework is decided by the amount of time a mother is employed outside the home. In other words, a wife's hours in the marketplace increase her husband's weekly hours of housework (Bianchi, 2000; Zvonkovic, 2006). In this sense, Bianchi claims that that there is gender equality between mothers and fathers within the general workload of families: fathers are doing more domestic work than they did in the past while continuing to spend considerable amounts of time in the labor market (Bianchi, 2006).

These studies suggest that there is a causal connection between women's employment in the labor market, the amount of time spent on housework, and gender equality. That is, men's housework responsibility is directly and automatically proportionate to women's economic contributions to their families. Women who make more money, and who have more education do less housework and their male partners do proportionately more housework (Bianchi, 2000; Coltrane, 2000). This scholarly work implies a shifting gender division of labor in the family. That is, women's employment makes men take on more housework, whether or not they intend to do so. In this process, men's masculine power and authority are somewhat

eroded, as much as doing housework symbolizes the decline of their economic advantages, which, in turn, challenges patriarchal relationships in the family. In this sense, men's housework signifies gender equality within the family: women are gaining the potential to control their own lives in the family due to increased economic independence. As a result, women are free from economic and patriarchal oppression from their husbands. The positive connection of cause and effect between women's employment and family is especially believed to happen in the family lives of professional women.

However, my study of Chinese professional women has shown that it is too early to draw this positive connection between women's paid work, housework, and gender equality in the context of an emerging capitalist society such as China. Through the insights gained from the interviews and content analysis of a popular women's magazine *Zhiyin*, it is evident that professional women are being substantially burdened with work both inside and outside the home. From the interviews it is apparent that the total amount of time that professional women invest in work is increasing while they simultaneously spend extra time doing housework in order to fulfill society's expectations of how wives should behave. For instance, the average working hours for the interviewed women were over twelve hours during weekdays and eight to ten hours over weekends. Also, professional women perform most of the regular, daily, inflexibly scheduled labor of preparing meals, and taking care of children and the aged. Failure to do this kind of work made them feel guilty.

From my analysis of *Zhiyin* it is clear that though all women workers are encouraged to place family as a central concern, professional women are especially

encouraged to do so, and have higher social expectations placed upon them in fulfilling their duties as professionals and as women. That is, not only are women's nurturing roles toward family considered as central for professional women, they are also expected to fully engage in their work to fulfill their duty as professionals. Moreover, women professionals are constructed as having more power to deal with the conflicts that stem from their increased professional workload and meeting their husbands' and children's needs. Failure to perform these duties may cause unexpected results, such as divorce. Though the rate of divorce is increasing in China, divorce itself is still considered unanticipated and a failure on the woman's part. This understanding of divorce may be rooted in the messages from the mass media that enumerate many unenthusiastic results of divorce for women. For instance, *Zhiyin* provides many complicated stories through which the negative results of divorce for women discourage women to take actions to break marriages. This attitude can also be seen in the novel *Shanghai Baby*.

Although the novel *Shanghai Baby* presents little material about women's roles within the family, the unpleasant descriptions of the failure of women's marriages may discourage women readers from making the decision to divorce, and prevent women from fully devoting themselves to work. For instance, in *Shanghai Baby*, Coco's cousin Zhu Sha had a seemingly fairytale marriage: the perfect couple matched in education levels, good looks, and high social status. However, Zhu Sha chooses to divorce her husband when she realizes there is no love between them. Through Zhu Sha's story, Wei Hui intends to encourage women to pursue a life-style that may be against the mainstream culture and the dominant discourse about

marriage. The novel challenges the ideal of womanhood embedded within a perfect family life. However, the depression, frustration, and discrimination which results from the divorce provides women readers with a picture of the experience of divorce which offers despair rather than a reprieve from the demands placed on women in the family. This may discourage women from considering or initiating divorce. Instead, to maintain a marriage, women may have to choose to develop an attitude of respect towards their husbands' masculine authority and to play their expected, subservient gender roles by taking on all the responsibility for domestic work. Women's choices in taking on the responsibilities as family caregivers reduces the tensions between men's tendency to maintain masculinity and women's negotiation of more equitable division of household labor. However, the way of reducing tensions is not based on changing men's behavior, but on backing down and accommodating traditional gender norms in the family. In so doing, men's masculine traits and their socially prescribed sense of maleness are confirmed.

Thus, the women's experiences from the interviews, magazine analysis, and analysis of the novels make it evident that housework is still considered an essential task for professional women. Instead of being freed from providing domestic services because of their increased economic contributions, professional women are significantly burdened by paid work and unpaid housework. Their participation in the labor force does not reduce the hours they put into household labor and the result is a total workload which exceeds that of professional men. This burden reveals that the domestic code, which defines men as the breadwinners, is still being upheld in professional women's lives, and still serves as the dominant gender ideology that

affects their attitudes toward work. Under the influence of this ideology, most of the women interviewed did not describe this burden as unfair; rather, they believe that traditional womanhood functions to excuse such gender inequality (e.g., higher incomes and more promotion opportunities of their male colleagues), and to explain their double burdens from paid and non-paid work. They therefore treat gender inequalities as their personal problems as women. The women believe that as professional women, their family concerns may prevent them from fully devoting themselves to their work, thus reducing the worth of their professional qualifications and contributions. Consequently, professional women's participation in the labor market has confirmed the masculine nature of the professional sphere, as it is widely constructed as male territory and not suitable for women (Rofel, 1999). This confirmation, in turn, has reinforced the ideology of gender division of labor and legitimized the gendered nature of the workplace in general.

Conflicts of Empowerment for Chinese Professional Women

Chinese professional women's experiences indicate that women's entrance into the professional workplace does not necessarily bring out synchronous improvements of their gender status at work, nor does it achieve gender equality within the family. Rather, Chinese professional women accept traditional gender roles and believe that women's primary role should be caring for the family. This has raised a question: has women's increased involvement as producers with education and professional skills in global labor markets meant more power for women to control their own lives?

Discussion of this question cannot be detached from feminist critiques on how to empower women in that empowerment has been always one of the most important feminist commitments. The feminist tradition of pursuing women's empowerment can be historically traced back to the early eighteenth century, when women's empowerment was initially defined as women gaining equal rights within civil, social and political spheres, as well as access to equal opportunities to participate in education, employment, and political representation. That is, women's oppression would be reduced or ended if women had equal rights and opportunities in education, employment and political participation (Friedan, 1983). Since the eighteenth century, various feminist threads have emerged to put forward theories on how to facilitate gender equality.

Among these theories, liberal feminists seek to empower women through improvement of women's education and access to equal employment opportunities in the labor market. For liberal feminists, equal opportunity in employment, equal payment between men and women for the same work, and women's liberty from housework provide women the economic power to control their own lives. From this perspective, women's participation in full time professional jobs acts as a potential way to empower women. In taking professional job positions and re-evaluating women's performance, equal payment for men and women can be ensured. This improvement may assist women in obtaining the economic independence to make their own decisions over family lives and have the power to ask their husbands to share domestic work (Amott & Matthaei, 1992). Meanwhile, the sharing of the domestic work in childcare, cooking and cleaning makes visible the economic and

social value of housework and thereafter changes the nature of housework that is defined as a woman's place without any use-value or exchange-value. In making visible the social and economic value embedded in housework, women may become freer from the responsibility of housework. As a result, women workers' double burdens could be eased (Benston, 1969).

However, the Chinese professional women's experiences challenge such feminist theories on empowerment and equality. This study has demonstrated that women's education, knowledge, and professional skills do not automatically improve their status in the workplace and in the family. Rather, traditional gender expectations about women are still being held for women with education and professional knowledge. The domestic code plays a crucial role in placing these women in a complex situation. In the professional workplace, women are expected to demonstrate the same performance as their male colleagues, though they are treated differently in regards to earned income and promotion opportunities. More importantly, the women's economic contributions to their families strengthen their dependence on their work position. That is, in enjoying the conveniences bought by higher income, such as good transportation, luxurious apartments, and more opportunities to traveling overseas, the women tend to maintain their job positions to keep up their middle-class lifestyle and consumption level. In maintaining their jobs, the women may reduce their motivations to challenge gender discrimination in the workplace, which, in turn, legitimatize the barriers that seriously undermine and devalue their success in the labor market.

In the family, women's economic contribution does not minimize their domestic labor; rather, they are still fascinated with playing women's roles to fit into the constructed image of the good woman. Similar to women workers in factories and services, professional women are being burdened as both producers and family caregivers. Therefore, it is still too early to build a positive connection between women's professional employment and empowerment. Indeed, professional women's contributions to their family do not influence their success in the professional workplace; rather, by providing non-paid services such as preparing food, childcare, aged care, and cleaning at home, these women endure hardships which prevent them from competing with men in the labor market. Such practices in the workplace and in the family have reinforced the ideology that women naturally fit with doing these types of non-paid housework. As a result, professional women's achievements in the labor market are seriously undermined and devalued, and the major inequalities between men and women, as well as among women of different classes, have persisted.

The results indicate that the existence of a powerful partnership between national and international institutions such as government agents, official publishers, and global economic institutions, means that multi-national corporations work closely to constitute and reinforce the local systems which will maintain the normal operation of economic globalization. In constructing the images of nationalist womanhood, government agents provide role models that guide women's daily activities to fit with the social categories designed for different individuals based on how much social resources and capital (e.g. education, income, social status) they have. Working for

international organizations or corporations, Chinese women are entrenched within the patriarchal systems of global international politics, economics, and cultures, and have to practice the roles that are assigned to them in order to maintain their place in the class and economic hierarchy.

Chinese professional women's experiences indicate that liberal feminist forms of empowerment fail to touch on the classed nature of the occupational hierarchy, because its political views of empowerment are attached to, instead of independent from, male-dominated knowledge deriving from capitalist systems. Failure to challenge the male-dominated nature of knowledge may promote the misconception that women's participation in professional activities symbolizes an advance in gender equality, but may actually perpetuate gender inequality in professional spheres. More importantly, the simple proposition of women's equal pay and equal access to employment opportunities in the West has engendered more inequalities in gender, class, race, and nationality. Feminist research indicates that the improvement of women's wages in the Euro-American countries may indirectly reinforce exploitation of racial minorities, immigrants, and laborers in the third world (Lim, 1983; Hossfled, 1990; Ng, 2000; Li, 2003). As a result, complex boundaries between men and women, as well as between women of different races and nationalities, have been consolidated. Therefore, discussions and political activities about the empowerment of women cannot be separated from the eradication of the global power imbalance established by local and global capitalism, colonialism, and nationalism.

Chinese professional women's experiences also support socialist feminist critiques of liberal feminism, which argues that capitalism and patriarchy work

together to put women, as a whole, into a vulnerable position in the labor market. As a group who has relatively better economic advantages and social positions than many other women workers in China, Chinese professional women's improved employment positions do not necessarily alter the fact that women as a group are marginalized and disadvantaged in the labor market. Rather, compared with their male colleagues, professional women are given inferior positions in the workplace and have limited opportunities to control their own lives within the family. Not only do the women have relatively less access to economic resources, income, and employment opportunities, but their unpaid contributions to their families have reinforced gender divisions of labor that shapes women's attitudes toward work and family and perpetuates their subordination. Through this process, the existing partnership of nationalism, patriarchy, and capitalism constructs a power mechanism by which gender functions as a source for the global accumulation of capital and power. This process has thus strengthened traditional gender, nationality, and class hierarchies in contemporary China. This combined functioning of nationalism, economic globalization, capitalism and patriarchy, makes it too early for Chinese women workers, whether in the factories or professional positions, to be liberated from oppressive housework in order to follow their interests and passions.

However, professional women are not always only passive receivers; rather, they can imaginatively exploit their social locations. From this study, professional women's deferring marriage until they are older functions as a way to postpone falling into the expected gender roles that marriage brings. In postponing marriage, the women, as individuals, can temporarily be free of patriarchal power that requires

them to act as good mothers and wives. Accompanied by peaceful resistance, women have started to voice their own experiences from a female perspective to challenge the predominantly male culture in which femininity was constructed in accordance with Confucian and nationalist notions of the female as a passive recipient of male desire. In making public such secrets as sexuality, body, and drug issues, women attempt to present a new female image that breaks the binary between public and private. In depictions of their present experiences, women challenge the male-defined image of public representation and resist the gender arrangement of the society.

However, as a middle class group, professional women's attempts at empowerment have been formulated from within the hierarchical class system. Though they want to change gender inequity, they intend to maintain their class privilege as part of a relatively dominant group. Situated in this system, professional women's performances are fundamentally informed by their class perception, which informs their unconscious beliefs and values in congruous with the mainstream male-dominated culture within the capitalized Chinese society. The internalized class loyalty drives the women to protect their class benefits and interests, and act to comply within the realm of what is considered acceptable by mainstream society. The tendency to protect their class privilege makes women unable to reconcile the tension between their desire to empower women and the powerless situations where women are forced to perform in ways that are socially expected.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I conceptualize how gendered globalization, patriarchy, and power influence Chinese professional women, including how these

forces refigure the existing boundaries of class and gender. In analyses of the gendered nature of the workplace, I argue that professional women's economic activities have resulted in their cultural assimilation in what they believe are Western cultures and the alienation of their labor from their interests. My gleanings from the interviews reveal that within the entangled forces of the corporate stress culture, traditional ideologies of Confucian femininity, and aspirations to a modern lifestyle, professional women's education, occupation, and related achievements are not sufficient to empower their relations with men and to diminish control by male-dominant power in the workplace and family. Rather, the material items acquired through their professional status function not as tools to assist them out of male domination, but as necessary external agents that discipline the women to fit into the new relations of capitalism, Western values, and traditional cultures. Professional women's ideological understandings of the limitations they face in daily life in the gendered workplace and in the patriarchal family manifest in practice as simultaneous processes of global assimilation toward Western culture, technologies, and social values; as well as global alienation, where global accumulations of power position professional women's unpaid and paid labor in opposition to their interests. Under the conditions of new linkages between China and global capitalism, tensions are increasingly growing between professional women's crucial economic contributions and intricate gendered issues, such as the overwhelming workload, unequal promotion opportunities in the workplace, and the double burden women face from paid work and non-paid housework. In struggling with these difficulties, some professional women attempt to develop an alternative to the traditional image of

womanhood that predominates in China. However, the women's middle class status limits the challenges they are prepared to mount against the power of patriarchy and capitalism locally and globally, since these very forces maintain their class prestige and privilege. Thus, professional women's ambiguous and contradictory identities as middle class women confine their agency to change their own lives and prevent them from participating in social movements to pursue interests and benefits for themselves and for other women workers

These findings contribute to socialist feminist theory in two ways. On the one hand, it challenges the critique that education and employment may automatically improve women's situations in the family due to women's economic independence and tremendous benefits they bring to their family. Throughout this study, it is apparent that women's high educational levels and better employment positions do not mean a direct impact on gender equality if the nature of the whole social system is untouched. On the other hand, it supports feminist theories that patriarchy and capitalism work together in a dynamic that fundamentally functions to maintain the current global order. In this capitalist globalization process, women serve as ambiguous boundary makers who may shake or reinforce the boundaries between genders, nations, and classes, based on the social categories these women occupy.

These findings indicate that we cannot fully understand gendered globalization without the analyses of power formations such as class, nationality, and race in the location being investigated.[51] That is, gender is not simply a question of

[51] The absence of discussions of race and sexuality in this research is because the issues of race and sexuality cannot directly answer the research questions in this study. However, the absence does not mean non-existence of the issues in current Chinese society. Rather, they are very important formations of power related to gender and class that have constituted various people's different

sex or sexuality but also a question of labor and capitalist power. In a now globalized Chinese society, gender and class are not distinct realms of experience that exist separately from one other; nor can they be simply mixed together retrospectively. Rather, gender and class, as articulated categories in China, work in relation to each other, producing subjects within class and gender hierarchies wherein women and men are positioned differently and have varied resources available to them. Chinese professional women's responses to these forms of power may become part of the construction of inequalities instituted by global capital, instead of challenging and weakening global capitalism. In so doing these subjects maintain the old power relationships between states and individual, between genders, and between classes.

---

situations.

Chapter 6: Coda

As I end this dissertation, my mind has been occupied with the complex and multiple conflicts of professional women in China, which involve their identities constructed in relation to men and other women, as well as their engagement with subverting and being complicit with multiple forces. In keeping with modern globalization trends, professional women in China strive to fulfill their multiple roles of good woman, good wife, and professional, while experiencing high pressure and workloads. The result is the devaluation of their abilities and a cheapening of their labor. In this feminist examination of professional women's lives in globalization enacted within the locale of China, I have drawn on interviews, magazines articles and opinion pieces, and novels to capture the conflicting, contradictory, and differential forces in the family and workplace of China.

Building on feminist theories of globalization, I propose that examining professional women's experiences in China produces a critique of globalization. Their actions and attitudes can be read as a theorization of Chinese women's position in relation to structures of domination such as male-dominated patriarchy and of power hierarchies in the capitalized global world, and as one method for understanding women's experiences in Asian countries. My aim has been to place professional women in multi-national corporations at the center of this analysis of globalization in order to examine the political nature of globalization. Particularly, I sought to explain professional women's experiences in contemporary China and their

response to globalization, their perceptions of their relationships with others, and their strategies to resist the imposition of multiple forms of power exerted upon them.

I began by looking at the incorporation of China into the globalized capitalist system and asking whether capitalist systems and women's positioning within labor relations have constituted a base upon which women build their understanding of social change and a sense of themselves in this particular society. As I moved from women's voices in the interviews to the narrative voices of two professional women's novels, it became clear that complicated power relations have come to shape professional Chinese women's everyday experiences.

Enmeshed in different but overlapping fields of power, professional women's ideological understandings of these relations, of self, and of social conditions are constantly being remade through their tactics of resistance, co-operation, retaliation and negotiation. My task in this research project has been to carefully excavate the views of these women, who both incorporate and challenge imposed local and global power structures of gender, class, and nationality.

In chapter two, I discussed how the ideal image of women is constituted to reflect and capture the definitions of both contemporary and traditional womanhood, as well as Chinese and Western concepts of femininity. Colorful and succinct messages and discourses gleaned from mass media such as *Zhiyin* have created sensational models of women that constitute a problematic standard that legitimates male authority, disciplines women to perform their femininity, and reinforces their inferior attitudes to men. Not only have these messages and discourse constructed a socially acceptable criterion whereby men and women are judged in a different ways

in the same situation, women are also guided to act properly to be socially appropriate. This is a constructionist process by which the social discourse serves as a powerful mechanism through which professional women shape their identity, develop their attitudes toward reality, and navigate the constructed political, cultural, and social structures imbued with gendered meaning. Against the social construction of the ideal women that serves nation and state goes professional women's effort to challenge traditional understandings of appropriate feminine roles and womanhood.

In chapter three, my gleanings from the interviews mapped out images of professional woman and the ways they identify themselves as workers and women in the male-dominated professional workplace. I argue that professional women workers associate their roles with traditional values of womanhood that discipline them to act as virtuous wives and mothers. This is a political process by which women professionals personalize gendered issues through their internalized ideology of women's traditional roles in the family. This naturalization of women's roles under the ideology of womanhood functions as a mechanism that not only legitimizes and sustains professional women's position as agents and recipients of choices and decisions from male control, but also frames the way they evaluate the meanings of work and their family lives. Accordingly, professional women were generally complicit with, instead of vigorously struggling against issues of gender inequality surrounding them.

In chapter four, I presented professional women's views of their participation in the ideologies that incorporate them into making meaning of their identifications as women and professionals. In speaking forbidden topics, two female writers break

silences that women are suppose to keep. Rather than naturalizing gender issues as personal, the women writers politicize women's personal experiences and connect them with consumer culture and material possessions as markers of social distinction. At the same time, the novels resonate with feminism in terms of challenging the silences imposed on women, and practically demonstrate the feminist slogan: "The personal is political." As women with professional skills, the professional writers make visible a reality that professional women are marginalized by mainstream formations of patriarchal and neo-colonial power, and struggle with the tensions between a growing sense of being independent individuality, while remaining in the inextricable grip of male authority. However, as participants in the consumer culture of China, the class consciousness they carry creates barriers between those with social privileges, high income, and better class status and the majority of working-class Chinese women. Their middle class status has produced a desire for them to be part of the mainstream culture, while being discontent with the current male-dominated social order. This may be the reason why as narrative agents professional women lack precise and sufficient accounts as to why they are inhibited by the tensions they experience, yet have no idea how to get out of the conflicts.

Professional women's narratives of their own experiences in terms of sexuality, consumption, family relations, and the Western world emphasize the contradictory relations between employment, household, the state, and nationality. Their narratives contribute a perspective that deciphers and supplements the logic of accumulation of capitalist power.

Through a discussion of the integrating pictures of women portrayed in preceding chapters, in chapter five, I illustrated the multiplicity of women's activities and interactions with the nation, corporations, and individuals. Located at the intersections of local and global economic, political, and cultural systems, professional women stand to partially benefit from the gendered arrangement in the labor market, depending on the stage where they are positioned. Their class privilege has generated a complicated consequence in which professional women serve as allies to global power, rather than active agents in struggle for changes of traditional meanings, political discourse, and gender ideology. Professional women's ambiguous and contradictory identities as middle class women confine their agency to change their own lives. Instead, their compliance with and adaptation to existing gender orders and corporations with forms of patriarchal power, have turned them into boundary makers of gender, class, and nationality that consolidate the construction of inequalities instituted by local and global capitalist power.

The complicated experiences that professional women are dealing with in the family and the workplace manifest the contemporary problems of a social and political culture that works as a condition of global capitalism and serves to structure global relations. In examining the lives of professional women in contemporary China, I discussed the interconnections between the labor market, state policies, and family within the context of globalization. Specifically, the investigation of professional women's lives reveals that as part of China's leadership elite, women with education and professional skills have been entranced with globalization as reality and they are ardent about the better work opportunities. The women's co-

operation with gendered globalization makes this globalizing process seem necessary, and has normalized the employment of women for the accumulation of capitalist power. This process of globalization of capital and technology affords professional women greater cultural capital, such as language, social skills, and living styles. However, having a high paid job may do little to promote women's agency. As professionals, women who join the class are "more or less in charge of the processes of globalization" (Marx, 2006, p. 5); as women workers, they appear more marginalized by the global economy than central to it as their agency is always constrained by sexism.

This study provides a framework to conceptualize local forms of opaque power relations and contextualize changes, resistances and alternative political practice through analyses of Chinese professional women's experiences. Focusing on Chinese professional women's experiences, this research explains globalization not merely as a search for cheap, docile, female, wage labor, but as an expression of the perpetuation of patriarchal households and patriarchal workplace for professionals. The study of professional women's experiences in China may serve as a vehicle to call attention to the significance and multiplicity of experiences of globalization and as a conceptual tool to explain global transformations and interpretations of a particular kind of group of women.

Through professional women's experiences and voices in China, we can illuminate how their actions—as agents embedded in their particular cultures, histories, and politics—have influenced and affected the process of globalization. The women's experiences hold up a mirror to diverse modes of thinking, knowing, and

behaving among members of those marginalized within privileged groups, offering a way out from examining women workers solely as those from factory or service sectors. In this sense, this research project contributes to an expanded view of the differential impact of globalization processes on a particular group of professional women. Chinese professional women's daily routines of social and family life provide an important understanding of certain seemingly similar conditions in various places, and help to theorize the diverse meanings of gender in different locations and within differing political systems.

More important, the intricate relationships between women professionals' employment and family lives, globalization, and gender inequality provide feminist scholars and activists with a theoretical and empirical basis to explore how processes of accumulation are enabled and how they work through educated women with economic independence. This is also a call for extended examination of women's roles in globalization, not merely as victims, but also as beneficiaries who are contingent upon the various situations and very relations presumed to be the outcome of globalization.

However, the scope of this dissertation is limited in several ways. The interviews with women professionals in multi-national corporations in Beijing raised a question: To what extent do these women's experiences reflect all other professional women's experiences from the state-owned corporations and those from multi-national corporations in other cities in China? Though women professionals, as a group in China, share an extensive set of commonalities, the nature of the corporation as state owned or as foreign owned makes a tremendous difference in

their working experiences and living conditions. Additionally, different locales within China provide uneven levels of income and employment opportunities for women professionals. These variants may provide professional women in different cities or locations with different experiences, and thus, different views, on their working experiences and family lives. Second, throughout the chapters, I used different materials to examine the image of professional women. However, in presenting the women's views on their lives, I am constructing a professional woman's image rooted from my personal consciousness, my own position, and my internalized notions about professional women. The underlying question is to what degree the professional women's images portrayed through this dissertation could be a reference to understand the actual lives of professional women in China and to reveal the social norms that marginalized women with economic privilege negotiate with. Moreover, though I attempted to integrate different materials to provide a relatively complete picture of professional women's lives, the different types of materials from interviews, magazines, and novels have generated information about professional women's lives that is overlapping, inconsistent, conflicting, and contradictory. Thus, it is necessary to examine and test the complexities that construct professional women's images in this research project. These are questions that need to be addressed in future research.

Appendix A: Demographic and Household Information

1. 年龄 (Age) 20－30 ____ 30－35 ____

   35－40 ____ 40 ____

2. 出生地域 (Place of birth) ： _____

3. 教育程度 (Education level) ：_____

4. 婚姻状况 (Marital status) ： 未婚 (Single) ____

   已婚 (Married) ____ 离异 (Divorced) ____

5. 是否有孩子 (children) ：

   无 (None) _____ 1个(One) _____

   2个(Two) _____ 3个(Three) _____

6. 工作单位使用语言(Language(s) at work) ：

   中文 (Chinese) _____ 英文 (English) _____

   其他 (Other) _____

7. 家庭规模 (Family) ：

   与父母同住 (Live with parents) ____ 小家庭 (Live with spouse and children) ____ 其他 (Live with others) ____

8. 收入水平 (Income level) ：

   2000－3000RMB /月(month) _____

   3000－5000RMB /月(month) _____

   5000－10000RMB /月(month) _____

   10000－+ RMB /月(month) _____

9. 是否有自己的车、房子 (Housing: Do you own your home)：

   是 (Yes) _____ 否 (No) _____

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Part I: Demographics

Household data

1. Demographic data includes: participant's age, place of birth, level of education, work history, marital status, number of children, language(s) spoken, and property owned (housing, vehicles, and stock, etc.)
2. A household survey is compiled for each interview participant. Data includes: family size (nuclear and extended), age of children, income level, and assets (including, property, home, and vehicle).

Part II: Conflicts between work and family

Employment data

1. What position do you hold and what is your job title?
2. Describe your duties and responsibilities.
3. How did you find this position?
4. What is your monthly salary?
5. How long have you worked for your current employer? In your current position?
6. How would you describe your working conditions?
7. Can you describe what you do on a typical workday?
8. Can you describe your typical work-week (how many hours do you work? Do you take breaks, etc.?). What do you do on your days-off ?
9. Are you entitled to overtime? What is the overtime-rate of pay?

10. Are there opportunities for advancement at your company or institution?
11. Who benefits from these opportunities? Are they available to you?
12. What kinds of problems and conflicts you face at work?
13. Have you developed effective strategies to deal with these problems?
14. How did you develop these strategies?
15. What issues at work concern you most? Is your work stressful?
16. Do you think your company has an impact on China's place in the world economy? How does this impact your work?
17. Do you think you have anything in common with professional women in other countries, such as the United States? What are the sources that provide you with information about women in other parts of the world?
18. Do you have health and/or employment insurance? What happens if you get sick?
19. What do you expect from your job?

Family data

1. How does your family arrange domestic work, including childcare and housework? Do any family members, including your parents and in-laws, help you with housework, either by offering financial support or doing housework for you?
2. How often do you go out for entertainment and shopping and where? What kinds of entertainment do you enjoy? What kinds of food do you

like—Chinese food or Western-style food?

3. What portion of your monthly income goes toward food and housing expenses?
4. How does your family make big decisions such as finances and investments, educating their children, and social activities? Who decides? Who participates in decision-making process?
5. From your point of view, what constitutes a proper wife and mother? How do these images compare with your personal experiences as a wife, mother, and career woman?
6. How do you navigate the conflicts between your career and your family?
7. What kinds of social support and services do you need?
8. What are your expectations for your family?
9. What dreams do you have for yourself and your family?

Part III: Social Mobility

1. When did you come to Beijing?
2. Do you consider yourself a Beijing Ren? Why?
3. What are the major difficulties in finding employment in Beijing? How did you experience these difficulties?
4. What was your mother's occupation?
5. What was your father's occupation?
6. Are your views about your career and family life differ from your parents?

What occupations have your adult children chosen? Do you think you influenced their career decisions?

7. What did you do before your current job?
8. How did you get your previous job? What kinds of difficulties did you experience, if any, in securing your position?

Part IV: Intimacy, femininity, and love

1. (Quote an excerpt from *Zhiyin*, *Shanghai Baby*, or *Candy*) What do you think about what I read?
2. How to you define love? marriage? How do you perceive the concepts of marriage and love? Do you read *Zhiyin*? Why? What are your favorite TV programs, movies, magazines, and novels? Have they affected your own perceptions of marriage and love?
3. What are your views on femininity? How were these views shaped?
4. Do you think "femininity" helped you to get your current job? Does your femininity make your workday easier? Does your femininity prevent you from advancing your career, or does it increase the difficulty? Why?
5. How do you reveal or conceal your femininity at work and at home?
6. Are your concepts and perceptions about love and marriage different from your parents? your children? Can you articulate these differences? What are the reasons for these differences?

Part V: Social policies

1. Do you belong to any organization or association related to your career? Why or why not?
2. Do you have health and/or employment insurance? What happens if you get sick?
3. What kinds of social benefits do you receive from your company?
4. Do you know with the Labor Law and Multi-national Corporation Law? How does your company enforce these laws? Do you think you benefit from these laws?
5. What compensation does your company provide if someone is fired?
6. Do you think China's One-Child Policy is strictly enforced in your company? Is your decision to have children affected by this policy? Why?

Appendix C: List of Research Participants

The following table contains the demographic characteristics of the research participants in this study. To insure anonymity, pseudonyms are used for interviewees.

Case #	Name	Age	Marital/Family	Education	Position
1	Li	29	Single	MA	Manager
2	Ni	33	Single	BA	Assist. manager
3	Han	27	Single	BA	Manager
4	Mei	30	Single	MA	Assoc. director
5	Lin	32	Single	BA	Manager
6	Fan	31	Single	MA	Manager
7	Qian	30	Single	BA	Manager
8	Zhu	31	Single	MA	Manager
9	Wang	35	Married, one daughter	MA	Senior manager
10	Gu	37	Married and had a son	MA	Researcher
11	Xie	34	Married and had a son	BA	Assist. manager
12	Liu	38	Married, one daughter	MA	Researcher
13	Wu	42	Married, one son	MA	Senior manager
14	Kang	35	Married, one daughter	MA	Manager
15	Wen	33	Married, one son	BA	Manager
16	Fei	37	Married	BA	Assist. manager
17	Zhang	39	Married, one daughter	BA	Manager
18	Zhao	41	Married, one daughter	BA	Manager
19	Yang	31	Married	BA	Assist. manager
20	Yuan	33	Married	BA	Manager

Bibliography

Acker, J. (2004). Gender, capitalism, and globalization. *Critical Sociology, 30*(1), 17 –41.

Alba, R. (1995, Spring). Assimilation's quiet tide. *Public Interest*, 1–18.

Altman, D. (2001). *Global sex*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Amott, T., & Matthaei, J. (1996). *Race, gender, and work: A multi-cultural economic history of women in the United States*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* New York, NY: Verso.

Anderson, S., & Cavanagh, J. (2000). *Field guide to the global economy.* New York, NY: New Press.

Appadurai, A. (Ed.). (2001). *Globalization.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Archibald, P. (1981). Propertylessness and alienation: Reopening a "shut" case. In R. F. Geyer & D. Schweitzer (Eds.), *Alienation: Problems of meaning, theory and method* (pp. 149–174). London, UK: Routledge.

Archibald, P. (2009). Marx, globalization and alienation: Received and underappreciated wisdoms. *Critical Sociology*, *35*(99), 151–174.

Armstrong, P. (1996). The feminization of the labor force: Harmonizing down in a global economy. In I. Bakker (Ed.), *Rethinking restructuring: Gender and*

change in Canada (pp. 29–54). Toronto, CA: University of Toronto Press.

Bakker, I. (1994). *The strategic silence: Gender and economic policy*. London, UK: Zed.

Barlow, T. (Ed.). (1993). *Gender politics in modern China*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Barlow, T. (2001). Globalization, China, and international feminism. *Signs, 26*(4), 1286–1291.

Barr, D., & Boyle, E. (2001). Gender and professional purity. *Gender and Society*, *15*(1), 29–54.

Baum, R. (Ed.). (1980). *China's four modernizations: The new technological revolution.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Beail, L., & Goren, L. J. (2010). Feminism, front and center. In L. J. Goren. (Ed.), *You've come a long way baby* (pp. 1–11). Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Becker, H. S., & McCall, M. M. (Eds.). (1998). *Symbolic interaction and cultural studies.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Berg, B. (2007). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. Boston, MA: Person/Allyn & Bacon.

Benería, L., & Roldán, M. (1987). *The crossroads of class and gender: Industrial homework, subcontracting, and household dynamics in Mexico City*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Benhabib, S. (1999). Sex difference and collective identities: The new global

constellation. *Signs*, *24*(2), 335–361.

Benston, M. (1969). The political economy of women's liberation. *Monthly Review, 21*, 13–27.

Bergeron, S. (2001). Political economy discourses of globalization and feminist politics. *Signs, 26*(4), 983–1006.

Bergmann, B. (1992). The job of a housewife. In J. A. Kourany, J. P. Sterba, & R. Tong (Eds.), *Feminist philosophies* (pp. 171–184). Englewood Cliffs, NJ Prentice Hall.

Bettie, J. (2003). *Women without class: Girls, race, and identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bezanson, K. (2006). *Gender, the state, and social reproduction: Household insecurity in neo-liberal times*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Bian, Y. (2002). Chinese social stratification and social mobility. *Annual Review of Sociology, 28*, 91–116.

Bianchi, S. (1995). The changing economic roles of women and men. In R. Farley (Ed.), *State of the union: America in the 1990s Volume one: Economic trends* (pp. 107–154). New York, NY: Russell Sage.

Bianchi, S. (2000). Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor. *Social Forces*, *79(*1), 191–228.

Bianchi, S. M. (2006). *Changing rhythms of American family life*. New York, NY: Russell Sage.

Biernacki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball sampling: Sampling and techniques of chain referral sampling. *Sociological Methods and Research*, *10*, 141–163.

Blauner, R. (1964). *Alienation and freedom.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Boserup, E. (1970). *Woman's role in economic development*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste.* London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Brines, J. (1994). Economic dependency, gender, and division of labor at home. *American Journal of Sociology, 10*(3), 652–688.

Brodie, J. (1994). Shifting the boundaries: Gender and the politics of restructuring. In I. Bakker (Ed.), *The strategic silence: Gender and economic policy* (pp. 46–60). London, UK: Zed.

Brodsgaard, K. E., & Strand, E. (Eds). (1998). *Reconstructing twentieth-century China: State control, civil society, and national identity.* Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Brooks, A. (2006). *Gendered work in Asian cities*. Surrey, UK: Ashgate.

Carlson, B. (2000). Women in the statistics profession: A status report. *International Statistical Review*, *68*(3), 339–352.

Castells, M. (1996). *The rise of the network society*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Chan, S. (2007). Space, body, feminism: Chinese urban women's writings. *Global Cities, 3*, 43–51. http://transtexts.revues.org/136

Chant, S. (2007). Single-parent families: Choice or constraint? In D. Segura & P. Zavella (Eds.), *Women and migration in the U.S.-Mexico borderland: A reader* (pp. 360– 367). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Chen, C. (2007). *Comments to Wei Hui's Shanghai Baby*. http://hi.baidu.com/fantast/blog/item/f775bb09915cba276b60fbc9.html

Cherlin, A. (1992). *Marriage, divorce, remarriage*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chow, E. (1994). Asian American women at work. In M. B. Zinn & B. Thornton Dill (Eds.), *Women of color in U.S. society* (pp. 203–228). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Cohen, M. G. (1994). The implications of economic restructuring for women. In I. Bakker (Ed.), *The strategic silence: Gender and economic policy* (pp. 103–116). London, UK: Zed.

Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Coltrane, S. (2000). Fatherhood and marriage in the 21st century. *National Forum, 80*, 25–28.

Cook, I. (2006). Beijing as an "internationalized metropolis." In F. Wu (Ed.), *Globalization and the Chinese city* (pp. 63–84). London, UK: Routledge.

Cooney, S., & Di, J. (1999). Primary family caregivers of impaired elderly in Shanghai. *Research on Aging*, *21*, 739.

Cooper, C. L., & Davidson, M. J. (1982). The high cost of stress on women managers. *Organizational Dynamics, 10*(4), 44–53.

Croll, E. (1978). *Feminism and socialism in China.* London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Croll, E. (1983). *Chinese women since Mao.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

Croll, E. (1995). *Changing identities of Chinese women: Rhetoric, experience, and*

self-perception in twentieth-century China. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Dalla Costa, M., & James, S. (1975). *The power of women and the subversion of the community*. Montpelier, UK: Falling Wall Press.

Davin, D. (1996). Migration and rural women in China: A look at the gendered impact of large-scale migration. *Journal of International Development, 8,* 655–665.

Démurger, S., Sachs, J. D., Woo, W. T., Shuming, B., Chang, G., & Mellinger, A. (2002). Geography, economic policy, and regional development in China. *Asian Economic Papers, 1,* 146–205.

Dill, B. (2004). Our mother's grief. In P. Collins & M. Andersen (Eds.), *Race, class, and gender: An anthology* (pp. 266–280). Toronto, ON: Cengage Learning.

Duan, B. R. (Ed.). (1989). *Beijing shi gaige shinian 1979–1989* (Ten years of Beijing's transformation 1979–1989). Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe.

Edwards, L. (2000). Policing the modern woman in republican China. *Modern China 26,* 115–147.

Eisenstein, Z. (1979). Developing a theory of capitalist patriarchy and socialist feminism. In Z. Eisenstein (Ed.), *Capitalist patriarchy and the case for socialist feminism* (pp. 5–40). New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.

Elman, M., & Gilbert, L. (1984). Coping strategies for role conflict in married professional women with children. *Family Relations, 33*(2), 317–327.

Entwisle , B., & Henderson, G. (2000). *Re-drawing boundaries: Work, households, and gender in China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Espiritu, Y. L. (1999). Gender and labor in Asian immigrant families. *American Behavioral Scientist, 42*(4), 628–647.

Evans, H. (1997). *Women and sexuality in China: Female sexuality and gender since 1949.* New York, NY: Continuum.

Evans, H. (2002). Past, perfect or imperfect: Changing images of the ideal wife. In S. Brownell & J. Wasserstrom (Eds.), *Chinese femininities/Chinese masculinities* (pp. 335–360). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Evans, H., & Donald, S. (Eds.). (1999). *Picturing power in the People's Republic of China—Posters of the Cultural Revolution*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Falconer Al-Hindi, K., & Kawabata, H. (2002). Toward a more fully reflexive feminist geography. In P. Moss (Ed.), *Feminist geography in practice: Research and methods* (pp. 103–115). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Farr, K. (2004). *Sex trafficking: The global market in women and children*. New York, NY: Worth.

Fernández-Kelly, M. P. (1983). *For we are sold, I and my people: Women and industry in Mexico's frontier*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Ferree, M. M., Lorber, J., & Hess, B. B. (Eds.). (1999). *Revisioning gender*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Finch, N. (2006a). Family change. In J. Bardshaw & A. Hatland (Eds.), *Social policy, employment and family change in comparative perspective* (pp. 13-36). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Finch, N. (2006b). Gender equality and time use. In J. Bardshaw & A. Hatland

(Eds.), *Social policy, employment and family change in comparative perspective* (pp. 255–282). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Finifter, A. (Ed.). (1972). *Alienation and the social system*. London, UK: John Wiley.

Fonow, M. M., & Cook, J. A. (1991). Beyond methodology: *Feminist scholarship as lived experience.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Freidson, E. (1986). Professional powers: a study of the institutionalization of formal knowledge. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Friedan, B. (1983). *The feminine mystique*. New York, NY: Dell.

Fröbel, F., Heinrichs, J., & Kreye, O. (1980). *The new international division of labor: Structural unemployment in industrialised countries and industrialisation in developing countries.* Translated by P. Burgess. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gabriel, S. (2006). *Chinese capitalism and the modernist vision*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Gaubatz, P. (1995). Changing Beijing. *Geographical Review, 85*(1), 79–96.

Gaubatz, P. (1999). China's urban transformation: Patterns and processes of morphological change in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. *Urban Studies, 36*, 1495–1521.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of culture: Selected essays*. New York, NY: Basic.

Gerstel, N., & Gross, H. (Eds.). (1987). *Families and work*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Glazer, N. (1993). Is assimilation dead? *Annals of the AAPSS*, *530*, 122–136.

Glenn, E. N. (2002). *Unequal freedom: How race and gender shaped American citizenship and labor.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Godard, J., & Delany, J. T. (2000). Reflections on the "high performance" paradigm's implications for industrial relations as a field. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 53*(3), 482–502.

Grewal, I. (1998). On the new global feminism and the family of nations: Dilemmas of transnational feminist practices. In E. Shohat (Ed.), *Talking visions: Multicultural feminism in a transnational age* (pp. 501–530). Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.

Grossman, R. (1980). Women's place in the integrated circuit. *Radical America, 14*, 29–49.

Gu, R., & Tang, Z. (2002). Shanghai: Reconnecting to the global economy. In S. Sassen (Ed.)*, Global networks*, *linked cities* (pp. 273–308). New York, NY: Routledge.

Guan, Q. (1996). *Lilong housing, A traditional settlement form*. (Thesis). McGill University, School of Architecture, Montreal, QC.

Haraway, D. (2004). *The Haraway reader*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Harding, S. (1987). *Feminism and methodology: Social science issues*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Harris, H. (2001). Content analysis of secondary data: A study of courage in managerial decision making. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *34*(3/4), 191–208.

Hart-Landsberg, M., & Burkett, P. (2005). *China and socialism: Market reforms and class struggle.* New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.

Hartmann, H. (1981). The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism: Towards a more progressive union. In L. Sargent (Ed.), *Women and revolution* (pp. 1-41). Boston, MA: South End Press.

Harvey, D. (1990). *The condition of postmodernity: An enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hawkesworth, M. E. (2006). *Globalization and feminist activism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Haynes, S. G., & Feinleib, M. (1980). Women, work, and coronary heart disease. *American Journal of Public Health*, *70*(2), 133–141.

He, Z. (2000). *Yang Chen evening news*. Retrieved from http://edu.sina.co.cn 2000/04/23.

Heide, M. J. (1995). *Television culture and women's lives: Thirtysomething and the contradictions of gender*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Held, D., & McGrew, A. (2000). *The global transformations reader: An introduction to the globalization debate*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Hershatter, G. (1997). *Dangerous pleasures: Prostitution and modernity in twentieth-century Shanghai.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hershatter, G. (1999). *Guide to women's studies in China*. Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies.

Hershatter , G. (2007). *Women in China's long twentieth century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hershkovitz, L. (1995). *China gender equity strategy*. Prepared for Canadian International Development Agency, China Program.

Hesse-Biber, S., Gilmartin, C., & Lydenberg, R. (Eds.). (1999). *Feminist approaches to theory and methodology: An interdisciplinary reader*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Higginbotham, E. (1994). Black professional women: Job ceilings and employment sectors. In M. B. Zinn & B. Dill (Eds.), *Women of color in U.S. society* (pp. 113–132). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Hilda, H. (1972). *A short history of China*. New York, NY: Scarborough.

Hill, M. R., & Deegan, M. J. (Eds.). (1987). *Women and symbolic interaction.* Boston, MA: Allen & Unwin.

Hirsch, J. (2007). En el norte la mujer manda's: Gender, generation, and geography in a Mexican transnational community. In D. Segura & P. Zavella (Eds.), *Women and migration in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands: A reader* (pp. 438–455). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Hochschild, A. R. (1997). *The time bind: When work becomes home and home becomes work*. New York, NY: Metropolitan Books.

Holden, D. C., & Smock, J. P. (1991). The economic costs of marital dissolution: Why do women bear a disproportionate cost? *Annual Review of Sociology, 17,* 51–78.

Hollows, J. (2000). *Feminism, femininity, and popular culture*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2003). *Gender and U.S. immigration: Contemporary trends*.

Berkeley: University of California Press.

Honig, E. (1986). *Sisters and strangers: Women in the Shanghai cotton mills, 1919–1949*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Honig, E., & Hershatter, G. (1988). *Personal voices: Chinese women in the 1980's.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hoogvelt, A. (2001). *Globalization and the postcolonial world: The new political economy of development*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hookham, H. (1972). *A short history of China*. New York, NY: New American Library.

Hossfeld, K. J. (1990). "Their logic against them": Contradictions in sex, race, and class in Silicon Valley. In K. Ward (Ed.), *Women workers and global restructuring* (pp. 149–178). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.

Hsü, I. C.Y. (1999). *The rise of modern China* (6th ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Hu, A. (2008). Quantitative assessment and prediction of China's economic power (1980–2020). *Journal of Literature, History and Philosophy, 301,* 139–150.

Huang, X. (1999). Divided gender, divided women: State policy and the labour market. In J. West, Z. Minghua, C. Xianqgum, & C. Yuan Eds.), *Women of China—Economic and social transformation* (pp. 90–107). Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Press.

Hughes, K., & Lowe, G. (2000). Surveying the post-industrial landscape: Information technologies and labor market polarization in Canada. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 37*(1), 29–53.

Jacka, T. (1990). Back to the wok: Women and employment in Chinese industry in the 1980s. *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs, 24*, 1–23.

Jarviluoma, H. J., Moisala, P., & Vikko, A. (2003). *Gender and qualitative methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Jaschok, M., Hsiung, P-C., & Milwertz, C. (2002). Chinese women organizing: Cadres, feminists, Muslims, queers. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kanter, R. M. (1977). Work and the family in the United States: A critical review and division of labor. London, UK: Zed Books.

Kazuko, O. (1989). Chinese women in a century of revolution, 1850–1950. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Keates, D., & Scott, J. W. (2005). Going public: Feminism and the shifting boundaries of the private sphere. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.

Kerr, J., & Delahanty, J. (1996). *Gender and jobs in China's new economy*. Ottawa, ON: North-South Institute.

Kim, S.-K. (1997). *Class struggle or family struggle? The lives of women factory workers in South Korea*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kohn, M. (1976). Occupational structure and alienation. *American Journal of Sociology, 82*(1), 111–130.

Kumpusalo, E. (1994). Professional identities of young physicians: A Finnish national survey. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly, 8*(1), 69–77.

Kung, L. (1983). *Factory women in Taiwan.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Lai, K. (2011). Differentiated markets: Shanghai, Beijing and Hong Kong in China's

financial centre network. *Urban Studies.* Advance online publication. doi: 10.1177/0042098011408143

Lee, C.-K. (1998). *Gender and the south China miracle: Two worlds of factory women.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lewandowski, J. (2001). *Interpreting culture: Rethinking method and truth in social theory*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Li, P. S. (2003). *Destination Canada: Immigration debates and issues*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press

Li, X. (1994). Economic reform and the awakening of Chinese women's collective consciousness. In C. K. Gilmartin & G. Hershatter (Eds.), *Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State* (pp. 360–384). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lim, L. Y. C. (1983). Capitalism, imperialism, and patriarchy: The dilemma of third-world women workers in multinational factories. In J. Nash & M. P. Fernández-Kelly (Eds.), *Women, men, and the international division of labor* (pp. 70–91). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Lin, J. (1995). Women and rural development in China. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, *16*(2), 229–240.

Liu, J. (2000). *Life Daily*. http://edu.sina.com.cn 2000/05/04 http://www.edu.sina.com.cn/wander/2000-05-04/2581.shtmlLu, X. (2010). *Hubei University Journal, 2.* http://www.literature.org.cn/Article.aspx?id=64574

Lystad, M. (1971). Social alienation: A review of current literature. *Sociological*

Quarterly, 13(1), 90–113.

Milton, D., & Milton, N. D. (1986). The wind will not subside: Years in Revolutionary China 1964–1969. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

Milwertz, C. (2002). Beijing women organizing for change. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Moen, O., & Roehling, P. (2005). *The career mystique: Cracks in the American dream*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Moghadam, V. M. (2005). *Globalizing women: Transnational feminist networks.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Moore, K. A., & Sawhill, I. V. (1978). Implications of women's employment for home and family life. In A. H. Stromberg & S. Harkess (Eds.), *Women working:*c*Theories and facts in perspective* (pp. 201–225). Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield.

Moore, W. (1970). *The professions: Roles and rules*. New York, NY: Russell Sage.

Morgan, D. (1998). *Focus group as qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Nagel, J. (1998). Masculinity and nationalism: Gender and sexuality in the making of nations, *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 21*(2)*,* 242–269.

Naples, N. A., & Desai, M. (Eds.). (2002). *Women's activism and globalization: Linking local struggles and transnational politics.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Naples, N. (2003). *Feminist method: Ethnography, discourse analysis, and activist research.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Naughton , B. (1995). *Growing out of the plan: Chinese economic reform, 1978–1993.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Nelson, D., & Quick, J. (1985). Professional women: Are distress and disease inevitable? *Academy of Management Review*, *10*(2), 206–218.

Neuman, W. L. (2006). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (6th ed.). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Ng, R. (2000). Restructuring gender, race, and class relations: The case of garment workers and labor adjustment. In S. M. Neysmith (Ed.), *Restructuring caring labor: Discourse, state practice, and everyday life* (pp. 226–245). Don Mills: ON: Oxford University Press.

Ohmae, K. (1990). *The borderless world: Power and strategy in the interlinked economy*. New York, NY: HarperBusiness.

Ong, A. (1987). *Spirits of resistance and capitalist discipline: Factory workers in Malaysia*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Ong, A. (1999). *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ong, A., & Collier, S. J. (Eds.). (2005). *Global assemblage: Anthropological problems*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Ono, K. (1989). *Chinese women in a century of revolution, 1850–1950*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Otis, E. (2008). Beyond the industrial paradigm: Consumer markets and the gender politics of labor in China's globalized service workplaces. *American Sociological Review, 73,* 15–36.

Parrenas, R. S. (2001). *Servants of globalization: Women, migration, and domestic work*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Pearson, R., & Elson, D. (1981). Nimble fingers make cheap workers: An analysis of women's employment in third world export manufacturing. *Feminist Review, 7,* 87–107.

Pei, M. (1999). Rights and resistance: The changing contexts of the dissident movement. In E. J. Perry & M. Selden (Eds.), *Chinese society: Change, conflict and resistance* (pp. 20–40). London, UK: Routledge.

Perry, E. J., & Selden, M. (Eds.). (1999). *Chinese society: Change, conflict and resistance.* London, UK: Routledge.

Petchesky, R. P. (2003). *Global prescriptions: Gendering health and human rights*. London, UK: Zed.

Peterson, V. S., & Runyan, A. S. (1993). *Global gender issues*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Peterson, V. S., & Runyan, A. S. (1999). *Global gender issues* (2nd ed.). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Picchio, A. (1992). *Social reproduction: The political economy of the labor*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Picchio, A. (1998). Wages as a reflection of socially embedded production and reproduction processes. In L. Clarke, P. de Gijsel, & J. Janssen, *The dynamics of wage relations in the new Europe* (pp. 195–214). London, UK: Kluwer.

Picchio, A. (Ed.). (2003). *Unpaid work and the economy: A gender analysis of the standards of living*. London, UK: Routledge.

Puff, H. F., & Moeckel, C. L. (1979). Managerial stress and the women manager. *Industrial Management, 21*, 1–5.

Pun, N. (2005). *Made in China: Women factory workers in a global workplace*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Purcell, V. (1962). *The rise of modern China*. London, UK: The Historical Association.

Qi, W. (1999). State-society relations and women's political participation. In J. West, Z. Minghua, C. Xianqgum, & C. Yuan (Eds.), *Women of China: Economic and social transformation* (pp. 19–44). Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Press.

Rai, S. M. (2002). *Gender and the political economy of development*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Rofel, L. (1994). Liberation nostalgia and a yearning for modernity. In C. K. Gilmartin, G. Hershatter, L. Rofle, & T. White (Eds.), *Engendering China: Women, culture, and the state* (pp. 226–249). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Rofel, L. (1999). *Other modernities: Gendered yearnings in China after socialism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ruether, R. R. (2004). *Integrating ecofeminism, globalization, and world religions*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Rumbaut, R. (1997). Paradoxes (and orthodoxies) of assimilation. *Sociological Perspectives, 40*(3), 483–511.

Rupp, L. (1997). *Worlds of women: The making of an international women's movement*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Safa, I. (1995). *The myth of the male breadwinner: Women and industrialization in the Caribbean*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Sang, T.-L. D. (2003). *The emerging lesbian: Female same-sex desire in modern China.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Sanjek, R. (Ed.). (1990). *Fieldnotes: The makings of anthropology*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Sassen, S. (1998). *Globalization and its discontents*. New York, NY: New Press.

Sassen, S. (2000). *Cities in a world economy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Schneider, B., & Waite, L. J. (Eds.). (2005). *Being together, working apart: Dual-career families and the work-life balance*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Scott, J. (1988). *Gender and the politics of history*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Seager, J. (2003). *The Penguin atlas of women in the world*. New York, NY: Penguin.

Segura, D. A. (1994). Inside the work worlds of Chicana and Mexican immigrant women. In M. Zinn & B. T. Dill (Eds.), *Women of color in U.S. society*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Seidman, I. (1998). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. New York, NY: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Sen, G., & Grown, C. (1987). *Development, crises, and alternative visions: Third world women's perspectives*. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.

Shen, X., Stockman, N., & Bonney, N. (1992). The dual burden: East and west (Women's working lives in China, Japan and Great Britain). *International Sociology, 7*(2), 209–223.

Shenkar, O. (2005). *The Chinese century: The rising Chinese economy and its impact on the global economy, the balance of power, and your job*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Wharton School Publishing.

Sit, V. (1995). *The nature and planning of a Chinese capital city*. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong.

Sit, V. (1999). Social areas in Beijing. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography, 81*(4), 203–221.

Smith, D. (1987). Women's inequality and the family. In N. Gerstel & H. E. Gross (Eds.), *Families and work* (pp. 23–54). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Standing, G. (1989). Global feminization through flexible labor. *World Development, 17*, 1077–1095.

Standing, G. (1999). Global feminization through flexible labor: A theme revisited. *Development*, 27(3), 583–602.

Statham, A., & Vaughan, S. (1987). The professional involvement of highly educated women: The impact of family. *Sociological Quarterly, 28*(1), 119–133**.**

Stearns, P. (2008). *From alienation to addiction*: *Modern American work in global historical perspective.* Boulder, CO: Paradigm.

Summerfield, G. (1994). Economic reform and the employment of Chinese women. *Journal of Economic Issues*, *28*(3), 715–731.

Sun, H. (2008). Work, women, mother: Redefining urban Chinese women's identity via motherhood and the global workplace. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies, 14*(1), 7–33.

Tan, S. (2004). Leaving home and coming back: Experiences of rural migrant women. In J. Tao, Z. Bijun, & S. Mow (Eds.), *Holding up half the sky: Chinese women past, present, and future* (pp. 248–258). New York, NY: Feminist Press.

Tao, J., Bijun, Z., & Mow, S. (Eds.). (2004). *Holding up half the sky: Chinese women past, present, and future.* New York, NY: Feminist Press.

Thorne, B., & Yalom, M. (Eds.). (1992). *Rethinking the family*. New York, NY: Longman.

Tilly, L. A., & Scott, J. W. (1987). *Women, work, and family* (2nd ed.). Methuen, MA: Methuen.

Vann, K., & Bowker, G. (2001). Instrumentalizing the truth of practice. *Social Epistemology, 15*(3), 247–262.

Verdery, K. (1996). *What was socialism, and what comes next?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Walford, G. (Ed.). (2002). *Debates and developments in ethnographic methodology*. Oxford, UK: Department of Educational Studies, Oxford University, Elsevier Science.

Wallerstein, I. (2000). Globalization or the age of transition? A long-term view of the trajectory of the world-system. *International Sociology 15*, 249–265.

Wang, Z. (1999). *Women in the Chinese enlightenment*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wang, Z. (2000). Gender, employment and women's resistance. In E. J. Perry & M. Selden (Eds.), *Chinese society: Change, conflict and resistance* (pp. 62–82).

London, UK: Routledge.

Ward, K. (1990). *Women workers and global restructuring*. Ithaca, NY: IRL Press.

Waylen, G. (2000). Gendered political economy and feminist analysis. In J. Cook, J. Roberts, & G. Waylen (Eds.), *Towards a gendered political economy*. London, UK: Macmillan Press.

Weber, I. (2003). Localizing the global: Successful strategies for selling television programs to China. *Gazette, 65*(3), 273–290.

Weber, J. (1992). Scenarios in business ethic research: Review, critical assessment, and recommendations. *Business Ethic Quarterly, 2,* 137–159.

Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic content analysis*. Sage University paper series: Quantitative applications in the social sciences (49). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Wei, H. (1999). *Shanghai baby*. Shenyang, China: Chunfeng Yishu.

Wei, H. (2001). *Shanghai baby*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

West, J. (Ed.). (1999). *Women of China: Economic and social transformation*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Press.

Wolf, M. (1968). *The house of Lim*. New York, NY: Appleton–Century-Crofts.

Wolf, M. (1985). *Revolution postponed: Women in contemporary China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Wolf, M. (1992). *A thrice told tale: Feminism, postmodernism, and ethnographic responsibility*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Women of China. (1989, January 1). Chinese Women.

Woo, M. (1994). Chinese women workers: The delicate balance between protection and equality. In C. K. Gilmartin & G. Hershatter (Eds.), *Engendering China:*

Women, culture, and the state (pp. 279–298). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wu, F. (2000). The global and local dimensions of place-making: Remaking Shanghai as a world city. *Urban Studies*, *37,* 1359.

Wylie, C. (2004). Femininity and authority: Women in China's private sector. In A. McLaren (Ed.), *Chinese women—living and working* (pp. 41–62). London, UK: RoutledgeCurzon.

Xu, H. (2007). Brand-new lifestyle: Consumer-oriented programs on Chinese television. *Media Culture Society*, *29,* 363.

Yan, Z. (1984). *Shanghai: The growth and shifting emphasis of China's largest city.* In V. Sit (Ed.), *Chinese cities: The growth of the metropolis since 1949* (pp. 95–127). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Yuan, L. (2005). *Reconceiving women's equality in China: A critical examination of models of sex equality*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Yusuf, S., & Wu, W. (2002). Pathways to a world city: Shanghai rising in an era of Globalisation. *Urban Studies, 39,* 1213.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1997). *Gender and nation.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Yuval-Davis, N., & Anthias, F. (1990). Contextualizing feminism: Gender, ethnic and class divisions. In T. Lovell (Ed.), *British feminist thought: A reader* (pp. 103 118). Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.

Yuval-Davis, N., Anthias, F., & Campling, J. (Eds.). (1989). *Women-nation-state.* Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Press.

Zha**,** J. (1994). Beijing: A city without walls. *Antioch Review*, 52(3), 390–415.

Zhang, H. (1997). *Questions about lives.* Beijing: Writers Press.

Zhang, H. (1999). *Wheelchair dream*. Beijing: Beijing Press.

Zhang, H. (2002). *Apex*. Beijing: Renmin Literature Press.

Zhang, L.-Y. (2003). Economic development in Shanghai and the role of the state. *Urban Studies*, *40*(8), 1549–1572.

Zhao, M., & West, J. (2002). Adjusting to urban capital: Rural female labor in state cotton mills in China. In D.-S. S. Gills & N. Piper (Eds.), *Women and work in globalizing Asia* (pp. 169–187). London, UK: Routledge.

Zhou, Y. (1998). Beijing and the development of dual central business districts. *Geographical Review, 88*(3), 429–436.

Zhou, Y., & Xin, T. (2003). An innovative region in China: Interaction between multinational corporations and local firms in a high-tech cluster in Beijing. *Economic Geography, 79*(2), 129–152.

Zhu, A. (2005). *The cultural production of controversy feminism, women authors, and the mapping of China* (Dissertation). College Park: University of Maryland.

Zhiyin. (1987a). (1). Wuhan: Hubei Zhiyin. [In Chinese].

Zhiyin. (1987b). (2). Wuhan: Hubei Zhiyin. [In Chinese].

Zhiyin. (1988a). (2). Wuhan: Hubei Zhiyin. [In Chinese].

Zhiyin. (1988b.) (8). Wuhan: Hubei Zhiyin. [In Chinese].

Zhiyin. (1990). (7). Wuhan: Hubei Zhiyin. [In Chinese].

Zhiyin. (1992). (2). Wuhan: Hubei Zhiyin. [In Chinese].

Zhiyin. (1995). (1). Wuhan: Hubei Zhiyin. [In Chinese].

Zhiyin. (1996). (1). Wuhan: Hubei Zhiyin. [In Chinese].

Zhiyin. 1999. (8). Wuhan: Hubei Zhiyi. [In Chinese].

Zhiyin. (2000). (1). Wuhan: Hubei Zhiyin. [In Chinese].

Zhiyin. (2001). (1). Wuhan: Hubei Zhiyin. [In Chinese].

Zhiyin. (2002a). (1). Wuhan: Hubei Zhiyin. [In Chinese].

Zhiyin. (2002b). (4). Wuhan: Hubei Zhiyin. [In Chinese].

Zvonkovic, A., & Notter, M. L. (2006). Family studies: Situating every family life at work in time and across context. In M. Pitt-Catsouphes, E. Kossek, & S. Sweet (Eds.), *Work and family handbook: Multi-disciplinary perspectives and approaches* (pp. 141–164). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

http://www.modernsky.com/bands/mianmian/mm_file.htm

http://www.modernsky.com/bands/mianmian/mm_file.htm

http://www.zhongman.com/service/page/pagechuban/200602/20060226175518.html

http://www.orientalplaza.com